

Franciscan Art as Propaganda: The Conventuals and the Chapel of Saint Martin in San Francesco at Assisi

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Francis cycle

Legenda Aurea

Geography and History

Legenda aurea

Legenda aurea

Chapel of Saint Martin

Propaganda and Propaganda

Partino da Montone

Painter

Chapel of Saint Martin

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List of Abbreviations

1C	Thomas of Celano, <i>Vita Prima</i>
2C	Thomas of Celano, <i>Vita Secunda</i>
<i>Bull. Franc.</i>	<i>Bullarium Franciscanum</i>
LA	Jacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea</i>
LM	Saint Bonaventure, <i>Legenda maior</i>
VM	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita Sancti Martini</i>

Introduction

Saint Francis of Assisi, from founding the Order of the Friars Minor in 1209, stirred up the Western Church with his radical way of living an itinerant, mendicant lifestyle. By the time Francis died in 1226, the Franciscan Order had grown tremendously from its early days, but with that expansion came division. The order had divided into two camps: the Spirituals, who wished to live in poverty like Francis; and the Conventuals, who preferred to relax the rules and adapt the order to the changing needs of the contemporary Church and society in obedience of the papacy. The dominant party shifted throughout the thirteenth century, but by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Conventuals had solidified their control of the order.

Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore, a Conventual and influential figure within the Church during the first decade of the fourteenth century, donated 600 florins to the Order of the Friars Minor on 30 March 1312 for the decoration of a chapel in the lower basilica of San Francesco.¹ He fell sick and died unexpectedly at Lucca in October of that year while in service of the pope. His sudden and untimely death occurred before his chapel was completed and thus he was buried in the Chapel of Saint Louis, also in the Lower Basilica.² The artist, Simone Martini, later decorated Gentile's original chapel with a ten-scene fresco cycle of the life of Saint Martin, the Cardinal's patron saint. The program also includes a dedication scene over the entrance arch, eight full-length saints frescoed underneath the entrance arch, three stained-glass windows, and six saints, shown in bust, surrounding each window.

¹ Adrian Hoch, "A New Document for Simone Martini's Chapel of St. Martin at Assisi," *Gesta* 24, no. 2 (1985): 142.

² It is believed that construction on the Chapel of Saint Louis was finished, in contrast to the Chapel of Saint Martin, at the time of Montefiore's death, since he was buried in it and not in the chapel that he originally had patronized. See Adrian Hoch, "Simone Martini's St. Martin Chapel in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983), 111.

Description of the Chapel of Saint Martin

Entering through the main entrance of San Francesco from the piazza outside the Lower Basilica, the Chapel of Saint Martin is the first chapel to the left as one walks down the nave (Figure 1). Viewing the chapel from the nave, one first notices the three stained glass windows at the rear of the chapel and the saints surrounding each window, as well as the saints underneath the archway; the dedication scene is visible only from the interior.³ The lower part of the chapel is covered with a red and white marble dado.

The fresco cycle adorning the sidewalls of the chapel comprises the primary decoration. The cycle consists of three horizontal bands, each characteristic of a different stage in Martin's life, progressing chronologically from bottom-to-top, and left-to-right (Figure 2). The bottom two bands consist of four scenes, while the top only has two scenes. The program begins on the left wall with *Division of the Cloak* (Figure 3) and the *Dream of Saint Martin* (Figure 4) and jumps across the room to the *Investiture* (Figure 5) and *Renunciation of Arms* (Figure 6) on the right wall. This bottom group corresponds to the period of Martin's life as a soldier. The next group starts with the *Miracle of the Resurrected Child* (Figure 7) on the left wall, followed by the *Meditation of Saint Martin* (Figure 8). The sequence ends on the right wall with the *Miraculous Mass* (Figure 9) and *Miracle of Fire* (Figure 10). These four scenes depict events while Martin was Bishop of Tours. The top level shows only two scenes, the *Death of Saint Martin* (Figure 11) on the right wall and the *Funeral of Saint Martin* (Figure 12) on the left. This last group suggests the chapel's purpose as a funerary monument to Gentile.

The cycle traces the life of Martin, from his first gestures of charity and mercy as a soldier, through his episcopal miracles, to his death and resurrection. The program is unique

³ In this paper, I will focus only on my interpretation of the fresco cycle, mentioning the stained glass, saints, and dedication scene only in passing.

because it depicts Martin for only the second time in the history of Italian art. The French had revered him for centuries, yet his renown in Italy was far less pervasive. French iconography, moreover, typically stressed his miraculous powers and not his character.⁴

A small program dedicated to Saint Martin decorates the façade of the cathedral at Lucca.⁵ The context, however, differs dramatically from the Assisi chapel. At Lucca, the images are isolated events from Martin's life that focus on his miraculous healings, similar to French portrayals.⁶ A free-standing equestrian sculpture of *Saint Martin Dividing His Cloak* also stands in front of the cathedral. Only the scenes of the *Cloak* and *Miraculous Mass* re-appear in the Chapel of Saint Martin frescoes. The cycle at Assisi thus presents a full account of Martin's life, not limited only to his miracles, but also including his good deeds and death. The frescos, furthermore, heavily emphasize the secular aspects of Martin's life, while also portraying fourth-century figures in a medieval and courtly context.

Previous Scholarship on the Chapel of Saint Martin

Although today it is generally accepted that Simone Martini painted the Chapel of Saint Martin, this attribution was not made until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Giorgio Vasari, in his 1568 edition of the *Lives of the Artists*, had said that Puccio Capanna, a follower of Giotto, frescoed the chapel.⁷ In his discussion on Simone, Vasari also describes Simone as a student of Giotto.⁸ In 1798 Sebastiano Ranghiasi, an antiquarian and restorer from Gubbio, first suggested that Simone was the artist; his claim was included in Carlo Fea's 1820 monograph on

⁴ Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini: Complete Edition* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 178.

⁵ Martindale, *Simone*, 175.

⁶ There are four carved relief scenes: the raising of a dead monk, the consecration of Saint Martin, the miraculous Mass, and the healing of a possessed man. See Martindale, *Simone*, 180, n.8.

⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, vol. 1, (London: Macmillan and Co, 1912), 90.

⁸ Vasari, *Lives*, 168.

Assisi.⁹ This shift in thought in the literature, away from a Florentine painter following in the style of Giotto to a Siennese painter of a different tradition, resulted for both stylistic and historical reasons. Stylistically, art historians recognized that the saints Simone painted in the northeast transept of the Lower Basilica were similar to the figures in the Saint Martin Chapel. Historically, scholars believed that Simone and Gentile met in Avignon, where they discussed plans to decorate the chapel.¹⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, most scholars attributed the chapel to Simone.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Giovanni Cavalcaselle corrected Vasari by identifying Simone's true last name as Martini, not Memmi. Simone, in 1324, had married Giovanna, the sister of Lippo Memmi, likely the source of Vasari's confusion.¹¹ Cavalcaselle also attempted to date the chapel's decoration to the period between 1317-19.¹² He argued that, stylistically, some of the figures resembled those in the *Saint Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece*, completed in 1317 for Robert of Anjou, in composition and color.¹³

Simone Martini's Style in the Chapel of Saint Martin

In the previous scholarship, much of the discussion of the chapel has centered on issues of style. After Vasari's early claims for a Florentine artist, scholars began to notice the distinct differences between the style of Florence and that of Siena. Although scholars had determined

⁹ Carlo Fea and Sebastiano Ranghiasi, *Descrizione ragionata dalla sagrosanta patriacal pasilica e cappella papale in San Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome: Nella Stamperia camerale, 1820), 11.

¹⁰ Simone and Montefiore did not meet in Avignon, however, for Montefiore had died many years earlier. The chapel was correctly identified as Simone's work, despite the incorrect evidence. See Hoch, *Chapel*, 8.

¹¹ Joseph A. Crowe and Giovanni B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy: Umbria, Florence, and Siena from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, v. III, ed. Langton Douglas (London: John Murray, 1908), 30-1.

¹² Cavalcaselle does not offer these exact dates, nor does he claim to know the date. He does, however, account from Simone from 1315-7 and beyond 1320. Since he claims that some figures come from the style of the 1317 *Saint Louis Altarpiece* and since during those years Simone is unaccounted for, I believe that Cavalcaselle implies this as the likely period of execution.

¹³ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 36.

the artist, they had to rely solely on stylistic comparisons when attempting to date the work. In the chapel frescos, Simone focuses heavily on architecture, including buildings in every scene.¹⁴ He places his figures and scenes within architectural edifices, locating them within time and space. This same implementation of architecture is found in the predella panel of the *Saint Louis Altarpiece*. The five scenes from the life of Saint Louis utilize a variety of architectural styles, albeit more simplistic than those at Assisi, in which the scenes occur.

The figures in the chapel are long and thin, many lacking the psychological power and emotion found in Giotto.¹⁵ Simone models his figures with *chiaroscuro* to render a sense of depth and naturalism, moving away from the Byzantine traditions popular in Siena.¹⁶ There is a slight interest in landscape and nature in the scenes that occur outside. The figures in the *Saint Louis Altarpiece* are slender and thin and share a similar style of coloring as those in Assisi. Both compositions lack a unified balance and the figures, while they have some naturalistic depth, fall short in action and emotion.¹⁷

History of Simone Martini and Dating of the Chapel of Saint Martin

Currently, scholars cannot agree on the date of execution for the chapel program. Simone Martini was born in 1283, but does not appear in any extant documents until 1315, when the Sienese government hired him to paint the *Maestà*, a fresco of the Virgin and Saints, inside the Palazzo Pubblico. After completing the *Maestà* in the summer of 1315 or 1316, Simone moved

¹⁴ The one exception could be the *Renunciation of Arms*, where the tents are the only similarity to architecture.

¹⁵ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 36.

¹⁶ For more on the Byzantine style in Siena, see Bruce Cole, *Sieneese Painting, from Its Origins to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980); Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sieneese Painter* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); and Henk Van Os, *Sieneese Altarpieces: 1215-1460*, 2 vols. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten Publishing, 1990). For more on the Byzantine influence on Italian art, see James Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth-Century Italian Panel Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 85-101.

¹⁷ Both cycles, however, in the scene in which a child is resurrected, show a great sense of emotion and character in the distressed mothers. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 45.

to Naples to paint the *Saint Louis Altarpiece* for Robert of Anjou in 1317.¹⁸ For the next few years, Simone's whereabouts remain undocumented. In 1319, he painted a *Virgin and Child with Saints* for the church of Saint Catherine in Pisa, followed by two altarpieces for churches in Orvieto in 1320.¹⁹ The Sienese government summoned Simone home to make repairs to the *Maestà* in 1321; he remained at work in Siena until 1335. Over the next four years, Simone may have left Siena, yet there is no evidence to support or discredit that claim. He was in Avignon by 1339, when he started painting the Palace of the Popes, and lived there until his death in 1344.²⁰ Thus three periods in Simone's life offer enough time to have completed the frescos: 1312-15; 1317-19; and 1335-39.²¹

Many agree that the figure of Saint Louis of Toulouse on the underside of the entrance arch produces a *terminus post quem* of 1317 for the chapel. The figure of Louis has a halo, recognizing his official canonization in 1317.²² This suggestion, however, poses a few problems. First, Gentile died in 1312, five years before Louis was canonized. Even if the frescoes were not begun until 1317, what happened in the chapel during the five-year interim? Adrian Hoch, with whom I agree, argued that the stained glass was started after construction on the chapel was completed and then the frescoes were added later.²³ Second, the process of Louis' canonization began immediately after his death in 1297. Although the Church did not officially recognize his sainthood for twenty years, many still regarded him as a saint. In 1307, ten years before his canonization, the confraternity of "Saint" Louis was founded in Aix. Giovanni Villani, in his

¹⁸ Julian Gardner, "St Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976): 20

¹⁹ Cavalcaselle argued that the altarpiece was completed in 1320. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 36.

²⁰ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 67.

²¹ Bologna argued that the frescoes were finished in early 1317, believing that the saints painted on the entrance arch were not part of the original cycle, but added in 1317 to celebrate the canonization of Saint Louis of Toulouse. See F. Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1314* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 1969).

²² Gardner, *St Louis*, 20.

²³ Hoch, *Chapel*, 14. Some scholars, including Hoch, have argued that Simone also designed the stained glass windows for the chapel. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, 45.

chronicles of Florence, wrote that Louis was canonized in 1311, offering further evidence that people considered him a saint years before his actual canonization.²⁴ If this is true, then perhaps the *terminus post quem* should be pushed forward to 1312 when Gentile made his original donation.

The greatest difficulty in determining the date is the lack of extant documents. When Gentile's body was taken from Lucca, his testament was not found in his possessions. Then, two years later, a Ghibbeline rebel sacked Lucca and took the papal treasure and the fifteen chests containing Gentile's personal belongings.²⁵ Based on stylistic similarities with the *Saint Louis Altarpiece* and the availability of Simone, I believe that the chapel was painted from 1317-19.²⁶

Biography of Saint Martin

Martin was born in 316 or 317 in Sabaria, in Pannonia, but grew up in Pavia, Italy as the son of a military officer.²⁷ Against the wishes of his non-Christian parents, Martin asked to be a catechumen at age 12.²⁸ At the age of fifteen, he was drafted into the army because of a law that required all sons of veterans to join. Despite his military status, many regarded him not as a soldier, but rather a monk.²⁹ After serving several years in the military, Martin left to become a monk and eventually established a monastery. In 371 the people of Tours asked him to be their bishop. He accepted, but still wore his monk's habit while serving as bishop. Martin performed

²⁴ Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 82.

²⁵ Since Pope Clement V had died a few months prior and no successor had been elected, the Church could not impose any punishment. See Hoch, *Chapel*, 100.

²⁶ See Hoch, *Chapel*, 242-89.

²⁷ All references to Martin's life, unless otherwise specified, will come from the *Legenda aurea*. I am using William Ryan's translation. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. by William G. Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

²⁸ *LA*, 292. Severus says that the baptism happened at age 10 and at age 12 Martin wanted to become a monk who lived in the desert. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, "The Life of Saint Martin of Tours," trans. F.R. Hoare, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 6.

²⁹ *LA*, 292.

many miracles during his lifetime, from resurrections to exorcisms. He did not die a martyr's death, but passed away peacefully in the diocese of Candes in 397.³⁰

Literary Sources for the Life of Saint Martin

The events from the life of Saint Martin depicted in the chapel fresco cycle come from several literary sources. The *Cloak* and *Dream* scene appear in almost all biographical accounts, while others, such as the *Investiture*, are less universal and specific to a biographer or time period. Sulpicius Severus, the original biographer of Martin, wrote the *Vita Sancti Martini* around 396 shortly before Martin died.³¹

Years later in 404, Severus wrote the *Dialogues*,³² which discusses many of the miracles omitted from the *Vita*.³³ In the mid-sixth century Gregory of Tours wrote about Martin's life and posthumous miracles in *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* and also included several passages on the saint in the *Historia Francorum*. Although Gregory and others, including Odo of Cluny and Bernard of Clairvaux, had written about the saint, Severus' *Vita* remained the standard biography until the mid-thirteenth century.³⁴

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, a collection of saints' lives, included a biography of Saint Martin that, after its publication around 1265, became the most popular source. Jacobus condensed the narrative of the *Vita* and combined it with the miracles from the *Dialogues* and *De virtutibus* to form the account in the *Legenda*. The *Legenda*, because of its accessibility and

³⁰ *LA*, 298.

³¹ *VM*, 4

³² For the history of the *Dialogues*, see Bernard Peebles' Introduction to "Writings of Sulpicius Severus", in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949), 87-9.

³³ Peebles, *Introduction*, 89.

³⁴ Sherry L. Reames, "Saint Martin of Tours in the *Legenda Aurea* and Before," *Viator* 12 (1981): 132.

popularity in the thirteenth century, was most probably the major source for the artistic decoration in the Chapel of Saint Martin.³⁵

One scene from the program, however, cannot be found in any major account of Martin's life. The *Investiture* or *Knighting of Saint Martin* stems from the code of chivalry and medieval courtly life of France.³⁶ Péan Gatineau, in the early thirteenth century, wrote his own biography of Martin, *La Vie de Monseigneur Saint Martin de Tors*.³⁷ His story transformed Martin into a chivalric knight of the Middle Ages, providing a source for the *Investiture* that otherwise is not mentioned in any major biography. The inclusion of this scene in the chapel is important because it is the sole event that does not come from the *Legenda*; rather it comes from an entirely different tradition, which emphasized other aspects of Martin's character and life.

Conclusion

The Chapel of Saint Martin is noteworthy not only because of its subject matter, but also because of the relatively little information known about its commission and patron. This paper will not address all these issues, but rather will focus on the significance of the chapel's decoration in context of the rift within the Franciscan order. Chapter One provides an overview of the Spirituals and the Conventuals, the two groups into which the Order divided. I focus on how they propagandized their beliefs through literature and works of art, specifically biographies of Francis and images of him. Chapter Two looks at the *Legenda aurea*, its widespread diffusion and popularity, and its use as the primary source for the frescos in the Chapel of Saint Martin. I compare the life of Saint Martin in the *Legenda* with the *Vita Martini* and then offer a detailed

³⁵ The *Golden Legend* was also used as a source for other frescoes that decorate San Francesco. See James Stubblebine, "Cimabue's Frescoes of the Virgin at Assisi," *Art Bulletin* 49, no. 4 (1967): 330-3.

³⁶ Adrian Hoch, "St. Martin of Tours and His Transformation into a Chivalric Hero and Franciscan Ideal," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50, no. 4 (1987): 476.

³⁷ Hoch, *Chapel*, 129.

description of the chapel fresco cycle following the narrative of the *Legenda*. Chapter Three examines the life of the patron, the style of the painter, and the chapel's audience. I consider these factors and their relationship to the iconography of the frescos to understand what makes the cycle distinctly Conventual. I argue that the program is a direct result of Conventual beliefs, shared by both the patron and those responsible for the program; the Conventual desire to unify the Order; and their intention to propagandize their views that justify their deviations from the commands of Saint Francis.

Chapter One

Even before Francis died in October 1226, the Franciscan Order had begun to suffer from internal tension. The Order had grown tremendously since its founding in 1209, spreading throughout Western Europe. The large and varied membership also led to differing interpretations of Francis' *Rule*. The Spirituals maintained the standards that Saint Francis had lived and advocated, upholding the poverty he considered critical. The Conventuals, however, adopted a more controversial stance, one that offered less rigorous restrictions on asceticism and instead emphasized obedience to the Church. Francis recognized the changes taking place and resigned his leadership position in the hopes that another might be more successful. He died uncertain about the future of the Order and, two years later in 1228, was canonized by Pope Gregory IX.¹

The papacy, led by Pope Innocent III, recognized the Franciscans' potential to serve the church and approved the Order of Friars Minor in 1209.² Cardinal Ugolino, a close friend of Francis and the former Cardinal Protector of the Franciscans, became Pope Gregory IX in March of 1227. He issued *Quo elongati* on 28 September 1230.³ The bull annulled Francis' *Testament* because it had been written on his deathbed without the consent of any brothers. Gregory, moreover, examined the *Rule of 1223* and declared that the phrase '*sine proprio*' (without property) was meant only figuratively, not literally.⁴ These two governing documents for the Franciscan Order forbade scholastic learning, the establishment of monasteries, and the handling of money by friars, amongst other things. Gregory rejected those regulations in his bull, thus

¹ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1968), 79.

² Moorman, *History*, 11.

³ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. i, ed. H. Sbaralea (1759-68), 68-70, as cited by Moorman, *History*, 90.

⁴ Moorman, *History*, 90.

giving full papal support to the Conventuals. These changes had two results relevant to this paper. First, the order could grow larger with the relaxed rules. Second, and more important, Gregory effectively divided the Order.

Both the Spirituals and Conventuals hoped to restore unity and peace to the divided Order. Since the division between the two groups was rooted in the interpretation of what Francis had truly intended, the most effective means of gaining popular support was to produce an image of Francis that coincided with the ruling party's beliefs. Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima* and *Vita Secunda* and Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior* were all written within forty years after Francis' death, but each presented a different and distinct interpretation of the saint. The Franciscans, furthermore, commissioned works of art dedicated to Saint Francis that referred to specific biographies in order to promote the beliefs of particular parties. From early on, it seems the order viewed literature and art as a means of propaganda.

In this chapter, I begin by discussing the two biographies of Saint Francis by Thomas of Celano, the reason for their commission, and their emphases. The focus then shifts to talking about early depictions of Francis in art and the influence of those works on the Berlinghieri panel in Pescia and the Bardi Dossal in Florence, illuminating the differences stylistically and compositionally. The discussion then moves to the biography by Saint Bonaventure and concludes with an analysis of the *Saint Francis Cycle* in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco.

Spiritual Literature: Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima* and *Vita Secunda*

Brother Elias, one of Francis' most intimate friends, had begun collecting donations to build a shrine in honor of Francis after receiving papal permission in April 1228.⁵ Later that year

⁵ The land had been donated by Simon Puzarelli and accepted by Brother Elias on behalf of the pope. See Moorman, *History*, 85.

Pope Gregory visited Assisi in July. He came with a threefold purpose: to announce the canonization of Saint Francis; to lay the corner stone of San Francesco; and to commission a biography of Francis.⁶ The pope chose Thomas of Celano to write the life, which was published one year later as the *Vita Prima*.⁷

Pope Gregory IX canonized Francis only two years after his death. This quick canonization was quite an unusual feat, given that an official life had not been published yet. Canonization proceedings typically took many years for all the necessary paperwork to be filed, a life written, miracles confirmed, and any complaints disproved.⁸ Brother Elias sent a letter to the pope immediately after Francis died, acknowledging the death of the saint and revealing the Stigmata, the wounds of Christ that Francis had received in 1224 and hid from all but a few close friends.⁹ It seems that the Stigmata was enough confirmation for sainthood until a life could be written and that this letter was his attempt to speed up the process.¹⁰ When the pope announced Francis' sainthood, it was imperative that he commission an official biography to confirm and justify his decision.

Celano initially seems like an odd choice to write the official biography because he did not know Francis personally. He had joined the order in 1215 and spent the first part of his career in northern and central Europe. Whenever he is mentioned in surviving documents, they do not

⁶ Moorman, *History*, 86.

⁷ The *Vita* was not the first, but the second work written after Francis' death. The *Sacrum Commercium*, anonymously appeared early in 1227. It was not an account of Francis' life, but emphasized the importance of poverty and helping the poor. See Moorman, *History*, 278-9.

⁸ For the process of canonization, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: University Press, 1929); Eric Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

⁹ Moorman, *History*, 83.

¹⁰ Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," *Church History* 44 (1975): 301.

cite any relationship or contact with Francis.¹¹ Gregory therefore chose Celano because he was free from the strife and division within the order. The pope wanted an authoritative account of the life of Francis that would convince a worldwide readership of Francis' miraculous abilities and saintliness. Celano would not be weighed down by the controversy between the Spirituals and Conventuals because he was not affiliated with either group.

The *Vita Prima*¹² tells the story of Francis and seems to accomplish its task of justifying his canonization. It is made up of three books, two of which focus on Francis' life: the first covers his life up to his recognition of the stigmata and the second tells the last two years of his life, from the stigmata to his death. The last of the three books is devoted to a series of posthumous miracles that confirm his sanctity. The narrative follows a chronological order, from Francis' baptism to eventual death. The first two books describe his life and foundation of the order, highlighting Francis' vigor and severity. Many of the stories, however, stress his miraculous power, in addition to the posthumous miracles.¹³ The pope wanted Celano to compose an authoritative biography of Francis that would appeal to all audiences, regardless of Francis' true intentions.¹⁴ The *Vita Prima* imitated traditional hagiographic stereotypes that aided neither the Spirituals nor the Conventuals.¹⁵

¹¹ Moorman, *History*, 279.

¹² I am using Placid Hermann's translation of the *Vita* (=1C); Thomas of Celano, *St. Francis of Assisi: First and Second Life of St. Francis, with Selections from Treatise on the Miracles of Blessed Francis* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1963). For a Latin text, see "Opuscula S. Patris Francisci," *Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica*, ed. L. Lemmens, vol. 1 (Quaracchi, 1904).

¹³ For example, when Francis was absent one night, a fiery chariot entered the place where the friars were praying and, even though he was not present, Francis learned the desires of the friars' hearts. See 1C 47-8. Celano also describes a story in which Francis stows away on a boat and the sailors run out of food. Francis had received a small portion of food, which fed the entire crew for the last few days of the trip. See 1C 55. On his death bed, Francis' physical body had grown so weak and weary that his flesh was consumed and only skin was left on his bones. See 1C 107.

¹⁴ This is also evidenced by the Pope's apparent unconcern for annulling Francis' *Testament and Rule* in his bull of 1230. See Moorman, *History*, 280.

¹⁵ Moorman, *History*, 280.

As time passed, the Franciscans recognized the potential loss of stories from the closest friends of Francis, who were beginning to pass away. The Franciscan Chapter-General of 1244 commissioned a supplement to the *Vita Prima* that would include stories about Francis' life.¹⁶ Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufino spent more than a year gathered at a hermitage in Greccio to collect their individual recollections about their leader.¹⁷ These stories recalled Francis' character as manifested throughout his day-to-day life. After compiling their stories, they delivered them to the Minister General of the Franciscans, who summoned Thomas of Celano to compose the *Vita Secunda*.¹⁸

If the *Vita Prima* was commissioned by the pope to demonstrate Francis' saintliness to a worldwide audience, then the *Vita Secunda* was commissioned by the Franciscan Order to tell the friars about Francis' daily behavior. This new biography uses narrative as a means of meditation and a vehicle by which the friars could become more like Francis.¹⁹ The internal division had grown tremendously since the release of the *Vita Prima* and Celano had developed his own beliefs in the eighteen-year interim. He now incorporates his personal ideas about Francis and his sympathies to the Spiritual cause to support his interpretation.²⁰ The prologue explicitly lays out those intentions: "to portray and to declare...the good and acceptable and perfect will of Francis."²¹ The *Vita Secunda* portrays the strict, angry Francis found in his *Rule* and *Testament*. He ceased to be the stereotypical saint from the *Vita Prima*, but became an

¹⁶ Moorman, *History*, 282.

¹⁷ Moorman, *History*, 282.

¹⁸ These stories have since been lost. It is believed that many of them still survive, as scribes sometimes copied manuscripts verbatim. See John Moorman, "Early Franciscan Art and Literature," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 27 (1942-3): 347-9.

¹⁹ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 28.

²⁰ Moorman, *History*, 283.

²¹ 2C, Prologue.

individual concerned about serving people.²² Celano diminishes the role of the miraculous to make him more human.

There are several other key points about the two biographies. The *Vita Secunda* is approximately twice the length of its predecessor. Celano has elaborated on some of the stories that carried over, but most of his text comes from the personal anecdotes submitted by Leo, Angelo, and Rufinus and other friars who knew Francis.²³ The layout of the *Vita Secunda* also differs from its precursor. There are now only two books, not three. Book One repeats much of the same biographical material of Francis' early life from the *Vita Prima*, but Book Two has new content and a new purpose. It sacrifices chronological narrative for thematic organization, focusing on the virtues of Francis demonstrated in his daily life.²⁴ Only at the end of the book do his death and canonization appear. The posthumous miracles have disappeared entirely. It was not until 1253, six years later, that Celano released the *Tractatus de Miraculis* to satisfy the requests of those who missed the power of Francis from the third book of the *Vita Prima*.²⁵

Many of the issues Celano deals with were on the forefront of the minds of Franciscan friars. The debate between the two groups centered on the interpretation of poverty. The new biography portrays Francis as a poor ascetic, upholding the tenets of the *Rule* and *Testament*.²⁶ The *Vita Secunda*, therefore, re-affirmed the authority of the documents that Pope Gregory IX had annulled in 1230. Celano invokes Francis' dying words from the end of the *Testament*:

In virtue of obedience, I strictly forbid any of my friars, clerics or lay brothers, to interpret the *Rule* or these words, saying, "This is what they mean". God inspired me to write the *Rule* and these words plainly and simply, and so you too must understand them plainly and simply, and live by them, doing good to the last.²⁷

²² Moorman, *History*, 283-4.

²³ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 27.

²⁴ Moorman, *Art*, 349.

²⁵ Moorman, *Art*, 349-50.

²⁶ Saint Francis of Assisi, *The Writings of St Francis of Assisi*, trans. Benen Fahy (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), 31-3, 38-9, 50-3.

²⁷ Francis, *Writings*, 69.

According to Celano and the Spirituals, the pope had directly defied the will of Francis when he began to change the order; the papacy was in the wrong. The *Vita Secunda*, then, showed the Spirituals fighting to preserve the order that Francis had created.

Spiritual Art: Early Depictions and the Bardi Dossal

The earliest extant representation of Francis is a simple portrait that shows him in full-length on the walls of Sacro Speco at Subiaco, painted sometime in 1228 (Figure 13).²⁸ The image depicts Francis as *il Poverello*, the humble servant of God.²⁹ He wears a brown habit but does not have a halo or the stigmata, two characteristics that later became iconographic standards in all pictures of Francis. He holds a scroll in his left hand that reads “pax huic domui” and holds his right hand across his chest. When this work was made, an official biography was not available. Early artists merely illustrated Francis the way they imagined him: a poor, mendicant friar, like those that could be seen wandering the countryside throughout Italy and Western Europe.³⁰

The series of events from Francis’ life and the emphasis on miracles that Celano wrote about in the *Vita Prima*, however, soon appeared in art. Artists turned from their own conceptions of Francis to the authoritative life issued by Celano. Bonaventura Berlinghieri painted the *Saint Francis of Assisi* panel (Figure 14) in 1235 for the church of San Francesco in Pescia that reveals the influence of Celano.³¹ The image of the saint retained the brown hooded

²⁸ The exact date is unknown, though it is believed to date from before his canonization because the inscription on the painting says ‘FR. FRACISCU’, referring to Francis as *Frater* and not *Sanctus*. See Moorman, *Art*, 344.

²⁹ While it is the first, other similar images of Francis appear at the same time. For examples, see Moorman, *Art*, 344-5.

³⁰ Moorman, *Art*, 345.

³¹ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 14.

habit and tonsure from earlier depictions, but now included the stigmata and halo.³² Francis holds a book in his left hand and raises his right hand, the palm facing out to show the Stigmata.³³

Berlinghieri, moreover, depicted Francis according to Celano's description:

He was of medium height...his head was moderate in size and round, his face a bit long...his forehead smooth and low...his eyes were of moderate size, black and sound; his hair was black, his eyebrows straight, his nose symmetrical, thin and straight; his ears were upright, but small...³⁴

Francis looked like an austere and humble friar, but the narrative panels surround this central figure emphasized a different aspect: his posthumous miracles.

A series of six scenes from the life of Saint Francis surround the central picture of Francis. All six of these events concern miracles from his life. The *Stigmatization* and *Sermon to the Birds* are the first two scenes on the left, representing two of the most popular miracles of Francis and one scene from each of the first two books of the *Vita Prima*. The Stigmatization associated Francis with Christ, *Franciscus Alter Christus*,³⁵ and his sermon to the birds revealed his power over nature and his right to preach.³⁶ The last four, however, are posthumous miracles.³⁷ These same four scenes, moreover, make up the entire narrative of Giunta Pisano's panel of Francis from 1236 (Figure 15).³⁸ Like Celano, Berlinghieri, Pisano, and other artists put only a small emphasis on the events from Francis' life and instead chose to emphasize those after his death. In the *Vita Prima*, these miracles were the portion of the biography that verified

³² These iconographic elements helped distinguish Francis from other contemporary saints, e.g. Saint Dominic. See Goffen, *Spirituality*, 15.

³³ Francis' right hand has the exact same pose as the two angels that flank him at the top of the panel.

³⁴ 1C 83.

³⁵ Christ's great sacrifice for man was the Crucifixion, by which he had holes pierced in his hands and feet. To verify his death, a Roman soldier pierced Christ's side with a spear. Christ thus is depicted with five wounds to symbolize his death. Francis modeled his itinerant and mendicant lifestyle on the life of Christ and by receiving the Stigmata, or the wounds of Christ, Francis became known as another Christ. For Celano's story, see 1C, 94-5.

³⁶ Francis, while traveling through the country with a group of friars, saw a group of birds to the side of the road. He left his friends to see the birds, who did not fly away when he approached. Amazed, Francis asked that they would listen to God's word and so he preached to them. In response, the birds began to rejoice by flapping their wings and looking at Francis. Francis blessed them as he left, giving them permission to fly away. See 1C 58.

³⁷ They are four posthumous healings, including the Healing of the Child and Healing a Cripple's Leg.

³⁸ Moorman, *Art*, 346.

Francis' sainthood. There does not appear, moreover, to be any particular scene in these early panels that underscore the conflict between the Spirituals and Conventuals, specifically in reference to the interpretation of Franciscan poverty.

With the appearance of the *Vita Secunda* in 1247 and the fading importance of posthumous miracles, depictions of Francis emphasized scenes meant to show Francis' true character during his life. The *Bardi Dossal* (Figure 16),³⁹ painted by an unknown artist sometime between 1247 and 1250,⁴⁰ reveals the Spiritual sympathies with which Thomas of Celano wrote the *Vita Secunda*.⁴¹ The center of the image shows Francis with features similar to those of the Berlinghieri panel.⁴² Francis no longer holds his right hand open, but blesses the viewer instead.⁴³ The panel displays twenty scenes from his life, offering the most extensive narrative cycle of his life up to that point.⁴⁴ Scene selection, however, varies dramatically from the Berlinghieri panel, as events from the daily life of Francis have become more important and the posthumous miracles now only occupy three scenes at the end of the cycle.

The story begins at the top left with *Saint Francis' Mother Releasing Him from Imprisonment by His Father* (Figure 17), progresses down the left side, across two bands at the bottom, and then ascends up the right side. The first fifteen episodes recall occasions from the day-to-day life of the saint, including his renunciation of worldly goods, the approval of the

³⁹ The Bardi Dossal currently is in the Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence, but was not placed there until 1595. Little is known about its commission or original location. It is probable that it was made for a funerary chapel or tomb in Santa Croce, possibly for the Tedaldi family. See Goffen, *Spirituality*, 29-30.

⁴⁰ Traditional scholarship dates the dossal from 1245-50. See Goffen, 29. I believe, however, that the dossal dates from after 1247 when the *Vita Secunda* was released based on the emphasis of the narrative scenes.

⁴¹ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 29.

⁴² Francis, in the Bardi Dossal, does have a larger head, one that appears more naturalistic and not shrunken. Both bodies are elongated and have a disproportionately longer lower torso.

⁴³ This act of blessing further emphasizes Francis as *Alter Christus* because he is depicted like Christ. See Goffen, *Spirituality*, 30.

⁴⁴ This was only to be exceeded by the twenty-eight scenes in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco.

Order by Pope Innocent III, Francis' penance in Assisi, and his caring for the lepers.⁴⁵ The last five relate Francis' death, canonization, and three posthumous miracles. The scenes derive from both of Celano's biographies, but those events chosen from the *Vita Prima* concern stories from Francis' life.⁴⁶ The artist also paralleled Celano in his willingness to sacrifice a chronological narrative in order to create a thematic program.⁴⁷

The twenty scenes break down into three main groups, interspersed with scenes about poverty and obedience. The left side of the altarpiece includes five stories that highlight Francis' early life before and after becoming a friar.⁴⁸ At the bottom of the dossal Francis becomes *Franciscus Alter Christus* through the Stigmatization and his acts of charity and love.⁴⁹ The right side stresses Francis' canonization and the evidence for it.⁵⁰ Yet these are not the only topics the master of the Bardi Dossal has attempted to include. One can also find evidence of how Francis valued poverty and rejected property in the *Renunciation of Worldly Goods* and *Gospel of the Feast of Saint Matthias*; obeyed God's law, but not man's in the *Renunciation*; and constantly strived to set an example for his brothers in the *Penance in the Streets of Assisi*.

The *Renunciation of Worldly Goods* (Figure 18) illustrates Francis' original call to poverty and is not a strictly Spiritual motif; the Conventuals embraced poverty, but to a much

⁴⁵ This is not to say that none of these scenes were miracles. In fact, several of the events listed are of a miraculous nature, e.g. the Stigmatization and Mass at Greccio. Nevertheless, these images reflected the daily life of Francis, not his posthumous acts, and characterized his behavior, even if they tended towards the miraculous.

⁴⁶ For example, the Sermon to the Birds and Francis Before the Sultan come from the *Prima*, but are events from his life.

⁴⁷ Like the biographies of Francis, attention has been paid to chronology with respect to his life before his conversion and his death. The scenes that depict events from his saintly life are not set to a timeline and have been rearranged for the sake of topical organization.

⁴⁸ These scenes are Saint Francis' Mother Releasing Him from Prison; Renunciation of Worldly Goods; Designing the Franciscan Habit; Gospel of the Feast of Saint Matthias; and Approval of Rule by Pope Innocent III.

⁴⁹ These scenes are the Mass at Greccio; Sermon to the Birds; Penance in the Streets of Assisi; Stigmatization; Appearance at the Chapter of Arles; and the Caring for the Lepers. All of these scenes emphasize the Christ-like qualities of Francis: he shows his pastoral care in the *Appearance* and *Lepers*; his humility in the *Penance*; his miraculous powers in the *Sermon* and *Mass*; and intimacy with Christ through the *Stigmatization*.

⁵⁰ These scenes are the Death of Saint Francis; Two Cures at His Tomb: Little Girl with Twisted Neck and Expelling Demons from the Young Woman of Narni; Canonization by Pope Gregory IX; Saving the Sailors of Ancona; Penitents at His Tomb; and Curing Bartholomew of Narni.

lesser extent. It is nonetheless important because the scene reveals Francis returning all his possessions to his father and being clothed by the Church, represented by the Bishop of Assisi. Not only does it reveal his strict definition of asceticism, but also his willingness to disobey his earthly father in order to comply with his Heavenly father. In the next scene, the *Gospel of the Feast of Saint Matthias* (Figure 19), Francis reaffirms and embraces the vow of poverty by removing his shoes.⁵¹ The removal of his shoes shows him fully rejecting any material comforts to follow the lifestyle that Christ lived. All the friars, furthermore, depicted in the dossal do not wear any shoes, seeming to follow their leader. Francis also punishes and humiliates himself in the *Penance in the Streets of Assisi* (Figure 20).⁵² The withered and weak body of Francis is juxtaposed against the well-dressed onlookers, alluding to the rejection of the self that was necessary for extreme poverty.⁵³ These scenes exhibit some of the Spiritualist causes for which Celano fought in the *Secunda Vita* and the master of the Bardi Dossal incorporated into the Bardi Dossal.

Following the outline set by Celano in the *Vita Secunda*, the master of the Bardi Dossal largely ignored the role of posthumous miracles to maximize the attention given to Francis' character. The narrative scenes recall how Francis had lived and acted to his brethren. Only in the final episodes do the first posthumous miracles appear and then they are confined to a minority of the total; in the Berlinghieri panel, they had composed the majority. A few miracles were still necessary, but it was Francis' *life* that justified his canonization.

⁵¹ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 36.

⁵² Francis' flagellation also was an act of Christomimesis, in which Francis physically suffered in the same way Christ did. See n. 49.

⁵³ Goffen, *Spirituality*, 41.

Conventual Literature: Saint Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*

When Francis died in 1226, Giovanni Fidenza was only five years old, but already he had experienced personally the miraculous powers associated with the saint.⁵⁴ Although he never knew Francis personally, the prologue to the *Legenda Maior* tells how intercessory prayers to Francis saved Giovanni, now known as Saint Bonaventure.⁵⁵ He joined the Franciscan Order in the late 1230s or early 1240s and went to Paris to receive his education at the University of Paris.⁵⁶ Unlike Francis and the early friars, Bonaventure was a scholar first and foremost. He completed his degree in 1248 and spent several years teaching in Paris before the Franciscan Order elected him Minister General to replace John of Parma in 1257.⁵⁷

Bonaventure spent the first years of his tenure as Minister General defending the order in an attempt to justify the changing character of the Franciscans. Criticisms were issued against the friars for the way that they had diverged from the original mission of Saint Francis.⁵⁸ Instead of living in worn-down churches symbolic of Franciscan poverty, the new friars built large monastic convents in city centers.⁵⁹ Bonaventure, educated in Paris, believed that this was a necessary step for the long-term success of the order. The larger space allowed for greater access to the people and thus the potential for more converts. This shift into the city, perhaps most importantly, allowed more time for studying theology since the friars were not occupied with the household chores necessary in rural monasteries.⁶⁰ These new buildings also had more space to store more books in their libraries. According to Francis' testament, however, the Franciscans

⁵⁴ Moorman, *Art*, 351.

⁵⁵ *LM*, Prologue, 3.

⁵⁶ Moorman, *History*, 140, n. 3.

⁵⁷ Moorman, *History*, 140.

⁵⁸ Moorman, *History*, 141.

⁵⁹ As used here, the term "convent" does not refer to a cloistered group of nuns, but a complex designed for male friars in the city center. This is also in contrast to the monasteries found throughout the countryside in which monks lived in isolation.

⁶⁰ Moorman, *History*, 141-2.

made "no claim to learning."⁶¹ Francis had received little theological training, but spoke simply and passionately; Bonaventure and the Conventuals, on the other hand, saw the need for theology to preach effectively. From early on, Bonaventure's education and vision of the order thus were at odds with the original desires of Francis.

After becoming Minister General, Bonaventure searched for a way to unite the divided Order. The Spirituals had an ally in John of Parma, the former Minister General, but became concerned with the new leadership.⁶² Despite the mounting dissatisfaction, Bonaventure hoped to unify the two groups and to show the world how beneficial the Franciscans were to the Church.⁶³ Before he could persuade anyone of his intentions, he first had to replace the spiritual portrait of Francis from the *Vita Secunda* of which many Conventuals disapproved. Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*⁶⁴ created a Conventual image of Francis that appealed to a more relaxed and universal audience.

Bonaventure could not begin writing his interpretation, however, without permission from the governing body of friars, the Chapter General. The *Vita Secunda*, since its publication in 1247, had not fared well throughout the entire order. Many found it lacked a true image of Francis and viewed it as a personalized account by Celano. They argued that Celano had written an account of Francis' character, not an actual biography.⁶⁵ To remedy that initial complaint, the *Tractatus de Miraculis* was commissioned and written by Celano in 1253, providing a series of

⁶¹ Francis, *Testament*, 68. In *Quo elongati*, however, Gregory had specifically mentioned books as objects that the friars could use so long as someone else owned them. See Moorman, *Sources*, 87.

⁶² John of Parma had resigned because of his interest in Joachimism. Bonaventure, as one of his first acts, had to put John on trial because of the accusation and found him guilty of heresy. Yet Bonaventure was not draconic and did not sentence to John to death, but let him live out his life in the countryside. John's conviction, nevertheless, severely hurt the Spiritual cause and morale. See Moorman, *History*, 145-6.

⁶³ Moorman, *History*, 287.

⁶⁴ I am using Ewert Cousins' translation; Saint Bonaventure, "The Life of St Francis," *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey to God, The Tree of Life, and The Life of St Francis*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1978). For a latin text, see vol. 8 of the *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae* (Quaracchi, 1882).

⁶⁵ Moorman, *Art*, 352.

Francis' posthumous miracles.⁶⁶ Even this solution did not solve the problem and thus the Chapter General of 1260 commissioned Bonaventure to write another biography of Saint Francis that would portray him in such a way as to appease the majority of the friars, who were Conventuals, while also maintaining an image of the saint that everyone could recognize.⁶⁷

Bonaventure's new work relied predominantly upon the older lives for its stories. In fact, over eighty percent of the *Legenda* comes directly from the *Vita Secunda*, sometimes copied verbatim.⁶⁸ Yet Bonaventure had not been satisfied with the depiction of Francis in the most recent account because of its pro-Spiritual bias. Thus Bonaventure decided to reinterpret certain narratives to fit his interpretation. In the first chapter of the *Legenda*, Bonaventure adapted a story from Celano about Francis giving alms to a poor man. In the *Secunda*, Francis, upon seeing the beggar asking alms, took a pair of scissors in order to cut his tunic and share it with the man. His fellow friars stopped him and gave the beggar another means of alms.⁶⁹ Bonaventure instead moved the event to Francis' secular life, where Francis chased down the beggar to give him a generous offering after not giving any the first time he passed by the man.⁷⁰ Francis still had the qualities of mercy and charity, but no longer stood out from his fellow friars; he lost the distinctive characteristics that made him unique.⁷¹ The *Legenda* also excluded the tensions that grew during the last years of Francis' life, in an attempt to show the unity of the order. Bonaventure used Celano as a source, but adjusted his stories accordingly, softening the emphasis on poverty..

⁶⁶ Moorman, *Art*, 349-50.

⁶⁷ Moorman, *History*, 151 & 286.

⁶⁸ Moorman, *History*, 286.

⁶⁹ 2C 196.

⁷⁰ *LM*, 1.1.

⁷¹ Moorman, *Art*, 352.

Bonaventure finished the *Legenda Maior* in 1263 and for three years it circulated with the two Celano texts. Friars had three different authorized biographies of Francis, each with its own emphasis. The *Legenda maior* took stories from both its predecessors, but now had its own view of Francis. Bonaventure portrayed Francis as the founder of a religious order that served the Church with obedience. To dispel the other opinions from the minds of friars, however, the Chapter General of 1266 ordered all manuscripts, except Bonaventure's, to be burned.⁷²

Bonaventure, when writing the *Legenda Maior*, clearly had read the *Vita Prima* and *Secunda* and knew their strengths. He repeated the emphasis on posthumous miracles found in the *Vita Prima* by including an appendix devoted solely to them. He also adopted the traditional hagiography used in the *Vita Prima* for his own description of Francis.⁷³ Bonaventure divided the life of Saint Francis into fifteen chapters, each focusing on a different segment of Francis' life or a virtue. The general framework can be considered as chronological at the beginning and end with a thematic division in the middle, like the *Vita Secunda*, but now these themes correspond to Bonaventure's personal theology. Each group is composed of three chapters and represents a different stage in the spiritual life: Purgation, Illumination, and Perfection.⁷⁴ Bonaventure, through describing these stages of man's spiritual journey in the life of Francis, praised the saint as the ideal example of how to live according to the Gospels.

Francis was a model for the obedient lifestyle that the Conventuals highly stressed. In the *Vita Secunda*, after the rule had been approved by Innocent III, Francis "began to scatter the

⁷² There were many other lives of Francis available, most of which just copied the stories Celano had written. These three, however, were the official accounts. See Moorman, *History*, 287.

⁷³ Moorman, *History*, 287.

⁷⁴ Chapters Five through Seven (Chastity, Obedience, and Poverty) are the three Purgative virtues because they prepare the body for a religious life. Chapters Eight through Ten (Piety, Charity, and Prayer) are the three Illuminative virtues because they are the acts one practices as a religious. Chapters Eleven through Thirteen (Prophecy, Grace, Stigmata) are the three Perfect virtues because they are the gifts for those who are one with God. See Ewert Cousins, *Introduction to Bonaventure*, 43-5; Regis J. Armstrong, "The Spiritual Theology of the *Legenda Maior* of Saint Bonaventure" (PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1978).

seeds of virtue.”⁷⁵ Yet Bonaventure writes that after the order’s approval, the friars received “a mission to preach penance” and then were given tonsures as the sign of their authority to preach.⁷⁶ Celano looked at Francis and the fruit of his work, with the emphasis on his potential. Bonaventure, however, refers to the entire order, not just Francis, and establishes it as an arm of the Church. He then adds the tonsure as the physical representation of the friar’s service to God and the Church.

For the Conventuals, obedience was the most important virtue because it could unify the Order and justify their relaxed interpretation of poverty. They believed in the hierarchy of the Church and followed the rules set forth by the pope. Right before Francis passed away, Bonaventure recounts a story when a friar approached Francis, who was lying on the ground naked, with a tunic, cord, and undergarments. The friar told Francis “I am lending these to you as to a beggar, and you are to accept them under the command of obedience.”⁷⁷ Francis rejoiced at this statement because he had maintained his vow of poverty and would not have accepted anything unless it was borrowed. Bonaventure did not take this scene from Celano, but invented it himself, likely to stress the principle of *usus pauper*, through which the friars had use of material objects.

Fifteen years after Pope Gregory IX issued *Quo elongati*, Pope Innocent IV expanded upon Gregory’s bull in *Ordinem vestrum*, issued 14 November 1245.⁷⁸ *Quo elongati* had voided the *Testament* of Francis and largely passed over the *Rule*. Innocent, however, clarified the official policy towards poverty. Francis’ *Rule* maintained strict guidelines over the possessions

⁷⁵ 2C 17.

⁷⁶ LM, 4.10.

⁷⁷ LM, 14.4.

⁷⁸ Bull. Franc., vol. i, 400-2, as cited in Moorman, *History*, 116.

and housing of friars, allowing that certain "spiritual friends"⁷⁹ might help the friars if in desperate need. Gregory allowed these "friends" to hold money for necessities, but Innocent went much further, including "convenience" in addition to "necessity."⁸⁰ Pope Nicholas III declared that renouncing property still allowed friars to use things in moderation, *simplex usus facti*, in 1279.⁸¹ Then in 1283 Pope Martin IV allowed the Franciscans, and not the Pope, to appoint the "spiritual friends" who could receive money or property for the friars.⁸² This progressive relaxation of the *Rule* throughout the thirteenth century infuriated the Spirituals because it clearly went against Francis' intent. The Conventuals, because it suited their best interests, accepted the bulls without any complaints.

Bonaventure, like many Conventuals, considered himself a scholar first and argued that education was necessary for the success of the Franciscans. The *Legenda maior* of 1263 and the ensuing order from 1266 to burn all previous manuscripts supported the Conventuals because it guaranteed that only their interpretation of Saint Francis would be known. The *Legenda* gives an image of Francis that is incomplete when compared to Celano's two previous works. He has become stereotyped and now appears as the Conventual Francis. Although borrowing heavily from Celano, Bonaventure modified his narrative. His goal was to unite the Franciscans while using a Conventual characterization of Saint Francis.

Conventual Art: The *Saint Francis cycle*, San Francesco, Assisi

When Brother Elias designed San Francesco, he envisioned a convent for the friars to live in and two churches: one for the friars, the other for the laity. The amount of land, however,

⁷⁹ This is a term used by Francis in the Rule of 1223. These men could provide for the friars only if they were sick or needed clothing. See Francis, *Rule*, 4.

⁸⁰ "Necessitates" and "commoda." See Moorman, *History*, 117.

⁸¹ *Exiit qui seminat*. See *Bull. Franc.*, vol. III, 404-16, as cited in Moorman, *History*, 179-81.

⁸² *Exultantes in Domino*. See *Bull. Franc.*, vol. III, 501-2, as cited in Moorman, *History*, 186.

could support only one church and so the church for the laity was built on top of the one for the friars.⁸³ Construction on the Lower Basilica was finished in 1230, at which point work on the Upper Basilica began. It was completed by 1236, though it underwent later alterations. In comparison to the churches of San Damiano or the Portiuncula in which Francis lived and worked, the new basilica of San Francesco represented an entirely different tradition. If Francis' churches revealed the poverty in which he had lived and reflected the Spiritual cause, then this new building illustrated a new convention, one that emphasized splendor and luxury in tune with Conventual practices.⁸⁴

Bonaventure, after being elected Minister General, enacted the first set of rules governing art and architecture within Franciscan churches.⁸⁵ Francis had ordered that churches be of simple structure and made of wood, but he did not mention anything about artistic decoration.⁸⁶ Bonaventure now authorized the construction of large and sumptuous buildings, despite the inherent opposition to standards of Franciscan poverty.⁸⁷ He also argued that churches needed to be built in cities in order to reach the most people.⁸⁸ It also was necessary to build in stone rather than wood to prevent fires.⁸⁹ There were some limitations, however, to prevent excessive

⁸³ Moorman, *History*, 87.

⁸⁴ Moorman, *History*, 99. For more on Assisi, see Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1915-28).

⁸⁵ Bonaventura, "Opusculum XIX, Epistolae officiales," I (1257), pp.468-9, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 8, pp. 341-2; "Determinaciones quaestionum circa regulam fratrum minorum," pars I, qu. VI, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 8, pp. 341-2, as cited by Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 166, n. 61.

⁸⁶ Some friars believed Francis would have accepted art because he thought about images when he prayed, specifically in front of a crucifix at San Damiano where he received his vision to repair the church. See Bourdua, 22-3.

⁸⁷ The Franciscans could afford to build these large buildings because money was flowing in from benefactors. The friars, in return for donations, would offer mass or say prayers for patrons. The friars received so much money that regulations were passed that prevented the friars from placing collection baskets at church or from demanding it for penance. See Bourdua, 31; Moorman, *History*, 148-9.

⁸⁸ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Mediaeval Franciscan Order: From St. Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins*, Biblioteca Seraphico-Capuccina (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), 54.

⁸⁹ Bourdua, *Franciscans*, 23-4.

vaulting and decoration. These restrictions were largely ignored, as proved by the continual appeals for moderation from the pope and within the Order.⁹⁰

After consecrating San Francesco in 1253, Pope Innocent IV spoke of his disapproval of its inadequate decoration in the bull *Decet et expedit*.⁹¹ To decorate the church according to higher standards, the Franciscans turned to the finest artists of the day.⁹² Cimabue, Giotto, Simone Martini, and the Lorenzetti are just some of the painters who worked there. The *Saint Francis cycle* in the Upper Basilica represents the largest series devoted to the life of the saint, composed of twenty-eight scenes (Figure 21). Its painter, however, remains unknown, though many, perhaps due to Vasari,⁹³ attribute it to the hand of Giotto and his workshop.⁹⁴

The date of the cycle, like its artist, is also unknown.⁹⁵ Based on stylistic comparisons with later works, the *terminus ante quem* is 1307.⁹⁶ The only confirmed *terminus post quem* is 1291, based on the design of the Lateran Palace in the scene the *Dream of Innocent III* (Figure

⁹⁰ Pope Clement V's bull *Exivi de paradiso* of 1312 criticized certain Franciscan churches that were more sumptuous than cathedrals. The Franciscans punished a few individuals and agreed to show less extravagance. Yet four years later in 1316, the same call for moderation reappeared, this time from the Chapter General. This cycle continually repeated itself throughout the fourteenth century, revealing how Franciscans ignored these appeals. See Bourdua, *Franciscans*, 25.

⁹¹ "nondum sit decenti, prout convenit, opere consumata." Frank Martin argued that Innocent, recently returned from France, expected more decoration than the Franciscans allowed. See Frank Martin, "The St Francis Master in the Upper Church of San Francesco/Assisi: Some Considerations Regarding His Origins," *Gesta* 35, no. 2 (1996): 177.

⁹² It seems paradoxical that the Franciscans, in advocating poverty, would hire the foremost artists to decorate San Francesco. Yet San Francesco was a papal church and the popes clearly expected something sumptuous and magnificent.

⁹³ Vasari, *Lives*, 74-5. Vasari attributes the work solely to Giotto, but many believe there are several artists at work, including the Saint Francis Master, the Master of the Obsequies of St Francis, and the Saint Cecilia Master. See Alastair Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto: A Study of the Legend of St Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1983), 233.

⁹⁴ For more on the Assisi problem, see Smart, *Assisi*, 7, n.2; John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1250 to 1400*, Pelican History of Art (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), 344-8; Richard Offner, "Giotto, Non-Giotto," *Burlington Magazine* 74, no. 435 (1939): 258-63, 266-9. Many scholars believe that the Louvre *Stigmatization* signed by Giotto is evidence that he was the artist. See White, *Architecture*, 347. For more on the Louvre *Stigmatization*, see Julian Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatisation and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982): 217-47.

⁹⁵ See John White, "The Date of 'The Legend of St Francis' at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 98 (Oct 1956): 344-51; Frank Jewett Mather Jr., "Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered," *Art Bulletin* 25, no. 2 (1943): 97-111.

⁹⁶ Smart, *Assisi*, 29-30.

22).⁹⁷ The earliest date given is usually 1295 or 1296, though these claims cannot be substantiated. Generally speaking, the date of execution is during the last few years of the thirteenth century.⁹⁸

These frescoes cover the lowest register of the Upper Basilica. The bands above, also of unknown attribution,⁹⁹ depict sixteen scenes from the New Testament on the south wall and entrance wall and sixteen scenes from the Old Testament on the north wall.¹⁰⁰ The Francis legend begins in the fourth bay of the north wall with the *Homage of a Simple Man at Assisi* (Figure 23). It proceeds down the nave towards the entrance, across the entrance wall, and returns back up the south wall towards the altar, ending with the *Liberation of a Prisoner* (Figure 24). The scenes, arranged thematically by bay, follow the storyline found in the *Legenda maior* and can be identified through the paraphrased inscriptions underneath each scene.¹⁰¹

The layout of the cycle tends to follow the progression of the *Legenda Maior*. Each bay can be broken down into a corresponding part of Bonaventure's text. The first three scenes depict events from Francis' secular life, followed by Francis' conversion and future role in the Church. Bonaventure also began with Francis' secular life before moving on to discuss when he joined the Church and the importance of the Franciscans within the Church. Next the artist shows the glory of the saint and his humility in the second bay of the north wall, with events from Francis' ministry and the Stigmatization on the first bay of both walls and the entrance wall. Bonaventure similarly highlighted Francis' miracles in the main body of the narrative. Francis' death and ascension appear in the second bay of the south wall, followed by his funeral and canonization in

⁹⁷ In the *Dream of Innocent III*, the Lateran Palace is shown with architectural changes that were carried out by Pope Nicholas IV and finished in 1291. See Smart, *Assisi*, 31.

⁹⁸ Smart, *Assisi*, 30.

⁹⁹ See n. 85.

¹⁰⁰ For more on these cycles, see Smart, *Assisi*, 107-30.

¹⁰¹ Smart, *Assisi*, 4.

the next group. The final three scenes are devoted to posthumous miracles. The *Legenda* likewise closed with the Stigmata, death, canonization, and an appendix of posthumous miracles. The designer of the series seems to have known Bonaventure's work and adapted its form.¹⁰²

Although it is important that the designer followed Bonaventure's outline, the individual scene selection is of greater significance. Fourteen scenes depict Francis as a miracle worker¹⁰³ and six of the episodes show the saint's obedience to the Papacy.¹⁰⁴ Many scenes also have a strong emphasis on dreams and visions that refer to Francis' sanctity. His healing miracles, which were depicted in the *Bardi Dossal*, do not appear in this cycle.¹⁰⁵ The artist's rendering of certain characteristics, moreover, portrays the Conventual undertones of the cycle.

By comparing the differences between the *Bardi Dossal* and *Saint Francis cycle*, the shift away from the Spirituals to the Conventuals becomes evident. Only nine scenes repeat in both cycles, six of which are important events that appear in most pictorial accounts: the *Renunciation*, *Approval of the Rule*, *Sermon to the Birds*, *Stigmatization*, *Death*, and *Canonization*.¹⁰⁶ These stories represent the substance of Francis' career: how he came to join the Church; the sanctioning of the Rule; his power over nature; *Franciscus Alter Christus*; his death; and the confirmation of his sanctity. The *Saint Francis cycle* seems to stress the miraculous above behavioral characteristics.

¹⁰² Moorman, *Art*, 354.

¹⁰³ Eleven miracles are from during his life: *Miracle of the Crucifix* (Scene 3), *Vision of the Chariot* (Scene 8), *Vision of the Thrones* (Scene 9), *Exorcism of the Demons at Arezzo* (Scene 10), *Saint Francis Before the Sultan* (Scene 11), *Ecstasy of Saint Francis* (Scene 12), *Mass at Greccio* (Scene 13), *Miracle of the Spring* (Scene 14), *Sermon to the Birds* (Scene 15), *Appearance at Arles* (Scene 18), and the *Stigmatization* (Scene 19). And three are posthumous: *Healing of the Wounded Man* (Scene 26), *Confession of the Woman of Benevento* (Scene 27), and *Liberation of the Prisoner* (Scene 28).

¹⁰⁴ The *Dream of Innocent III* (Scene 6), *Sanctioning of the Rule* (Scene 7), *Sermon Before Honourius III* (Scene 17), *Canonization* (Scene 24), *Appearance to Gregory IX* (Scene 25), and *Liberation of the Prisoner* (Scene 28).

¹⁰⁵ Moorman, *Art*, 354.

¹⁰⁶ The *Mass at Greccio*, *Appearance at Arles*, *Francis Before the Sultan* are typical scenes, though not as popular as the others.

This depiction of Francis also lacks the asceticism seen in the *Bardi Dossal*. His fellow friars now dress differently than he does. Francis is always shown barefoot in the fresco cycle, but the friars who accompany him all wear sandals. According to the statutes of Narbonne from 1260, friars could not wear shoes without special permission.¹⁰⁷ This detail seems to show that, while the order praised Francis for his poverty, many did not regard themselves bound to that same level of asceticism. This element also recognizes the willingness of the Conventuals not to follow the order's rules in favor of their own personal comfort. This feature, however, does not appear in the Spiritual art of the *Bardi Dossal*, where all the friars dress the same as Francis.

The stress on obedience, especially towards the decrees of the papacy, is strictly a Conventual belief. The Spirituels did not deny the authority of the pope, yet they disapproved of the bulls that doctored Francis' *Rule* and *Testament*. Bonaventure highlighted obedience over poverty because it justified his ambitions for the order. The Conventuals listened to the authority of the pope because he validated their more relaxed views. The designer of the *Saint Francis cycle* incorporated this theme by including many scenes that show Francis as the servant of the pope. In the *Dream of Innocent III* (Figure 22), Francis holds up the loggia of the Lateran Palace on his right shoulder while the pope sleeps to the right. Literally Francis prevents the Lateran from falling onto the pope, but figuratively the Franciscans support the crumbling Church. The very next scene, *The Approval of the Order* (Figure 25) shows the Franciscans kneeling before the pope, who approves the order. The Franciscans thus receive their authority from the papacy and should follow their decrees. The *Sermon Before Honourous III* (Figure 26) depicts Francis off to the left preaching to the pope and the cardinals. Francis had prepared a sermon for the pope at the urging of Cardinal Ugolino, the Protector of the Order and future Pope Gregory IX, but could not remember it. He humbled himself before the officials by confessing his problem.

¹⁰⁷ Moorman, *History*, 185.

The Holy Spirit then filled the saint, who found the words to speak. These three scenes portray Francis' importance to the Church, but also his submission and service to the pope.

In the *Appearance to Gregory IX* (Figure 27), Francis grabs Gregory's hand and reveals the wound in his side. Gregory had doubted the veracity of the side wound and Francis, before he was canonized, appeared to the pope to show him the Stigmata.¹⁰⁸ Gregory canonized the saint soon thereafter, fully confident of the Stigmata, seen in the *Canonization* (Figure 28). And in the last scene of the cycle, *Liberation of the Prisoner* (Figure 24), Pope Gregory IX is present once again. In a posthumous miracle, Francis saves and releases a man who has been put in prison, keeping the pope from wrongfully executing someone.¹⁰⁹ I argue that the Conventuals promoted Gregory's importance because he initiated the series of papal bulls that relaxed the strict rule that Francis had imposed. By showing Francis and Gregory together in these episodes, viewers would understand the relationship between the two, seeing an acceptance of Gregory's authority, even if it was counter to Francis' will.

The *Saint Francis cycle* in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco marked a turning point in Franciscan art. The Conventuals had begun to assert power over the Spirituals by commissioning a new biography of Francis and then ordering all earlier texts to be burned. Once Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* became the only official biography of Francis, any new images of Francis would have to follow the Conventual text. The *Saint Francis cycle* shows twenty-eight scenes from the saint's life, broken down according to the divisions of Bonaventure's writing. The emphasis on the daily life and poverty of Francis from the *Bardi Dossal* has disappeared. The miracle-working saint and his obedience to the pope have emerged as the new dominant themes, as adapted from the *Legenda*. In highlighting obedience, the Conventuals asserted the legitimacy of

¹⁰⁸ Smart, *Assisi*, 288.

¹⁰⁹ Smart, *Assisi*, 292-3.

the papal bulls that had modified the rule of the order. The *Saint Francis cycle* presents a visual accompaniment to the *Legenda* that verifies and justifies the Conventual's interpretation of Francis' intentions.

Conclusion

With each new version of the life of Saint Francis, a different interpretation of the founder of the Order of Friars Minor appeared. Francis led an ascetic life that many of the friars did not seek to follow with the same austerity. As a result, the order split into two parties, the Spirituals and Conventuals, with each group diametrically opposed to the other's interpretation of poverty and obedience. Both sides commissioned biographies of the saint to promote their understanding of Francis and then ordered images of Francis that both friars and pilgrims would see. The Franciscan Order, from its beginnings, used art to illustrate its beliefs.

The purpose of this chapter was two-fold: to suggest the connection between literature and art, especially between the biography of a saint and its influence on artistic representations; and to show the Franciscan Order's willingness and desire to use art as propaganda. Artists and patrons knew the stories from accounts of saints' lives and selected scenes that fit their intentions. They did not adhere strictly to the text for the details, but felt free to depict an event as they envisioned it. These changes occurred, moreover, usually where the artist or patron made a bold statement about his specific beliefs. The next chapter discusses that relationship as it applied to the Chapel of Saint Martin and the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine.

Chapter Two

The Chapel of Saint Martin in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi, presents a comprehensive account of the life and death of Saint Martin. The cycle begins with his first great act of charity and ends with his death and funeral. Martin, however, was a French saint seldom depicted in Italian art and known in Italy predominantly for his healing miracles.¹ These miracles, though, are not the focus of the program; rather, each register highlights a different phase of Martin's life. I argue that most of the scenes come from the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, although a few scenes adopt contemporary traditions and legends into their depictions.

The original biography of Saint Martin of Tours appeared in the late fourth century shortly before Martin's death. Sulpicius Severus wrote multiple works on the life of Martin, each with a different purpose and emphasis. Over eight hundred years later in 1265, the Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine compiled the *Legenda aurea*, a large, single volume of saints' lives listed in order of the liturgical calendar.² The *Legenda* was unique because it contained in one manuscript information that what would have required an enormous library.

In designing the Chapel of Saint Martin, it was important to find an account of the life of Saint Martin with which viewers would be familiar and thus be able to recognize the scenes. I argue that the widespread use and diffusion of the *Legenda* among not only the religious, but also the laity made it a fitting choice. The designer of the Saint Martin Chapel³ was familiar with

¹ Martindale, *Simone*, 20.

² Richard Hamer, "Introduction," *The Golden Legend: Selections* by Jacobus de Voragine, trans. by Christopher Stace (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), ix.

³ I am using this term to refer to whoever was responsible for designing the chapel, whether it be Cardinal Gentile, Simone Martini, or another. Since Gentile's testament was not found after his death and has not been located since, it is impossible to know who was responsible.

Jacobus' account of Martin in the *Legenda*, but did not limit scene selection or iconography to this one account. He also incorporated events from oral tradition and French romance. The most important distinction, however, comes not from the textual source for the composition, but the way in which certain scenes deviate from their source and traditional conceptions of Martin. I argue that some details have been passed over and others displayed differently, in order to give the viewer a distinctly Conventual interpretation.

This chapter first examines the original accounts of Saint Martin from Sulpicius Severus. It then moves to the *Legenda aurea* and a history of its dissemination and use. This section is followed by an analysis of the life of Saint Martin in the *Legenda*. The discussion ends with a detailed description of the fresco cycle and the ways in which it not only adheres to the *Legenda*, but also how it diverges from it.

Sulpicius Severus: The Biography and Hagiography of Saint Martin of Tours

The *Vita Sancti Martini*⁴ by Sulpicius Severus was one of the earliest saints' lives written.⁵ Composed at the end of the fourth century, the *Vita* traces the life of Martin from his birth through the last years of his life, excluding his death. Its influence was widespread over the next several centuries, as biographers of saints looked to its basic form and stories when

⁴ I am using Frederick Russell Hoare's translation, "Sulpicius Severus: The Life of Saint Martin of Tours," *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); the preferred text is translated by Jacques Fontaine, *Vie de saint Martin*, 3 vols., Sources Chrétiennes, nos. 133-5 (Paris 1967-9). Vol. 1 includes an introduction, plus Latin text and French translation. The last two volumes are commentaries.

⁵ Sulpicius only had a few lives of saints for models: Athanasius' *Life of Saint Antony* and three saints' lives by Jerome. See Clare Stancliffe, *Saint Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 6. For more on the similarities between the works, see Stancliffe, *Martin*, 91-102.

designing their own. Sulpicius thus plays an important role, not only in the history of Saint Martin, but also in the growth of hagiography.⁶

Published before Martin's death, the *Vita* described Martin's life from birth, through his duty in the Roman army, and both stages of his religious career, as ascetic and bishop. Sulpicius concentrated heavily on the character of Martin in the stories from Martin's secular life and his poverty and miraculous deeds while bishop, but chose only the events that showed Martin's compassion and help to the Church. In the *Dialogues*, Sulpicius writes about the saint's other miracles not mentioned in the *Vita*. These miracles have an apostolic function that confirm Martin's sanctity, as opposed to the pastoral miracles from the *Vita*.⁷ In a pair of letters about Martin's death, Sulpicius highlights Martin's worthy character, poverty, and the resulting equality with the Apostles.⁸ For the next eight hundred years, these works by Sulpicius were the authoritative account of the life of Saint Martin.

Jacobus de Voragine: The *Legenda Aurea*

Composed around 1265, over one thousand manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea* still survive.⁹ It was translated into most European languages throughout the Middle Ages and its popularity spread quickly across Europe.¹⁰ The *Legenda* contains a series of saints' lives ordered

⁶ Frederick Russell Hoare, "Introduction to the Life of Saint Martin of Tours," *Soldiers in Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 3.

⁷ Reames, *Martin*, 147.

⁸ See the "Letter to Bassula" and "Letter to Deacon Aurelius" in *The Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1949).

⁹ I am using William Granger Ryan's translation, *The Golden Legend*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). For a Latin text, see Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, trans. Theodor Graesse, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Impensis librariae Arnoldianae, 1850). The first edition was published in 1845 and a third in 1890, which is identical to the second. For a catalog of extant manuscripts, see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Lateinischen Legenda Aurea* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1991).

¹⁰ Hamer, *Introduction*, xx.

in accordance with the Church liturgical calendar. It tells the story of 177 saints¹¹ with each account varying in length from a few sentences to many pages. Jacobus sometimes copied his sources verbatim, while at other times he modified them, depending on the amount of material available.¹² The greatest contribution of the *Legenda*, though, did not come from the new material, but its accessibility. It made available in one volume saints' lives, like Martin's, that previously required numerous sources.

Jacobus was a Dominican friar from the town of Varazze, located on the Genoese Riviera. He joined the Dominicans in 1244 and quickly ascended through the Order, eventually becoming the Archbishop of Genoa in 1292.¹³ His most famous writing, finished in 1265 while a provincial prior, is known today as the *Legenda aurea*, but originally was referred to as the *Legenda sanctorum*.¹⁴ Jacobus took the old biographies of saints, using over 120 sources in total, that had been passed down over the centuries and compiled them into a single volume that friars like himself could consult for preaching.¹⁵ With the appearance of vernacular translations, the *Legenda* also was used as a private devotion for the laity.¹⁶

Jacobus wrote the *Legenda* in order to provide a source for friars to use when preparing sermons.¹⁷ One of the primary duties of Dominican friars was public preaching.¹⁸ They needed

¹¹ The exact number and selection of saints varies depending upon the provenance of the manuscript. Some versions included important local saints or removed saints that were not considered important.

¹² Hamer, *Introduction*, x.

¹³ Ryan, "Introduction," *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), xiii.

¹⁴ Fleith, *Studien*, 26; Sherry Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 39; Ryan, "Introduction," xiii. The title *Legenda aurea* came at the end of the thirteenth century. See Fleith, *Studien*, 27; Reames, *Paradox*, 39; Hamer, *Introduction*, xii.

¹⁵ Jean Baptiste Marie Roze, *La Légende dorée de Jacques de Voragine nouvellement traduite en français* (Paris: É. Rouveyre, 1902), as cited in Hamer, *Introduction*, xii.

¹⁶ Hamer, *Introduction*, xx-xxi.

¹⁷ Alain Boureau, *La Légende Dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 21-5; Ernest C. Richardson, *Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine*, 4 vols. (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1935), 1.64.

¹⁸ For more on the Dominican Order, see William Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, vol. 1 (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1973); D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before*

reference material to compose their sermons and, in addition to the Bible as the primary source, they could turn to the *Legenda* for secondary information. The *Legenda* was included in the same group of reference material as concordances, Biblical commentaries, handbooks for confessors, and collections of anecdotes for sermons.¹⁹ Its distinctive trait was its functionality and the breadth of information that it offered to friars.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, the *Legenda* does not seem to have been highly regarded by the officials of the Dominican Order. It is not listed as one of the great works of the Middle Ages by Dominican friars, nor given much recognition when it is mentioned. Under a listing of Dominican contributions, Jacobus is said to have written a new lives of the saints and several sermons, but the description omits the title and gives only the book's function.²⁰ From the brief citation, one does not get a sense of the tremendous popularity of the *Legenda*. Many Dominicans seem to have concluded that it still needed some revisions, for during the first part of the fourteenth century, several other friars attempted to edit the *Legenda* by adding and deleting chapters. Despite the criticism from Dominican officials, Jacobus' work played an important role for friars and the laity, who held it in the highest regard.²¹

After its completion, the *Legenda* circulated rapidly within and outside of Italy. The earliest surviving manuscript is dated 1265, though many are not dated.²² Of the extant manuscripts, more than seventy can be dated to the thirteenth century.²³ Friars would have kept many of the copies, which had little or no decoration, in libraries or convents for reference. Other

1300 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Ralph F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937).

¹⁹ Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order 2: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1973), 232-3.

²⁰ See Reames, *Paradoxical History*, 39-40.

²¹ Reames, *Paradoxical History*, 40-1.

²² Fleith, *Studien*, 15.

²³ Hamer, *Introduction*, xx.

manuscripts, it seems, were made for different audiences. These manuscripts either have poor handwriting written in an informal style for a less learned lay reader or are heavily decorated for use by the aristocracy.²⁴ The Dominicans were also not the only ones to have copies in their libraries. The Franciscans recorded several manuscripts of the *Legenda* in the library of San Francesco in Assisi and another copy in the Church of the Porziuncula during a 1381 inventory.²⁵ One of the Assisi manuscripts, moreover, was illuminated, depicting the image of a preaching friar seated and writing.²⁶

By the end of the thirteenth century, the University of Paris also had several copies of the *Legenda aurea* in its library for use by both students and masters.²⁷ Saint Dominic's emphasis on education and studying within urban centers led to a prevalence of Dominican faculty at the major universities, such as Paris and Oxford.²⁸ The Franciscans followed suit and soon had their own masters of theology teaching. Despite the fact that Francis did not encourage education for his friars, the Order of Friars Minor rivaled the Dominicans in influence within universities across Europe by the mid-thirteenth century.²⁹

Friars began to hold a majority on the faculty positions of the school of theology at the University of Paris, the premier educational center for mendicants of both orders, by the mid-

²⁴ Hamer, *Introduction*, xxi.

²⁵ There are nine manuscripts listed in the 1381 inventory, of which three survive. For the original inventory, see Leto Alessandri, *Inventario dell'antica biblioteca del S. Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi compilato nel 1381* (Assisi, Italy: Tipografia Metastasio, 1906), 76-7, 154. For the surviving manuscripts, see Fleith, *Studien*, 61-2.

²⁶ Described by Alessandri as "habens in primo folio figuram fratris predicatoris sedentis et scribentis," MS clxxiv. Alessandri, *Inventario*, 77.

²⁷ Barbara Fleith, "Legenda Aurea: destination, utilisateurs, propagation. L'histoire de la diffusion du légendier au XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècle," in *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: Strutture, messaggi, fruizioni*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Fasano di Brindisi: Schena Editore, 1990), 43.

²⁸ Hamer, *Introduction*, xv.

²⁹ Moorman, *History*, 123-39. Brother Giles is said to have remarked, "Paris, Paris thou hast destroyed Assisi," in response to the shift in the Franciscan Order to become educated. See Moorman, *Art*, 352.

thirteenth century.³⁰ A friar's basic education consisted of some general theology as taught by the lector of a convent.³¹ Lectors had graduated from a university as masters in theology and returned to teach initiates.³² Those pupils who had the potential for higher learning were taught more advanced coursework before later proceeding to university. At Paris, students like Cardinal Gentile were exposed to the *Legenda* throughout their instruction, from basic teaching to general studies, including a required class on sermons, of which the *Legenda* would have played a key part.³³ Throughout their training, friars would thus have been familiar with the *Legenda* and studied it in some detail.

Friars were not the only ones to whom the *Legenda* was made available and who pored over its pages, for the laity also acquired their own personal copies for private reading and devotion. Emile Mâle attributed its widespread popularity to convenience and accessibility, arguing that the general public now had the opportunity to read stories previously limited to liturgical books.³⁴ One did not have to wait until church or go to listen to a friar preaching in a piazza to hear about the life of a saint; rather, a merchant could read in his shop or a man could read to his family at home. The *Legenda* appealed to people because of its stories about saints, the miracles they performed, and the quests they encountered.³⁵ And since vernacular translations were available,³⁶ those outside the clergy and aristocracy could study it for

³⁰ For an account of the Dominicans and Franciscans at the University of Paris, see Moorman, *History*, 125-31. For more on the University of Paris, see *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols. (1889-97, reprinted 1964); *Auctorium chartularii universitatis parisiensis*, 6 vols. (1894).

³¹ Moorman, *History*, 123.

³² It is also plausible that since the lectors were teaching the friars how to preach and that they had studied the *Legenda* at university, that almost all friars would have been familiar with the *Legenda* on some level. For example, after Gentile finished his degree at Paris, he became a lector at the papal curia in Rome. See Remigio Ritzler, "I cardinali e i Papi dei Fratri Minori Conventuali," *Miscellanea Francescana* LXXI, no. 6 (1971): 18.

³³ Fleith, *L'Histoire*, 46.

³⁴ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 272.

³⁵ Mâle, *L'Art*, 280.

³⁶ The *Legenda* was translated into every Western European language. See Ryan, *Introduction*, xiv.

themselves in private. If a reference were made to the *Legenda* during a sermon or in an artistic program, then a larger audience would be able to understand the allusion.

The Life of Saint Martin in the *Legenda Aurea*

The life of Saint Martin, as narrated by Jacobus, is similar to the accounts given by Sulpicius Severus. The story begins with Martin's birth, moves next to his secular military career, followed by his monastic life and episcopate, and ends with a death narrative and a series of posthumous miracles. Episodes encompass all three stages of Martin's life: soldier, monk, and bishop, but now include posthumous miracles not found in Sulpicius' writings that Jacobus adapted from Gregory of Tours and Odo of Cluny.³⁷

Like Sulpicius' *Vita*, the *Legenda* did not devote much attention to Martin's ascetic life. Both authors seemed to prefer the early stories about Martin's virtue in the military and then the later ones about his miracles as bishop. The most noticeable difference between the two accounts was in their length, with the *Legenda* having a significantly shorter narrative. The *Legenda* adopted the character-building stories of Martin's life before becoming bishop from the *Vita*,³⁸ the power-revealing miracle scenes while bishop from the *Dialogues*, and the death narrative from personal letters to form a slightly altered hagiography of Saint Martin.

In the stories about Martin's character from his secular life, Jacobus excludes the attention to detail prominent in Sulpicius. The *Vita* had mentioned several of Martin's attributes while he served in the military, yet these are excluded in the *Legenda*.³⁹ In the episode when Martin divides his cloak for a poor beggar from the *Vita*, Sulpicius gives a thorough description of Martin's thought-processes upon encountering the man: his acknowledgement of God

³⁷ Reames, *Martin*, 147.

³⁸ Including his secular life and then also his monastic phase.

³⁹ See *VM*, 2.3-4.

reserving the beggar for him; his wondering of what to offer; cutting the cape; and the laughter at his appearance from onlookers. Martin offered the cape because he had already given away everything else he had in similar deeds.⁴⁰ Jacobus shortened the narrative to just a few sentences. Martin now encounters the beggar, immediately cuts his cloak in half, and the story ends.⁴¹ There is no longer a sense of uncertainty about what to give, nor is there a crowd of people to mock his appearance. Martin is still a good man in Jacobus; the description of him is less detailed and less insightful.

Like Sulpicius, Jacobus gives the most emphasis to the miracles that Martin performed during his episcopate. None of these events come from the *Vita*, but instead from the *Dialogues*. The healings and exorcisms from the *Vita* have been passed over in favor of more simple episodes, such as stopping a dog from barking and making a snake go away so that Martin could bathe in a river.⁴² Jacobus' preference is thus for external signs of power rather than inward transformation and the human needs met by the miracles in the *Vita*.

Jacobus also paid less attention to Martin's role in converting pagans. In fact, the conflict and tension with the pagans has nearly disappeared. In a story found in the *Dialogues*, Martin passed through Chartres one day and the whole city, despite being pagan, came out to witness his power. He started preaching to the pagans, asking why they did not know God. In the midst of his sermon, a woman approached with her dead son. Believing Martin had the ability to restore her son's life, she begged his assistance. He brought him back to life and the pagans, having witnessed such a feat, wanted to become catechumens and subsequently were converted.⁴³ The *Legenda* describes the same story, but it skips the initial preaching. Now the woman comes for

⁴⁰ *VM*, 3.1-2.

⁴¹ *LA*, 292.

⁴² *LA*, 295. Source is the *Dialogues* 3.3 and 3.9, respectively. Neither of these scenes are depicted in the fresco cycle.

⁴³ *Dialogues*, 2.4.

help, but the crowd of pagans and their subsequent conversion are an afterthought, a sentence tacked on to the end of the story rather than the main objective.⁴⁴ The emphasis has switched from the Church's benefit to the actual miracle itself.⁴⁵

Martin's asceticism also has changed from earlier accounts. He stood out from the rest of his contemporaries in Sulpicius' *Vita*, primarily because he lived in poverty. Church officials in fourth-century Gaul did not reject the things of the world when they were ordained.⁴⁶ The poverty that Martin embraced in fact angered other bishops.⁴⁷ The accusation by a bishop named Defender is found in both narratives, but in the *Legenda* the charge against Martin is that "he was small of stature and unattractive in appearance."⁴⁸ Sulpicius had described more detailed claims against Martin's asceticism and unsightly image: "a despicable individual and quite unfit to be a bishop, what with his insignificant appearance, his sordid garments and his disgraceful hair."⁴⁹ After becoming bishop, the *Vita* then mentioned how Martin's wore the same clothes as when he was a monk. He did not clothe himself in rich fabrics that denoted his position, but kept his ragged habit. Jacobus, however, excluded this reference to Martin's poverty. In fact, it seems that Jacobus refrains from any mention of Martin's ascetic lifestyle. Martin's way of life challenged contemporary Church practices in the *Vita*, but Jacobus has diminished the sharp criticism and conflict from his account.

Jacobus' discussion of Martin's death derives primarily from Sulpicius' *Letter to Bassula*, which gives the account of Martin's last days. The letter describes how Martin was

⁴⁴ *LA*, 294-5.

⁴⁵ The same is true of the miracle of fire, found in the *Dialogues*, 2.5. The Emperor's wife was Arian and prevented Martin from contacting her husband. After seven days of fasting and prayer, Martin is granted access and the emperor, compelled by his seat erupting into flames, stood to greet Martin. In the *Legenda*, Martin wants to ask something of the Emperor that he does not want to give; there is not any mention of the Emperor's Arian wife. See *LA*, 294.

⁴⁶ Hoare, *Introduction*, 2.

⁴⁷ See *VM*, 9.2-3.

⁴⁸ *LA*, 294.

⁴⁹ *VM*, 9.2.

extremely sick before he died, but how he refused any form of material comfort that might alleviate his pain and his final wish to die in sackcloth and ashes. Jacobus copied his source almost verbatim, but left out the last section that describes Martin's funeral. Jacobus instead included a series of accounts from various religious officials of what they saw or heard at the hour of Martin's death and a series of posthumous miracles. These closing episodes come from Gregory the Great's *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* and *Historia Francorum*.⁵⁰ These anecdotes confirm Martin's glorification, a result of his dedication to God and the miracles that he performed during his life, and speak of his power to carry out miracles posthumously.

The writings of Sulpicius Severus played an important role in Jacobus' writing of the life of Saint Martin in the *Legenda aurea*. Written in 1265, the *Legenda* provided a single collection of saints' lives for friars to utilize when preaching. Although relying heavily on Sulpicius, Jacobus was selective in the scenes he chose to include. In the *Legenda*, Martin's life while soldier and monk is derived from the *Vita* and focuses on his virtuous character. The episcopal miracles come from the *Dialogues* and emphasize only Martin's power and ignore any reference to Martin's poverty and any direct conflict with pagans and the Church. Sulpicius' personal letters, along with anecdotes from Gregory the Great, are the source for the account of Martin's death, which describe his complete embrace of poverty. Because of its popularity and accessibility, the *Legenda* provided medieval artists a plethora of options when designing programs.

The Fresco Cycle in the Chapel of Saint Martin

Of the ten scenes that comprise the fresco cycle in the Chapel of Saint Martin, nine of the episodes are found in the *Legenda aurea*. The friars at San Francesco owned multiple copies of

⁵⁰ Reames, *Martin*, 147. For more on what Gregory the Great wrote about Saint Martin, see Reames, *Martin*, 139-41.

the text and surely knew its contents; they did not, however, record any copies of other lives of Saint Martin by Sulpicius, Gregory, or anyone else in the 1381 inventory.⁵¹ These scenes, furthermore, seem to derive from the *Legenda* because each depicted phase of Martin's life has an emphasis similar to the *Legenda*. The images from the lowest register show Martin's life while a soldier and specifically stress his behavior and character. They highlight not only his charity, but also his role as a soldier of Christ. In the second band, the scenes from Martin's episcopate focus on the miraculous powers of Martin. They portray Martin as a wealthy ecclesiastic garbed in luxurious garments. The last two scenes at the top are from the death of Saint Martin and bring his earthly life to a close, culminating with the assumption of his spirit to Heaven by angels and his funeral. These scenes, however, have a different emphasis than found in the *Legenda* and show Martin embracing the world, not poverty. The divergence from the text in the death scenes, in addition to the well-dressed Martin from the episcopal scenes, I argue, illustrates the Conventual propaganda in the chapel frescos.

The cycle skips the birth narrative and instead begins after Martin has joined the Roman army. The first event in the *Legenda* is also Martin's first great act of kindness, the division of the cloak, and is the scene that begins the program. Passing through the city gate of Amiens one cold winter, Martin encountered a poor beggar. The man had not received any alms for the day and Martin, understanding God's desire to clothe the man, divided his cloak in half to help him.

In the *Division of the Cloak* (Figure 3), Martin rides away from the city on his horse, turning around toward the beggar. Both men hold an end of the cloak while Martin's sword cuts it in two. The city of Amiens appears on the far left, represented by the pink city walls and green church tower rising above the wall. The poor man stands in front of the arched gateway, wearing a tattered and torn green tunic. He scratches his neck with his left hand and holds the cloak with

⁵¹ Alessandri, *Inventario*, 237-55.

his right. Martin and the poor man stare intently at one another, while the horse also turns its head to see what is happening. The economic disparity between the two is apparent immediately. Martin is shown in sumptuous garments and rides upon a horse, dressed like a rich knight; the beggar's hair is unkempt, he has not shaved, he is barefoot, and his garment does not cover his arms or knees. This contrast further illustrates Martin's great generosity to the poor man. Martin, by his kindness, fulfilled Christ's command to help the needy from the Gospel of Matthew: "I was naked and you gave me clothing..."⁵²

According to the *Legenda*, Martin had a dream the next night. Christ appeared to him wearing the same cloak that he had given the beggar. In response to his good deed, Christ told the group of angels, "Martin, while still a catechumen, gave me this to cover me."⁵³ Martin believed this acknowledgement was not a source of pride, but rather of God's kindness. To show his thanks, he went immediately to be baptized at age eighteen,⁵⁴ but spent two more years in the army because his superior officer had agreed to renounce the world as well if Martin waited.⁵⁵

In the *Dream of Saint Martin* (Figure 4), Martin sleeps comfortably on a bed covered by a finely woven checkered blanket. Eight angels, with their hands clasped together in praise or crossed on their chests, surround Christ, who points down at Martin with His left hand and holds up an end of the cloak with His right. Christ looks at the angels, who gaze at Martin in admiration of his good deed. Christ's response echoes the Gospel of Matthew, in which Christ said, "Just as you did it to one of the least of these...you did it to me."⁵⁶ This vision is God's reward to Martin for his charity and kindness.

⁵² Matthew 25:36.

⁵³ *LA*, 292.

⁵⁴ According to Sulpicius, Martin was baptized at twenty-two. See *VM*, 3.3.

⁵⁵ *LA*, 292.

⁵⁶ Matthew 25:40

Neither Sulpicius nor Jacobus gave a descriptive account of the baptism that followed Martin's dream. Each mentioned its occurrence, but did not give any details. An allusion, however, is made to the baptism through the act of investiture.⁵⁷ Although neither of the two authors discussed such a scene, the episode is found in an early thirteenth-century vernacular biography by Péan Gatineau, a French canon of Saint Martin in Tours.⁵⁸ *La Vie Monseigneur Saint Martin de Tors* describes the emperor dubbing Martin as a knight.⁵⁹ In the cathedral of Saint Gatien in Tours, there is a stained glass window in the choir that depicts scenes from the life of Saint Martin, including the *Investiture*, in which the emperor dubs Martin as his father watches (Figure 29).⁶⁰ It seems that Martin had been transformed from a Roman guard into a chivalric knight by medieval French culture, who viewed him as the model example of a Christian knight who fought against the infidel and heretics.⁶¹ The symbolic ritual of dubbing a knight acknowledges a boy's progression into manhood and is similar to the sacrament of baptism in which a neophyte becomes a Christian. By going through the rite, a Christian agrees to uphold the principles set forth in the Bible, just like a knight consents to abide by his code of honor.⁶²

⁵⁷ Adrian Hoch, "Saint Martin of Tours: His Transformation into a Chivalric Hero and Franciscan Ideal," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50, no. 4 (1987): 477; Joel Brink, "Sts. Martin and Francis: Sources and Meaning in Simone Martini's Montefiore Chapel," *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth II*, ed. by Andrew Morrogh, Fiorella Gioffredi, Piero Morselli, and Eve Borsook (Florence: Guinti Barbera, 1985), 89.

⁵⁸ For more on the *Vie*, see Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 280-4. Farmer argued that the *Vie* was influenced by the *Vita Prima* of Thomas of Celano based on father/mother similarities. As a result, she believes the *Vie* was written after 1229. See Farmer, *Communities*, 315-7.

⁵⁹ Péan Gatineau, *Vie de Monseigneur Saint Martin de Tours*, ed. J. Bourassé (Tours: Impr. Ad. Mame, 1860), 9. See also Werner Södherhjelm, *Leben und Wunderthaten des Heiligen Martin. Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht aus dem Anfang des XIII Jahrhunderts von Péan Gatineau aus Tours* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1896) and *Altfranzösische Martinsleben des Péan Gatineau aus Tours* (Helsingfors: W. Hagelstam, 1899).

⁶⁰ In Gatineau's narrative the Investiture came before the dividing of the cloak, not afterwards. See Hoch, *Transformation*, 476-7.

⁶¹ Hoch, *Transformation*, 475.

⁶² Hoch, *Transformation*, 477. For more on the religious connotations of becoming a knight, see Ramón Lull, *Le Libre del Orde del Cavaleria* in A.T.P. Byles, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, trans. W. Caxton (1484), *Early English Text Society* no. 168 (London: 1926), as cited in Hoch, *Transformation*, n. 23.

Martin's stance in the *Investiture* (Figure 5) offers further evidence of the baptismal imagery. Martin stands in profile in the center of the scene, looking up to Heaven with his hands raised and clasped together. The emperor is shown to the left of Martin, also in profile, with his arms outstretched, fastening a sword around Martin's waist. The emperor leans towards him with an intense stare, but Martin does not look back at him. Kneeling below, another man puts spurs onto Martin's left leg. Several men are behind the emperor on the far left, one of which holds a falcon tied to a string on his left hand. To the right, several musicians provide entertainment.⁶³ All of the figures are dressed in lavish and luxuriant clothes that portray the richness of courtly life. The presence of the musicians and courtiers, furthermore, suggest the more secular aspects of the medieval court.⁶⁴ Like at a baptism, witnesses are present, but instead of being washed with water, Martin receives a sword and spurs that initiate him into the order of knights. He does not acknowledge the earthly world surrounding him, however, but gazes up towards God. His appearance also suggests details about his character. He is being acknowledged for his physical prowess in the actual investiture and, religiously, the allusion to baptism recognizes his commitment to God. Since he does not return the emperor's stare, he renounces the secular aspect of the knighting, foreshadowing the next scene in which he rejects the pursuits of man to follow God's will.

Martin's military career ended when he renounced his arms before Emperor Julian. The emperor offered a bonus to all those who would help fight against an invading army of barbarians. Martin refused the pay, saying he was "a soldier of Christ, and...forbidden to fight."⁶⁵ Julian accused Martin of being afraid and using his religion to escape combat. Martin promptly answered that "if my refusal is attributed not to faith but to cowardice, I will stand forth

⁶³ One man plays the double pipe and another plays the mandola, while behind them three men sing along.

⁶⁴ Hoch, *Chapel*, 135.

⁶⁵ *LA*, 293.

tomorrow morning at the line of battle, unarmed, and, in the name of Christ, protected not by shield or helmet but by the sign of the cross, shall walk safely through the enemy's lines."⁶⁶

Julian put Martin under guard until the morning, when he would make him prove his claim. The next day, however, the enemy surrendered and the victory was attributed to Martin's saintliness.

The *Renunciation of Arms* (Figure 6) depicts Martin in the center of the composition, still wearing the sword and spurs that he received in the previous scene. He turns his right shoulder away from the emperor to reject the pot of gold extended towards him. Martin makes the sign of the cross with the fingers of his right hand and holds a cross in his left hand, both a clear reference to his promise to walk under the protection of the Cross. Unlike in the scene of the *Investiture*, Martin now fixes his eyes on Julian's; he directly challenges the authority of the Roman emperor. Martin may reject the money in the foreground, but the background contrasts his refusal with a man who accepts the offer to fight and holds out his hand to receive his payment from the quartermaster. Two guards stand on either side of the emperor, who sits in the *sella curulis*, the throne of the Roman emperor and important officials, and rests his feet on a stool.⁶⁷ He offers the money with his right hand, but his left hand holds a golden orb.

On the far right, behind a rock outcropping, an invading army, dressed in full armor and carrying pikes and red shields with a white lion on the front prepares for battle.⁶⁸ Martin, however, is unconcerned because it is not his duty to fight for the emperor anymore. He clearly has another prerogative that involves obeying God and not any temporal ruler. The emphasis of the image is on Martin's obedient and faithful character and why he renounced his arms.

⁶⁶ LA, 293.

⁶⁷ For more on Roman emperors and the *sella curulis*, see Ole Wanscher, *Sella Curulis: The Folding Stool, An Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980), 121-91; Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 104-9.

⁶⁸ The same seal is also found on their tents in the background and is likely a reference to a contemporary city or family.

After leaving the Roman army, Martin went to Poitiers to become an acolyte under Bishop Hilary. The monastic phase of his life, however, is not portrayed in the fresco cycle;⁶⁹ rather, the program skips straight to the time after Martin's ordination as Bishop of Tours in 371. In the *Legenda*, Jacobus had put minimal emphasis on monasticism and greater stress on ecclesiastical office. The stories that are portrayed in the fresco cycle recall the awesome deeds of Martin as evidence of his saintliness, with three of the four scenes depicting miracles.

The first of these is the resurrection of a child, Martin's third resurrection. The original story took place outside the city of Chartres in an open field surrounded by a group of pagans.⁷⁰ Simone, however, moved the scene to the outskirts of Siena, his native town. Fourteenth-century oral tradition said that while on a journey to Rome, Martin stopped in Siena and resurrected a child; the city was so joyous that it built a church dedicated to Martin.⁷¹

In the *Legenda* the miracle of fire preceded the resurrection. The scenes have been reversed in the chapel for the sake of thematic organization. By moving their position, the *Miracle of Fire* (Figure 10) is placed above the *Renunciation of Arms* (Figure 6) and next to the *Miraculous Mass* (Figure 9). The *Fire* and *Renunciation* portray Martin before the emperor: in the former the emperor humbles himself before the saint and in the latter Martin rejects the emperor's authority. The location of the *Mass* next to the *Fire* also provides continuity between the two scenes through the theme of fire. The *Miracle of the Resurrected Child* (Figure 7) thus is placed below the *Funeral of Saint Martin* (Figure 12) and so the emphasis on resurrection in the lower scene carries to the image above in which Martin's physical body is laid to rest, but will rise again one day.

⁶⁹ The stained glass windows and the embrasure saints, however, do show all three stages of Martin's life: military/secular, monastic, and bishop.

⁷⁰ See pg. 14 for an account of the episode.

⁷¹ The legend can be dated to a 1657 written account See Jannella, *Simone*, 38

The building on the far right of the *Miracle of the Resurrected Child* (Figure 7) represents the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena as it would have appeared before 1325.⁷² Martin kneels to the left of the child, who is in the center of the composition. The mother, to the right of the child, reaches her arms out to help support her child, who is sitting up and trying to hold Martin's hands. The mother's face has a look of astonishment and she does not seem to know how to react; she gazes at Martin paralyzed and on the verge of tears. The child and Martin, meanwhile, look intently at one another. The child lifts his head up and leans out towards his savior; Martin stares back at the child. Martin wears a gold cloak and bishop's miter, also trimmed in gold.⁷³ His costume diverges from the *Vita* by Sulpicius, which clearly stated that as bishop Martin continued to wear the same clothes he wore as an ascetic.⁷⁴ The cycle, however, is based on the *Legenda*, which does not mention this detail; thus it would be assumed that he wore traditional bishop's dress. This variance, along with many others, as I argue in the next chapter, was intentional and included to justify the Conventual preference for luxury and the rejection of Francis' call for poverty.

Even though Jacobus described an audience composed entirely of pagans, Christians also appear in the composition, represented by the friar in the center and the nun to the right.⁷⁵ To the left, two figures have their hands clasped together and look up to Heaven to give thanks. Others behind them look down at what has happened. Directly behind the child, six figures bow their heads in prayer, while the friar looks up to Heaven, seeing the lone tree that juts out of a rock

⁷² This is what the Palazzo Pubblico looked like during the commissioning and execution of the chapel, before the bell tower was added in 1325. The Siennese arch above the door, the window, and the crenellations verify it. See Jannella, 38. Adrian Hoch argued that the tower, without the crenellations, was the Torre del Commune of Assisi as reproduced from the background of the *Poor Man Honoring St Francis* found in the upper basilica. She hypothesized that its inclusion may record the tower's completion and was merely a "stylish rendition" of the real tower. See Hoch, *Chapel*, 149.

⁷³ In all of the remaining scenes of this register, Martin wears a similar outfit; although in the *Meditation* he has a blue cape instead of gold.

⁷⁴ *VM*, 10.1.

⁷⁵ *LA*, 294-5.

outcropping. To the right, two men in elaborate costumes converse with one another. The man on the left turns to his companion, searching for an explanation of what just occurred. His friend, however, waves his right hand in disbelief and frowns to show his skepticism. Behind the mother, a nun dressed in a brown habit mimics the mother's astonishment and crosses her hands over her chest. Another woman leans down from above the mother with her arms reaching out to touch the child. In contrast to the textual sources, not all of the figures are pagans nor does it seem that they all have been converted. By changing the location, adding Christians, and diminishing the element of conversion, the scene now emphasizes the manifestation of power in the miracle itself.

After Martin performed the resurrection, Jacobus describes the how a poor beggar followed the saint to church. When Martin arrived, he asked the archdeacon to get some clothes for the man, but the archdeacon refused. Not wanting the poor man to suffer, Martin offered him his own tunic. The archdeacon then asked Martin to begin services, but Martin replied that the poor man, i.e. himself, first needed to be clothed. The archdeacon could not see that Martin had given away his under-garment and said that there was no poor man present. Martin ordered him to go buy a tunic, which he did begrudgingly. After purchasing a *paenulla*, a cheap, short tunic that cost five coins, he threw it at Martin's feet. The deacon then left in order that Martin might prepare for the mass.⁷⁶

The *Meditation of Saint Martin* (Figure 8) depicts Martin while waiting to say the mass, foreshadowed by the altar to the left with the chalice.⁷⁷ He sits in a chair with his right elbow on

⁷⁶ LA, 297.

⁷⁷ This scene was first identified as *Saint Martin Taking Leave of Saint Hilary* by Carattoli, Guardabassi, and Rossi-Scotti in the mid-nineteenth century. This event occurred in Martin's youth and is no longer considered an option because of its erroneous chronology. Saint Gregory of Tours wrote about the *Dream of Saint Ambrose* in the *Historia Francorum* in the sixth century and Jacobus later added it into the *Legenda aurea*. The story is more likely than the first, yet still does not fit chronologically. The *Meditation* fits chronologically and within the setting. For a more complete historiography, see Hoch, *Chapel*, 149-53.

his knee and his head resting on his right hand. He wears a dark blue tunic trimmed with a gold border; gold rings on each hand; and his bishop's miter; he looks like a well-dressed bishop. To the right, a deacon gently touches Martin's left shoulder to rouse him for the mass. To Martin's left, a young page kneels with a book, his finger marking the page, held up towards Martin.

Martin rests in the same chair as the emperor in the *Renunciation of Arms*. Martin occupies the *sella curulis*, a clear reference not only to his ecclesiastical authority, but also to wisdom and knowledge. Originally the seat of the emperor and his magistrates, the *sella curulis* became the seat of bishops, a figurehead of power within the Church, after the legalization of Christianity in the Roman Empire by Constantine in the early fourth century. This tradition was most prevalent in the Gallic provinces of the empire, which included Tours, because of their adoption of Roman culture.⁷⁸ The depiction derives from the French, who used the seat not only for bishops, but also for their kings. The depiction of the lion's head and feet at the corners (Figure 30) refers to both the *faldistorium*, the medieval term for the *sella curulis*, and the throne of Solomon.⁷⁹ This chair was used during a king's coronation or the consecration of a bishop and alluded to his symbolic power. Combined with Martin's elaborate and luxuriant dress, this reference to Martin the bishop goes against all traditional accounts of the life of Saint Martin and adds to the Conventual undertones of the chapel. The whole scene takes place under a series of quadripartite vaults, while the actual fresco scene within the chapel is itself arched due to the chapel's construction, further evidence for the scene as the *Meditation*. There are two windows in the background, one behind the altar and the other behind Martin, each with two lancets and a quatrefoil. The next scene begins after Martin awakes to say the mass.

⁷⁸ Wanscher, *Sella Curulis*, 192. For a description of Solomon's throne, see 1 Kings 10:18-19.

⁷⁹ Wanscher, *Sella Curulis*, 200.

The tunic that the archdeacon had bought only went down to Martin's elbows. When he raised the host during the mass, his sleeves slid down and revealed his naked arms. The *Legenda* described how angels brought jeweled cloths made of gold to cover Martin's bare arms.⁸⁰ At the same time, a globe of fire appeared above Martin and its rays shone down on him.

Martin stands in the center with his arms lifted up, looking at the host in the *Miraculous Mass* (Figure 9). Two angels fly in from the left with a cloth of gold brocade to cover Martin's arms. The altar decorations are gilded: two candlesticks and an open book to the left; and a crucifix in the center with a covered chalice in front. A deacon, reaching out with his left hand to hold Martin's cloak and dressed in a white tunic, kneels behind Martin and looks up at the globe of fire shining on Martin's head. The reference is to the Pentecost in Acts 1 when the Holy Spirit was sent down from Heaven to the apostles, thus equating Martin with the apostles.⁸¹ Both Duccio and Giotto painted scenes of the Pentecost in the early fourteenth century with a similar globe of fire whose rays extend down to touch the heads of the apostles. Simone would have known Duccio's version on the *Maestà* (Figure 31) either from working as an apprentice on the project or having seen it when it was carried throughout the city upon its completion in 1308 or in the Duomo.⁸² The globe of fire also transitions into the next scene, the miracle of fire.

According to the *Legenda*, Martin had requested an audience with the emperor, but was denied it because the emperor knew Martin wanted something that he did not want to grant.⁸³ After his initial rejection, Martin put on sackcloth and did not eat for a week. Led by an angel, he returned and all the doors were unlocked and unguarded. Upset that Martin had obtained access to the throne room, the emperor obstinately refused to acknowledge him, at which point his seat

⁸⁰ Jacobus took this part about the angels from John Belet, as he says in the *Legenda*. See *LA*, 297.

⁸¹ "For this reason Martin is said to be on a par with the apostles." *LA*, 297. See also Martindale, *Simone*, 177.

⁸² Martindale, *Simone*, 21; Jannella, *Simone*, 3.

⁸³ In the *Dialogues*, the emperor's mother was an Arian and did not wish Martin to speak with her son. See *Dialogues*, 2.5.

caught on fire and he immediately lunged to Martin's feet. The emperor confessed God's power, granted Martin's every request before he could make them, and then offered many gifts that Martin declined.⁸⁴

The *Miracle of Fire* (Figure 10) is set in the room of an elaborate palace, decorated with arches and topped with crenellations. Emperor Valentinian, in the center, kneels before Martin and desperately grabs the saint. The emperor looks deeply into Martin's eyes, searching for an answer to how Martin first got into his chamber and how flames then erupted from his seat. His distressed expression reveals why he granted Martin's desires. Martin does not look back at the emperor, but beyond him towards the enflamed seat. Behind Martin a monk who accompanied him stands in awe of the miracle with his left hand over his mouth. The seat of the emperor's high-backed wooden chair on the far right is ablaze. A guard shrinks away from the fire in fear and escapes through a door next to the chair. The emperor acknowledges God's power, though the *Legenda* does not say that he was converted. By also including the witnesses and their reactions to the fire, the focus shifts from the emperor's ensuing response to the power of the miracle.⁸⁵ After this last miracle, the cycle concludes with the final days of Martin's life.

The last of the three narrative bands includes scenes of Martin's death and funeral. They bring the cycle to a close and reveal Martin's final reward. Before his death, he suffered a series of fevers. Although his disciples wanted to provide a bed of straw for him, he refused and said, "My sons, the only proper way for a Christian to die is in sackcloth and ashes. If I leave you any other example, I shall have sinned."⁸⁶ Immediately upon his death, those around him heard

⁸⁴ *LA*, 294.

⁸⁵ This is similar to the *Miracle of the Resurrected Child* in which the audience of Christians and pagans, instead of solely pagans, changes the stress to the miracle. See p. 23.

⁸⁶ *LA*, 298.

choirs of angels singing, while others elsewhere heard angels singing in Heaven.⁸⁷ During his ascension, demons tried to prevent Martin from going to Heaven, but they found him blameless and disappeared.

The *Death of Saint Martin* (Figure 11) depicts both Martin's earthly death below and his heavenly resurrection above. Martin lies flat on the ground, surrounded by a group of mourners. He rests his head on a pillow and wears a full-length golden robe and golden miter; only his face and hands are not covered by gold. Martin may have died in sackcloth and on ashes according to his biographers, but not according to this image. The only sign of poverty is the small layer of gray shading underneath Martin, most likely a reference to the ashes. Even if the ashes are present, they are overshadowed by the splendor of Martin's gilded attire.

Two deacons, clothed in similar garments, kneel at Martin's head, verifying his death. A priest and others dressed in white robes congregate to the far left, looking down at Martin. Behind them are two men with blue and red linen hats wrapped around their heads. The middle of the scene contains two men: an acolyte contemplating Martin's death and a monk leaning over Martin, his hands clasped together in prayer. Two more deacons kneel at Martin's feet. The one on the left gives thanks to God, for his hands are clasped together and he stares up to Heaven. The second seems sadder, for he holds his hands low across his waist and lowers his neck slightly. Two non-religious men, identifiable by their haircuts, stand at Martin's feet and complete the crowd. Martin's death occurs in a loggia with rounded arches in the immediate background and pointed arches further back. A bell tower is on the right, supported by columns with Corinthian capitals. A demon exits the scene to the far right. Its legs are visible underneath an arch, while its body and wings extend beyond the scene's border.

⁸⁷ LA, 299.

The top of the scene has a dark blue background and shows four angels, two on each side of Martin, carrying his soul to Heaven. The top two are shown in profile, with their heads cocked back and mouths open wide singing; the two lower angels are painted frontally. Martin wears a golden crown and vestment, but only his upper torso is visible; a cloud has replaced his lower body. Martin's spirit may have ascended, but his physical body still needed to be laid to rest.

Jacobus, borrowing from a source other than Sulpicius, describes how Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, presided over the funeral. The bishop was celebrating Mass at his church when he fell asleep before the reading of the Epistle. The service resumed several hours later, once the deacon waked Ambrose to ask permission to proceed with the reading. Ambrose told his deacons that he had been at Martin's funeral and was in the midst of leading the last prayer when they disturbed him.⁸⁸

Bishop Ambrose leads the *Funeral of Saint Martin* (Figure 12), standing at Martin's head. Three members of the laity, who do not wear robes, but contemporary dress, are to the far left. Two deacons accompany the bishop to help with the service: the one to the right kisses the bishop's right hand, while the second taps the bishop with a feather pen. The middle of the scene shows an unidentified haloed figure dressed in a red cloak. Two acolytes stand to the right of center, holding a candle, looking up to Heaven, and singing loudly. Two men in hooded black tunics look down at Martin from the right. The two men with the red and blue linen hats from the scene of the *Death* are barely visible to the far right.⁸⁹ Below the two men in black hoods, three smaller figures prepare for the procession. Two of them carry tall candles, while the third holds the crucifix. Martin wears the same golden robe that he wore in the scene of the *Death*. He rests comfortably on a golden mattress with a blue and gold sheet over his deathbed, further deviating

⁸⁸ LA, 299. This is the story of the *Dream of Saint Ambrose*, which some have argued is depicted in the middle register, instead of the *Meditation*. See p. 24, n. 106.

⁸⁹ In this scene, the red is more clearly visible than the blue, as in the *Death*.

from the account by Jacobus and Sulpicius. The background has three pointed-arch windows, each composed of three lancets and three quatrefoils, underneath quadripartite vaults. The building is entirely Gothic and is quite different from the other scenes, which have a mix of Romanesque and Gothic elements. The style is reminiscent of French Gothic, but not characteristic of the traditions in central Italy in the early fourteenth century. The decoration may serve to place the scene in France, where Martin died, but also heightens the overall splendor of the program.

The frescos do not include the posthumous miracles with which Jacobus closed the story of Saint Martin in the *Legenda*. In the *Saint Francis cycle*, the posthumous miracles at the end of the cycle served to justify Francis' rapid canonization. I argue that since Martin had been considered a saint for hundreds of years, it was not necessary to include posthumous miracles for confirmation; the events of his life and church tradition had done that.

Having examined the frescos in detail, it is evident that of the ten scenes that comprise the fresco cycle, only the *Investiture* is rooted outside of the *Legenda*. The overall character of these images, however, differs from the original account of Martin by Sulpicius, while the scenes of the *Death* and *Funeral* diverge from both Sulpicius and Jacobus. The luxury and splendor in the lowest register can be justified only partially by its depiction of secular life. The rest of the scenes, from Martin's episcopate and death, cannot be defended by the same argument. His appearance in full bishop's garb conflicts with accounts of his asceticism and rejection of material goods. These characteristics exemplify the way that the portrayal of Saint Martin was modified and adapted to fit the needs of the patron and the Conventuals.

Conclusion

Saint Martin of Tours, as described by his biographers, lived an exemplary life. Sulpicius Severus penned the original account of Martin's life at the end of the fourth century, emphasizing Martin's saintly character and virtue while in the army and his healings and asceticism while bishop. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar, compiled the *Legenda aurea*, which presented a broad account of saints' lives and was available to the general public. It spread to other orders, including the Franciscans, who then produced copies for their own libraries and use.

The *Legenda's* life of Saint Martin incorporates sections from each of Sulpicius' original texts, but concludes with a series of posthumous miracles from Gregory the Great. Jacobus focuses on Martin's virtue during his secular life, but his episcopate stresses the confirmation of his sanctity through his miraculous deeds, yet does not stress Martin's poverty. His poverty is mentioned in the death scene, in which Martin rejects materialism to die in sackcloth and on ashes. The designer of the fresco cycle in the Chapel of Saint Martin used the *Legenda* as the major source because of its particular emphases on the life of Martin. The scenes primarily follow the *Legenda*, although the scenes of the *Death* and *Funeral* go against the textual source. The differences between the text and image suggest the Conventual propaganda within the chapel program, the subject of the next and final chapter.

Chapter Three

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Conventuals had solidified their pre-eminence within the Franciscan Order. The founder of the Order was praised and exalted for his life, yet these friars had not known Francis personally and lived their lives quite differently. A series of papal bulls during the thirteenth century supported the movement away from complete poverty and justified Conventual doctrine. The growing tendency of friars to attend university for an education broadened their horizons and enabled them to become candidates for ecclesiastical office. One of these was Gentile Montefiore, who graduated from the University of Paris and became Cardinal of Saint Martin and Saint Sylvester in 1300.¹ I argue that the Chapel of Saint Martin, paid for by Gentile and dedicated to his patron saint, was influenced by Conventual beliefs, shared by both the patron and those responsible for the program. I believe the Conventuals ultimately sought to propagandize their views to unify the Order and to justify their deviations from the commands of Saint Francis.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the life of Cardinal Gentile, from his education in Paris to his tenure as Cardinal. Then the focus shifts to the reasons why Simone Martini may have been selected as the artist. Next I compare the lives of Saint Martin and Francis, textually and pictorially. A short section on the audience of the Chapel of Saint Martin and San Francesco, in general, follows. Finally the chapter ends by looking at the Conventual elements in the Chapel of Saint Martin fresco cycle and their meaning.

¹ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 19.

The Life of Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore

Although little is known of his early life, Gentile appears to have supported the Conventual cause in his later years. His documented life in service of the pope records his work against the Spirituals. His education in Paris probably acquainted him with the riches and luxuries of the world that the Spirituals accused him of desiring. The Chapel in memory of his patron saint is no exception and reveals the splendor with which Gentile and the Conventuals were associated.

Gentile was born sometime between 1240 and 1250 in Montefiore dell'Aso, a small town near the eastern coast of the Marches.² He joined the Franciscan Order in his home province at an unknown date. He attended the University of Paris and, by 1295, he had received a *Magister in theologia* degree from the University.³ While studying in Paris, it is likely that he read the *Legenda aurea* and was familiar with it.⁴ After graduating, Gentile went to Rome to become a *lector* at the papal curia.⁵ Pope Boniface VIII appointed him cardinal in 1300 and one of his first projects put him in direct contact with the Dominicans.⁶

In July 1300, a few months after becoming Cardinal, Gentile served on a committee to determine an appropriate distance between Franciscan and Dominican convents. He worked with the Dominican Cardinal Nicholas Boccasini, who, after becoming Pope Benedict XI in late 1303, approved the proposal.⁷ After an education in Paris and working with the Dominicans, it is highly probable that Gentile knew the *Legenda* and perhaps the story of Saint Martin, his newly acquired patron saint.

² Hoch, *Chapel*, 92.

³ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 18.

⁴ For the importance of the *Legenda aurea* in education, see Chapter Two.

⁵ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 18; Gardner, *Tomb*, 12, n. 12.

⁶ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 19.

⁷ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 19; Gardner, *Tomb*, 19, n. 14; Hoch, *Chapel*, 93.

Gentile then started working with disputes within the Franciscan Order. His staunch Conventual beliefs soon ushered him into a position of suppressing the Spirituals. He was appointed *poenitentiarius maior*, an inquisitor, in 1302 and sent to Sicily the next year to curb a Spiritual uprising.⁸ He then composed an anti-Spiritual tract, *Dissertatio adversus fraticellos*, resulting in several Spiritual critics lashing out at Gentile in their own tract, the *Liber de Flore*.⁹ They criticized him for his lavish tastes, his rejection of theological education for secular knowledge, and his desire for material comforts.¹⁰ Clearly he had acquired enemies within the order who disliked his interpretation of Franciscan poverty.

Many of the charges leveled against Gentile in *Liber de Flore* may contain a hint of truth. Documents concerning his trip to Hungary in 1308 provide accurate records of his extravagant lifestyle and the large number of retainers with him.¹¹ Gentile also used his position to advance his own family; he was guilty of nepotism, though not on a large scale. Pope Boniface VIII had given benefices in Eastern Europe to Gentile's kin. His nephew, Gualtero Raynaldi, was made canon in Bohemia in 1301¹² and, more importantly, Tommaso da Montefiore became Bishop of Veglia, an island off of Yugoslavia in 1302.¹³ While in Hungary, Tommaso aided Gentile in his attempt to crown a new king.¹⁴ The Spirituals' accusations against the luxury of Gentile clearly had some basis in fact.

⁸ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 19; Gardner, *Tomb*, 19, n.15; Hoch, *Chapel*, 93.

⁹ Gentile's tract has disappeared, although its title still survives. For *Liber de Flore*, see Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, 1250-1450*, vol. 1 (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 189, n. 5.

¹⁰ Hoch, *Chapel*, 93-4.

¹¹ See *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam-Hungariae*, 1885, XXV and Document XLII p. 129 and Document LXVI p. 331, as cited by Hoch, *Chapel*, 118, n. 20.

¹² Anagni, 25 Julii 1301, "Confertur Gualtero Raynaldi de Monteflorum, nepoti Card. Gentilis, decantus ecclesie Wratislaviensis" (fol. 47v). Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas, and Robert Fawtier, *Les Registres de Boniface VII* (Bibliothèques d'Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), second series, vol. III, 1909-21 no. 4117 (Paris), 118, as cited in Hoch, *Chapel*, 118, n. 21.

¹³ Anagni, 31 Augusti 1302, "Thome electo Veglensi Preficitur in episcopum Veglensem" (fol. 209r), *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, vol. III, 1909-21 no. 4732, p. 516, as cited in Hoch, *Chapel*, 118, n. 22.

¹⁴ Hoch, *Chapel*, 97.

Pope Clement V appointed Gentile the papal legate to Hungary on 8 April 1307, after an earlier attempt to place an Angevin on the vacant Hungarian throne had failed.¹⁵ Cardinal Boccasini had ventured to Hungary in 1301 and succeeded in crowning Charles Robert on 26 August, but the people refused to recognize the authority of the thirteen year-old-king. The papacy hoped to put an Angevin on the throne because it would give them an ally in Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, there were a few officials, led by Ladislas Kán, who disliked the idea of an Angevin king and withheld the crown necessary for a legitimate coronation.

Gentile first attempted to acquire the crown through the National Assembly in 1308, yet Ladislas Kán refused to return the crown. Unable to obtain the official crown, Gentile had another crown made for Charles Robert's coronation in 1309, but the people again refused to recognize his sovereignty. Having failed two separate times, Gentile resorted to excommunicating Ladislas Kán and placed the entire country under interdict on Christmas Day 1309. This last measure worried many aristocrats, who eventually recoiled and returned the crown; Charles Robert of Naples became King of Hungary on 27 August 1310. Gentile, his mission accomplished, remained another year to build and strengthen the Church in Hungary, finally returning to Italy in September 1311.

Upon his return, Gentile received his next assignment from the pope. The French King Philip the Fair had tried to condemn the memory of Boniface VIII. A debate was scheduled for 16 October 1311 at the Council of Vienne.¹⁶ Gentile worked with fellow Cardinals Riccardo Petroni, Guglielmo Longhi, and Giovanni Mino da Murrovalle to prepare the defense of

¹⁵ For the account of Gentile in Hungary, I am using Hoch, *Chapel*, 95-9, who draws on Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290-1403*, Documenti no. 8 (Rome, Reale Accademia d'Italia-Studi E: 1938), 100-1.

¹⁶ Hoch, *Chapel*, 99.

Boniface VIII. The group issued *Apologia pro Papa Bonifatio adversus Philippum pulchrum Galliae regem*, which successfully defended Boniface's memory.¹⁷

One of the Cardinals from that project, Giovanni da Murrovalle, was an ardent Conventual like Gentile. Before working on this project, Giovanni had been Minister General of the Franciscan Order from 1296-1304.¹⁸ During his tenure, he had worked to suppress the Spirituals, but he also desired to unite the order.¹⁹ In his attempt to alleviate the drastic differences between the habits of Spirituals and Conventuals, he issued a decree that allowed friars to possess only one habit that was to be mended when needed, but never replaced.²⁰ Giovanni understood the importance of a peaceful Order and worked to achieve unity. In working with other Conventuals like Giovanni, Gentile learned about the most pressing needs within the Order.

Having seen Gentile's great success at difficult tasks, the Pope Clement V asked Gentile to transport the papal treasure from Assisi to the palace at Avignon in 1312. The treasure was estimated to be worth about one million gold florins and had been moved from Rome to Assisi in 1310 for security reasons.²¹ Gentile arrived in early March and left Assisi late that month and headed to Siena and then to Lucca, where he arrived in the fall of 1312. Upon arrival in Lucca, Gentile stored his belongings in the Dominican convent of San Romano, while the papal treasure was housed in the sacristy of San Frediano.²² Gentile became ill and never recovered, dying on 27 October 1312.²³

¹⁷ See *Analecta Franciscana* vol. III (1887), 452, as cited in Hoch, *Chapel*, 120, n. 33.

¹⁸ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 20-2, n. 7.

¹⁹ Moorman, *History*, 196.

²⁰ Moorman, *History*, 198. Previously under Pope Nicholas III, the friars experienced an increased standard of living due to more relaxed interpretations of poverty. Habits had longer sleeves, a large capuce, were fuller and made of finer materials. See Moorman, *History*, 185.

²¹ Hoch, *Chapel*, 99-100.

²² Gardner, *Tomb*, 20, n. 30; Hoch, *Chapel*, 100.

²³ Ritzler, *Cardinali*, 19.

Immediately after Gentile's death, Pope Clement V sent two cardinals to Lucca to retrieve Gentile's testament. They were unable to locate it then, but left his belongings and the papal treasure in Lucca. Two years later in 1314, Ugucione della Faggiuola sacked San Frediano in June for the treasure and in December raided San Romano for the fifteen chests belonging to Gentile.²⁴ Pope Clement V had died in April 1314 and his successor, John XXII, was not elected until August 1316.²⁵ Due to the lack of an elected Pope, the rebels accomplished their crime with little punishment. Pope John XXII issued *Ad Futurom Rei Memoriam* in April 1317 condemning the perpetrators, but it had little effect.²⁶

Although the testament was not found, account records for Gentile do survive. They indicate the payment of 600 florins to the Order of Friars Minor on 30 March 1312, just a few days after leaving Assisi with the papal treasure. In the scholarly literature, there is a debate over whether the money was used to pay for the chapel's construction and decoration, or only the decoration.²⁷ The key to the argument is the interpretation of the phrase 'una capella che fa fare.'²⁸ This question is important because if the chapel had to be built, then the decoration could not have occurred until several years after the donation. A 1332 contract states that Bishop Teobaldo Pontano of Assisi also paid 600 florins for the Magdalen Chapel, also in the Lower Basilica.²⁹ I believe that since 600 florins covered the expenses in 1332, then Gentile's donation must have been a single payment and not a portion.³⁰

²⁴ Hoch, *Chapel*, 101.

²⁵ Moorman, *History*, 309.

²⁶ See No. XLVII, cols. 305-8 in Stephen Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1643), as cited in Hoch, *Chapel*, 121, n. 43.

²⁷ See Martindale, *Simone*, 23.

²⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano 313A Collectorie, f. 100r, as cited in Hoch, *Document*, 142.

²⁹ Irene Hueck, "Ein Dokument zur Magdalenskapelle der Franziskirche von Assisi," in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Roberto Salvini* (Florence: Sansoni, 1984), 191-6, as cited in Hoch, *Document*, 146, n. 33.

³⁰ Martindale, however, argued that 600 florins was not enough to cover construction, decoration, and altar decorations, basing his argument on contemporary prices. See Martindale, *Simone*, 23.

The main decoration of the Chapel of Saint Martin is the fresco cycle, although that may not have been planned originally. Gentile commissioned a funerary tomb for his parents in his hometown of Montefiore dell'Aso (Figure 32). The inscription on the tomb gives the year as 1310, but it is believed that the inscription was a later addition; thus, the exact date of this tomb is unknown.³¹ The elaborate double tomb is unusual in Italy, especially for its design.³² Before leaving Assisi with the papal treasure, Gentile surely would have seen the Saint Nicholas Chapel in the Lower Basilica, which contained a funeral monument (Figure 33), and the tomb of John of Brienn in the atrium of the Lower Basilica (Figure 34).³³ The design for his parent's tomb does not have a particular model and is something he probably saw in France or during his years in Eastern Europe.³⁴ If Gentile had commissioned such a structure for his parents, then it is also plausible that he would have considered one for himself. Given that there was a precedent at Assisi for burial chapels, then his original intent may have been to model his chapel on the Saint Nicholas Chapel. Gentile's unexpected death would have changed those plans since he had made the donation earlier that year. He was buried instead in the Saint Louis Chapel and thus the context of the Saint Martin Chapel had now changed.³⁵

Throughout his career as Cardinal, Gentile advocated for the interests of the Conventuals over the Spirituals. He was educated in Paris, a city known for its extravagance, where he most likely acquired his taste for luxury and learned about French art and iconography.³⁶ He

³¹ ".M.CCC.X./DNS.GES.D MOTE.FLOR/CARDINALIS ORDINIS/MINOR.T.BONIFATII.VIII/.T.S.MARTINI/MONTIB VS." See Julian Gardner, "A Double Tomb in Montefiore dell'Aso and Cardinal Gentile," *Acta historiae atrium* 25 (1979): 15. For dating the tomb stylistically, see 21-4.

³² Gardner, *Tomb*, 21.

³³ The Saint Nicholas Chapel was completed by 1306. See Robin Simon, "Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 879 (1976): 362, n. 19. The tomb of John of Brienn was completed in the last part of the thirteenth century. See Elvio Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi* (New York: Riverside, 1996), 47.

³⁴ Gardner, *Tomb*, 24.

³⁵ Hoch, *Chapel*, 111.

³⁶ Hoch, *Chapel*, 108.

commissioned a chapel in San Francesco, but it was not complete when he died in 1312. Saint Martin was Gentile's patron saint and thus the fresco cycle is dedicated to the life, death, and glorification of his patron saint. I argue later that the chapel's depiction of Martin, however, derives from a Conventual interpretation of the saint's life.

Simone Martini: The Courtly Painter

Although little is known of his early years, Simone's style is distinctly rich. His paintings show great attention to detail and have vibrant colors. His figures wear sumptuous garments whose drapery folds are naturalistic and elegant. Their faces are soft and the lines are smooth, reflecting his graceful brushwork. Bodies are proportioned correctly and have mass and volume that make them appear lifelike. Whether painting a Madonna and Child, a multitude of saints, or a view of the secular world, Simone's style has a courtly elegance.

By the time of his first documented commission in 1315, Simone may have been thirty-one years old.³⁷ Born in Siena, he most likely he apprenticed in the workshop of Duccio di Buoninsegna, the painter of the *Maestà* for the Siena Duomo completed in 1311, before leaving to start his own workshop.³⁸ The Sienese government commissioned a *Maestà* to adorn the interior of the Palazzo Pubblico in 1315 and hired Simone to execute it. To receive such an important commission from the government, he must have had a prominent reputation.

By the time that Simone painted his *Maestà* (Figure 35), it seems he had developed a distinct personal style. The fresco adorns the end wall of the Sala del Mappamundo within the palace.³⁹ It depicts an enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by twenty-four standing saints and six

³⁷ Vasari described an epithet on Simone's tomb that said he died at age sixty. "Simoni Memmio pictorum omnium omnis aetatis celeberrimo. Vixit ann. LX, mens. II, d. III." Since it is known he died in 1344, then he would have been born around 1284, making him at least thirty by 1315. See Vasari, *Lives*, 174.

³⁸ Jannella, *Simone*, 3.

³⁹ Jannella, *Simone*, 10.

kneeling ones. The atmosphere is regal and courtly, as golden halos and accents stand out against the dark blue background. A large red silk canopy covers the entire company of saints. The golden throne on which the Virgin sits is architectonic and bulky. The Virgin wears a lapis lazuli cloak trimmed in gold, while the Christ child stands on her knee in a cloak also trimmed with gold.

The scene is characteristic of the French Gothic, even though it is not likely that Simone had been to France by this point.⁴⁰ The throne has pointed arches with pointed lancet windows on the sides. The enormous amount of gold, the rich costumes, and the heavenly atmosphere all contribute to the elegance and luxury. Simone also used bits of colored glass that would glisten and sparkle in the light, heightening the overall effect.⁴¹ The general ambience is of aristocratic medieval life.

The King of Naples, Robert of Anjou, issued the next dated commission to Simone in 1317. The *Saint Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece* (Figure 36) likely was commissioned to celebrate Louis's canonization in April of that year.⁴² Louis, the older brother of Robert, had desired to join the Franciscan Order, though he could not until he renounced the throne in 1296. In a secret ceremony conducted by Pope Boniface VIII, Louis was made a friar on the condition that he also become Bishop of Toulouse.⁴³ He died the next year, though it took another twenty before his canonization.⁴⁴ Louis had sympathized with the Spirituals throughout his life, preferring the poverty of Francis to the wealth of his family.⁴⁵ Robert, however, had political motivations in ordering the work and wanted to show Louis the aristocratic bishop, not the ascetic friar.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Jannella, *Simone*, 10.

⁴¹ Jannella, *Simone*, 10.

⁴² Gardner, *Toulouse*, 18-20.

⁴³ Gardner, *Toulouse*, 18.

⁴⁴ For the canonization of Saint Louis, see Toynbee, *S. Louis*.

⁴⁵ Gardner, *Toulouse*, 18; Jannella, *Simone*, 44-5.

⁴⁶ Gardner, *Toulouse*, 26-7.

Although this panel has a religious function, it still portrays the same courtly style that Simone used in the *Maestà*.⁴⁷

The altarpiece depicts the saint enthroned, simultaneously being crowned by angels and crowning his brother, Robert. Louis wears the brown Franciscan habit with three-knot cord, but even it is a far cry from the tattered and torn habit that most Spirituals donned. His bishop's attire further overshadows that simple outfit. His cope has a heavily decorated thick gold border that displays the fleur-de-lis, present throughout the entire panel's border. He holds a long gold bishop's crook in his right hand, while his left hand has the crown for his brother. Louis' crown looks similar and is held above the elaborate gold bishop's miter on his head. He sits on the *sella curulis*, similar to the one used by Martin in the *Meditation* (Figure 30).⁴⁸ The background is solid gold with a fleur-de-lis pattern along the border. Simone, like in the *Maestà*, placed jewels into the panel that would reflect the light and add to the elegance of the painting. Saint Louis of Toulouse may have lived a life of poverty on the model of Saint Francis, but this altarpiece evokes a different idea. Louis wears his Franciscan habit, but the rest of his costume and the rich features of the panel reveal a luxurious and courtly life above all else. The King of Naples commissioned Simone to depict a regal image of the Angevin saint who renounced the throne to become Bishop. It appears that Simone followed his patron's wishes and painted an image that, while it was not perhaps the true image of the saint, it was the image that the patron wanted viewers to know.

I believe that Simone likely painted the Saint Martin Chapel from 1317-1319 and thus these are the only two documented works that Simone would have executed. Both of them have a

⁴⁷ One might even argue that the elegance of the *Maestà* set a reputation by which Simone was known.

⁴⁸ And like the *Meditation*, the footrest fits between the feet of the chair; this footrest, however, is much more decorated than Martin's. Since a red fabric covers the throne, it is not possible to determine whether or not it is the same chair. Louis, however, was an Angevin and the overwhelming use of the fleur-de-lis combined with the *sella curulis* would have made a more powerful statement about his French heritage.

distinct style that emphasizes the richness and luxury of their patrons and medieval aristocratic life. Although no documented paintings of Simone remain from before 1315, one must assume that to receive a commission from the Sienese government, he must have made a name for himself at some point beforehand. The *Madonna and Child*, no.583 in the Siena Pinacoteca (Figure 37), is recognized as the earliest work of Simone, based on stylistic attributions.⁴⁹ The panel is dated from 1308-10 and was part of a polyptych whose sides do not survive. The painting is reminiscent of Duccio in the face and cloak of the Virgin and traces of the Byzantine tradition, yet Simone has made his own stylistic additions. The border of the Virgin's cloak is decorated and the Christ child has jewels encrusted in his halo. The form of his body and hair, his subtle movement, and volumetric shape distinguish the painting as the work of Simone.⁵⁰

The early works of Simone Martini clearly contain a magnificence that only increased with time. Simone may have painted two other Madonnas from this same period, though those arguments are not widely accepted.⁵¹ When Cardinal Gentile traveled through Siena in early 1312, it is unknown whether he contacted Simone. He had made the donation for his chapel and would have been looking for a painter. It cannot be proven whether or not Gentile personally selected Simone to execute the chapel frescos or whether it was left to his executors. If Simone did not receive the commission until later, his courtly style would have been well known by the executor of Gentile's estate and conformed to his desires.

Simone's style is exemplified in the *Maestà* and the *Saint Louis Altarpiece*. He became known for his elegance and luxury in paintings for both religious and secular audiences. Both of

⁴⁹ Jannella, *Simone*, 8.

⁵⁰ Jannella, *Simone*, 8.

⁵¹ The two paintings are the *Madonna* in the Oratory of San Lorenzo in Ponte at San Gimignano from 1311-4 and the *Madonna of Mercy* from 1308-10. For stylistic similarities to *Madonna* no. 583, see Jannella, *Simone*, 8. Luigi Coletti has written on several works attributed to Simone from the first few years of the 1300s. See Luigi Coletti, "Early Works of Simone Martini," *Art Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1949): 290-308.

these works were most likely finished by the time that Simone began working on the Chapel of Saint Martin. I believe that Simone was chosen because of his reputation as a courtly painter and that his selection contributes to the Conventual propaganda.

Saints Martin and Francis

Saint Martin lived over eight hundred years before Saint Francis, yet many events from the life of Saint Martin are repeated, directly or thematically, in the life of Saint Francis. These parallels exist not only in their written biographies, but also in the pictorial depictions of their lives. The *Saint Francis cycle* in the Upper Basilica was the most thorough account of Francis' life and acquired great fame after its completion. While executing the Chapel of Saint Martin, Simone Martini would surely have ventured to the Upper Basilica and studied the cycle extensively. Franciscans considered Martin the forerunner of Francis and the designer of the Saint Martin Chapel surely would have incorporated motifs from the Saint Francis cycle whenever possible to make the connection. I argue that the Conventuals wanted to appropriate the figure of Saint Martin because his life validated their practices.

Before his renunciation, Francis aspired to become a knight, though he never achieved that status. Martin was well known as a prime example of a saintly knight and Francis likely followed in Martin's steps for that reason.⁵² The division of the cloak is the most clear and direct parallel between the two saints. In the *Vita Secunda*, Thomas of Celano began the story with a reference to Martin and a comparison between the two men; Bonaventure, however, removed the reference in the *Legenda maior*.⁵³ Francis encountered a poor knight one day and, having pity on him, got off his horse and gave away his entire cloak; Martin had only given half of his cloak to a beggar. The main difference is that Francis comes from the upper class and offers charity to a

⁵² Hoch, *Chapel*, 172.

⁵³ 2C 5. Since Bonaventure is the source for the Saint Francis cycle, his account of the story is used. See *LM*, 1.2.

man of similar social standing. Both saints still had not been baptized at the time of their charitable act and each experienced a vision as a reward. In both of their lives, this story foreshadows their future life.

Pictorially, the two scenes only resemble each other because of the similar subject matter. *Francis Giving His Mantle to a Poor Knight* (Figure 38) depicts Francis in the center, dismounted from his horse, handing his cloak to the knight to the right. The background is a rocky hillside with buildings on both the left and right. Like the *Cloak* scene in the Martin Chapel (Figure 3), the two figures stare intently at one another and lean in towards the other.

Both saints also officially renounced the material world before joining the Church, but it is interesting to note that it is the scene of Martin's *Investiture* (Figure 5) that most resembles Francis' *Renunciation* (Figure 39). Francis stands off to the right, clothed by the Bishop of Assisi, with his arms extended and his head lifted up, looking at the hand of God in the sky; the townsmen to the left physically restrain Francis' father from retaliating. A dichotomy has been setup between the two worlds, secular and religious, with a void in the center. Francis has chosen to embrace the world of the church. Martin has a similar pose in the *Investiture*, although the hand of God does not appear out of the sky. Even though Martin renounces his arms in the next scene, Simone used this event to make the comparison.⁵⁴

Martin and Francis also had the power to resurrect people from the dead. The scene of the *Miracle at Greccio* (Figure 40) and the *Death of the Knight of Celano* (Figure 41) incorporate a large group of religious and secular figures surrounding Francis. In first scene, Francis gives life, but takes it away in the second. In the *Miracle at Greccio*, Francis kneels before a crib and picks up a small child from the manger next to the altar. The two look into one another's eyes while the surrounding friars sing in praise. Off to the far left, a group of secular men in contemporary

⁵⁴ Hoch, *Chapel*, 174-5.

dress discuss the situation, one of whom lifts his right hand in a gesture similar to that of the man in the *Resurrected Child* from the Martin cycle (Figure 7). In the *Death of Celano*, the knight of Celano has fallen to the far right and is surrounded by a group of women. One weeps at his feet, another looks into his eyes and supports him with her arms, a third leans down with open and outstretched arms, and a fourth clasps her hands in prayer. In the *Resurrected Child*, several women similarly surround the infant child with parallel poses and expressions.

Francis' *Trial by Fire before the Sultan of Egypt* (Figure 42) shows the emperor sitting in a regal throne under an architectonic space. Francis had offered to walk through a fire to prove his faith, but the emperor did not accept his offer because of the potential rebellion within the city.⁵⁵ To the far left, several men appear to be leaving the scene, most likely representing the priests who fled upon hearing Francis' proposal. The friar who accompanied Francis stands behind him for support. The *Miracle of Fire* (Figure 10) contains a similar throne to the right, though it is engulfed in flames. The emperor's guard who escapes the fire through a side door represents the cowering priests of the Sultan. The monk who witnesses the miracle of fire stands behind Martin, covering his mouth in awe.

The scenes of *The Death and Funeral of Francis* (Figure 43) and *Verification of the Stigmata* (Figure 44) form the final scenes of Francis' physical life and correspond to the last two scenes of Martin's *Death* (Figure 11) and *Funeral* (Figure 12). In the *Death and Funeral*, Francis lies on the ground near the bottom of the scene, surrounded by friars who weep and mourn over his death. Above him a multitude of friars and deacons in white robes congregate to say the last rite. At the top of the scene, Francis ascends in a mandorla supported by four angels, two on each side, with four additional angels at the edges of the scene. Like the *Death of Saint Martin*, two of the angels face out with their mouths open, while the other two are in profile. Similarly only the

⁵⁵ LM, 9.8.

bust of Francis is shown and beneath him is a white cloud. In the *Verification*, the body of Francis lies on a table and again a large group of figures congregates around him. Both religious and secular men in contemporary dress join in the audience. The *Funeral of Saint Martin* contains a mixture of both religious and non-religious figures surrounding the body of Martin.

Saint Martin was not considered a Franciscan saint, but Franciscans would have known his vita. The similarities between Martin and Francis occur in direct parallels like their poverty and the cloak episode, as well as in general themes of charity, the miraculous, and their death and glorification. The *Saint Francis cycle* depicted twenty-eight scenes from Francis' life and had gained fame by the time Simone came to paint the Saint Martin Chapel. Simone would have seen the cycle and, in those scenes where the two lives overlap, adapted elements from the *Saint Francis cycle* for use in his own frescos. I argue that the Conventuals tried to appropriate Saint Martin and make him into a figure that supported their traditions.

Audience at San Francesco

Brother Elias's design for San Francesco included a church for friars and another for the laity. The Upper Basilica served as the church for the laity and the Lower Basilica for the Franciscans. Francis was buried in the church of San Giorgio after his death, but this was meant only as a temporary resting place.⁵⁶ After the completion of the Lower Basilica in 1230, the Order made plans to move Francis from San Giorgio to a proper burial place, San Francesco. Over two thousand friars, amongst a multitude of other bishops and the laity, attended the ceremony in the hopes of seeing the body of Francis. In anticipation of such great crowds and the potential theft of the body, Elias decided to translate the body of Francis several days before

⁵⁶ Moorman, *History*, 83.

people arrived. The procession occurred to celebrate the event, yet they did not carry the body.⁵⁷ This story illustrates the number of people that worshipped Francis and believed in the miraculous powers of the saint, even after his death. It also demonstrates the large crowds that these two churches were designed to hold.

Despite Francis' enormous popularity, pilgrimage to Assisi during the thirteenth and fourteenth century was not widespread. The most popular pilgrimages were to Jerusalem, Compostela, and Rome.⁵⁸ The Holy Land had great significance because it was the place where Christ had been born, lived, and died; the church of Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain possessed the body of Saint James the Greater; and Rome was where Saint Peter had become the first Bishop of Rome and started the Western Church.⁵⁹ For a pilgrim to make his journey to Rome or Compostela, it was likely that he would use the Via Francigena at some point in the trip.⁶⁰ This road ran from northern Europe down over the Alps to Rome and was one of the most well-traveled routes on the continent, especially the Italian peninsula, and used the roads that the Romans had built for their armies many centuries earlier.⁶¹ Assisi, however, did not lie on the Via Francigena. It was situated on the Via Flaminia, which led from Rome to the Adriatic, and was less traveled than the Via Francigena.⁶² Pilgrims and friars still came to Assisi, yet in smaller numbers.

The original *Rule* of the Franciscan Order from 1221 prescribed that all friars attend the chapter meeting at the Porziuncola held on Pentecost of every year; those who lived north of the

⁵⁷ Another version of the story says that the body was translated in the procession, but that the crowds were prevented from entering into the church to see the location of the body. See Moorman, *History*, 88.

⁵⁸ Renato Stopani, *Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo: Gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostella* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1991), 7;

⁵⁹ During the fourteenth century, however, pilgrims journeyed to Avignon instead of Rome because the Papacy had moved. See Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 87.

⁶⁰ Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 128-9.

⁶¹ Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 129. For more on the Via Francigena, see Renato Stopani, *La Via Francigena: Una strada europea nell'Italia del Medioevo* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1988).

⁶² Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 121-2.

Alps or overseas were required to attend every three years.⁶³ According to the *Rule* of 1223, the Chapter General only met every three years and meetings rotated between north and south of the Alps. All the provincial ministers were obliged to come, but they were not the sole attendees.⁶⁴ After the completion of San Francesco, it became the new center of the Franciscan Order.⁶⁵ Pope Gregory IX proclaimed the basilica the '*caput et mater*' of the order.⁶⁶ Some came as pilgrims, others as students, and yet still others for administrative business.

The Lower Basilica, according to Elias's design, was made for the brothers of the Friars Minor. The original plan was for a nave of four bays, a transept, and an apse for the choir. The Upper Basilica rested directly on top of the Lower one and so the walls are thick and the roof is low. The body of Saint Francis was buried underneath the high altar, though its exact location was unknown and his grave inaccessible.⁶⁷ The side chapels that now line the nave were not added until later in the thirteenth century.⁶⁸

The Franciscans originally banned burial chapels from their churches because they were supposed to be simple structures and a chapel required a donation of land or money to pay for its construction and decoration, which was forbidden. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Franciscans had succumbed to the demand of wealthy individuals who wanted to be buried near the tomb of Francis. At the Chapter General of 1292, the Franciscans removed the ban.⁶⁹ Immediately plans were made for chapels in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco. The three chapels on the north side, moreover, are connected via arched passageways so that a visitor can

⁶³ Francis, *Rule of 1221*, 18.

⁶⁴ Francis, *Rule of 1223*, 8. Brother Elias, in 1230, had hoped to expand the number of provinces from 17 to 72. By 1263, there were a total of 34.

⁶⁵ Moorman, *History*, 155.

⁶⁶ Francis previously had given the Portziuncola that title before his death. See Moorman, *History*, 88.

⁶⁷ Today it is possible to descend beneath the church to see the tomb of Saint Francis. In the early nineteenth century, the body was found and a crypt designed by P. Belli. In 1926, it was modified further by U. Tarchi to its present condition. See Stanislao Majarelli, *Assisi: A Franciscan Pilgrimage* (Assisi: Portiuncula Editions, 1960), 61.

⁶⁸ Moorman, *History*, 87.

⁶⁹ Lunghi, *Basilica*, 100.

progress from one end of the nave to the other via the chapels. The opposite side of the nave, where the Saint Martin chapel is, did not, however, have the same service aisle for pilgrims.

The north chapels were linked in order to alleviate the heavy traffic of pilgrims that came to worship Saint Francis.⁷⁰ Numbers were steady because of the *Perdono della Porziuncola*, a plenary indulgence that had been offered since 1216 in the small church outside of Assisi.⁷¹ As a result, pilgrims could receive the indulgence at the church where Francis had lived and worked and then come to the church where he was buried.

From its completion in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Basilica of San Francesco at Assisi continually attracted a steady stream of visitors. Pilgrims came to pay homage to the saint, while friars came for administrative purposes, educational training, or to visit the mother church of the order. The addition of the side chapels to the Lower Basilica facilitated the movement of large volumes of people, while also allowing the Franciscans to receive donations from wealthy donors who wanted to be buried near the saint. The removal of the ban shows the influence of the Conventuals, who continued to modify the order according to the needs of the Church and society.

Conventual Propaganda in the Chapel of Saint Martin

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Conventuals were gaining more and more power and a larger majority within the divided Franciscan Order. To attract converts from the Spirituals, Conventual leaders instituted policies that, at first glance, seem anti-Conventual and pro-Spiritual.⁷² These measures reduced the radical appearance that the Spirituals accorded them while also correcting some of their extravagant ways. They still maintained more relaxed

⁷⁰ In order to add the chapels, it was also necessary to remove the rood screen from the Lower Basilica. See Lunghi, *Basilica*, 106.

⁷¹ Lunghi, *Basilica*, 100; Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 122; and Moorman, *History*, 30.

⁷² Moorman, *History*, 203-4.

interpretations of poverty than Francis had, but they were willing to sacrifice some of these things in order to unite and save the order. I believe that the Conventuals used works of art to propagate their message and that the Chapel of Saint Martin is a prime example of the way in which the Conventuals altered tradition so that the viewer would perceive a Conventual interpretation. The Conventuals transformed the ascetic Saint Martin into a Conventual bishop who supported their ideas on poverty and ecclesiastical office.

Although Francis had lived a life of poverty and gained a following as a result of his religious fervor, the Conventuals did not desire to uphold his extreme austerity. Through a series of papal bulls throughout the thirteenth century, the Conventuals were able to justify their relaxed beliefs by placing a greater emphasis on the Franciscan vow of obedience. With that loosening of the rules, the order divided even further. In 1312, Pope Clement V, although he favored the Conventuals, issued *Exivi de paradiso*, in which he spoke out against the extreme relaxations of the rule.⁷³ The bull set about a series of reforms that aimed to remove the luxuries that had come into the order, hoping to restore moderation and thus unity to the divided group. The pope, despite his effort, failed in his attempt to bring about change. John Moorman has argued that the problem was deeply rooted within the order and that as long as the two parties had different fundamental beliefs and ideas the strife would continue.⁷⁴

In April 1314 Pope Clement V died; six months later, the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, Alexander of Alexandria, also died.⁷⁵ For the next two years, both seats sat vacant and the Franciscans suffered as a result. When Pope John XXII was elected in 1316, he wanted to restore the fractured Order.⁷⁶ While previous popes had attempted to bring peace by

⁷³ *Bull. Franc.* vol. V, 80-6, as cited in Moorman, *History*, 203, n. 2.

⁷⁴ Moorman, *History*, 204.

⁷⁵ Moorman, *History*, 309.

⁷⁶ Moorman, *History*, 310.

forcing the Conventuals to reduce their excesses, John attacked the Spirituals. He issued *Quorundam exigit* in the spring of 1317,⁷⁷ which forced the Spirituals to wear the same length habit as the Conventuals, preventing them from using a shorter tunic that showed their allegiance to Francis. The bull also allowed officials to decide how much food and wine could be saved in storehouses, a practice commonly used by Conventuals for security. The bull ended by saying, "Great is poverty; greater is chastity; but the greatest good of all is obedience if it is strictly kept."⁷⁸ When a group of friars refused to obey, John arrested them, placed them on trial, and burned four friars to death the next year.⁷⁹ The Conventuals, from the time of John's election in 1316, had the majority and the backing of papal authority.

The designer of the Chapel of Saint Martin adapted these Conventual beliefs into its iconography, creating a life of Martin that promotes their views. The bottom register depicts his early life in the military, where he did good deeds for the poor and was rewarded for his charity. He lives in the secular world, although there are subtle gestures of a future life that will be different. This portion of his life builds up to and concludes with the renunciation of his military career before the Emperor. Martin reappears in the middle band not as a secular knight, but as a well-dressed bishop. He wears a luxuriant bishop's costume and is seen performing a series of miracles. The final pair of frescos at the top of the chapel brings Martin's life to a close, presenting the glorification of the wonder-working bishop. The prior eight scenes have shown Martin's charity and good deeds that make him worthy of sainthood and then confirmed and justified that sanctity through the miracles he performed. His death and funeral pay him the honor and reverence that his life deserved.

⁷⁷ *Bull. Franc.*, vol. v, 128-30, as cited in Moorman, *History*, 311.

⁷⁸ 'Magna quidem paupertas, sed maior integritas; bonum est obedientia maximum, si custodiat illaesa.' See Moorman, *History*, 311, n. 2.

⁷⁹ Moorman, *History*, 311.

The scenes from the early life of Martin seem to be points of compromise with the Spirituals. I argue that these events, because they portray Martin's character and secular life, are less important to the Conventuals and thus they appeal to a wider audience in these scenes. The *Division of the Cloak* shows Martin's charity and virtue, a desirable characteristic for all Franciscans. Then in the *Dream*, Martin sleeps comfortably on a bed with two pillows, surely a privilege limited to the rich. Since Martin has yet to take a religious vow, there are fewer restrictions on what can and cannot be done. Then the last two scenes of this group portray events that support basic notions of Franciscan poverty. The *Investiture* depicts Martin surrounded by luxury at the Emperor's court, but he rejects that environment, choosing instead to look up to God and not back at the Emperor. I also argue that the act is similar to a novitiate joining the Franciscan Order, in which a friar renounced the world when he took his vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience; Martin thus takes the first step towards poverty in the *Investiture*. The *Renunciation* also does not exert a strong bias towards Conventual practices, for Martin now completely rejects the military and the world, including the money that goes along with it. I argue that, by turning away from the money, Martin is shown in favor of Francis' Rule in which the friars are forbidden to accept or touch money. Since Martin's character traits are synonymous with all friars and since he has not become a monk yet, these scenes appealed to both Spirituals and Conventuals.

The portrayal of Martin the Bishop of Tours, however, differs greatly from the one found in the *Vita* by Sulpicius. It seems that the painted cycle has offered a new interpretation, more in tune with Conventual practices. Martin is not shown as a monastic nor does he live the ascetic life as bishop. The only portrayal of his religious life is his episcopate, in which his miracles are his main attribute and his garments are extravagant. More importantly, his death and funeral

betray accounts from both Sulpicius and Jacobus. Martin considered it a sin *not* to die in poverty, but the scenes of the *Death* and *Funeral* illustrate luxury, not poverty. When understood in context of the debate within the Franciscan Order, I argue that these diversions are intentional and a means of propaganda.

The Conventuals, I argue, have two goals in creating this interpretation of the life of Saint Martin. First, they are justifying their ecclesiastical offices and the luxuries that, they believe, should go with it. They are implying that it is acceptable for friars to hold an office and only natural to wear these clothes in order that one's position might be easily recognizable. Francis had opposed his friars taking office and wearing anything that differentiated one from another, but the Conventuals believed otherwise. Cardinal Ugolino, the Protector of the Order, recommended to Francis in 1218 that several friars should become bishops. Francis immediately rejected the idea, noting the official name of the Franciscans, the Order of Friars Minor; they were not to hold office.⁸⁰ Pope Innocent IV appointed the first Franciscan bishop in 1244, naming Leo Valvassori to be Archbishop of Milan.⁸¹ Thirty years later, thirty-two Franciscans had episcopates; by 1311, the total was fifty-six.⁸² The Conventuals, through the decrees of the pope, steadily moved away from a life based on Francis. Saint Martin, moreover, had encouraged his followers to accept bishoprics if offered. Many districts, in fact, selected their bishops from among the men at Martin's monastery.⁸³ By showing Saint Martin not only as bishop, but also wearing such rich garments, the Conventuals asserted their legitimacy to hold office in a practice that now had become common within the order.

⁸⁰ Ugolino also gave the same advice to Saint Dominic, who also disliked the idea. See Moorman, *History*, 296.

⁸¹ Moorman, *History*, 296.

⁸² Pope Boniface VIII had nominated forty-two Franciscans for appointment in his nine-year tenure. See Moorman, *History*, 296.

⁸³ *LA*, 294; *VM*, 10.4.

Second, I believe the Conventuals are arguing for their own excesses as friars. From the bulls issued throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, it is clear that they had indulged in such luxuries. The building and decoration of San Francesco is a prominent example of the grandeur and extravagance associated with the Conventuals. After Pope John XXII's bull in 1317, they were also no longer on the defensive, but supported by the Vatican. Prior popes had attempted to reform the relaxations in order to unite the Order, but John preferred to get rid of the opposition. Of the three vows, living in poverty now held the least significance and liberties could be taken accordingly. The scene of the *Death of Saint Martin* also rationalizes the use of some worldly goods. It did not matter if they enjoyed certain luxuries, like a soft habit or storing up food, because they would still receive their reward in Heaven like Martin. This depiction of Saint Martin differs from traditional interpretations, but it fits a Conventual model.

Conclusion

The patron of the Chapel of Saint Martin, Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore, sympathized with the Conventuals and, during part of his career with the Vatican, fought to suppress the Spirituals. He was accused by his opponents of a materialistic lifestyle, perhaps acquired while studying at the University of Paris, which contradicted his Franciscan vow of poverty. His habits were nevertheless in tune with Conventual practices.

Although it is not known whether Gentile or his executor selected Simone Martini to paint the chapel, Simone's regal and courtly style appropriately matched and illustrated Conventual beliefs through the figure of Saint Martin. Martin, in many respects, was considered the forerunner of Saint Francis, whose biography has many similarities to Martin's. Certain scenes from the life of Saint Martin, moreover, seem to mirror those from the *Saint Francis cycle*

in the Upper Basilica, a Conventual representation of the saint, while others only correlate generally or thematically.

The Lower Basilica was designed as a church for Franciscan friars, but the burial of Saint Francis underneath the high altar attracted a number of pilgrims. After the removal of a ban forbidding burial chapels in Franciscan churches, the friars at San Francesco erected a series of chapels in the Lower Basilica that the rich could decorate and be buried in, but that also alleviated the heavy traffic of pilgrims. The Chapel of Saint Martin was not among this series, but a stand-alone chapel across the nave dedicated to the memory of Cardinal Gentile's patron saint.

The imagery and iconography within the Chapel of Saint Martin fresco cycle suggest Conventual beliefs, common to both the patron and the designer, and the willingness of the Conventuals to use art as propaganda. The representation of Martin's early life with scenes devoted to his virtue reveals points of compromise between the two groups. This interpretation illustrates the Conventual desire to unify the Order by finding a compromise. The depiction of Saint Martin the Bishop of Tours, however, goes against traditional conceptions of the saint as an ascetic bishop and creates a new understanding of Franciscan poverty. This portrayal of Martin the wealthy ecclesiastic justifies those Conventual practices that stood in opposition to the original commands of Saint Francis.

Conclusion

The founding of the Franciscan Order by Saint Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century introduced a new form of religious poverty. The Franciscans, however, were divided from early on over the interpretation of poverty. Many friars who joined the order did not seek to emulate the same itinerant, mendicant lifestyle that Francis had advocated. Even before the saint's death in 1226, the Franciscans had separated into two groups: the Spirituals and the Conventuals. The Spirituals lived in accordance with the asceticism of their founder. The Conventuals, on the other hand, believed that the order needed to change in accordance with the needs of the Church and society. Both groups, in order to gain converts, propagated their message through literature and art.

After Francis died, it was necessary to write a *Vita* so that the world might know about the saint. Three different biographies were written over the next forty years, each with its own bias. The last of the three, the *Legenda maior*, replaced the other ones after an order to burn all other manuscripts was passed in 1266. Written by Saint Bonaventure, the *Legenda Maior* is a Conventual work that attempted to unify the Order and justify some of their more relaxed beliefs.

Each of these literary works also played a role in contemporary depictions of Saint Francis. The earliest depictions of the saint emphasize the miraculous, paralleling the *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano. After the release of the *Vita Secunda*, artistic representations of the saint and scenes from his life stressed his poverty, daily life, and character as written about in the second biography. The *Saint Francis cycle* in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco was not painted until the end of the thirteenth century, but is derived from the *Legenda maior*. Its

depiction of Francis is in tune with the Conventuals and demonstrates their willingness to use art as a means of propaganda.

In the Lower Basilica of San Francesco, I argue, the Chapel of Saint Martin provides a similar example of how the Conventuals used art to validate their interpretations of Franciscan poverty. The source for the fresco cycle of the life and death of Martin is the *Legenda aurea*, a thirteenth-century compilation of saint's lives. Written by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, the text quickly circulated beyond the Dominicans into the libraries of other orders like the Franciscans. Its use in the university system spread across a broad range of students, many of whom belonged to a religious order. The life of Saint Martin in the *Legenda aurea* differs from his original biography, concentrating on the virtuous character of Martin's early life and his miraculous powers while bishop and omitting his asceticism. The frescos are not bound to the text and I believe that they deviate from traditional accounts of Saint Martin in order to suggest a distinctly Conventual interpretation.

The patron of the chapel, Cardinal Gentile Montefiore, was a Conventual and had worked against the Spirituels during part of his career. He attended the University of Paris and had a taste for the luxurious, a clear contradiction of his Franciscan vows. Through a series of papal bulls through the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, however, the Conventuals were able to justify their divergence from the definition of poverty described by Francis. Gentile's chapel portrays a Conventual interpretation of the saint that fits with Gentile's personal beliefs and justifies Conventual practices.

Many of the scenes correspond to similar narratives in the life of Saint Francis and some of the iconography parallels the *Saint Francis cycle* in the Upper Basilica. Francis had revered Martin for his poverty and the *Vita Secunda* even compared the two saints in the scene of the

division of the cloak. Martin, however, had been Bishop of Tours for much of his life and was known for his miracles while bishop. Francis had opposed his friars holding ecclesiastical office, but, by the early fourteenth century, many friars had accepted bishoprics. I believe that, by depicting the life of Saint Martin and emphasizing his status as bishop, the Conventuals could justify that practice.

In the scenes from his episcopate, Martin does not look like the ascetic bishop described by Sulpicius, but the well-dressed ecclesiastic found in Jacobus that supported the Conventuals. In the two death scenes, Martin's appearance in golden robes deviates from both biographies. The Conventuals have diverged from the text and tradition because this portrayal supported the way of life that they advocated. The message was aimed at the friars and pilgrims that visited the chapel. The cycle connected Martin and Francis and illustrated that it was suitable for Martin to be a bishop and wear rich garments. Thus I believe the Conventuals also considered their deviations from Francis acceptable.

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Illustrations

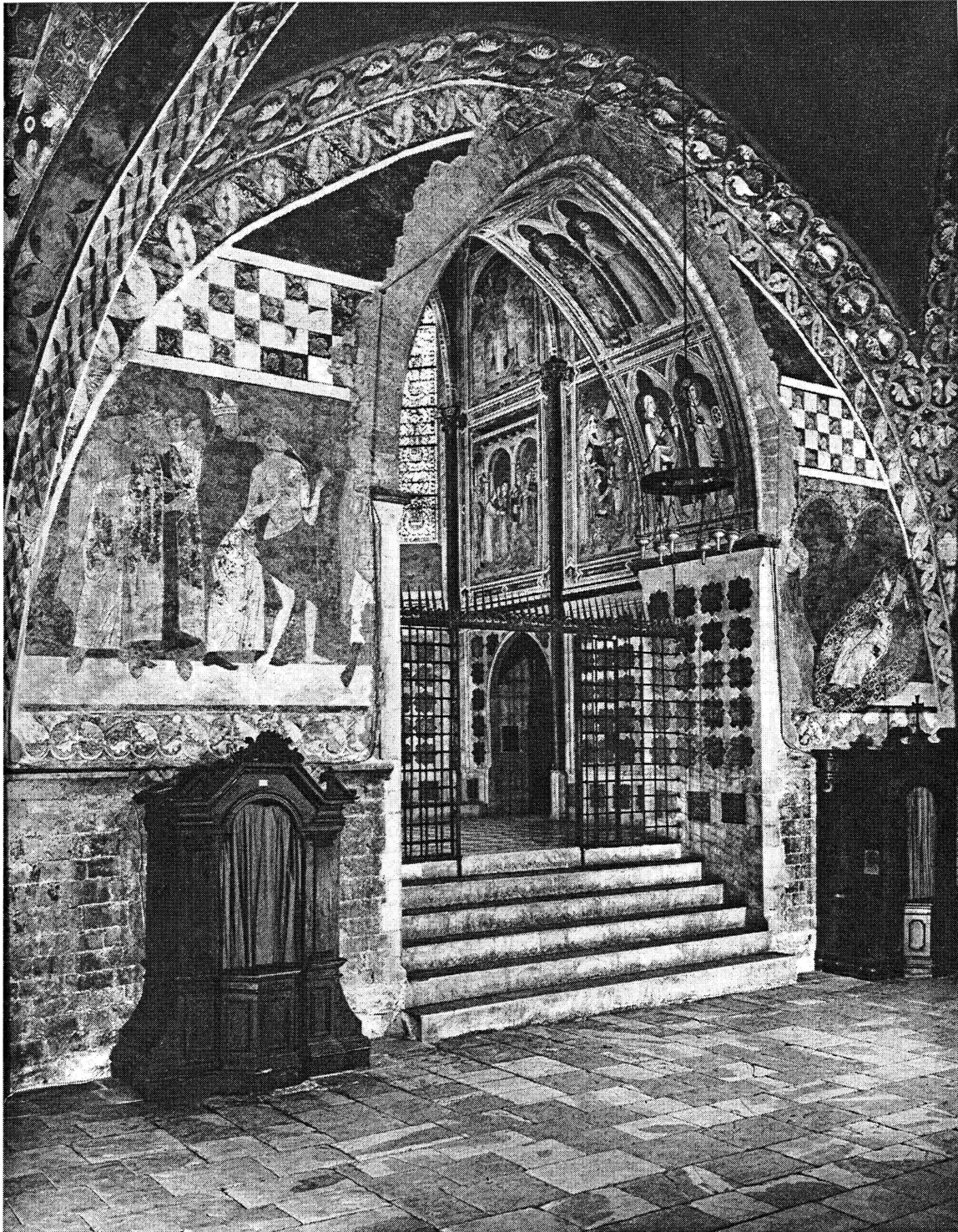
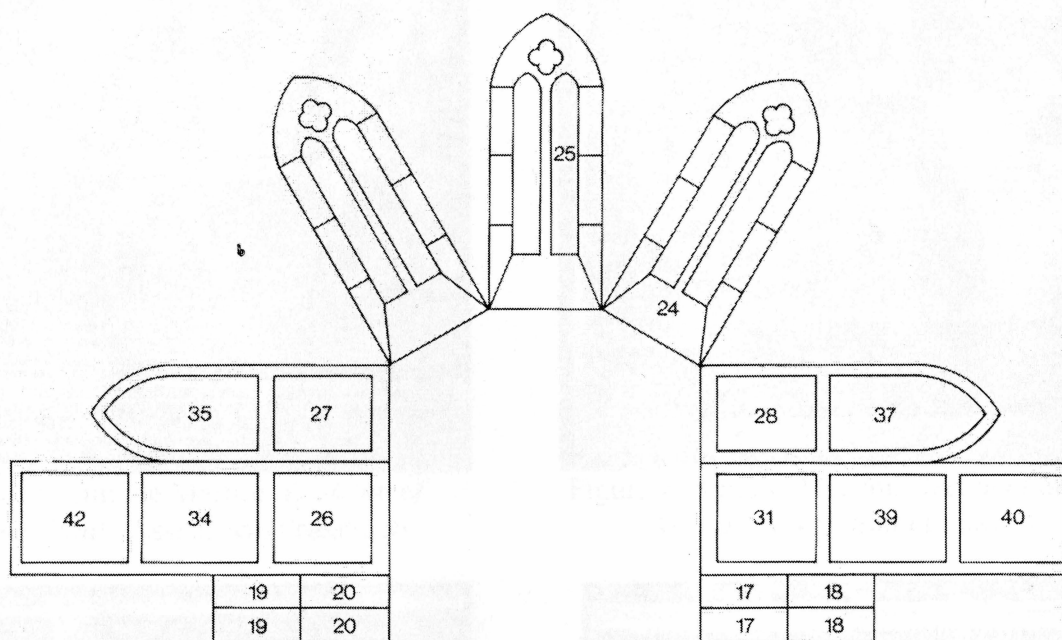


Figure 1: Saint Martin Chapel, view from nave of Lower Basilica



16. Diagram of the fresco cycle in the Chapel of San Martino in the Lower Church, Assisi
 St Louis of France and St Louis of Toulouse (19)
 St Clare and St Elizabeth (20)
 Burial of the Saint (42)
 Miracle of the Resurrected Child (34)
 Division of the Cloak (26)
 Meditation (35)
 Dream (27)

Stained-glass windows (24, 25)
 Miraculous Mass (37)
 St Martin is Knighted (28)
 Death of the Saint (40)
 Miracle of Fire (39)
 St Martin Renounces his Weapons (31)
 St Catherine of Alexandria and St Mary Magdalene (18)
 St Francis and St Anthony of Padua (17)

Figure 2: Layout of Chapel of Saint Martin



Figure 3: Simone Martini, *Division of the Cloak*, Assisi, San Francesco

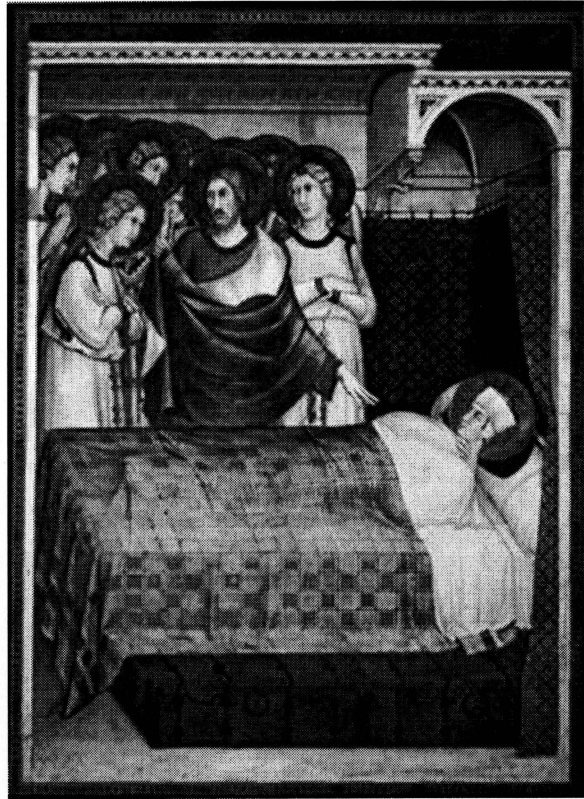


Figure 4: Simone Martini, *Dream of Saint Martin*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 5: Simone Martini, *Investiture*, Assisi, San Francesco

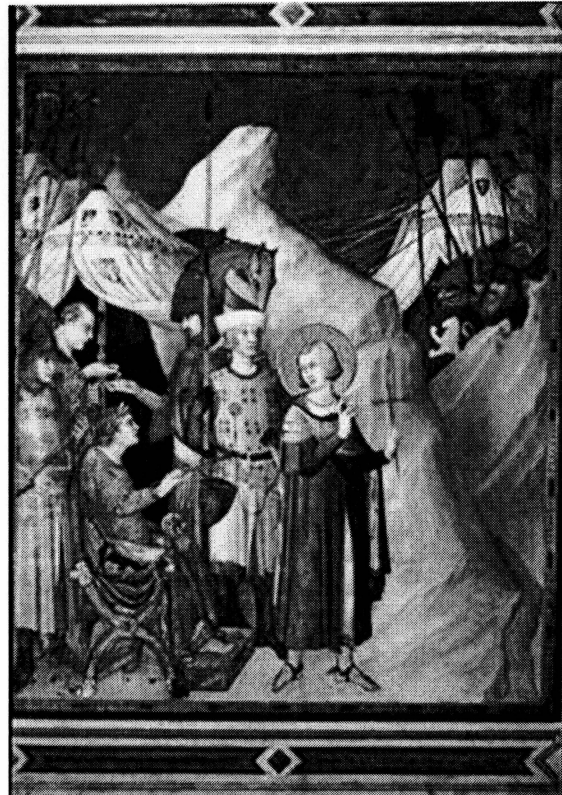


Figure 6: Simone Martini, *Renunciation of Arms*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 7: Simone Martini, *Miracle of the Resurrected Child*, Assisi, San Francesco

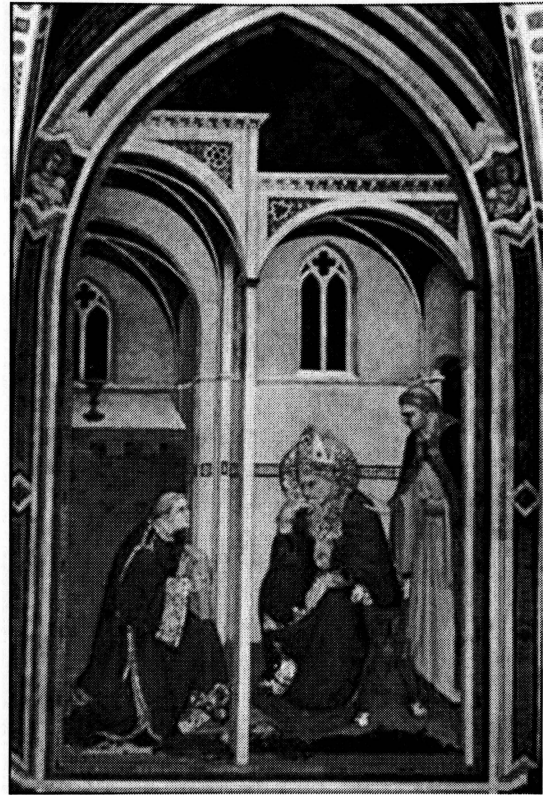


Figure 8: Simone Martini, *Meditation of Saint Martin*, Assisi, San Francesco

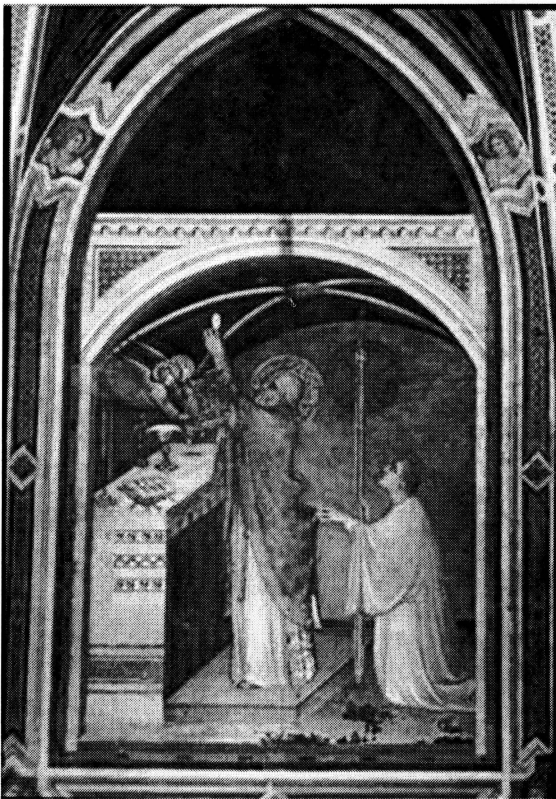


Figure 9: Simone Martini, *Miraculous Mass*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 10: Simone Martini, *Miracle of Fire*, Assisi, San Francesco

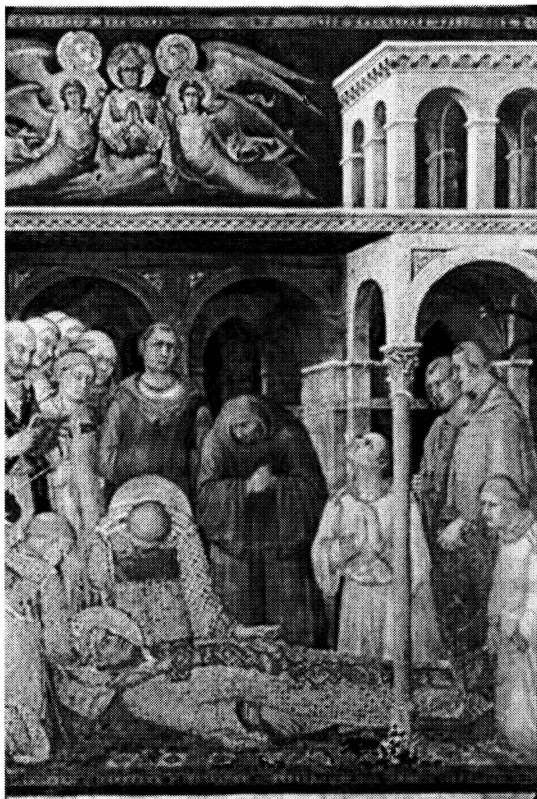


Figure 11: Simone Martini, *Death of Saint Martin*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 12: Simone Martini, *Funeral of Saint Martin*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 13: Anonymous, *Saint Francis*, Subiaco, Sacro Speco

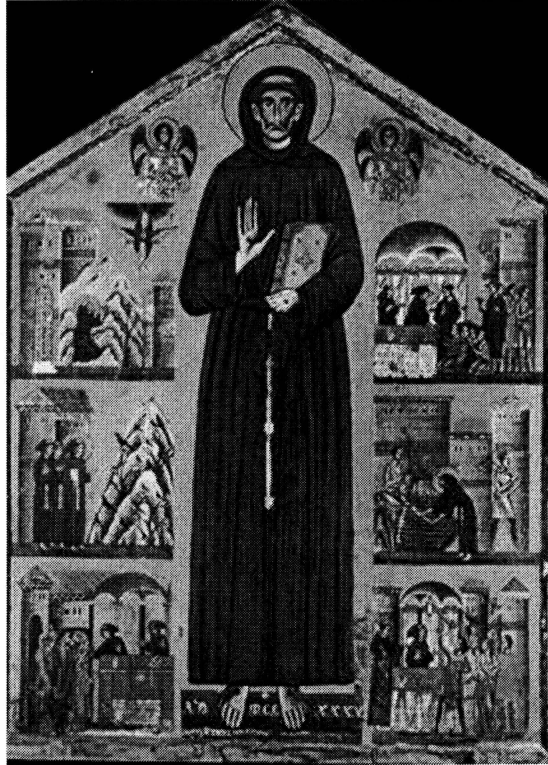


Figure 14: Bonaventura Berlinghieri, *Saint Francis*,
Pescia, San Francesco



Figure 15: Giunta Pisano, *Saint Francis*, Rome, Vatican Museums

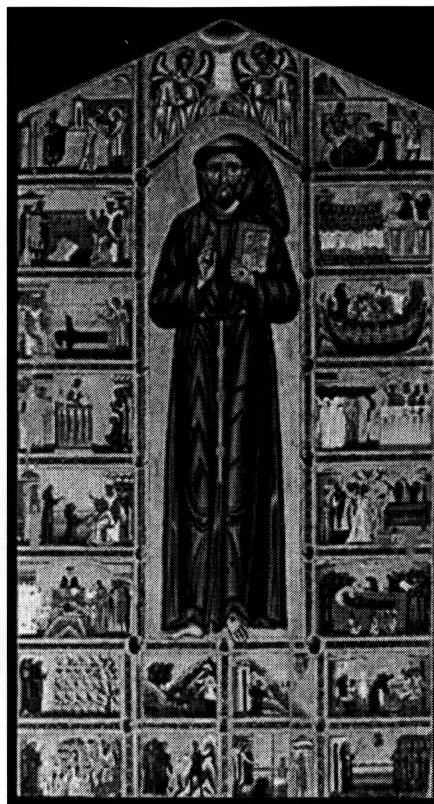


Figure 16: Bardi Dossal, Florence, Santa Croce

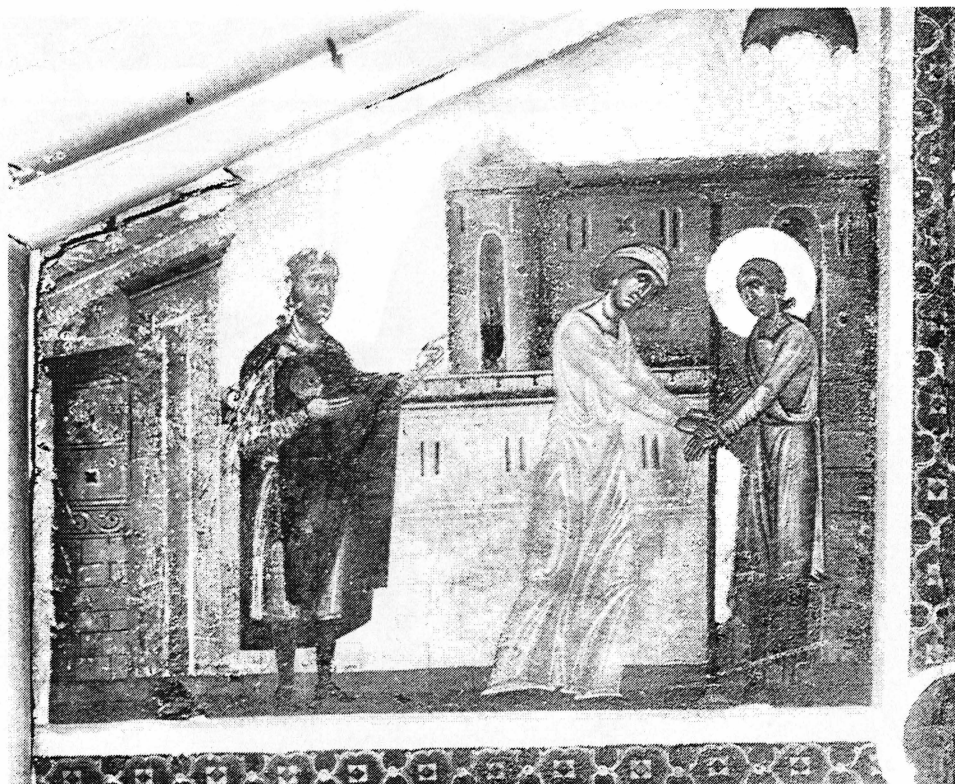


Figure 17: *Saint Francis' Mother Releasing Him from Imprisonment*,
Bardi Dossal, Florence, Santa Croce



Figure 18: *Renunciation of Worldly Goods*, Bardi Dossal, Florence, Santa Croce



Figure 19: *Gospel of the Feast of Saint Matthias*, Bardi Dossal, Florence, Santa Croce

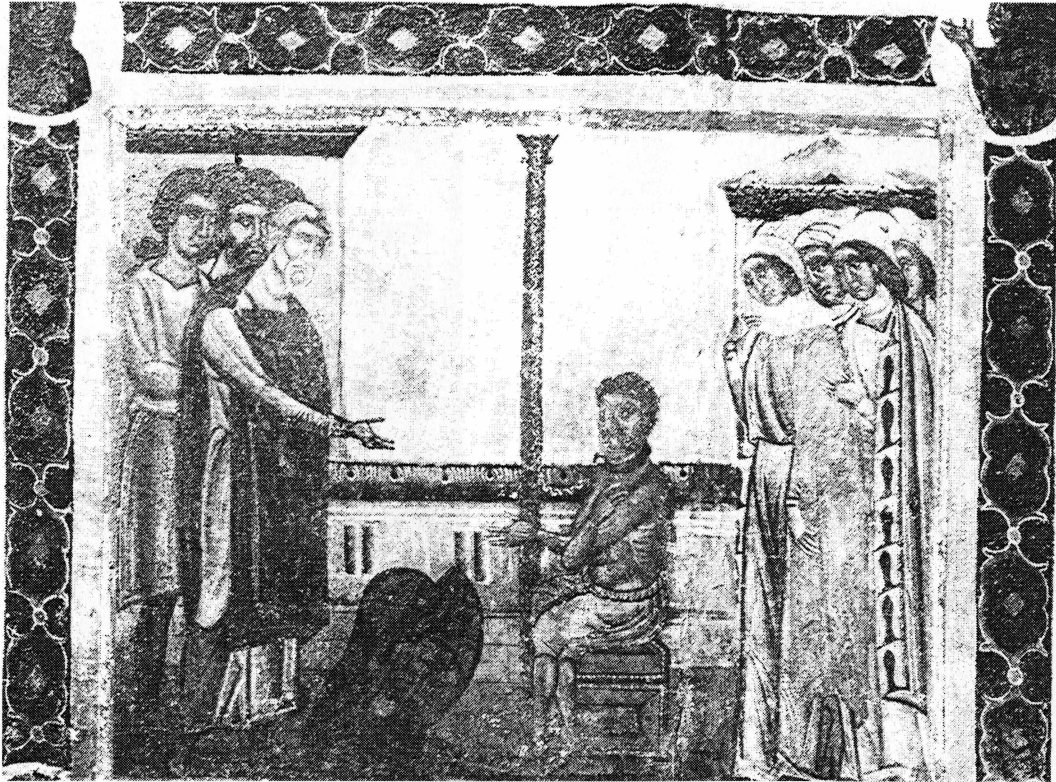
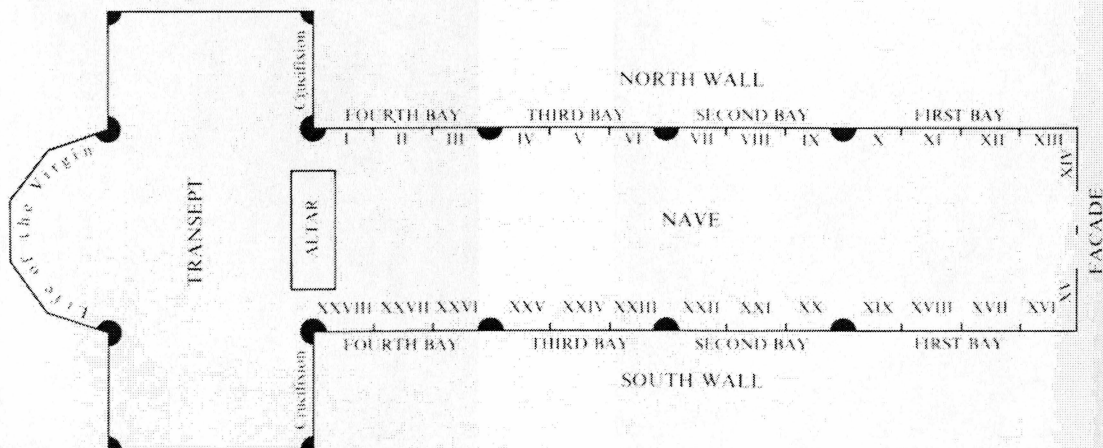


Figure 20: *Penance in the Streets of Assisi*, Bardi Dossal, Florence, Santa Croce



b. Plan of the frescoes of the *Legend of St. Francis*

Figure 21: Layout of *Saint Francis Cycle*, Upper Basilica, Assisi, San Francesco

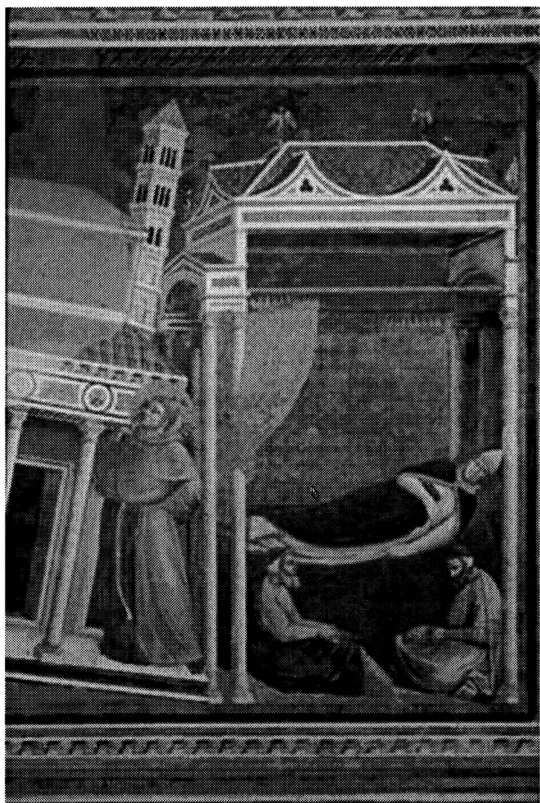


Figure 22: *Dream of Innocent III*, Assisi, San Francesco

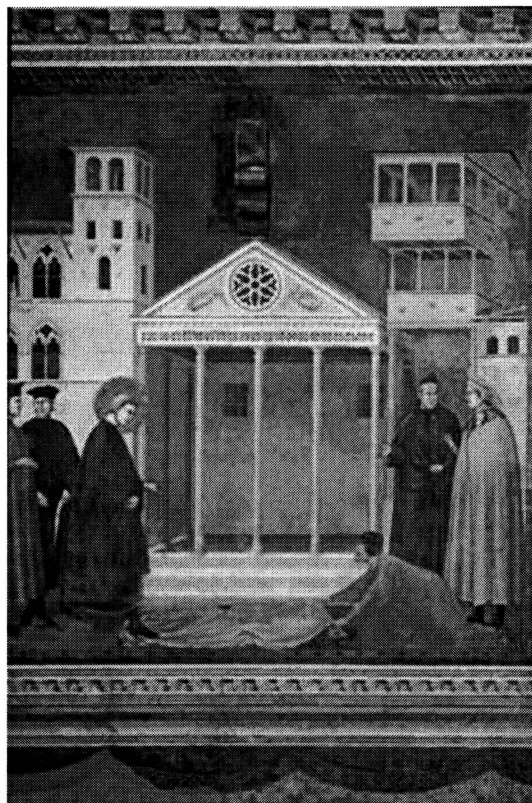


Figure 23: *Homage of a Simple Man at Assisi*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 24: *Liberation of a Prisoner*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 25: *The Approval of the Order*, Assisi, San Francesco

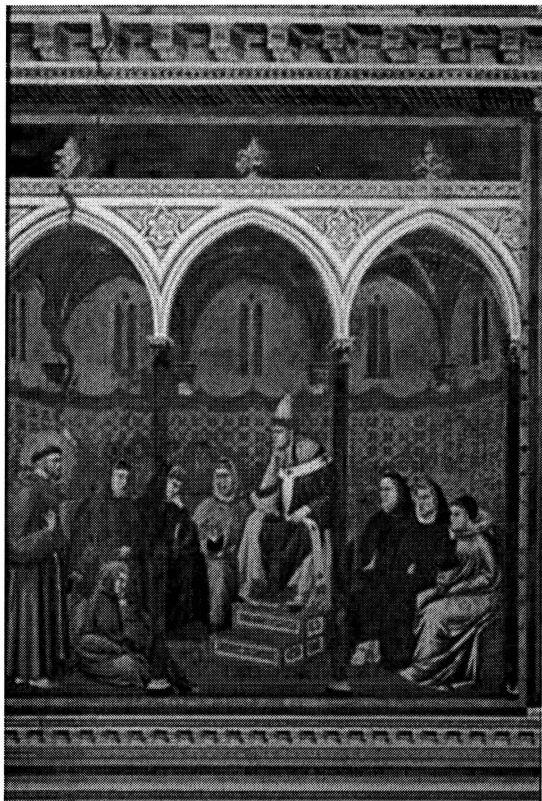


Figure 26: *Sermon Before Honorious III*,
Assisi, San Francesco

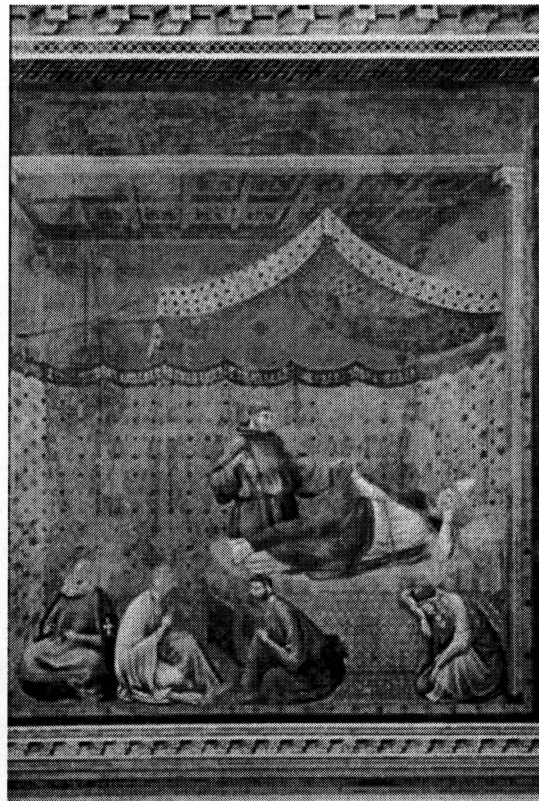


Figure 27: *Appearance to Gregory IX*,
Assisi, San Francesco

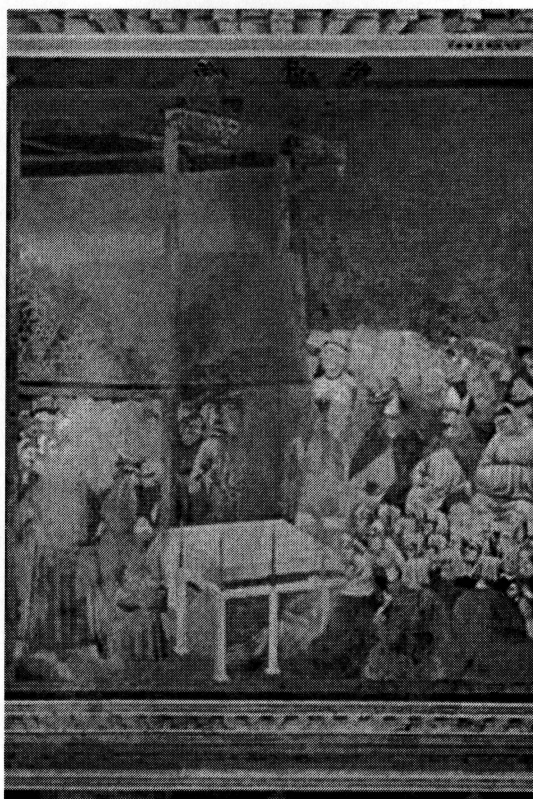


Figure 28: *Canonization of Saint Francis*,
Assisi, San Francesco

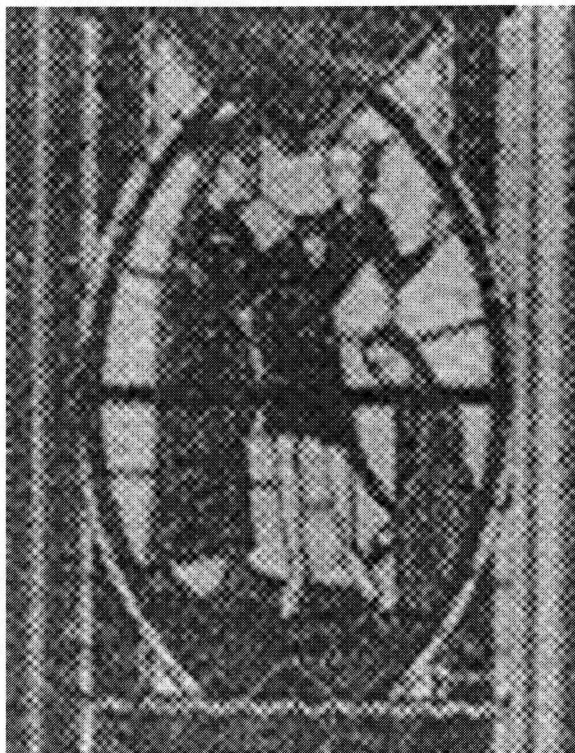


Figure 29: *Investiture*, Tours, Saint Gatien



Figure 30: Simone Martini, Detail of *Meditation*,
Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 31: Duccio, Pentecost, from *Maestà*, Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

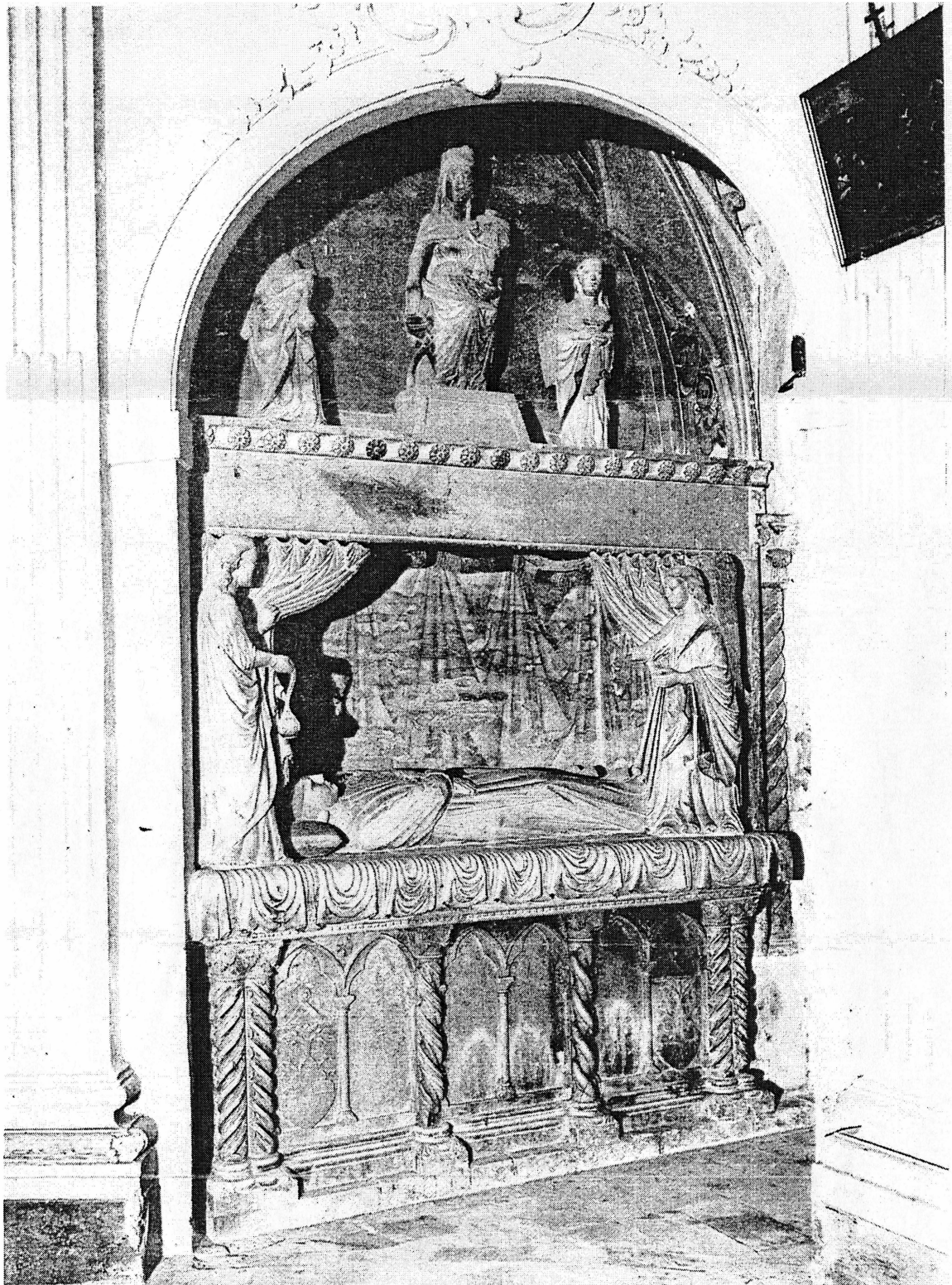


Figure 32: Tomb for Parents of Gentile Montefiore, Montefiore dell' Aso, San Francesco

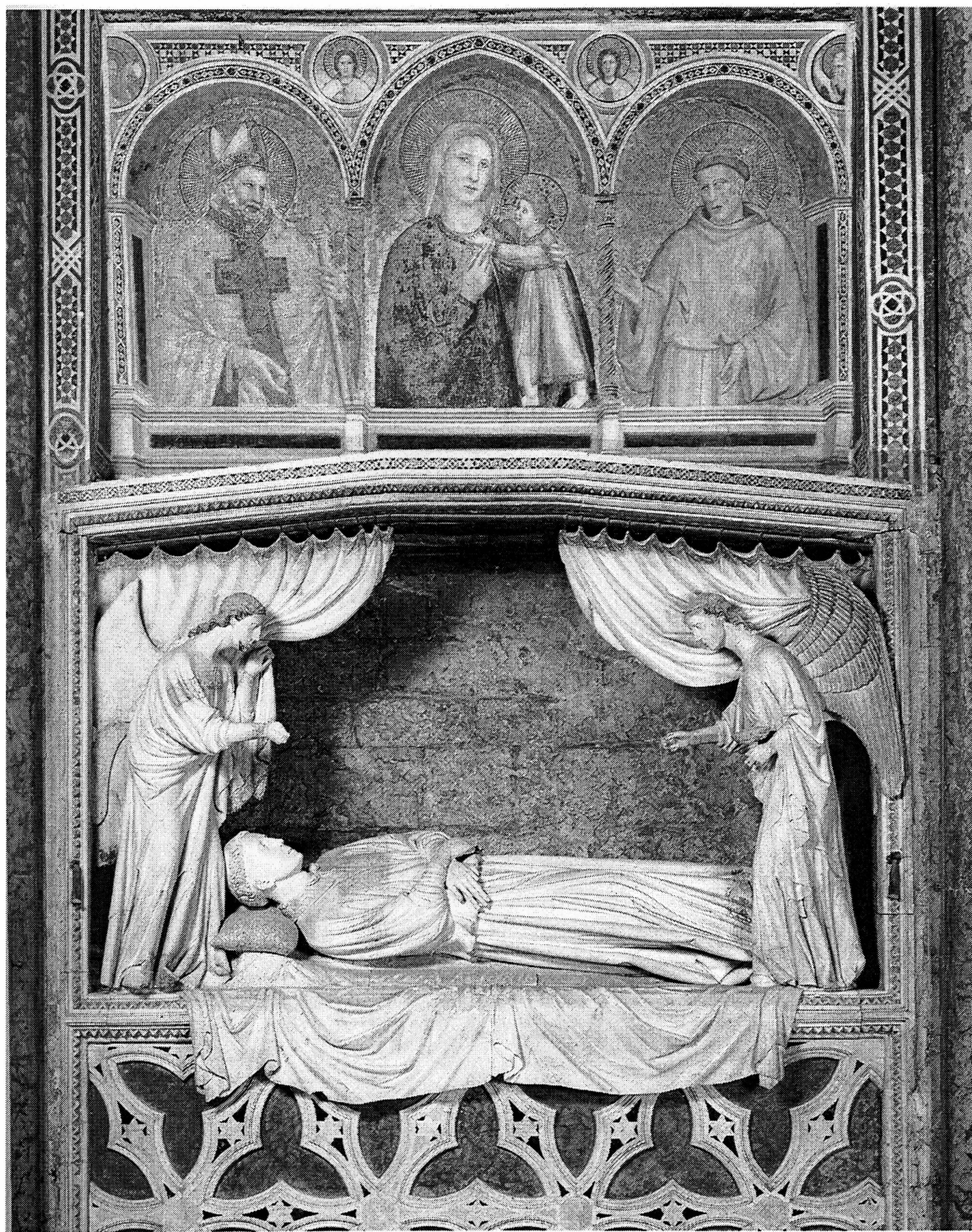


Figure 33: Orsini Tomb, Assisi, San Francesco

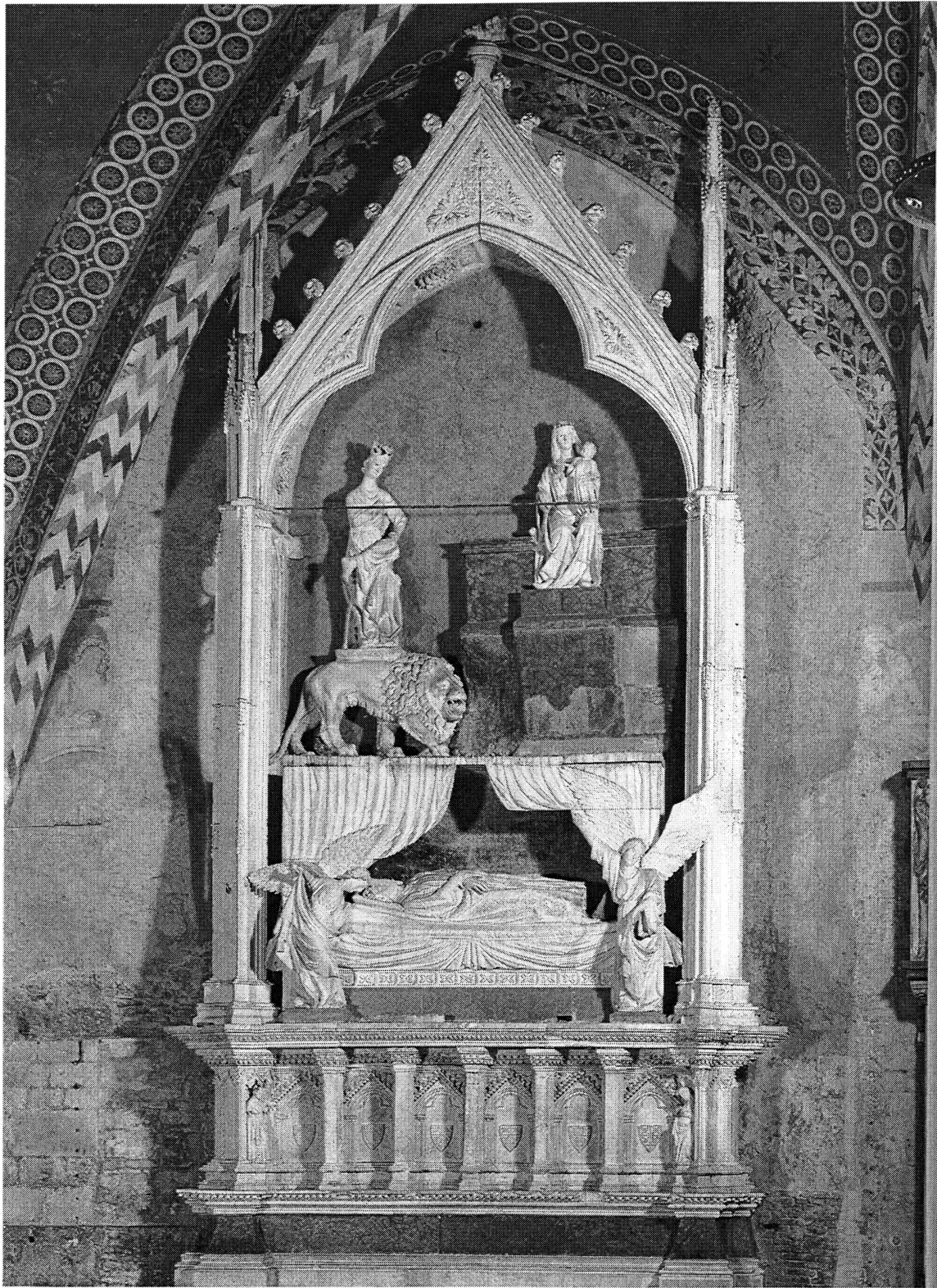


Figure 34: Funeral Monument to John of Brienn, Assisi, San Francesco

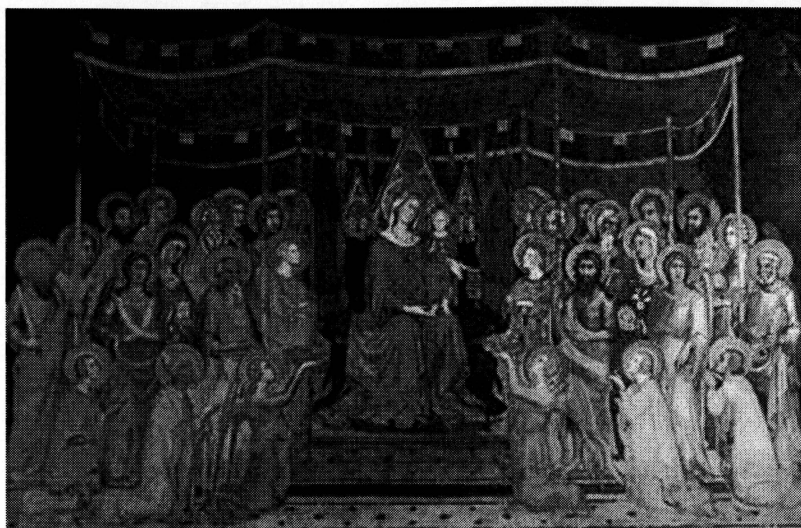


Figure 35: Simone Martini, *Maestà*, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico



Figure 36: Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*
Altarpiece, Naples, Capodimonte



Figure 37: *Madonna*, no. 583, Siena, Pinacoteca



Figure 38: *Francis Giving His Cloak to a Poor Knight, Assisi, San Francesco*

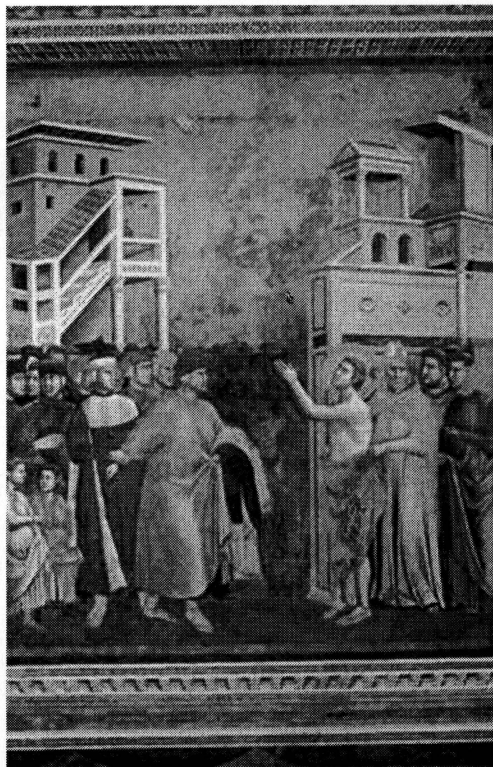


Figure 39: *Renunciation of Wordly Goods, Assisi, San Francesco*

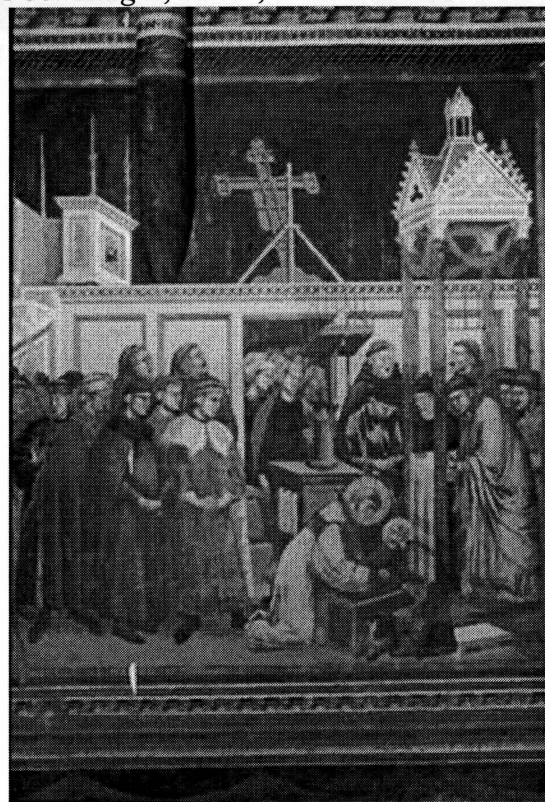


Figure 40: *Miracle at Greccio, Assisi, San Francesco*

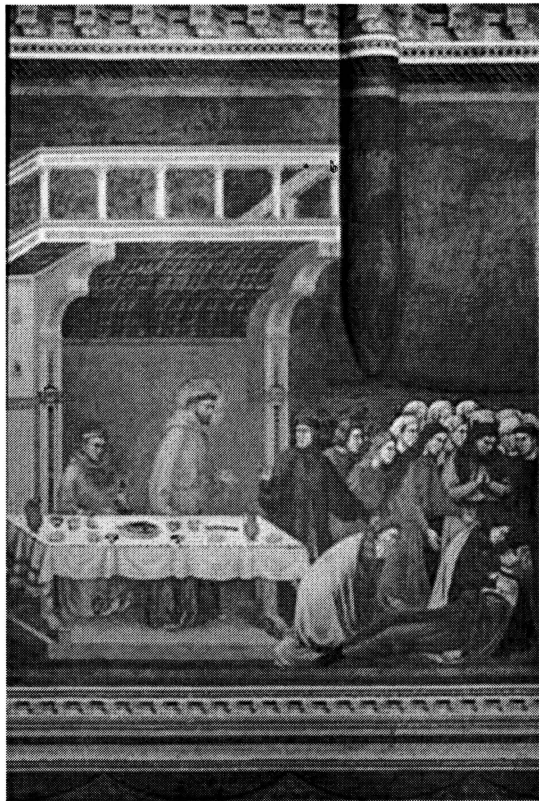


Figure 41: *Death of the Knight of Celano*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 42: *Trial by Fire Before the Sultan of Egypt*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 43: *Death and Funeral of Saint Francis*, Assisi, San Francesco



Figure 44: *Verification of the Stigmata*, Assisi, San Francesco