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**The Artistic Patronage Of Gil De Albornoz (1302-1367), A Cardinal In
Context**

**Volume One of two volumes
(Text)**

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art**

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work. I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

Abstract

This thesis examines the artistic patronage of Gil de Albornoz (d. 1367), Archbishop of Toledo (1338-1350), Cardinal priest of S. Clemente (1350-1366) and Cardinal bishop of Sabina (1356-1367). The first chapter delineates his early career in Spain until he left for Avignon in 1350. The analysis of documentary and archaeological evidence re-defines his input in the cathedral of Toledo, and the importance of his Augustinian foundation in Villaviciosa del Tajuña. The second chapter concentrates on the legations of Albornoz in Italy, and the fortified palaces and castles he commissioned along the Lands of St. Peter as he achieved success in his mission. This thesis focuses on a limited number of the most representative fortresses and palaces. The third chapter analyses Albornoz's artistic patronage on a private basis, and concentrates on his burial chapel of St. Catherine in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi and the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna. The fourth chapter dissects his will and the surviving objects in Toledo. Comparison with the testamentary donations of contemporary cardinals provides a parameter within which to measure his relevance as an artistic patron. Finally, the fifth chapter concentrates on the important sepulchre in the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the Cathedral of Toledo and its context.

Abbreviations

AA = Bologna, Archivio Albornoziano, Collegio di Spagna.

ACT = Toledo, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral.

ANF = Paris, Archives Nationales de France.

ASB = Bologna, Archivio di Stato.

ASR = Rome, Archivio di Stato.

ASSp = Spoleto, Archivio di Stato.

ASV = Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

ADV = Avignon, Archives Départementales de Vaucluse.

BAV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

BNE = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

IE = Introitus et Exitus.

mrs. = maravedies.

OFM = Ordinis Fratrum Minorum.

OP = Ordinis Predicatorum.

OSA = Ordinis Sancti Augustini.

Conventions

In the Chronicles of the kings of Castile, given the length of some chapters, I have included the page number where the information referred to in the text can be found. The Roman numerals refer to the chapter number, and the number in Arabic numerals to the page number: *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, xcIII, p. 145. The manuscript transcriptions of documents in Toledo executed by Burriel in the eighteenth century are referred to under the signature of the

Biblioteca Nacional de España, since they are not listed under his name. Thus: BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 56v.

In inventories or catalogue exhibitions, I have referred to the catalogue number: Christie (1938), no. 76. References to original document signatures are given where documents are unpublished or their publication is defective. I have used the native form of places and given names, thus: Zaragoza, Gil, Pedro I, Ximeno, etc. Names of saints are given in English with the exception of the local saint of Toledo, Ildefonso.

For the modern nomenclature of places listed in the *Descriptio*, I have used the index in Leardo Mascanzoni, *La 'Descriptio Romandiole' del cardinale Anglic. Introduzione e Testo* (Bologna: Società di Studi Romagnoli-La Fotocromo Emiliana, 1985), pp. 257-306.

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Chapter 5

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Chapter 1

Gil de Albornoz 1302-1353: from Cuenca to Avignon

This chapter covers Albornoz's career before the Italian legations, from his birth until 1353, when he left Avignon. It discusses his early artistic contribution, in particular his seals, gifts of vestments, and monastic foundations as well as those of his contemporaries. The documentation on his years as Archbishop of Toledo (1338-1350) has not been explored, and the contribution he made to the building campaign of the Cathedral of Toledo has been so far overlooked.

Gil de Albornoz was born in the Castilian town of Cuenca in 1302. The year of his birth can be deduced from the letter of John XXII in July 1326 refusing to grant the bishopric of Cuenca to Albornoz on the basis of his age: he was 23 years old, and the prescribed minimum age for such position was 25.¹ If, following popular practice in Spain, Gil de Albornoz was named after the saint of the day, he was born on the first day of September, the feast of St. Giles.² The devotion to St. Giles was widespread in Spain and France, as the numerous churches dedicated to the saint, and the frequent occurrence of the name, attest.³ It is unclear whether the small church which once stood near the village of Albornoz, which belonged to his family, was

¹ Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter cited as ASV), Reg. Aven. 25, fol. 337r, quoted by Emilio Sáez, José Trenchs and Carmen Bañares, 'La etapa española de don Gil de Albornoz (1302-1336)', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. IV, pp. 7-35, at pp. 10-11. Previously, Beneyto (1950), p. 35, had suggested a birth date between 1295 and 1296.

² Fernando Flores Jiménez, *El Cardenal Albornoz*. Series Temas Españoles no. 281 (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1967), p. 7.

³ For the popularity of the name in Castile, see *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles Vol. LXVI (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), xx, p. 17; xxiii, p. 20; xxvi, p. 22. See María Lucía Lahoz Gutiérrez, 'La portada de San Gil en la catedral de Vitoria', *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía*, Tomo V, nº. 10 (1992), pp. 235-248, at p. 247, fn. 72.

dedicated to St. Giles or to St. Blaise.⁴ The presence of such an oratory would –perhaps- account for our cardinal’s forename or for his personal devotion to St. Blaise. In any event, Gil de Albornoz was most likely born on September 1, 1302. Incidentally, 1302 was a year marked by a great famine in Castile.⁵ Albornoz lived through a particularly difficult period in the history of Castile, marked by political and social unrest, war, epidemics, famine, and a decline in the moral standards of the clergy.⁶ The minority of Alfonso XI (1313 to 1325) was marked by the struggle for the throne of Castile.⁷ John XXII sent the cardinal bishop of Sabina, Guillaume de Peyre de Godin, on a legation to Castile to take in hand the political turmoil and the decadent moral standards of the clergy.⁸ Guillaume called the Council of Valladolid in 1322, which lined up the ecclesiastical reforms later endorsed by Albornoz.⁹

Despite the circumstances, Albornoz thrived in his political and ecclesiastical career. Albornoz attained the archbishopric of Toledo in 1338, aged 36. Not only was he young but also rather unexperienced for the most senior position in the Spanish church.¹⁰ Albornoz was appointed Primate of Spain when he was archdeacon of Calatrava. His successful career reflects his good political connections and his personal qualities. As Archbishop of Toledo and royal chancellor, Albornoz held mighty ecclesiastical and political power until he left Spain in 1350.

Although the precise date of Albornoz’s renunciation of the archbishopric of Toledo is not

⁴ Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 9v: ‘ay una ermita llamada San Gil, o san Blas de Albornoz; de la qual villa tomaron esta señora, y los de su casa, este apellido’.

⁵ *Crónica de Fernando IV*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. LXVI (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), viii, p. 119.

⁶ Julio Valdeón, ‘Movimientos antiseñoriales en Castilla en el siglo XIV’, *Cuadernos de Historia (Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, CSIC, anexos revista Hispania)* 1975-1976, pp. 357-390, at pp. 359-361. Moxó (1975a) discussed the profound social changes in the first half of the 14th century.

⁷ Esther González Crespo, ‘Organización de la cancillería castellana en la primera mitad del siglo XIV’, *En la España Medieval V* (1986), pp. 447-470, at pp. 450-2. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ix, p. 180.

⁸ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, xxvii, pp. 191-192. José Sánchez Herrero, *Concilios Provinciales y Sínodos Toledanos de los siglos XIV y XV. La religiosidad cristiana del clero y pueblo*. Estudios de Historia, 2 (La Laguna, Tenerife: Universidad, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1976), pp. 33-38.

⁹ Sánchez Herrero (1976), pp. 36-38. Lop Otín (2003), p. 380, fn. 224.

¹⁰ On the primacy of Toledo, see González and Pereda (1999), pp. 144-147.

known, it must have taken place soon after his promotion to the cardinal rank, as was customary.¹¹ From December 1353, cardinals were not allowed to hold a position higher than a bishopric.¹² This regulation did not prevent the accumulation of ecclesiastical benefices, and the Pope awarded Albornoz a vast number of offices in the Spanish church. Albornoz was granted a large number of benefits to compensate for his renunciation of the mitre of Toledo, although he might have kept one of these positions while he was cardinal, that of archdeacon of Toledo.¹³ From Avignon, Albornoz appointed delegates to supervise his state and to collect the proceeds from his deaneries and canonries. Albornoz thus remained financially attached to his homeland. In his will, he remembered his native town of Cuenca with important donations, endowed his foundation in Villaviciosa and chose Toledo as his final resting place. When he left Spain in the summer of 1350, he probably did not suspect that he would never see it again. He died in Italy 17 years later and his wish to return home was finally granted, posthumously, in 1372.

1.1. The Albornoz family: political and social standing

The Albornoz were an important and wealthy family of Cuenca, although not of royal ancestry, as some early biographers of the cardinal claimed.¹⁴ Even if they were not part of the

¹¹ Mollat (1951), p. 40. Pérez (1579), fol. 18v.

¹² Mollat (1951), p. 62.

¹³ Pérez (1579), fol. 18v: 'Fue don Gil Arcediano de Toledo en tiempo de don Goncalo su successor y juntamente era Cardenal de Roma.' Juan Bautista Loperráez Corvalán, *Descripción histórica del Obispado de Osma*. Colección Diplomática del Obispado de Osma, 3 vols (Madrid: Livraria d' Alcobaça, 1788, facsimile edition Madrid: Turner, 1978), Vol. 1, p. 297, instead stated that Albornoz was archdeacon of Soria, a position offered in 1352 as compensation for having renounced the archbishopric. Lop Otín (2003), pp. 167-168, for the archdeaconry of Toledo.

¹⁴ Garro de Toledo (1990), ff. 8-10, 12r. Mateo López, *Memorias Históricas de Cuenca y su Obispado* (Cuenca, 1787, facsimile by Ángel González Palencia ed., Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1949 Vol. I; 1953 Vol. II.

highest Castilian nobility, they were the leading family in the region of Cuenca, where they had a relevant number of landed assets.¹⁵ Albornoz's father, Garcia Alvarez de Albornoz, also known as Alvar Alvarez, belonged to an important Castilian family, whilst his mother Teresa was a member of the more powerful Luna, hailing from Aragon.¹⁶ Teresa's brother, Ximeno de Luna, was Bishop of Zaragoza (1297-1316), Archbishop of Tarragona (1317-1327) and Archbishop of Toledo (1327-1338), and had a crucial role in Gil's ecclesiastical career. Garcia and Teresa produced three sons: Alvar Garcia and Fernan Gomez, and Gil de Albornoz.¹⁷ The Albornoz family served the kings of Castile and Aragon throughout the fourteenth century, at a time of tension between the two kingdoms. In 1327, Garcia Alvarez was the tutor of prince Alfonso of Aragon, the son of Jaime II.¹⁸ His sons served the Castilian kings Alfonso XI and Pedro I until they joined the party of Enrique de Trastamara and fled to Aragon. Alvar Garcia and Fernan Gomez are documented in 1343 in the siege of Algeciras, while their younger brother Gil de Albornoz negotiated in France the loan to support the campaign against the Moors.¹⁹ Alvar Garcia followed a distinguished diplomatic career in the court of Pedro I, who delegated in him the negotiations in France for his marriage with Blanche de Bourbon. In 1355, Alvar joined the party of Enrique de Trastamara, the king's half-brother.²⁰ Enrique's claim to the throne of

Series Biblioteca Conquense V, VI), Vol. II, pp. 127, 224-227. Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 253. Cf. Jara (1914), p. 12 and Flores Jiménez (1967), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ Moxó (1972). Pedro Miguel Ibáñez Martínez, *Arquitectura y poder: espacios emblemáticos del linaje Albornoz en Cuenca* (Almagro: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2003) (hereafter referred to as Ibáñez Martínez, 2003a), p. 18, argued that their possessions were not particularly impressive. Salvador de Moxó, 'La nobleza castellana en el siglo XIV', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 7 (1970-1971), pp. 493-511, at p. 502.

¹⁶ Alberto Boscolo, 'Documenti aragonesi sulla famiglia Alvarez d'Albornoz', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 81-89, at p. 83.

¹⁷ Moxó (1972), pp. 34-35. Cf. Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 253.

¹⁸ Boscolo (1972), p. 83.

¹⁹ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cccx, p. 371: 'Alvar Garcia, et Fernand Gomez de Albornoz hermanos del Arzobispo de Toledo.' Alvar Garcia and Fernan Gomez first appear in documents in 1326. *Ibid.*, lxiv, p. 212: 'Alvar Garcia, et Fernan Gomez fijos de Garcia Alvarez con el Concejo de Cuenca.'

²⁰ Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), pp. 19-20. Moxó (1972), p. 37. Francisco Pinel y Monroy, *Retrato del buen vasallo, copiado de la vida, y hechos de D. Andres de Cabrera, primero marques de Moya. Ofrecele al excelentissimo señor*

Castile resulted in war between the siblings and their supporting armies. When Enrique killed his brother Pedro in Montiel and he finally reached the throne, Alvar was again employed at the royal household.²¹ The new king bestowed favours amongst his supporters, and the Albornoz increased their holdings with Utiel and Moya.²² Innocent VI appointed Fernán Gómez to the position of Comendador Mayor de Montalbán in the Order of Santiago in 1356.²³ Two of Fernán's sons joined Albornoz in Italy, Fernando Alvarez and Gomez Garcia.²⁴ Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz was Gil's trusted testamentary executor, and supervised the institution of the Collegio di Spagna.²⁵

The Alvarez family adopted the name of Albornoz in the thirteenth century from one of their possessions, the village of Albornoz in Cuenca, which has disappeared without trace.²⁶ In 1637 Garro de Toledo described the dilapidated state of the once prosperous village.²⁷

D. Juan Manuel Fernandez Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, marques de Villena, y Moya, Duque de Escalona, etc. (Madrid: Imprenta Imperial, 1677, facsimile edition Cuenca: El Toro de Barro- Asociación de Amigos de Moya, 1992), Libro I, ch. I, pp. 11-12; Libro II, ch. VII, pp. 210-211.

²¹ For his long services in the royal household, see Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 14v; Moxó (1972).

²² Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), pp. 20-21. Pinel y Monroy (1992), Libro II, ch. VII, pp. 211-212.

²³ In October 1355, Lope de Luna was authorised to bestow the habit of the Order of Santiago to Fernando Gomez, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 360.

²⁴ In the 1368 meeting of the testamentary executors of Albornoz, his nephew 'militem domini' Gomez Garcia was assigned 15,000 florins. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 72v-73r.

²⁵ For Fernando Alvarez, see P. E. Russell, 'The Memorias of Fernán Álvarez de Albornoz, Archbishop of Seville, 1371-80', in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, ed. Frank Pierce (Oxford: The Dolphin Book Co., 1959), pp. 319-330; García y García (1972a). Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz was abbot of Valladolid, archdeacon of Toledo (1367), archbishop of Lisbon (1369), and of Sevilla (1371). He taught Canon Law at Bologna; Berthe M. Marti, *The Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century. Edition and Translation of Its Statutes, with Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), p. 117.

²⁶ In 1629, Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 252: 'Tuieron por hija a doña Maria Garcia, que otros llaman doña Maria Aluarez Albornoz, por ser señora de la villa de Albornoz, pueblo principal junto al Villarejo, adonde es aora San Gil, o San Blas de Albornoz.' Cf. Moxó (1972), p. 21, fn. 7. Miguel Lasso de la Vega (Marqués del Saltillo), *El Señorío de Valverde* (Cuenca: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, CSIC, 1945), p. XIV.

²⁷ Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 9v: 'famosa en aquellos tiempos, y en estos del todo arruinada, cuyas memorias, y rastros se conservan en su sitio antiguo, que es entre las villas de Belmonte y Villarejo de Fuentes, Obispado de Cuenca, en un valle junto a un montecillo que se llama el Atalaya, donde ay una ermita llamada San Gil, o san Blas de Albornoz; de la qual villa tomaron esta señora, y los de su casa, este apellido'. Baños de Velasco (1679), fol. 57r: 'la villa de Albornoz, que en aquel tiempo era mas principal, que es en la Mancha...'

The territorial assets of the family also included the salt mines of Valsalobre and Beamud, the villages of Sotoca, Naharros, Uña, Valdemeca, el Hoyo de Cuenca, Cañizares, Ribagorda, Poyatos, Portilla, Valdecabras, Sacedoncillo, Arrancacepas, and Villaseca; Alfonso XI granted the family the villages of Torralba and Tragacete, and their possessions would increase in the late fourteenth century with additions in the region of Guadalajara.²⁸ In 1312, Alvar Garcia and his son Fernan signed a contract with the Order of Santiago exchanging their properties in Cervera for their lifetime use of the castle of Huelamo.²⁹ In 1314 and 1328, further property exchanges were arranged between the Albornoz and the Chapter of Cuenca cathedral.³⁰

The economic and social status of the Albornoz was firmly established when Alvar Garcia built the family residence in the town of Cuenca.³¹ Pedro Miguel Ibáñez argued that a large fortified building which featured in a sixteenth-century engraving, to the north of the Cathedral, represented the Albornoz quarters.³² The palace was abandoned in the second half of the fifteenth century and has disappeared.³³ Yet, a building survives which can certainly be linked to the family, to the south of the Cathedral. The building presently housing the Museo

²⁸ Moxó (1972), p. 41 for Torralba and Tragacete. Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), p. 18, fn. 11 gives a different list of their possessions: Albornoz, Naharros, Uña, Valdemeca, Aldehuela, Cañizares, el Hoyo de Cuenca, Ribagorda, Poyatos, Portilla, Valdecabras, Valsalobre, Sacedoncillo, Arrancacepas and Portilla. According to Lasso de la Vega (1945), p. XIV, Utiel was given in 1369 to Alvar Garcia; see also Moxó (1972), p. 40 and fn.75 for Utiel references, and doc. I. Beteta was purchased from Leonor de Guzmán in 1369; see Moxó (1972), p. 36, fn. 57 and doc. II, at pp. 68-70. Ibid., pp. 48-49 for Alcocer, Salmeron and Valdeolivas, purchased with the inheritance received from Gil's will, the amount paid for the 3 villages in 1371 was 690,000 maravedis. Cf. Antonio Herrera Casado, *Crónica y Guía de la provincia de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1983), pp. 75, 241, for different dates.

²⁹ Antonio Francisco Aguado, Alfonso Antonio Alemán y Rosales and Jose López Agurleta, *Bullarium equestris Ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha, per annorum seriem nonnullis donationum, & aliis interiectis Scriptionibus...* (Madrid: ex typ. Ioannis de Aritzia, 1719), p. 285.

³⁰ Archivo Catedral de Cuenca, Institucional, siglo XIV, no. 242, 7 January 1314, quoted by Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 25. Cf. Sanz y Díaz (1965), docs. 263, 339.

³¹ Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 252: 'Don Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz ... como tenia tantos lugares en tierra de Cuenca, y cerca della, y por averse hallado en su conquista hizo asiento en la misma ciudad con su muger, adonde labraron casas junto a la iglesia mayor, que oy llaman el solar de los Albornozes, y fundó Capilla en la misma Iglesia'. Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 11r. The chapel was in fact funded by a later member of the family, Garcí Alvarez.

³² Pedro Miguel Ibáñez Martínez, *La vista de Cuenca desde el Oeste (1565) de van der Wyngaerde* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 2003) (hereafter referred to as Ibáñez Martínez, 2003b), pp. 299-300.

³³ Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), pp. 18, 25-31.

Arqueológico de Cuenca, in Obispo Valero street, was a residence of the Albornoz (Fig. 1).³⁴

The painted heraldry of the Albornoz (green bend sable on a gold field) and Luna (crescent moon pointing down) decorates the wooden architraves on the ground floor Hall and the library (Fig. 2).³⁵ It has been suggested that the green band refers to the knighthood of the Banda conferred upon Fernan Gomez de Albornoz in 1330.³⁶ One of the Albornoz coats of arms is crowned with a cardinal hat, a detail which dates the painted decoration to after 1350, the date of his promotion (Fig. 3). This house most likely belonged to Fernan Gomez, brother of Gil.³⁷ This large residence, in the vicinity of the Cathedral, bears witness to the wealth of the family during the lifetime of the Spanish Cardinal. Its heraldic decoration may be dated 1350-1367.

1.2. The Albornoz family chapel in Cuenca Cathedral

The Albornoz funerary chapel in the cathedral further indicated their social and economic status. The chapel stands in the northern aisle, just before the ambulatory (Fig. 4).³⁸ It contains the tombs of Albornoz's parents, Garcia Alvarez and Teresa de Luna, and of his elder brother, Alvar Garcia (Fig. 5). A lost document of c.1328 established the conditions between the Chapter

³⁴ Manuel Osuna Ruiz, *Museo de Cuenca. Secciones de Arqueología y Bellas Artes* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1976), pp. 14-22, at p. 18 dated the building as 13th century.

³⁵ Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, 'L'orfèverie au poinçon d'Avignon au XIVe siècle', *Revue de l'Art* 108 (1995), pp. 11-22, at p. 18: heraldry of Albornoz: 'd'or à la bande de sinople.' Heraldry of Luna: 'de gueules à un croissant versé d'argent à la champagne du meme'. Garro de Toledo (1990), ff. 11v, 14r.

³⁶ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ci, pp. 235-236. Cf. Garro de Toledo (1990), ff. 11v-12r; Jara (1914), pp. 42-43; Beneyto (1950), pp. 48-9. The Order of La Banda was created by the king in 1330, in Vitoria, see *ibid.* xcvi, p. 231-2.

³⁷ Sanz y Díaz (1965), p. 65; Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, pp. 16-17, 312-3.

³⁸ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 25 states that the foundation date is around 1328. Cf. Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 11r.

and Garcia Alvarez, who placed the chapel under the advocacy of the Virgin Mary.³⁹ It was known as the *Capilla de los Albornoces* and, later, *Capilla de los Caballeros*.⁴⁰

When Gil de Albornoz dictated his will in 1364, he endowed his family chapel with the provision for two chaplaincies and the donation of a silver gilt chalice weighing 3 marks, a small cross which was part of his personal set, and two sets of vestments including chasubles, amices, stoles, maniples and belts.⁴¹ It is significant that Albornoz made no mention of building or decoration works, which suggests that the chapel was completed by this date. In the sixteenth century Pérez recorded that the *Capilla de los Caballeros* held many of the cardinal's writings. It is not clear whether Pérez referred to documents or literary works, but he seems to indicate that they were written by Albornoz.⁴² None of these objects and documents have survived. St. Clement is represented in the stained glass window above the altar, and a relic of this saint was recorded in this chapel, perhaps in honour of Albornoz's first cardinal title.⁴³

In 1375, Fernan Gomez endowed the family chapel with two chantries.⁴⁴ Between 1520 and 1522, Gomez Carrillo de Albornoz had the chapel rebuilt and the tombs of Albornoz's father and brother replaced.⁴⁵ Antonio Florez executed the wall-tombs of Garcia and his son Alvar, on the north wall, with alabaster effigies dressed in armour and holding swords. The tomb of Garcia is closer to the altar. Above the effigies, the plaques with their epitaphs, flanked by female

³⁹ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 25, fn. 111. It was originally dedicated to St. James, see *ibid.*, doc. 20 at pp. 303-304. Jesús Bermejo Díez, *La Catedral de Cuenca* (Cuenca: Caja de Ahorros Provincial, 1977), p. 201; Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), pp. 17, 35.

⁴⁰ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, pp. 25-26, and doc. 38 at pp. 314-15. López (1949), Vol. I, pp. 287-291.

⁴¹ Appendix I, lines 22-23; Sepúlveda (1780), XV, XVI. Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 111.

⁴² Pérez (1579), fol. 82v mentions the 'escrituras originales deste cardenal'. According to Ugorri Casado (1972), p. 143, a copy of the 1506 manuscript biography of the cardinal composed by Garzoni and Bivar was kept in the upper chamber of the chapel, above the vault.

⁴³ López (1949), Vol. I, p. 315.

⁴⁴ Sanz y Díaz (1965), doc. 366.

⁴⁵ Mártir Rizo (1974), ff. 252-253. Julio Larrañaga Mendía, *La Catedral de Cuenca* (Cuenca, n.d.), p. 24; Anselmo Sanz Serrano, *La catedral de Cuenca* (Cuenca, 1959), pp. 128-129. Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, pp. 150-151 for rebuilding campaign started in 1487 by Pedro Carrillo de Albornoz. Cf. Bermejo Díez (1977), pp. 201-2.

statuettes on corbels, are likely remnants of the original tombs (Figs 6, 7). The epitaph of Garcia Alvarez (d.1328) praises his knightly virtues and outstanding military record (Fig. 8).⁴⁶ The frame is decorated with the symbols of the Evangelists, a Crucifixion group, and the Albornoz coat of arms, which also adorns the outer corners of the plaque. The lion head from the corbel supporting the female statuette to the right of the plaque was recently detached, and its high quality carving and surviving polychromy can be appreciated on close examination (Fig. 9).

The epitaph of Alvar Garcia (d.1374) praises his service to the king Alfonso XI and Enrique II (Fig. 10).⁴⁷ The reign of Pedro I is notoriously absent from the text. The style of the funerary inscriptions and the surrounding sculpture fit into the period suggested by the latter epitaph, of after 1374. This type of framed wall epitaph was widely employed in fourteenth-century Castilian tombs.⁴⁸

The spouse of Garcia Alvarez, Teresa de Luna, was buried in a separate floor tomb to the west of the chapel. Her effigy is etched on a slate block, with the veiled head and gloved hands

⁴⁶ 'Aqui yaze Garci Alvarez de Albornoz q/Dios perdone, fijo de don Fernan Perez τ/nieto de don Alvaro. Fue bue Caua/lloero, τ de buena uida, τ siruio bien/los sennores que ouo, τ ayudo bien a s[us]/amigos, τ touose sienpre con Dios/en todos sus fechos, τ Dios fizol mu/chas mercedes, τ entre todas las/otras mercedes fizol una, en mucho/s fechos de peligro en que se acerto/que nunca fue uencido τ fino diez τ/ocho dias de setiembre, era de mill/τ trezientos τ sesenta τ VI annos.' Cf. transcriptions by Mártir Rizo (1974), ff. 119-120; Jara (1914), pp. 16-17; Sanz Serrano (1959), pp. 134-36. Boscolo (1972), p. 83, stated that Garcia died in 1338. The Obituario in Cuenca cathedral registered his death in 1328 at fol. 32r, quoted by Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 11-12. For his military record, at the service of don Sancho Manuel, see Fernando Suárez, 'La Colección de 'Fazañas' del MS. 431 de la Biblioteca Nacional', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho español* XIV (1942-43), pp. 579-592.

⁴⁷ 'Aqui yaze don Alvar Garcia / de Albornoz fijo de don ga/rcy Alvarez de Albornoz que/ Dios perdone, mayordomo que f/ ue del rey don Enrique τ fue b/ uen cavall[er]o τ sirvio muy bie/ n τ lealmente al rey don Alfon/ que dios perdone τ otrosi sirvio muy bien al rey don Enrique/ nel qual cavall[er]o onrado/ nunca ovo mengua en el su /svicio τ dexo desi much/ as buenas fazannas τ fino/ veynte τ ocho dias de iulio/ era de mil. CCCC τ XII annos.' Cf. transcriptions by López (1949), p. 289; Baños de Velasco (1679), fol. 66v, and Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 120. See Moxó (1972), pp. 50-51 for Enrique II's acknowledgement of this loyalty.

⁴⁸ For comparative examples in Burgos Cathedral, see María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1988) (hereafter referred to as Gómez Bárcena, 1988a), p. 50. Further examples in Ángela Franco Mata, *Catálogo de la escultura gótica. Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1993), nos. 113, 115, pp. 125-127. In S. Vicente, Vitoria, the wall tomb of chantre Nicolas Ortiz de Soto (d.1349); see María Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, *Iconografía Gótica en Álava. Temas iconográficos de la escultura monumental* (Vitoria: Diputación Foral de Álava, 1987), pp. 107-111.

carved in alabaster (Fig. 11).⁴⁹ The combination of these materials is usually found in fifteenth-century tomb sculpture, particularly in Burgos, but Teresa's tomb is an earlier example of the technique.⁵⁰ Although badly worn, the Gothic architectural niche surrounding the effigy and some of the characters of the now illegible inscription are visible. In 1629, Martir Rizo transcribed the epitaph as follows: 'Here lies doña Teresa de Luna, may God forgive her, daughter of don Gomez de Luna, wife of don Garcia Alvarez, may God forgive him, and mother of don Gil, Archbishop of Toledo. [She] died on 18 May of the *era* 1334' (year 1296).⁵¹ However, Teresa de Luna is documented alive in 1338.⁵² The inscription on her tomb refers to the rank of her son Gil as archbishop of Toledo, not as cardinal; this indicates a date for the sepulchre between 1338 and 1350.⁵³ The fact that the tomb lies below the current pavement level suggests that when the chapel was rebuilt in the sixteenth century the floor was raised, and her tomb was left undisturbed.

⁴⁹ Measures 182 x 60 cm.

⁵⁰ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), late 15th-century sepulchral effigies combine carved slate and applied alabaster heads and hands; in the parish churches of S. Gil and S. Nicolás, the sepulchres of Francisco and Juan Garcia de Burgos, pp. 142-144, fig. 101, and the Maluenda sepulchre, pp. 150-151, figs. 115, 117, 118. Larrañaga Mendía (n.d.), p. 24 dated the tomb to the 14th century. Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), p. 39 suggested a date for the tomb of Teresa de Luna of 1330-1360.

⁵¹ Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 121: 'al rededor della se lee este epitafio: Aqui yaze dona Teresa de Luna, que Dios perdone, fija de don Gomez de Luna, muger que fué de don Garcia Alvarez, que Dios perdone, e madre de don Gil, Arzobispo de Toledo. Fino á diez y ocho dias de Mayo hera de mil y trezientos y treinta y quatro.' By 1787 it was illegible, López (1949), p. 289. See Jara (1914), p. 17. Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 12-13. For different dates of death, Jara (1914), p. 34 and Bermejo Díez (1977), p. 202 say she died in 1296; Sanz Serrano (1959), p. 134 as 1326, Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), p. 39 as 1314.

⁵² J. Vidal, ed., *Benoit XII. Lettres Communes* (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie, 1910), no. 5.943: 'Nob. Teresiaie, Garsiaie Alvari, mil. viduae Conchen.'

⁵³ Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), p. 60 dates it mid-14th century.

1.3. Albornoz's education and career

In 1332, Albornoz is referred to as 'magister'.⁵⁴ The educational path that led Albornoz to become a master or graduate remains obscure. The young Albornoz received his early education in Zaragoza, where he could count on the protective tutelage of his uncle Ximeno de Luna.⁵⁵ As Bishop of Zaragoza (1296-1317) and Archbishop of Tarragona (1317-1328) and of Toledo (1328-1337), Ximeno was one of the most influential members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in both Aragon and Castile.⁵⁶ Virtually all the biographers of Albornoz have stated that he furthered his education in a French university such as Toulouse, Valence, Paris or Montpellier.⁵⁷ Although his name has not surfaced in any documentation of these universities, it is feasible that he attended a French university to read canon law.⁵⁸ It was not uncommon for Spanish clerics to travel to France for their studies, particularly from Aragon.⁵⁹ Montpellier, which belonged to the crown of Aragon, was a favoured destination of Aragonese students.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII, Lettres Comunes* (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie, 1904), no. 61263.

⁵⁵ Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 13v. Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 18-19. Marti (1966), Statute III, p. 134: 'De civitate et diocese Cesaraugustana ubi extitit educatus et multa beneficia suscepit.'

⁵⁶ Pérez (1579), ff. 80-81.

⁵⁷ Filippini (1933), p. 425 on the basis of Ms. 280 in the Collegio di Spagna suggested Valence or Paris. For Toulouse, see Diego de Castejón y Fonseca, *Primacía de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo. Su origen, sus medras, sus progressos. Defendida contra las impugnaciones de Braga* (Madrid: D. Díaz de la Carrera, 1645), fol. 805; López (1949), II, p. 127; Muñoz y Soliva (2002), p. 120; Jara (1914), p. 35, Beneyto Pérez (1950), p. 41; Guidubaldo Angeletti and Aurelia Bertini, *La Sapienza Vecchia* (Perugia: Opera Nazionale Assistenza Orfani Sanitari Italiani, ONAOSI, 1993), p. 36, Kiene (1983) p. 235, Marti (1966), p. 13. Trenchs Odena (1972), p. 265 suggested Montpellier.

⁵⁸ Trenchs Odena (1972) p. 265 stated that Toulouse had been ruled out after consultation of records.

⁵⁹ Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Acta Salmanticensia. Historia de la Universidad, 17 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1970), Vol. I, pp. 218-219. There was a Catalonian student nation in the University of Montpellier in the 14th century, see Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), p. 129. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility', in *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 280-304, at p. 297.

⁶⁰ Javier Fernández Conde, 'Estudios Generales o Universidades Españolas', in *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol. II-2: La Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII al XIV*, ed. Ricardo García-Villoslada, (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1982), pp. 184-197, at p. 192. Marcel Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des Universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789* (Paris, 1890), Vol. II, doc. 984.

Pedro Lopez de Luna, a relative of Albornoz from Zaragoza, studied law in Montpellier in the 1350s.⁶¹ Trenchs Odena suggested that Albornoz attended Montpellier University, on the basis of the calligraphy on a book of Decretals preserved in the Collegio di Spagna, Ms. 280.⁶² A note on folio 2r states that the book belonged to Gil Alvarez, ‘son of lord Garcia Alvarez de Albornoz.’⁶³ He probably obtained the book when he was a student and he could only define his status as ‘the son of’. Albornoz would have stayed in Montpellier between 1317 and 1323.⁶⁴ The suggestion that Albornoz was parish priest of Albalate de las Nogueras, in the diocese of Cuenca, is not supported by any documentary evidence, and can be dismissed.⁶⁵ In 1325, Albornoz was archdeacon of Huete and held over twenty prebends when the heir to the throne of Aragon, infante Alfonso, suggested that Albornoz be made bishop of Tarazona.⁶⁶ John XXII refused, as noted earlier, offering him a canonry in Toledo cathedral.⁶⁷ A year later, the Chapter of the cathedral of Cuenca presented Albornoz as their chosen candidate for the bishopric of Cuenca in 1326 and 1327, again without success.⁶⁸ Such refusal was based on the fact that Albornoz had not reached the minimum 30 years of age.⁶⁹ This could have been overcome with papal dispensation, as was indeed the case with the appointed bishop of Cuenca, Juan del Campo

⁶¹ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 100.

⁶² Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 20-21. Cf. Filippini (1933), p. 425, for Valence or Paris.

⁶³ Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, Ms. 280, fol. 2r: ‘Iste decretales sunt Egidii Alvari domini Garsie Alvari de Albornos filii.’ Domenico Maffei, ed., *I Codici del Collegio di Spagna di Bologna* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1992), p. 744.

⁶⁴ Trenchs Odena (1972), pp. 265-266. Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 20-21.

⁶⁵ Cf. Flores Jiménez (1967), p. 8; Castejón y Fonseca (1645), fol. 805.

⁶⁶ Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 21-22, fn. 50, January 1325. Trenchs Odena (1972), p. 266. Cf. Jara (1914), p. 36; Flores Jiménez (1967), pp. 8-9; Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *Los arzobispos de Toledo en la Baja Edad Media (S.XII-XV)* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial, Publicaciones del Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y estudios toledanos, 1969), pp. 79, 81.

⁶⁷ Trenchs Odena (1972), p. 266; see Mollat (1912), Vol. VI, nos. 22.858, 24.882, 25.853, 26.274.

⁶⁸ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 13. Fray Esteban (OFM) was succeeded by Fernando Gutierrez de los Rios (d.1327). Cf. López (1949), pp. 218-223.

⁶⁹ Mollat (1912), no. 29360, July 1327. Mollat (1921), p. 224. Mollat (1951), p. 33, fn. 1.

(d.1344).⁷⁰ It seems that the determining factor in the papal decision was the disputed inheritance of the late bishop of Cuenca, Pascual (d.1320). Albornoz's father had been accused of misappropriating part of the assets, and Albornoz was not eligible for an important promotion until the issue was resolved.⁷¹ This did not stop him from obtaining the Archdeaconry of Cuenca in 1328.⁷² The same year, John XXII transferred Ximeno de Luna from Tarragona to the archbishopric of Toledo. Albornoz moved to Toledo and soon enough reaped the benefits of his uncle's promotion.⁷³ The ecclesiastical province of Toledo had seven dependent (*suffraganea*) dioceses, and was divided into six archdeaconries: Toledo, Talavera, Guadalajara, Madrid, Calatrava and Alcaraz.⁷⁴ Albornoz became archdeacon of Calatrava in 1330, and therefore a member of the Chapter of Toledo cathedral.⁷⁵ As archdeacon of Calatrava, he was entitled to the valuable income provided by the benefits from Valderas, Ledesma and Arévalo.⁷⁶ The will of the archdeacon of Calatrava Diego González (d.1360?) illustrates the acquisitive power brought upon by such position; he was a great benefactor of the Augustinian Convent of St. Ursula in Toledo.⁷⁷ Alas, Albornoz had to settle his troubled finances. In 1329 Albornoz promised the Chapter of Cuenca Cathedral that he would honour the debt of 3,660 maravedies he had incurred

⁷⁰ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 33, fns. 26, 30. Mollat (1912), nos. 29.369, 29.895.

⁷¹ Trenchs Odena (1972), p. 266. Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), p. 23. Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, pp. 12-13, p. 33, fn.18.

⁷² Mollat (1912), no. 42.144.

⁷³ Castejón y Fonseca (1645), fol. 805. Statute III of the Collegio di Spagna listed his benefices in Spain: archdeacon of Toledo, Niebla, Cuenca (when he died he was holding this benefice), Daroca, Arevalo, Ledesma, Valderas, canon of Compostela, abbot of Castrojeriz, and other dignities in Palencia, Osma, Sigüenza, Lisbon, and Oviedo. Marti (1966), pp. 133-135. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 315.

⁷⁴ Lop Otín (2003), p. 94.

⁷⁵ Mollat (1912), no. 50.534: 'Egidius Alvari de Albornoz Archidiaconus Calatravensis.' For the positions in the Chapter of Toledo, see Canabal Rodríguez (2005), p. 419, fn. 21 and Lop Otín (2003), p. 94, fn. 10. For Archdeacons of Toledo, see Lop Otín (2003), pp. 166-168.

⁷⁶ Mollat (1912), nos. 57.811, 58.777. Antonio García y García, 'Parroquia, arciprestazgo y arcedianato: origen y desarrollo', in *Memoria Ecclesiae VIII: Arciprestazgo en los archivos de la Iglesia (I). Santoral hispano-mozárabe en España Actas del Congreso de la Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España, Salamanca 12-15 septiembre 1994* (Agustín Hevia Ballina ed., Oviedo-Salamanca, 1996), pp. 19-40, at pp. 36-37. The minimum age for an archdeaconry was 25.

⁷⁷ Canabal Rodríguez (2005), pp. 413-428. He used 15,000 mrs. to buy 4 houses in the centre of Toledo in 1357.

with the Cathedral.⁷⁸ Furthermore, he had to pay the sum his father owed to the Curia, and, to this end, he travelled to Avignon in 1330, with a safe-conduct issued by the king of Aragon.⁷⁹ This was Albornoz's earliest documented visit to the Papal court.⁸⁰ He travelled again to France in 1334, this time to the court of Philippe VI, on a diplomatic mission with Fernand Sánchez de Valladolid.⁸¹ Albornoz returned to Avignon in 1335 to attend the consecration of new Pope Benedict XII and to raise further funds for the military campaigns of Alfonso XI in Andalucía.⁸²

An inventory in Toledo cathedral included a cope of red *diasper* lined with yellow silk and with a silver clasp, which Albornoz donated when he was archdeacon.⁸³ Albornoz's rapid ascent in political and ecclesiastical circles, although certainly helped by his family connections, is a reflection of his personal qualities. In 1335, Albornoz is documented as a member of the Royal Council, Doctor of Law and Papal chaplain.⁸⁴ Three years later, he became Primate of the Spanish Church.

1.4. Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo.

When the see of Toledo became vacant after the demise of Ximeno de Luna in Alcalá de Henares in November 1337, Alfonso XI recommended that Albornoz be elected Archbishop of Toledo, disregarding the wishes of the cathedral Chapter, whose members favoured Blas

⁷⁸ Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 26-27.

⁷⁹ Boscolo (1972), p. 89, 14 October 1330.

⁸⁰ José Trenchs Odena, 'Albornoz y Aviñón: Relaciones con la Cámara Apostólica (1325-1350)' in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 263-286, at p. 269.

⁸¹ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cl, p. 271.

⁸² Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 31-32, fn. 90. It is probably in this visit that he was appointed papal chaplain.

⁸³ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, 2a, fol. 17r: 'Item una capa de diaspro bermejo afforrada en cendal amarillo con una broncha de plata que dio el arzobispo don gil seyendo arcediano.'

⁸⁴ Moxó (1975a), p. 11; Moxó (1975b), p. 239. Cf. Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 34-35.

Fernandez.⁸⁵ Benedict XII agreed to fulfill the request of the king of Castille without objections, given that the debt of Alvar Garcia had been paid and Albornoz was now 36 years old. The newly appointed archbishop went to Avignon to receive the papal confirmation, which took place on 13 May 1338.⁸⁶ Albornoz remained in Avignon until the Spring of 1339, when he returned to Castile and was charged by Benedict XII with the spiritual leading of the Crusade against the Muslim infidel in Spain.⁸⁷ The King called for clergy and nobility to meet him in Seville, and Gil was amongst those; they headed for Tarifa.⁸⁸ Not only did Albornoz join the king in the military campaign of 1339, but he preached the Crusade in 1340 with the power invested on him by Benedict XII.⁸⁹ His predecessor Ximenez de Rada (d.1247) set a determining precedent in the role that the Archbishops of Toledo would play in the ecclesiastical, military and political spheres. Having obtained the privilege of a crusade from the Pope for the war against the Moors, Ximenez took an active part in the battle of the Navas de Tolosa (1212),

⁸⁵ Jara (1914), pp. 48-50. Flores Jiménez (1967), p. 10. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, clxxxv, p. 292: 'Et estando en esta ciubdat de Sevilla sopo como en este tiempo finára Don Ximeno Arzobispo de Toledo, et andaba en casa del Rey Gil Alvarez de Cuenca Arcediano de Calatrava, et era del Consejo del Rey: et por servicios que le avia fecho, el Rey envió mandar et rogar al Cabildo de la Iglesia de Toledo que le esleyesen por Arzobispo. Et como quier que Don Vasco Dean de aquella Iglesia oviese todas las mas voces por sí, pero porque el Rey ge lo enviára mandar et rogar mucho afincadamente, todos tovieron que era razon facer lo que el Rey les enviaba rogar et esleyeronle por Arzobispo.' The 'servicios' probably referred to diplomatic trips. Blas Fernandez would finally become Archbishop of Toledo through the intervention of Pedro I and Maria de Portugal; Lop Otín (2003), p. 234.

⁸⁶ Boscolo (1972), p. 84. Trenchs Odena (1972), pp. 269-70. Rivera Recio (1969), p. 86.

⁸⁷ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cxcii, p. 296: 'Et en este tiempo veno de Corte de Roma Don Gil Arzobispo de Toledo con la confirmacion de su Arzobispado.'

⁸⁸ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ccxliii, pp. 318-9: 'Et venieron y Don Joan, fijo del Infante Don Manuel, et Don Gil, Arzobispo de Toledo Primado mayor de las Españas, et Don Martino, Arzobispo de Santiago,...' also the bishops of Palencia and Mondoñedo. For the siege of Tarifa, see ccxli-cclii; in p. 325, ccli describes the preparations for the battle of the Salado river, in October 1340, with Gil celebrating Mass for the King. The Cronica tells us that Albornoz saved the life of the King, p. 326-7. Albornoz wrote a letter to Cardinal Annibale de Ceccano from the front in Tarifa, where he described the booty of the Salado, quoted by Philippo Labbe, *Novae Bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum* (Paris: Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1657), Vol. I, fol. 388.

⁸⁹ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cxcii, ccxlii, pp. 296, 318; J Gautier Dalché, 'A propos d'une mission en France de Gil Albornoz: operations navales et difficultés financières lors du siège d'Algésiras (1341-1344)', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 247-263, at p. 249.

and obtained for himself and for his successors the title of *Canciller Mayor de Castilla*.⁹⁰ Such office implied vast political power.⁹¹ The Archbishop of Toledo was second in power only to the King of Castile.⁹²

Unlike his predecessors, Albornoz had not been bishop before reaching the highest ecclesiastical dignity in medieval Spain. He succeeded his uncle Ximeno de Luna, who had occupied the See for almost a decade when he died in 1337. The rampant nepotism that earned the Papal Court in Avignon such harsh and widespread criticism was equally operating in Spain.⁹³ Juan de Medina de Pomar, from Burgos, was Archbishop of Toledo in 1248, and his career benefitted no doubt from the support of his uncle don Mauricio, bishop of Burgos.⁹⁴ Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque succeeded his uncle Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel in 1299.⁹⁵ Blas Fernandez de Toledo, whose uncle Gutierre Gomez had been archbishop of Toledo between 1310 and 1319, was appointed to the position in 1353, partly through the political influence of his brother Gutierre, royal chamberlain to Pedro I.⁹⁶

The Luna family held a virtual monopoly of the see of Zaragoza throughout the fourteenth century, apart from the brief interval when Pierre de la Jugie and Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille governed the archbishopric.⁹⁷ This dynasty of clergymen included Ximeno de

⁹⁰ For the crusade, see Lop Otín (2003), p. 72. For Ximenez de Rada, see González Ruiz (1997), pp. 165-202 and Linehan (1971), pp. 7-14.

⁹¹ Not according to González Crespo (1986), pp. 459, 470, from 1338 the title becomes honorific.

⁹² Magdalena Merlos, 'Arquitectura militar en las villas medievales del Arzobispo de Toledo: función y significado', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma Serie VII, Historia del Arte*, 13 (2000), pp. 27-50, at p. 27.

⁹³ Guillemain (1972), p. 359.

⁹⁴ In his will, ACT, A.7.A.1.5, he listed a sapphire ring that he had received from don Mauricio, and left instructions to sell his house in Paris, where he had studied, to provide for poor students. González Ruiz (1997), pp. 206, 209.

⁹⁵ González Ruiz (1997), pp. 409-412.

⁹⁶ Sánchez Herrero (1976), pp. 50-51.

⁹⁷ Ximeno de Luna (1299-1317) was followed by Pedro Lopez de Luna (1317-1345), Pierre de la Jugie (1345-1347), Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille (1347-1350) and Lope Fernandez de Luna (1351-1380). *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1367, i, p. 550. 'Don Lope Ferrandez de Luna, Arzobispo de Zaragoza, que era un Perlado que amaba al Rey Don Enrique.'

Luna, Lope Fernandez de Luna (who followed Albornoz to Italy), and Pedro de Luna (Pope Benedict XIII in 1394). When Albornoz attained the cathedra of Toledo, he appointed his political nephew, Alonso Ibañez de Carvajal, as *Adelantado de Cazorla*, captain general of the archbishopric of Toledo and the highest lay office which the Archbishop of Toledo could confer.⁹⁸

Albornoz received a large income from the vast array of ecclesiastical benefices he held, although he renounced at least one of his positions (in Cuenca cathedral) when he became Archbishop of Toledo.⁹⁹

By 1342, the war on the Moor had taken its toll on the Castilian finances and the king was forced to offer some of the crown jewels as guarantee when requesting the help of the king of France. In 1342, Albornoz returned to the papal court on an embassy on behalf of Alfonso XI, to request assistance in the Reconquista.¹⁰⁰ This time he arrived in Avignon as Archbishop of Toledo, accompanied by fray Alfonso Ortiz Calderón, the prior of the Order of St. John. The recently-appointed Archbishop also headed to the court of Philippe VI, where he stayed for a year.¹⁰¹

The earliest surviving document where Gil de Albornoz appears in his recently-acquired status dates from June 1338. The paper document, which awards pension to a canon of the cathedral, states his rank as ‘Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain.’¹⁰² On the reverse of the document, the impression of his seal represents a rare survival of this frail medium (Fig. 12).

⁹⁸ He was married to Gil’s niece Maria Garcia de Albornoz. Jara (1914), pp. 61-2. Joaquín Cerdá Ruiz-Funes, ‘Para un estudio sobre los Adelantados Mayores de Castilla (Siglos XIII-XV)’, in *Actas del II Symposium de Historia de la Administración* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 1971), pp. 183-221, at p. 202.

⁹⁹ Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), pp. 22-24 for his benefices in Cuenca diocese.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Alfonso XI called a meeting in early 1342 at Burgos to discuss the problems to finance the war against the Moor, and Albornoz attended, according to Gautier Dalché (1972), pp. 249-50.

¹⁰¹ Gautier Dalché (1972), p. 250. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cclxxii, pp. 347, 367-8.

¹⁰² ACT, A.8.D.1.7: ‘[1] Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como nos Don Gil por la gracia de Dios arçobispo de Toledo e primado [2] de las espannas..’ 24 June 1338, Padernas.

Albeit damaged, the enthroned figure of a prelate, holding a crozier, is clearly visible. The image is rather elaborate, with a careful representation of details such as the abundant folds of his vestment, the inlaid side panels of the chair, and the ornate head of the crozier.

As Archbishop of Toledo, Gil de Albornoz continued the building campaign of the cathedral, founded by Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada in 1226 on the site of the mosque.¹⁰³ The cathedral of Toledo, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was the recipient of significant royal donations and was also royal pantheon after Las Huelgas.¹⁰⁴ Ximenez created the *Obra y Fábrica*, an autonomous entity for the fundraising and organization of the building campaign of the cathedral.¹⁰⁵ In 1238, he established twenty chantries, fourteen of which were assigned to the fourteen altars of the original apse of the building, including a chapel to St. Ildefonso.¹⁰⁶ This would be the burial chapel of Gil de Albornoz in 1372.

The building campaign of Albornoz concentrated on the west end of the cathedral. The previous Archbishop, his uncle Ximeno de Luna, ordered the demolition of a number of houses and shops (property of the cathedral Chapter) in the commercial quarter adjacent to the cathedral, known as the Alcaná, in order to clear the way for the cloister. Ximeno allocated 1,500 mrs. from the *Obra* fund towards this project.¹⁰⁷ The credit for the foundation and building of the cloister has been traditionally assigned to Pedro Tenorio since 1549, when Blas Ortiz stated that

¹⁰³ Lop Otín (2003), p. 72. González and Pereda (1999), p. 150,

¹⁰⁴ José Antonio García Luján, *Privilegios reales de la Catedral de Toledo (1086-1462)* (Granada: J.A. García, 1982) (hereafter referred to as García Luján, 1982b), pp. 277-279.

¹⁰⁵ González Ruiz (1997), p. 168.

¹⁰⁶ Hernández (1996), doc. 450. One of these chantries was to be in the archbishop's palace.

¹⁰⁷ ACT, X.10.B.1.8: '[2] Ximeno Arçobispo que fue de Toledo nuestro antecessor que dios perdone ouo [3] fecho tomar y derribar casas y tiendas que el Cabildo dela nuestra eglefia auie en Toledo çerca la eglefia alas quales disen del alca- [4] na y esto para faser claustro y entretanto para que labrassen y las maestros dela obra dela dicha eglefia por las quales casas y tiendas [5] les fise dar cada año de renta en su tiempo y nos en el vuestro debo dela dicha obra mill y quinientos maravedies por abenencia y conposicion [6] que entre ellos segunt esto fue fecho.' 21 October 1339.

he laid the foundation stone of the cloister in 1389.¹⁰⁸ It is not known what input Albornoz had in the campaign of the cloister, which seems to have been abandoned. In any event, the area that Ximeno had allocated to the cloister was extended with the demolition of further houses between 1389 and 1390.¹⁰⁹

In October 1339, Gil ordered that the office of the *Refitor* of the Cabildo be pulled down, to create a square in front of the west door, in the same general area where the cloister was planned, and he agreed to give 2,250 mrs. a year to the Chapter in compensation, to be funded from the *Obra*.¹¹⁰ He attached his pending wax seal to the document, where he is represented seated, wearing mitre and pallium, and holding the crozier on his left hand while he blesses with the other hand (Fig. 13). The thickness of this seal makes the details of the image less apparent than those seen on his seal of June 1338. To emphasize the legal character of his arrangement with the Chapter, he added his autograph signature to the document, a rather unusual detail since the presence of the seal already implied the endorsement of its owner to the document (Fig. 14).¹¹¹

Upon confirmation of their office, clerics commissioned their personalised matrix for the wax seals that would accompany official correspondence and documentation. Seals identified

¹⁰⁸ González and Pereda (1999), p. 263. Ángela Franco Mata, 'Localismo e internacionalidad en el gótico toledano', *Toletum* 31 (1994), pp. 169-235, p. 197. Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, fn. 178 in p. 173. Eugenio Narbona, *Vida y hechos de Don Pedro Tenorio, arzobispo de Toledo* (Toledo: Juan Ruyz de Pereda, 1624), pp. 98-103. Cf. Pérez (1579), fol. 83r.

¹⁰⁹ For houses demolished to make way for the cloister, see ACT, *Obra y Fábrica* 932, ff. 34r, 35v, 40r. Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, 'El patrimonio urbano del cabildo de la catedral de Toledo en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV', *Anales Toledanos* 13 (1980), pp. 3-24 (hereafter referred to as Izquierdo Benito, 1980a), pp. 8-9, 12: in the 14th century, the cathedral had 12 shops in the Puerta de las Ollas (now puerta del Reloj). Two of these were flattened to open up space of access to the doorway, and five were knocked down in 1389 to make way for the cloister.

¹¹⁰ ACT, X.10.B.1.8: '[6] Et otrosi porque nos para fazer plaça delante dela dicha nuestra eglesia faza la puerta que dizen [7] del perdón.' 21 October 1339, Alcalá de Henares. The Refitor was the office (and canon) that regulated the income of the Cathedral Chapter; see Lop Otín (2003), p. 290.

¹¹¹ ACT, X.10.B.1.8: '[17] En testimonio desto mandamos les dar esta nuestra carta seellada con nuestro seello pendiente et por asegurar de nostra mano. [18] Dada en Alcalá de Fenares, nuestro logar veynte e un dias de octubre era de mill e trezientos e setenta e siete años. D. EGIDIUS ARCHIEPS. TOLETAN.'

and authenticated the signatory, validating the document to which they were appended.¹¹² The seals used by medieval prelates followed an established convention, which often comprised an abstracted representation of the individual, identified by name and position by the inscription on the outer rims of the seal. The titular saint of their church, monastery or diocese might appear in either the seal or the counterseal, an additional, smaller design stamped on the back of the seal to reinforce its validity and authenticity. Counterseals usually depict the patron saint of the church; such is the case in the counterseal of the Archbishop of Tarragona Arnaldo Cescomes in 1342, which shows St. Tecla.¹¹³

Seals were also an important testimony of artistic practice and personal taste.¹¹⁴ The artists who designed and executed seals had to adhere to the conventional iconography of the images and small size of these objects, so artistic licence was confined to certain details such as the degree of elaboration of the architecture represented, whilst the patron could choose whether to include his personal heraldry.

The seal of the Archbishop of Toledo may contain a figure of the prelate either standing (Gudiel) or seated, as we see in the seals of Sancho, Diaz Palomeque, Gutierre Gomez, and Albornoz.¹¹⁵ The seal used by Ximeno in 1330 illustrates the set convention of the seal and counterseal of an Archbishop of Toledo: the enthroned archbishop blessing and holding a crozier on the seal, and the Imposition of the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso by the Virgin Mary on the

¹¹² For falsification of seals in 1291, see *Crónica de Sancho IV* ed. Antonio García Martínez (Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1982), viii, p. 85.

¹¹³ Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo. I. Sellos españoles de la Edad Media. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Catálogo I.* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1918), p. 151, no.186.

¹¹⁴ Julian Gardner, 'Some Cardinals' seals of the thirteenth century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1976), pp. 72-96.

¹¹⁵ Menéndez Pidal (1918), seals nos.195-198. For the seal of Sancho, see ACT, A.5.B.1.5 (1268), and Louis Claude Douet D'Arcq, *Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et Documents. Collection des Sceaux* (Paris: Plon, 1863), no. 11344. For the seal of Diaz Palomeque, see ACT, A.5.A.1.10 (1305).

counterseal (Fig. 15).¹¹⁶ The counterseal of Ximeno shows the mitred saint kneeling in front of the Virgin Mary, who stands to the right, holding the Child on one hand and the chasuble on the other. On 18 December 666 the Virgin appeared to the Archbishop of Toledo, St. Ildefonso, and offered him the liturgical vestment in recognition for his staunch defense of her virginity in *De perpetua virginitate*.¹¹⁷ The miraculous event was included in the mid-thirteenth century *Cantigas de Santa María* by Alfonso X and in the collection of Marian poems written by Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.¹¹⁸ Visual representations of the miracle appear on the counterseals of the Archbishops of Toledo since the thirteenth century.¹¹⁹ The feast of St. Ildefonso was officially celebrated in Toledo since 1302.¹²⁰

The seal used by Albornoz in 1345 is very similar to those used previously, although it introduces slight variations of artistic licence such as the star at the base of the footstool and the elaborate folds of his chasuble around the arms (Fig. 16).¹²¹

The counterseal on this piece is remarkably elaborate. The scene of the Imposition of the chasuble is set within an intricate frame with pointed arches decorated with crockets and finials (Fig. 17). The Virgin Mary sits under a baldachin in the centre of a Gothic building with lancet windows opening on both sides. The figure of the Virgin, holding the Child on her left arm and swaying slightly as she holds the vestment over the kneeling St. Ildefonso, is full of grace and

¹¹⁶ ACT, I.6.B.1.12. Alcalá de Henares, 6 July 1330.

¹¹⁷ The pillar on which the Virgin descended is near the West door of the cathedral. In 1214 a woman funds a chaplaincy in the altar next to the pillar, see Hernández (1996), doc. 348. See González and Pereda (1999), pp. 159-163, 168-171.

¹¹⁸ *Cantigas de Santa María*, Cantiga 2. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Colección Odras Nuevos (ed. Daniel Devoto, Madrid: Castalia, 1991, 7th edition, first published 1965), Milagro I, pp. 25-28, 59-62.

¹¹⁹ Menéndez Pidal (1918), p. 156, no.195 for Gudiel, no.196 for Diaz Palomeque.

¹²⁰ Javier Fernández Conde, 'Religiosidad popular y piedad culta', in *Historia de la Iglesia en España. Vol. II-2: La Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII al XIV*. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (Ricardo García-Villoslada ed., Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1982), pp. 289-357, at p. 311.

¹²¹ Douet d'Arcq (1863), Vol. I, no. 11345. Arch. de l'Emp. J602, n.45/5; inscribed: EGIDII DI.GRA.ARCHIEPI.TOLETAN...AN PRIMAT.AC REGNI CASTELLE CANCELLAR. The seal is 8 cm. long.

elegance. The design is a remarkable achievement on the part of the artist, considering the reduced dimensions of the surface available. This counterseal presents innovative elements such as the architectural setting, whilst the inclusion of the heraldry of the Albornoz (to the left) and Luna families (to the right), gives it a personalised character, not found in earlier counterseals.¹²²

The seal of his successor in the See of Toledo, Blas Fernández, further developed these ideas. His seal of 1353 shows the Archbishop of Toledo sitting inside a canopied structure with tracery and surmounted by pinnacles (Fig. 18).¹²³ The patterned background behind the Archbishop imitates a drapery or cloth of honour. The mitred prelate holds a cross instead of the usual crozier, and his heraldry appears on the area below his feet: a castle with three towers. Heraldry, which had featured on the counterseal of Albornoz, now appears on the front of the seal. On the counterseal, the representation of the Imposition of the Chasuble takes place in a similarly elaborate architectural setting (Fig. 19). The Virgin bends from her throne to place the chasuble over the Saint, and there is no Child. However, whilst the seal is more elaborate than that of Albornoz, the counterseal is lacking in detail. The delicacy and elegance of the counterseal of Albornoz is unmatched.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the design of an Archbishop's seal had evolved into a more individualised creation. In the seal employed by Tenorio in 1391, the enthroned Archbishop has been displaced by the Virgin Mary and Child, who stands in the centre of a triptych surmounted with complex structures (Fig. 20).¹²⁴ To the left of the Virgin stands St. Anthony, and to her right, St. Catherine, holding the wheel of her martyrdom. Below, the kneeling Archbishop is flanked by two coats of arms of Tenorio, a rampant lion to the left. Gil

¹²² Douet d'Arcq (1863), Vol. I, no. 11345; inscribed: 'SECRETU EGIDII ARCHIE ... OPI TOLETAN.'

¹²³ ACT, V.12.B.1.1. Brihuega, 19 November 1353.

¹²⁴ Douet d'Arcq (1867), Vol. I, no. 11346. Arch.de l'Emp. J603, n. 68; inscribed: '...ORIO DEI GRA.ARCHIEPI TOLETANI.' The seal is 8,9 cm.long.

de Albornoz was therefore an innovative patron in the design of his seals, and introduced the inclusion of personal heraldry on to the seals of Archbishops of Toledo.

Soon after his promotion to the See, Albornoz called a Provincial Council. The minutes of this Council, held in May 1339, show that Albornoz was determined to raise the moral and intellectual standards of the clergy, and to improve the administration of the diocese. Albornoz, inspired by Cardinal legate Guillaume de Godin, exhorted the high clergy to refrain from ordaining people who could not read or write, and established that at least one in ten clerics had to study Theology, Canon Law or the Liberal Arts.¹²⁵ To improve the formation of the clergy, catechisms or manuals were produced throughout the fourteenth century, such as the catechism of Pedro de Cuéllar, bishop of Segovia, in 1325.¹²⁶ The concern with the education of the low clergy was patent by 1354 when the bishop of Pamplona, the French national Arnaldo de Barbazán (1318-1355), composed a catechism in vernacular because he was aware of the poor education of the clergy, who could not read Latin.¹²⁷

Albornoz's firm endorsement of the canon *Omnis etrusque sexis* from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which encouraged the practice of confessions, required a written register of the

¹²⁵ Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. IX, p. 202: 'amplior desideratur peritia litterarum, sitque ibi salubriter statutum quod nullus clericus ad sacros ordines promoveatur nisi saltem litteraliter sciat loqui ... unus ex decem de residentibus assumatur, qui ad studia generalia Theologie et iuris Canonici ac liberalium artium accedere compellatur.' On the subject of learning and clerics, see Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Miracles IX and XIII.

¹²⁶ José Luis Martín and Antonio Linage Conde, *Religión y Sociedad Medieval. El Catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar (1325)* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social, 1987).

¹²⁷ Ernesto García Fernández, 'El Catecismo medieval de Arnaldo de Barbazán, obispo de la Diócesis de Pamplona (1318-1355)', *En la España Medieval* 15 (1992), pp. 321-352, at p. 341. Biblioteca Capitular Catedral de Pamplona, Ms. 7, fol. 1r.

parishioners.¹²⁸ This administrative measure coincided with an increasing regulation of statutes, rules and punishments in the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres.¹²⁹

Although the reforming drive in the Church had been ongoing since the times of John XXII (1316-1334), it seems that Albornoz's predecessors in Toledo had not been efficient enough, including his uncle.¹³⁰ Ximeno in 1332 tried to curb the inappropriate behaviour of the canons in the choir.¹³¹ Albornoz strove to enforce the rules of religious life amongst a decadent clergy, and issued severe warnings against inappropriate behaviour. His reforming zeal has been questioned because he lowered the punishment for inappropriate behaviour in the choir in 1338, although he increased punishments regarding the concubines of the clergy in 1342.¹³² Despite Albornoz's efforts, the moral standards of the clergy of Toledo were still a matter of concern to Benedict XII in 1342.¹³³ The description of the lifestyle of the Archpriest of Hita in his pseudo-biographical poem, known as the *Libro del Buen Amor*, indicates that some members of the clergy led rather libertine lives.¹³⁴ The poem mentions Albornoz by name (*'siendo arzobispo don Gil'*), and suggests that the archpriest was punished for his excesses.¹³⁵ The poem states that

¹²⁸ BNE, MS 13041 [Burriel], ff. 172 v and 177r: 'sub pena excommunicationis, precipiendo mandamus quatenis dictam constitutionem diligentes observent et nichilominis quilibet eorum in sua parochia nomina suorum parrochianorum, qui ad annos discretionis pervenerint, annuatim in scriptis redigant.'

¹²⁹ Cf. Lop Otín (2003), p. 91. In the 14th century, over thirty-three statutes were laid out and added to the original seventeen.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 92. Archbishop Don Juan regulated against arguments in the choir. BNE, MS. 13041, fol. 55v: 'Mandamus et quod nullus in choro dicte ecclesie, presertim dum divinum officium inibi celebrabitur vel in capitulo, rixam seu verba contumeliosa vel iniurosa alicui moveat sive dicat'.

¹³¹ Constitutions of 24 January 1332 and Synod of 2 August 1336, Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. VIII, 4 and p. 43.

¹³² Sánchez Herrero (1976), pp. 45, 49.

¹³³ Vidal (1903), no. 9358.

¹³⁴ *Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. Alberto Blecua, Madrid: Cátedra-Letras Hispánicas, 1998, 4th edition). In 1324, Infante Don Juan forbade clergy to have female guests at their homes; see Sánchez Herrero (1976), p. 186. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, included a number of examples of clergy behaving inappropriately: Miracles I, II, III, XX, XXI, XXIV took place in Spain; also Miracle VII in Cologne, Miracle X in Rome and Miracle XII in Pavia.

¹³⁵ Of uncertain date, the reference to Albornoz is in the *Cántica de los clérigos de Talavera*, see *Libro de Buen Amor* (1998), pp. XVIII-XXIII, verses 1690a-1691b: 'Allá en Talavera, en las calendas de Abril/llegadas son las cartas del arzobispo don Gil/ en las quales venía el mandado non vil/tal, que si plugo a uno, pesó más que a dos

the archpriest was in charge of delivering the minutes of the 1342 council containing the severe prohibitions, and had to deliver them to the canons in Talavera.¹³⁶ In any case, the satirical nature of the poem must be taken into account. Furthermore, Benedict XII was equally concerned about the dioceses of Braga, Compostela and Seville.¹³⁷ Stating his disgust at the presence of sinful women amongst clergy, Albornoz ruled that if a cleric attended the burial of such women, he would lose all his benefices for a year, and all lay people attending burial would be automatically excommunicated. And should one of these sinful women enter the cathedral or any other church during liturgical celebrations, the porters and the altar boys were to strip them of their clothes.¹³⁸ Nonetheless, the practice of having concubines continued later on in the century.¹³⁹

As Archbishop of Toledo, one of the chief concerns of Albornoz was to ensure that funding for the building campaigns of churches and cathedrals was steadily available, and he faced the reticence of a clergy which was not willing to contribute part of their income.¹⁴⁰ At the Synod celebrated in Alcalá de Henares in 1345, Albornoz prescribed that every clergyman in the diocese of Toledo was liable for a testamentary donation of a jewel or some valuable object to

mill.’ The papal prohibition –under threat of excommunication– to keep women was unwelcome, and the clergy planned to appeal to the King of Castile– see verses 1697, 1704c: ‘si yo toviese al arçobispo, en otro tal angosto, yo le daría tal buelta que nunca viese el agosto.’ Jara suggested that in 1343 the Archpriest was expelled from Toledo because of his behavior; Jara (1914), p. 185. Alonso believed that the archpriest was actually jailed, see Dámaso Alonso, ‘La cárcel del Arcipreste’, *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 86 (1957), pp. 165-177, at pp. 166-167. Cf. Lucius Gaston Moffatt, ‘The imprisonment of the Archpriest of Hita’, *Hispania* 33 (1950), pp. 321-327.

¹³⁶ García y García (1996), p. 39 explains the role of archpriests in delivering letters of the archdeacon or the bishop, and was allowed to dictate punishments of excommunication, etc. Hernández suggested that Juan Ruiz attended the Estudio of Alcalá de Henares, founded by Gudiel in 1293; see Francisco José Hernandez, ‘La fundación del Estudio de Alcalá de Henares’, *En la España Medieval*, 18 (1995), pp. 61-83, at p. 82.

¹³⁷ Mollat (1921), p. 314.

¹³⁸ Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. X, p. 209.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁴⁰ The Church was heavily taxed for contributions to the wars against the Moors and Portugal; see 1337 situation in *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, clxxvii, p. 287.

the church of Toledo.¹⁴¹ The clergy, adducing their privileged status, protested so vigorously against this directive that Albornoz cancelled it within a month of its promulgation.¹⁴² A few days later, he came up with another possible source of income, and promulgated sumptuary laws concerning the clothing of bishops: their hoods had to be made of wool, not silk, and lined exclusively in black.¹⁴³ Failure to comply with this rule entailed a possible fine of 1,000 maravedis, which would be split three ways: one third would be used for the building of their respective cathedral, one third would help secure the liberation of Christian prisoners, and the final third would be paid to the person who denounced the infraction. Albornoz also threatened to excommunicate those who harmed clergymen or damaged their belongings, unless they paid compensation within fifteen days of the offence.¹⁴⁴ Albornoz supervised the proper sourcing of funds for buildings, and imposed a fine of 2,000 maravedies to whoever collected money for the construction of a church without official authorisation. A penalty of 1,000 maravedis was also established for those prelates who might overcharge for using their seals and derive economic profits from their status. The collected fines would be split in the same tripartite manner described above, with one third of it directed towards the funding of building campaigns.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ ACT, I.6.A.1.1. 11 April 1345. Cf. Francesco Filippini, 'Costituzioni inedite di Egidio Albornoz arcivescovo di Toledo', *Studi Storici* V (1896), pp. 211-228, docs. 6, 7. BNE, MS.13023 [Burriel], fol.140r transcribed I.6.A.1.1. The donation could include a male or female Moor slave: 'unam preciosiorum rem ex his que habeat ut pote, sarracenum seu sarracenam, Equum, Roncinum, mulum, mulam, que seu que selam portaverint, vas seu cifum argenteum, taceam argenteam aut quovis aliud jocale.' Cf. Lop Otín (2003), p. 123, Beneyto Pérez (1950), p. 87. In 1311, Archbishop Palomeque had two Moor servants, see González Ruiz (1997), p. 61.

¹⁴² ACT, V.1.F.1.36. 13 May 1345. Jara (1914), pp. 188-189, doc. XIII, pp. 245-246. Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. XIII, 4.

¹⁴³ Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. XI, 1: 'capellos detulerimus rotundos, et in superiori parte laneos, nullatenus sericos, cum nigra, et non alterius coloris, fodratura portemus.' The original document is reported lost, *ibid.*, pp. 25-26. Alcalá, 24 April 1347. In 1337, Alfonso XI in Burgos had legislated against expensive cloth; see *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, clxxxvi, p. 293.

¹⁴⁴ Sánchez Herrero (1976), doc. XI, 1, 2.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. XI, 3, 4.

The secular legal corpus known as the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá*, containing one hundred and fifty laws, was compiled in 1348.¹⁴⁶ Although his participation is undocumented, it is likely that, as archbishop of Toledo, Gil de Albornoz made a contribution to this Ordinance, which is chiefly concerned with regulating the administration of the kingdom.¹⁴⁷ Gil de Albornoz may not have been a radical reformer of his archdiocese, but he was a keen legislator, interested in its efficient management and the adequate behaviour of its clergy.¹⁴⁸

Albornoz was often away from Toledo, and perhaps this may account for his legislative efforts, to ensure the smooth running of the archdiocese during his absence. It was during his time as Archbishop of Toledo that Albornoz gained his first experience of war, taking part in the campaigns to take control of the Islamic outposts in southern Spain. Albornoz is first documented in battle in 1339.¹⁴⁹ Embedded in the army of Alfonso XI, Albornoz took part in the battle of the river Salado near Tarifa (1340), the taking of Algeciras (1344) and the siege of Gibraltar (1350).¹⁵⁰ In October 1349, Albornoz wrote a letter to the Cabildo of Toledo from the siege of Gibraltar.¹⁵¹ The involvement of clergy in war was not uncommon, and the bishops of Palencia, Salamanca, Zamora and Badajoz also took part in the Algeciras campaign.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Ignacio Jordán de Asso y del Río and Miguel de Manuel y Rodríguez, *El ordenamiento de leyes, que D. Alfonso XI hizo en las Cortes de Alcalá el año de mil trescientos y quarenta y ocho* (Valladolid: Lex Nova, 1960/ Joachin Ibarra, 1774), pp. VII-VIII. M^a del Carmen de León-Sotelo Casado and Esther González Crespo, 'Notas para el itinerario de Alfonso XI en el período de 1344 a 1350', *En la España Medieval* V (1986), pp. 575-589, at p. 583.

¹⁴⁷ B. Alonso, 'Gil Álvarez de Albornoz', *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1972), Vol. 1, p. 52. Moxó (1975a), p. 11. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Cortes of Castile-León, 1188-1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 121.

¹⁴⁸ For an overview, see Lop Otín (2003), pp. 472-473.

¹⁴⁹ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cxcv, p. 297.

¹⁵⁰ Juan Gómez Crespo, 'La lucha por el Estrecho y las relaciones peninsulares en la primera mitad del siglo XIV, según la Crónica de Alfonso XI', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba* 48 (1944), pp. 439-455. For the Salado battle, *Ibid.*, pp. 446-449. Cf. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ccli.

¹⁵¹ Jara (1914), doc.VII, pp. 230-234, and BNE, MS.13023 [Burriel], fol. 153v: 'datum in obsidione de Gibraltar. Cadicensiset in suleviridis diocesis xv Kalendas Octobris Anno domini millesimo, trecentesimo quadragesimo nono.'

¹⁵² In 1317 the Archbishop of Toledo was on the front line of a battle against the Moor in the Vega de Granada; *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, xiv, p. 183. For Algeciras campaign, *Ibid.*, cclxxxv, p. 356; cccvii, p. 370.

In 1339 Alfonso XI called Cortes in Madrid and requested funding for a military campaign in the south of Spain.¹⁵³ The Papacy aided the efforts of the king of Castile by granting the status of crusade to the war against the Muslim army, as well as offering a financial contribution.¹⁵⁴ A crusade banner sent by Pope Benedict XII was carried alongside the royal flag in the Salado battle, and the victorious Christian army thanked the papal support with the delivery of an impressive array of jewels, military banners and prized horses confiscated to the defeated enemy.¹⁵⁵ These spoils of war, valued at 175,000 florins, were a mere tenth of the booty.¹⁵⁶ It has been suggested that the vast quantity and quality of the seized goods affected the price of gold in Paris, Avignon, Barcelona, Pamplona and Valencia, although this is probably an exaggeration.¹⁵⁷

In 1341, Alfonso XI obtained a further victory in Southern Spain with the surrender of Alcala de Ben-Zayde, which he re-named Alcalá la Real.¹⁵⁸ During 1342, Albornoz was hardly in Toledo. At the beginning of the year, he is documented in Burgos, where Alfonso XI called for a campaign to take Algeciras, and from Burgos, Albornoz travelled all the way to Jerez.¹⁵⁹ In June 1342, Albornoz followed the king from Jerez to Algeciras.¹⁶⁰ From here, the Archbishop of

¹⁵³ Gómez Crespo (1944), p. 446. Cf. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cxciv.

¹⁵⁴ Gómez Crespo (1944), pp. 446-447.

¹⁵⁵ See Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación española del Archivo del 'Castel S. Angelo' (395-1498)* (Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1958), doc. 138, based on the Chronicle of Alfonso XI. The battle was crucial in the defence of the southern border of Castile, and halted the advance of Northern African troops. Sebastián García (O.F.M.), 'El Real Santuario de Santa María de Guadalupe en el primer siglo de su historia', *Revista de estudios extremeños* LVII (2001) no. 1, pp. 359-410, at p. 390.

¹⁵⁶ Manuel Pérez de Castro, 'Estudios histórico-militares: La Batalla del Salado', *Revista de España* 25 (1872), pp. 554-565, p. 558, 564.

¹⁵⁷ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ccliii, pp. 329-30: 'Et tanto fué el aver que fué levado fuera del regno, que en Paris, et Aviñon, et en Valencia, et en Barcelona, et en Pamplona, et en Estella, en todos estos logares baxó el oro et la plata la sesma parte menos de como valió.' the gifts to the Pope, see *ibid.*, ccliv, pp. 330-1.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, cclvii, pp. 332-334. Mentions the use of *engenos* and *cabritas*, and the digging the foundations technique.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, cclx, p. 336; cclxv, p. 341.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, cclxvii, p. 342; cclxix, p. 343.

Toledo headed to Paris, to request financial support for the campaign.¹⁶¹ After securing a loan, Albornoz remained in the French court for nearly a year.¹⁶² Albornoz's success in obtaining a loan of 50,000 florins was crucial for the campaign.¹⁶³ During his long sojourn in Paris, Albornoz had the opportunity to develop and strengthen his political negotiation skills, and was exposed to French artistic culture.

Finally, in 1344, Alfonso XI achieved his most important military triumph with the taking of Algeciras. The city surrendered on 27 March 1344 after a twenty-month siege.¹⁶⁴ As was customary in reconquered cities, the main mosque was converted into a church.¹⁶⁵ The king once again shared the booty with the Pope, and dispatched a delegation to Avignon laden with gifts.¹⁶⁶

Albornoz was often away from Toledo, but continued to oversee the building progress of the cathedral. The casual discovery of a document in the archive of Toledo Cathedral in January 2007 shed new light on his artistic patronage. This is a particularly valuable finding since the archive of the section of *Obra y Fábrica* only has records from 1383, and this document dates the hitherto unknown progress of the campaign before such date.¹⁶⁷ In September 1345, Albornoz established the foundation of a confraternity of the *Obra* to fund the repair costs of the

¹⁶¹ Ibid., cclxxiii, p. 347, October 1342. Alfonso XI also sent Fr. Alfonso Ortiz, Prior of the Order of St. John, to Pope Clement VI.

¹⁶² Only in August 1343 the King finally received a letter from Albornoz, announcing that he had secured a loan from the French king of 50,000 florins. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ccciii, p. 368. The Pope offered a contribution of 20,000 florins; see Mansilla (1958), docs. 125-127, 146, 147, 148, and doc.VI. Jara (1914), pp. 106-111; Antonio Torremocha Silva, *Algeciras entre la Cristiandad y el Islam. Estudio sobre el cerco y conquista de Algeciras por el rey Alfonso XI de Castilla así como de la ciudad y sus términos hasta el final de la Edad Media* (Algeciras: Instituto de Estudios Campogibaltareños, 1994), p. 63. Gautier Dalché (1972), p. 250.

¹⁶³ Gautier Dalché (1972), p. 261.

¹⁶⁴ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cccxxvi, pp. 388-390.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., cccxxvi, p. 390. For the mosque, see Torremocha Silva (1994), pp. 251-253. Jara (1914), pp. 111-112 and Beneyto Pérez (1950), p. 108, claim Albornoz was there to consecrate the mosque, but Torremocha Silva (1994), p. 262, fn. 731 pointed out that Albornoz was probably in France at the royal court at this time. The *Crónica de Alfonso XI* does not mention the presence of Gil de Albornoz.

¹⁶⁶ Torremocha Silva (1994), p. 261; Albornoz was not part of the delegation.

¹⁶⁷ Lop Otín (2003), p. 297.

west end of the cathedral, where the bell tower had recently collapsed, causing much damage to the fabric. The confraternity offered spiritual benefits to its members and listed the sins that could be forgiven: ‘You know how in our church of Toledo a great and costly work was started, fitting its noble status. And recently, when it was about to be completed and vaulted, the bell tower fell and caused such a great deal of damage to the church, that it is not possible to fund its repair from its revenue. And it is truly inadequate, and an embarrassment for the worshippers of the archbishopric of Toledo that its main church, where the Virgin Mary descended in body and soul from Heaven ... is in such poor condition. ... To this end, we considered some good ways in which the church may be repaired, and the sins of the faithful, dead and alive ... be forgiven. Even those who sin in many ways may find many ways to be forgiven And we order and establish a holy Confraternity ... and first we order that this holy confraternity be named Confraternity of the Obra of St. Mary of Toledo.’¹⁶⁸

The confraternity was under the advocacy of the Virgin Mary, who played an intercessory role for the sinners. Gil de Albornoz laid out very clear rules for the confraternity. Its members could be male or female, and had to pay a small fee, plus a yearly contribution of two maravedis.¹⁶⁹ Their names were entered into a book, which was to be kept in the sacristy.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ ACT, A.8.D.1.8, fol. 1r: ‘Bien sabedes cómo en la dicha [11] nuestra iglesia de Toledo fue grant tiempo [h]a començada muy grant e muy [12] costosa e muy buena lavor segund a la nobleza della pertenesçe. Et agora [13] quando estava en punto de se cerrar e de acabar, cayó la torre de las [14] canpanas e derribó de mala guisa grant partida della, en manera que tan grant [15] es el daño que se ý fizo e el reparamiento que ha mester, que de la su renta [16] non se pode conplir nin reparar. E es muy grant mengua e vergüença [17] de todos los fieles de Dios del arçobispado de Toledo que la su iglesia mayor, [18] a do la Virgen Sancta María deçendió en cuerpo e en alma, ... [19] ... esté tan mal parada. Por ende Nos [20] oviéremos acatar algunas maneras buenas e sanctas donde la dicha iglesia segund [21] la su nobleza a serviçio de Dios e de la Virgen Sancta María e a onrra de Toledo e [22] de todo el arçobispado se pueda reparar e acabar, assí que sea a pro de las [23] almas de todos los fieles cristianos, assí vivos como finados ... salgan de pecado. Et aun los que en muchas [25] maneras pecan fallen muchas maneras de remedios para redemir sus pecados ... [Fol. 1v] [17] Et ordenamos e estableçemos una sancta cofradía ... [18] Primeramente ordenamos que esta sancta cofradía [h]aya nombre e sea llamada “Confradía [19] de la Obra de Sancta María de Toledo” ... [Fol. 5v] [24] Dada en Villa Viçiosa, nuestro logar, çerca [25] de Brihuega, primero día de setiembre, era de mill e trescientos e ochenta [26] e tres años.’ Villaviciosa, 1 September 1345.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., fol. 1v, lines 23-24.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. 2r, lines 2-8.

The obituary book of the cathedral assigned masses for members of the confraternity in the month of April.¹⁷¹ Membership of the confraternity ensured that prayers would be said for the soul, and special forgiveness for a wide range of serious sins could be granted. The detailed list of possible offences includes a variety of sexual acts, included those committed inside a church.¹⁷² At the end of the thirteenth century, the bishop of Pamplona Miguel Sánchez de Uncastillo offered a pardon to those who entered the confraternity of S. Maria de Pamplona, and the list of sins was equally detailed.¹⁷³ Papal bulls of indulgence were an effective tool to raise the profile of a building campaign.¹⁷⁴

The foundation of the confraternity, which is expected to raise enough funds for the restoration works, points to financial difficulties of the cathedral. In these circumstances, the urgent need to repair the tower would justify the abandonment of the project of the cloister. The reasons for the collapse of the tower are unknown, but it is clear that the document refers to the south tower, which now houses the *Capilla Mozárabe* (Fig. 21). This chapel, the advocacy of which was changed from Corpus Christi by Cardinal Cisneros in the sixteenth century, occupies the lower body of the tower, which never reached the projected height of the other tower (Fig.

¹⁷¹ ACT, Ms. 42-31, fol. 32v: ‘Missa de Sancta maria el sabado ante de ego sum pastor bonus por la cofradia de la Obra. et dize se a tertia. pten. cient. mr. paga los la obra. C.’ Fol. 34r: ‘El lunes primero siguiente dela dominica de Ego sum pastor bonus. Missa de Requiem por los cofrades finados dela cofradia dela Obra a prima pten. C. C.’ Fol. 34v: ‘El lunes primero siguiente dela dnica. de pastor bonis missa de requiem por los cofrades finados dela cofradia dela obra a prima pten. çient mr. pagalos la obra.’

¹⁷² Ibid., fol. 6r. For comparable examples, see Sánchez Herrero (1976), pp. 128-129, docs. II, XVI, pp. 184, 240-241. García Fernández (1992), p. 346. Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 306; Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 144.

¹⁷³ García Fernández (1992), p. 334, and fn. 19.

¹⁷⁴ The practice of offering indulgences to those who contributed to the building of a church was widespread during the 13th and 14th centuries, often coinciding with a particular feast. In 1375, Fernando de Albornoz, Archbishop of Sevilla, offered 40 days of pardon in exchange for donations for the remodelling of Seville Cathedral; see Teodoro Falcón Márquez, *La catedral de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1980), p. 15. Papal bulls were issued to impulse the campaign of Cuenca Cathedral in 1368, 1369, 1375 and 1385; see Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 18.

22).¹⁷⁵ Clearly, there must have been a major cause for this, because it seems that work proceeded on the west end of the cathedral. Perhaps the foundations were deemed too unstable to proceed, or the terrain was not appropriate, and subject to damp damage. In any event, the tower was not completed, and it seems that building efforts turned to the vaulting of the west end of the cathedral. The heraldry of Albornoz features on the last section of the south aisle, just outside the Mozarabic chapel. His coat of arms is on the key stone, inserted on a wreath surrounded by four human heads (Fig. 23).¹⁷⁶ The original polychromy came to light during the cleaning campaign of the vaults in 2006. His heraldry also appears on the boss of the vault in the western bay of the north aisle. It shows two mitred heads, a fitting reference to the Archbishop (Fig. 24).

The west façade, which was probably completed at the same time as the vaulting, presents three doorways with sculptured tympana (Fig. 25). The central tympanum represents the Imposition of the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso. A marble epitaph narrating the miracle was in place by 1549, but this is no longer there.¹⁷⁷ This door was only open on the main feasts or important visits, a tradition still in place today, and Ortiz stated that before 1549 it used to have 15 steps leading to the entrance.¹⁷⁸ As Ángela Franco pointed out, the saint has displaced the traditional decoration of the central doorway, which was usually the Last Judgement.¹⁷⁹ The

¹⁷⁵ González and Pereda, (1999), pp. 237, 272: 'In extrema templi parte, quae occidentem respicit, duae surgunt turres, e quibus altera imperfecta remansit, altera vero quadrata seu mavis octogona excelsior et elegantior cernitur.'

¹⁷⁶ Roof bosses featuring heraldry and human heads also appear in Cuenca cathedral, see Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 1, pp. 409, 416.

¹⁷⁷ González and Pereda (1999), p. 191.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 192.

¹⁷⁹ Franco Mata (1994), p. 188.

focal point is the chasuble, in the centre of the composition. The sculpture would have been completed in 1337, when the bronze plaques of the doors were placed.¹⁸⁰

The Last Judgement appears on the southern tympanum (Fig. 26).¹⁸¹ The northern tympanum is filled with human faces set inside leaves, except the central element, which is the head of a lion (Fig. 27). It is an unusual decorative scheme, which has been interpreted as a representation of Paradise.¹⁸²

Were any of these tympana carved during the time of Albornoz? Or were they re-carved and re-arranged after the damage caused by the collapse of the tower? It is surprising that the west façade of the Cathedral Primate of Spain has such unassuming and poor quality carvings. By 1418, the facade was not completely finished.¹⁸³

Albornoz took over the building campaign of the cathedral, to which his uncle had contributed. During the archbishopric of Ximeno, the *Obra* had purchased lands in Regachuelo, the quarry site used for the cathedral.¹⁸⁴ Albornoz supported the building campaign with his regulations and the creation of the confraternity. In 1348, the *Obra* bought land in the quarry of Olivuelas.¹⁸⁵ The purchase of houses in order to rent them was a source of income for the cathedral throughout the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁶ The archbishops Diaz Palomeque, Ximeno and

¹⁸⁰ Agustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura Gótica*. Ars Hispaniae, Vol. VIII (Madrid: Ed. Plus-Ultra, 1956), p. 107. Franco Mata (1991), p. 443.

¹⁸¹ Ortiz called it Door of the Scribes or King David, after a statue of the King on top of the door, lost by 1549. González and Pereda (1999), p. 191. Franco Mata (1994), p. 188: The Last Judgment has links with Burgos (the angels holding the cross) and León (the kneeling figures of John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary).

¹⁸² Franco Mata (1994), p. 188. Blas Ortiz called it 'Puerta de la Torre'; see González and Pereda (1999), p. 192.

¹⁸³ ACT, Obra y Fábrica 761, ff. 81r, 123v, quoted by Palomo Fernandez (2002), Vol. 2, p. 75, and include a framing structure 'for the images on the Puerta del Perdon': 'un tabernáculo para las ymágenes de la puerta del Perdón, escuadrado e bovado e entallado, apreçiado en seysçientos maravedís.'

¹⁸⁴ ACT, X.3.A.6.6, 13 January 1333. See also ACT, X.3.A.4.4, 18 October 1336.

¹⁸⁵ ACT, V.4.A.1.9, 2 January 1348.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Lop Otín (2003), pp. 287-289. Izquierdo Benito (1980a); Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, 'Modo de explotación del patrimonio del cabildo de la catedral de Toledo en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV: contratos de arrendamiento', *Hispania* 40, no. 145 (1980), pp. 357-393 (hereafter referred to as Izquierdo Benito, 1980b), Ricardo Izquierdo

Gil de Albornoz enforced the prohibition to sell the properties, which generated a steady income through rent.¹⁸⁷ In this way, the smooth financial running of the services rested assured. Around 1385, the cathedral Chapter bought a number of houses (some with shops incorporated) around Toledo, to fund the anniversaries requested by Albornoz.¹⁸⁸

In March 1349, the Chapter purchased 30,000 bricks and 30,000 tiles.¹⁸⁹ The document does not state the area of the building where work was scheduled, but it might have been the west end, given the interest Albornoz had shown in the completion of the tower and façade. The canons agreed to pay 500 maravedis in advance and 500 maravedis on delivery of the materials, which, according to modern-day calculations, would have covered a surface of 600 square metres.¹⁹⁰ Later in the year, the Chapter bought land outside Toledo.¹⁹¹ After Albornoz's departure, the *Obra* acquired further land in 1351, but, by 1361, the Chapter was forced to surrender numerous objects from its Treasury and Sacristy to face tax payments and contributions to the war.¹⁹²

In 1339 a list was compiled of the objects that Albornoz had borrowed from the treasury of the cathedral for his personal use. These included books, and a very rich mitre which was

Benito, 'Repercusiones de una crisis y medidas para superarla. Toledo en el siglo XIV', *En la España Medieval* 5 (1986), pp. 515-536.

¹⁸⁷ Lop Otín (2003), p. 289 and fn. 208 for references to documents: ACT, I.6.B.1.5; ACT, I.6.B.1.5.a; Archivo Histórico Nacional, 987B, fol. 190v.

¹⁸⁸ Izquierdo Benito (1980a), pp. 5, 9, 10. Cf. ACT, A.8.D.1.2. The purchase totalled 32,000 maravedies.

¹⁸⁹ ACT, O.10.A.2.17: '[2] vendo a vos, anton peres e pero ferrandez, canonigos dela eglesia de santa maria de Toledo et mayordomos del cabildo desta mesma [3] eglesia treynta myll ladriellos e treynta myll tejas para froga [?], toda esta lavor que sea buena para las labores del [4] dicho cabildo, esto a preçio de veynte y quatro mrs por cada millar de tejas et de ladriellos.' 22 March 1349, Toledo.

¹⁹⁰ According to Ángel Gutiérrez Marchante, professional builder in Madrid with 50 years of experience, 30,000 bricks of the average measurement used in the 14th century would have covered a surface of 600 metres, employing 50 bricks per square metre, laid out on a single course.

¹⁹¹ ACT, X.3.A.4.9. 10 December 1349, Toledo.

¹⁹² For purchases in 1351, see ACT, X.10.C.1.1, X.3.A.3.4., X.3.A.3.6, X.10.C.1.3. For the financial difficulties in 1361, see X.12.B.1.14; V.2.D.1.26; X.12.B.2.3.

decorated with enamels and comprised over fifty precious stones.¹⁹³ In 1349 an updated inventory of the objects Albornoz had borrowed from the cathedral included three embroidered mitres, and a pair of gloves with pearls and a pontifical ring with a cameo.¹⁹⁴ Inventories of Toledo cathedral made before Albornoz was appointed as a cardinal include a number of precious objects he had donated: six small silver cups, enameled with his coat of arms, and two altar frontals made of red *marromaques* cloth.¹⁹⁵ None of these objects have survived.

Albornoz took a large number of objects and books from Toledo cathedral upon his departure in 1350. Some of these were returned to the treasury through his successor, Gonzalo de Aguilar, when he visited Avignon to have his position confirmed. Gonzalo de Aguilar was archbishop of Toledo for a mere two years (1351-1353).¹⁹⁶ The next Archbishop of Toledo was the previous dean of the cathedral and Bishop of Palencia, Vasco or Blas Fernandez de Toledo (1353-1362).¹⁹⁷ His uncle, Gutierre Gomez, had been Archbishop of Toledo (1310-1319), and his brother, Gutierre Fernandez, was a royal steward until 1360, when he was accused of treason

¹⁹³ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, 2a, ff. 24r-25v, fol. 25v: 'Item una mitra muy hermosa et muy rica labrada con esmaltes et ymages et con aljofar en que ...en la cabeça della cinquenta piedras preciosas grandes et en los...cinquenta y seys piedras con una casa de cuero.' The list was compiled in La Guardia, east of Toledo. It has been partially published by Antonio García y García, 'El legado de libros del Cardenal Gil de Albornoz al Colegio de España en Bolonia', *Studi senesi* III serie, XXI (1972), pp. 7-43. (hereafter referred to as García y García, 1972b), Appendix II. La Guardia had been a possession of the archbishops of Toledo since 1212. See Hernández (1996) doc. 350A, October 1212-1214: Alfonso VIII donates La Guardia to Rodrigo Ximenez and his successors in Toledo.

¹⁹⁴ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 26r-31r, ff. 26r-26v: 'una casa de mitras en que ay tres mitras las dos con orofres a ymages et aljofar et la otra con orofres sin aljofar. It. otra casa en que ay una mitra de aljofar et muchas piedras grsserhas et un par de cirotecas labradas con aljofar et ymages et un pontifical con un camafeo et dos aniellos cassas.' Partially published by García y García (1972b), Appendix III.

¹⁹⁵ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, 2a, ff. 1-23v contain inventory dated 1343, fol. 19r: 'Item seys copetas de plata esmaltadas alas armas del arzobispo don gil.' In fol. 20r: 'Item dos frontales de marromaques que corren en bermejo que dio el arzobispo don gil, estan cubiertos con dos sabanas la una sabana con orillas amarillas et la otra bermejas.'

¹⁹⁶ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 2-8. 4 January 1351, Clement VI translated Gonzalo de Aguilar from Santiago de Compostela to Toledo. Cf. Trifón Muñoz y Soliva, p. 108, quoted by Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 14 stated that he moved to Toledo because of the death of Albornoz: 'por fallecimiento del cardinal Gil Alvarez de Albornoz', yet in p. 41, fn. 110, states that Albornoz died in Viterbo in 1364 and his body was translated to Toledo in 1367, after Rivera Recio (1969), pp. 85-87.

¹⁹⁷ Documented in Synod Toledo December 1338; BNE, Ms.13041 [Burriel], ff. 167v-168r.

and executed by Pedro I.¹⁹⁸ The king sent Archbishop Blas on an abrupt exile to Portugal, and confiscated his possessions and rents.¹⁹⁹ Blas died in Coimbra in 1362, and in his will, he left 25,000 maravedies to the fabric of the cathedral.²⁰⁰ The building campaigns in the cathedral may have been affected by the absence of its archbishop for two years. Innocent VI appointed Gome Manrique as successor to the deceased Blas in 1362. Gome had been loyal to Pedro I but joined the ranks of Enrique II in 1366, taking an active role in the defence of Toledo in 1369.²⁰¹ Like the previous archbishops, Gome had a minimal input in the conclusion and adornment of the cathedral.²⁰² That none of the archbishops that succeeded Albornoz were great artistic patrons would be greatly justified by the wars that raged in Castile during the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1350, Enrique de Trastamara, Pedro I's half-brother, claimed his right to the throne of Castile, and civil war ensued. In 1356, Pedro I became embroiled on another war, this time with the king of Aragon, Pedro IV. Only the death of Pedro I in 1369 would bring relative peace to Castile.²⁰³

The more favourable political circumstances for artistic patronage coincided with the arrival of Pedro Tenorio to the see of Toledo in 1376, appointed by Gregory XI.²⁰⁴ His archbishopric (1376-1399) signalled a period of artistic flourish in the cathedral and diocese.

The close rapport that Albornoz had with Alfonso XI may have influenced some choices of patronage. The northern tympanum of the west door of Vitoria cathedral is decorated with

¹⁹⁸ *Crónica de Pedro I*, ii, xvi-xvii, xix, pp. 501, 506-509.

¹⁹⁹ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1360, xxi, pp. 509-10. Sánchez Herrero (1976), pp. 50-53. In 1345, Alfonso XI punished the Bishop of Lugo for the death of 2 men in the archbishop's palace and sent him to exile. León-Sotelo Casado and González Crespo (1986), p. 580.

²⁰⁰ ACT, A.8.1.F.5: '[24] Legamus etiam fabrice nostre ecclesie tolletane viginti et quinque millia morabetinorum.'

²⁰¹ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1359, ii, p. 487; 1366, viii, p. 542. *Ibid.*, 1369, v, p. 589.

²⁰² Rivera Recio (1969), p. 93.

²⁰³ For his death, at the hands of his half-brother Enrique, see *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1369, viii, pp. 592-3. His will, drafted in 1362, was included in the *Crónica de Pedro I*, pp. 593-599.

²⁰⁴ Sánchez Herrero (1976), p. 53.

scenes from the life of St. Giles (Fig. 28).²⁰⁵ The cathedral of Vitoria was the object of royal patronage, and the coats of arms of Castile and León appear prominently on the nerves of the vault over the crossing.²⁰⁶ The building of the cathedral started in the last third of the thirteenth century, in a city which had long been residence of castillian kings.²⁰⁷

The date of execution for the west façade is c.1350.²⁰⁸ By this date, the relationship between Alfonso XI and the Archbishop of Toledo was long-standing, and the dedication of this doorway to Albornoz's patron saint could perhaps be read as a sign of recognition on the part of the king to his loyal chancellor.²⁰⁹ St. Giles is represented on the left side of the northern tympanum directing the building works of a monastery, the foundation of which he had suggested to a king.²¹⁰ The choice to depict this particular episode, which is rather infrequent, may have an 'exemplary' connotation at a time when indulgences were granted for contributing to pious buildings.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Lahoz Gutiérrez (1992); María Lucía Lahoz, 'El Tímpano del Juicio Final de la Catedral de Vitoria. Aspectos iconográficos', *Sancho el Sabio. Revista de cultura e investigación vasca*. 4 (1994), pp. 181-200. José María de Azcárate y Ristori, 'La Catedral de Santa María' in Emilio Enciso Viana, ed., *Catálogo Monumental. Diócesis de Vitoria. III. Ciudad de Vitoria* (Vitoria: Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Vitoria, 1971), pp. 81-120, at pp. 94-95. Silva y Verástegui (1987), pp. 247-257.

²⁰⁶ Azcárate y Ristori (1971), pp. 96-97, figs. 25-33.

²⁰⁷ Teresa Pérez Higuera, 'Relaciones artísticas entre Toledo, Navarra y Álava en torno al año 1300', in *Vitoria en la Edad Media. Actas del I Congreso de Estudios Históricos celebrado en esta ciudad, 21 al 26 de septiembre de 1981, en conmemoración del 800 aniversario de su fundación* (Vitoria: Ayuntamiento de Vitoria, 1982), pp. 739-746, at p. 744. Emilio Enciso Viana, ed., *Catálogo Monumental. III. Diócesis de Vitoria* (Vitoria: Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Vitoria, 1971), pp. 9-10. Azcárate y Ristori (1971), p. 81. No documents survive from the period 1200-1350.

²⁰⁸ Silva y Verástegui (1987), p. 136. Cf. Lahoz Gutiérrez (1992), pp. 247-248; Lahoz (1994) p. 199, dated it second third of the thirteenth century.

²⁰⁹ Azcárate y Ristori (1971), p. 116, fn. 17. Cf. Lahoz Gutiérrez (1992) p. 247, fn. 73 and Silva y Verástegui (1987), pp. 18-20.

²¹⁰ Silva y Verástegui (1987), pp. 254-256.

²¹¹ The Miracle at the Mass of St. Giles is not represented here. Lahoz Gutiérrez (1992), pp. 242, 247.

The southern tympanum represents the Last Judgement, which is also the case in Toledo cathedral.²¹² The unusual presence of St. Ildefonso in the scene may perhaps be related to the bond between Alfonso XI and the Archbishop of Toledo, although there is a precedent for the royal devotion to the saint in Vitoria, when Alfonso X founded a parish church dedicated to him in the mid-thirteenth century.²¹³ The central tympanum depicts the Coronation of the Virgin; directly beneath, is the Assumption of the Virgin who rises to Heaven as she drops the girdle to St. Thomas. And, whilst the girdle is in the centre of the composition in Vitoria, another heavenly textile relic, the chasuble of St. Ildefonso, occupies such a position in the central tympanum of the west door of Toledo cathedral.²¹⁴

1.5. San Blas de Villaviciosa

Albornoz founded an Augustinian priory in Villaviciosa de Tajuña, in the outskirts of Brihuega.²¹⁵ This village belonged to the diocese of Toledo and is now part of the province of Guadalajara. The church, dedicated to St. Blaise, was Albornoz's sole private foundation in Spain. The choice of titular saint reflects Albornoz's lifelong devotion to St. Blaise. An apocryphal story, passed down by biographers of the cardinal, refers that as a child, Albornoz was unharmed after sustaining a fall, due to the intercession of the Virgin Mary and St. Blaise,

²¹² Lahoz (1994), p. 181, suggested French models such as Rheims, but ignored Toledo in her discussion of the portal.

²¹³ Identified as St. Ildefonso by Azcárate y Ristori (1971), p. 96, and Lahoz (1994), p. 190. Cf. Silva y Verástegui (1987), p. 187, who identified him as St. Martin. For the church of St. Ildefonso in Vitoria, demolished in 1839, see Lahoz (1994), p. 190, fn. 49 and Azcárate y Ristori (1971), pp. 9, 263.

²¹⁴ Azcárate y Ristori (1971), figs. 49, 56.

²¹⁵ Antonio Herrera Casado, *Monasterios y conventos de la provincia de Guadalajara (Apuntes para su historia)* (Guadalajara: Institución provincial de Cultura 'Marqués de Santillana', 1974), pp. 264-271.

who was venerated as a protector of children.²¹⁶ The devotion to St. Blaise was widespread in Castille in the fourteenth century; the saint appears in the altarpiece of Quejana (c.1396), and the Archbishop of Toledo Pedro Tenorio (d.1399) held a particular devotion for the saint, commissioning the silver gilt boat-shaped reliquary preserved in the Treasury, and dedicating his funerary chapel in the cloister of the cathedral to St. Blaise.²¹⁷ In his will, Albornoz donated a reliquary-head of St. Blaise (now lost) to the cathedral of his native Cuenca.

The documentation on the appearance of this currently ruined foundation is limited to a description dated 1395 and the partial transcriptions by Catalina García in 1888 of documents which are now lost.²¹⁸

Alfonso VI built a hunting lodge in this lush and leafy area of ‘*Villa deleitosa*’ in 1072, and in 1085, he donated Brihuega and Villaviciosa to the archbishopric of Toledo.²¹⁹ Ximenez de Rada included Brihuega as a source of financial support for the fourteen chantries he established in the Cathedral of Toledo in 1238.²²⁰ Brihuega became indeed a favourite residence

²¹⁶ Baltasar Porreño, *Vida y hechos azañosos del Gran Cardenal Don Gil de Albornoz* (Cuenca, 1626), ff. 15v-16r: ‘y estando jugando con otros niños a las espaldas de las casas de su morada, en la parte que mira al Convento de San Pablo, de la Orden de San Domingo, se lo llevó un ayre muy rezio, arrebatandolo por unas cuevas abajo muy fragosas que miran, y rematan en el rio Huecar, donde fue milagro no acabar la vida.’ Beneyto Pérez (1950), pp. 34, 79. Castejón y Fonseca (1645), fol. 804 makes no reference to Blaise. Jara (1914), pp. 12-13 and Flores Jiménez (1967), p. 7. doubted this legend. For St. Blaise, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* (ed. W. Granger Ryan, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, 5th edition, first published 1993), pp. 151-153. Maria Chiara Celletti, ‘S. Biagio: Iconografia’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* Vol. III, cols 160-165 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1963).

²¹⁷ ACT, Inventario de Lorenzana, fol. 24r, No. 35: ‘Una nao de plata con su vela, mastil y gabia que dio el Arzobispo D. Pedro Tenorio: en la gabia estan las reliquias de S. Blas...’

²¹⁸ Juan Catalina García, *El fuero de Brihuega* (Madrid: Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernández, 1887). Herrera Casado (1974), p. 265 asserted that the documents used by Catalina García in the parish church of Villaviciosa could not be found there or in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. I have not come across any documents in the Archivo Capitular de Toledo.

²¹⁹ For donation of Brihuega, Hernández (1996), doc. 2, regesta of ACT, O.2.N.1.2 Toledo, 18 December 1086. García Luján (1982b), n. 1. Herrera Casado (1983), p. 267, claimed that this also included Villaviciosa; Antonio Herrera Casado, *Monasterios medievales de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Aache, 1997), p. 178. For hunting of Alfonso VI in the area, Catalina García (1887), p. 15.

²²⁰ See Hernández (1996), doc. 450, pp. 403-405, 10 July 1238, ACT, E.1.A.1.1. Catalina García (1887), p. 20, fn. 1.

of Ximenez de Rada and later Archbishops of Toledo.²²¹ In fact, Ximenez granted a number of privileges to Brihuega in the ‘fuero’, issued c. 1223, and built a fortified residence here (Fig. 29).²²² Fragments of the original mural decoration survive on the window sills of the Great Hall (Figs 30, 31). Albornoz was in Brihuega in the winter of 1341, when he consecrated Pedro Gomez Barroso as bishop of Sigüenza, in a ceremony which took place ‘in the chapel of the Archbishop’s palace.’²²³ The decoration of the chapel, which consists of mostly geometric patterns and a fish, has been restored recently (Fig. 32).²²⁴ Notwithstanding its current ruinous state, the limited surviving evidence suggests that this was a richly-decorated fortified palace. Yet, Albornoz commissioned in 1340 the building of another residence less than a kilometre away, in the outskirts of Brihuega, with a chapel dedicated to St. Blaise.²²⁵ Unless the Brihuega palace was unfit for living because of building or decoration works, there was no need to have another residence in the immediate proximity, but there is no record of such. In a lost document dated November 1347, Albornoz stated his decision to turn the building into a house of regular canons.²²⁶ Two months earlier, in September, the Archbishop had offered the site to six Augustinians and a prior, endowed the monastery and had a cloister built.²²⁷

²²¹ For documentary evidence of the presence of Archbishops of Toledo in Brihuega, see Catalina García (1887), pp. 22; 23, fn. 2 for Ximenez de Rada; p. 27, fn. 1 for Juan de Medina, pp. 40, 41. See Hernández (1996), docs. 423, 437, 438, 448, 452, 491.

²²² Catalina García (1887), p. 24. Hernández (1996), doc. 412, ACT, A.3.A.3.3.a. Undated, but see p. 370 for 1223 suggestion.

²²³ Pedro Gómez Barroso pledged his allegiance and obedience to the church of Toledo and to Gil Alvarez de Albornoz. ACT, X.1.F.1.5: ‘Datum est hoc apud Briocham Toletane diocesis super altare quod est in capella palatii archiepiscopalis III mensis Noviembre anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo primo.’ Brihuega, 11 November 1341. Albornoz may have also been in Brihuega in 1344, when he received the visit of the new bishop of Palencia, Blas Fernandez de Toledo; ACT, X.2.A.1.10: ‘Actum est hoc apud Briocan?, toletane diocesis super altare capelle dicti domini archiepiscopi (illegible) anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo (illegible).’

²²⁴ L. Torres Balbás, ‘La capilla del castillo de Brihuega y las edificaciones de don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’, *Archivo Español de Arte* 279 (1941), pp. 279-297.

²²⁵ Catalina García (1887), p. 42 stated that in 1340 Albornoz built a chapel and a house, which later had extensions added, but only cited Porreño (1626), fol. 31v, who had stated that this took place in 1347.

²²⁶ Catalina García (1887), pp. 42-43. Porreño (1626), fol. 31v stated that it was Albornoz’s resting place, and that the original document was in the convent of Villaviciosa, but Catalina García could not find it in the parish archive,

The building must have been near completion when in October 1348, Albornoz requested the community and the prior do charitable works and to offer two daily masses for the souls of the king of Castile and of Albornoz's parents.²²⁸ On 11 June 1350, the newly-elected bishop of Osma, Gonzalo, pledged his obedience to the archbishop of Toledo at the high altar of St. Blaise, in the monastic church.²²⁹ Five days later, Albornoz endowed the house with the substantial revenues which accrued to him from the villages of Trixueque and Muduex. The document recording the endowment defines Albornoz as Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Castile, and states that his seal was appended as testimony of its validity.²³⁰ It is in Villaviciosa indeed that Albornoz was last documented in Spain, before he left for Avignon.

Soon after obtaining his cardinal title, Albornoz donated a house in Heras to the community of Villaviciosa. The letter of donation was signed in Villeneuve on 7 January 1351. In its heading, Albornoz presented himself as 'Gil, by the grace of God cardinal priest of St.

where the documentation had been transferred following the Dissolution of monasteries in the 19th century. Jara (1914), pp. 196-197, document dated 15 December 1347 but not transcribed by him. Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, p. 297, claimed to have seen a copy of the foundation document: 'ha llegado a mis manos la fundación que hizo el arzobispo D. Gil el año de mil trescientos quarenta y siete en los palacios que tenia en Villaviciosa junto a Brihuega del Monasterio de Canonigos Reglares de S. Agustin con el titulo de S. Blas.'

²²⁷ Catalina García (1887), p. 43, fn. 3; Porreño (1626), fol. 31v.

²²⁸ Catalina García (1887), p. 44, fn. 2, stated that he had seen the document in the archive in Villaviciosa. Jara (1914), pp. 196-197; document dated 3 October 1348, in Santorcaz, Toledo, but he did not transcribe it. Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, p. 297, fn. 1.

²²⁹ ACT, X.2.C.1.87: 'Ego Gundisalvus, Oxomensis Episcopus, Toletane Ecclesie suffraganeus Actum est hoc in capella Monasterii Sancti Blasii de Villadeliciosa prope Briocham Toletane Diocesis super altare eiusdem sancti Blasii, die undecima mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo.' BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 156r-156v. Published by Jara (1914), doc. VIII, pp. 235-236.

²³⁰ 'Ægidius miseratione Divina Archiepiscopus Toletanus, Hispaniarum Primas, et Regnii Castellae Cancellarius, ad perpetuam rei memoriam considerantes, quod Sacriste Monasterii S. Blasii de Villadeliciosa Ordinis Sancti Agustini prope Briocham plura incumbunt Osna, et redditus, et proventus ipsius sunt exiles, ut Osna ipsa levius valeat suportare integram praestimoniale portionem de Trixueque quae de Archiepiscopali mensa nostra existit, et dimidiam praestimoniale portionem Parochialis Ecclesiae de Moduex ... Datae apud locum de Villadeliciosa prope Briocham nostre Dioecesis die sexta decima mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo sub sigili nostri appensione in testimonium premisorum.' Published by Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 3, doc. CVI, pp. 261-2 and by Jara (1914), doc. IX.

Clement', but since this was a few days after his promotion, the matrix for his cardinal seal was not yet ready, and he attached his seal as Archbishop of Toledo.²³¹

In August 1353 Albornoz requested from Innocent VI that an indulgence be granted to pilgrims visiting Villaviciosa on the feasts of the Birth of the Virgin, St. Blaise, and St. Martin.²³² The letter explicitly refers to Albornoz's patronage: '... his monastery, which he erected, called Villaviciosa.'²³³ Innocent VI granted an indulgence of one year to the visitors to the church on the feasts specified and the eight days following the date of the liturgical feast. The Papal document confirms that Villaviciosa had been built and endowed by Albornoz: 'Regarding the church of the monastery of blessed martyr Blaise of Villaviciosa, of the Order of St. Augustine in the diocese of Toledo, which our beloved son Gil, cardinal priest of the title of St. Clement, when he was in charge of the church of Toledo, [he] founded and erected [the church] under the advocacy and to the glory of the aforesaid blessed Blaise, and endowed it with suitable honours.'²³⁴

Albornoz also requested the provision of priors for the foundation for the following five years.²³⁵ This indicates that by 1353 he knew that his return to Spain was not imminent. In May

²³¹ 'Aegidius miseratione Divina, titulo Sancti Clementis Presbyter Cardinalis In cujus rei testimonium praesentes litteras sigilli quod ante promotionem nostram utebatur sigillatas vobis duximus concedendas. Datum apud Villanova, Avinion. Diocesis, die septima mensis Januarii, Anno Nativitatis Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo primo.' Published by Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 3, doc. CVII.

²³² ASV, Reg. Suppl. 26, fol. 59r, quoted by Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 453: 'Significat Sanctitati vestre devotus filius vester Egidius, tituli Sancti Clementis presbiter cardinalis, quod ipse pridem dum ecclesie Tholetane regimini preesset in quodam monasterio suo, quod sibi hedificaverat, vocato Villa Delitiosa, et cetera...' Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, 18 August 1353.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid., doc. 454: 'Cupientes igitur ecclesiam monasterii Beati Blasii martiris de Villadeleitosa, ordinis Sancti Augusti Toletane diocesis, quam dilectus filius noster Egidius, tituli Sancti Clementis presbiter cardinalis, olim dum ecclesie Toletane preesset, sub honore et vocabulo prefati beati Blasii fundasse ac construxisse dicitur pariter et dotasse congruis honoribus...' Villeneuve, 18 August 1353.

²³⁵ Ibid., doc. 455: 'Item quatenus dictis priori et collegio dicti monasterii conservatores et iudices concedere dignemini, ut in forma secundum statutum concilii Viennensis, cum omnibus non obstantibus et clausulis oportunitis. Fiat ad quinquenium. G. Et quod transeat sine alia lectione. Fiat. G. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionensis diocesis, XV kalendas septembris, anno primo.' Villeneuve, 18 August 1353.

1354, Blas Fernandez de Toledo invited the priors of the Augustinian houses of St. Auditus and St. Blaise of Villaviciosa to attend the Synod he held in Alcalá de Henares.²³⁶

Albornoz's only foundation in Spain was an Augustinian monastery, which he generously endowed in his will, and which attests to his sympathy towards the Regular Canons. He had a close rapport with the Augustinian Alonso de Vargas (d. 1366), who was a prominent member of his retinue in Italy.²³⁷ When Albornoz drew up his will in 1364, he wanted to ensure a yearly income of 2,000 maravedis for his foundation, to be exacted from the taxes collected by Toledo Cathedral in Brihuega and its surrounding area. Half of this sum was to cover building repairs, while the remaining 1,000 maravedis were destined to the purchase of vestments for the canons. Should the dean and Chapter of Toledo cathedral refuse to part with the aforesaid 2,000 maravedis, Albornoz established that the monastery would then be the beneficiary of the village of Paracuellos, valued at 120,000 maravedis.²³⁸ However, the Augustinian community soon became lax, prompting the archbishop of Toledo Pedro Tenorio in 1395 to send the bishop of Sigüenza, Juan Serrano, to inspect them. Serrano's report revealed the moral decay of the community and the disrepair of the building.²³⁹ Tenorio decided to transfer the monastery to the

²³⁶ BNE, MS 13021 [Burriel], fol. 30r: 'et priores sancti auditus et sancti blasii de Villa deleitosa ordinis sancti augustini cum plenaria potestate suorum capitulorum et conventuum venire ad dictam sinodum teneantur.' Cf. Sánchez Herrero (1976), p. 218, fn. 2, identified it as Villahermosa in Alcaraz.

²³⁷ Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, pp. 299-300, suggests that Alonso left Castile due to differences with Pedro I. Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro eclesiástico de las Iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los Reynos de las dos Castillas. Vidas de sus Arzobispos, y Obispos, y cosas memorables de sus sedes* (Madrid: Pedro de Horna y Villanueva, 1647), Vol. 2, ff. 55-56. Ana Arranz Guzmán, 'Las elecciones episcopales durante el reinado de Pedro I de Castilla', *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001), pp. 421-461, at pp. 440, 442. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 18, 32, 33, 131.

²³⁸ Appendix I, lines 34-38. If the incumbent king wished to regain ownership of Paracuellos he was to pay 120,000 maravedis to the Cathedral of Toledo. Whether the dean and Chapter received the village or the sum, they would still perceive part of the taxes from the village of Brihuega and its surrounding area. Cf. Sepúlveda (1780), XXIV, who transcribed the value at 124,000 mrs.

²³⁹ The document, which Catalina García saw in the archive of Villaviciosa, is now lost. Its nine folios included an inventory of the possessions and holdings of the monastery. Catalina García provided a partial transcription in (1887), pp. 46-48. Juan Serrano, previously a member of Chapter of Toledo and Bishop of Segovia, was prior of Guadalupe monastery before it was transferred to the Hieronymites. Serrano stated that a woman lived inside the cloistered walls, in a house attached to the belltower, and that the prior was often away from the monastery.

recently-founded Hieronymite Order and, in March 1396, six friars arrived from San Bartolomé in Lupiana to take over Villaviciosa.²⁴⁰ Tenorio increased the original endowment of Albornoz, notwithstanding that he had criticised his predecessor for using funds belonging to Toledo cathedral for his private foundation.²⁴¹ The Tenorio coats of arms adorned the monastery by 1588.²⁴² The monastery of Villaviciosa, already generously endowed by its founder and by Tenorio, accumulated further lands and villages during the first half of the fifteenth century.²⁴³

Although it had been a rich and large monastic complex, a 1645 report of the extremely small and barren private lodgings of Albornoz insinuated that it was an austere and modest palace.²⁴⁴ This perception is hard to match with the description of 1395, as we will see. The site of the monastic complex is now largely ruined. Access is gained through an eighteenth-century gate (Fig. 33).²⁴⁵ Following the Dissolution of Monasteries of 1836, the Hieronymite community was expelled, the Order was dissolved, and in 1843 the complex was sold for 100,000 *reales*.²⁴⁶ Soon after, the buildings were scavenged for material, and the site is now parcelled out into small vegetable gardens, with ashlar blocks from the monastery incorporated in the dividing walls and

²⁴⁰ For the Hieronymite Order, confirmed in 1373, see Fray José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* (Madrid: Bailliere e Hijos, 1907, 2nd ed. Junta de Castilla y León: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 2000), Vol. I, pp. 83-84, 167. Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, p. 297, fn. 1. Catalina García (1887), p. 48.

²⁴¹ ACT, E.6.A.1.4, fol. 8r: ‘O la mia capilla do nos nos enterramos, segunt que fizieron el arçobispo don gil en sant blas de villa viciosa et el arzobispo don Gomez en santa maria de sopetran do anexenaron ciertos prestamos et los enajenaron de la mesa arzobispal lo qual nos nunca quisimos fazer antes acrecentamos en ella, segunt adelante dira...’

²⁴² Pérez (1579), fol. 84v: ‘..y le tienen por su fundador y dotador, y sus armas puestas por los edificios.’ At the time of writing in 1588, there were 27 friars.

²⁴³ For example Cívica (1441) and Yela (1475). Catalina García (1887), pp. 52-54. Herrera Casado (1974), pp. 265-268.

²⁴⁴ Castejón y Fonseca (1645), fol. 808: ‘Allí se recogía el Primado a vacar a Dios los pocos días que podía hurtar a sus cuidados. Para este efecto fabricó un Palacio, mas conveniente a su humildad grande, que al nombre. Su majestad se cifrava en dos celdicas tan pequeñas, que apenas cabia mas que una persona.’ See Jara (1914), pp. 198-200. Sigüenza (2000), Vol. I, p. 166: ‘Edificó un claustro pequeño, que ahora dicen de Santa Ana, en que morasen y para cuando él se retirase allí hizo un palacio harto moderado. Son dos celdillas tan estrechas que no son habitables: tanta era la modestia de aquel tiempo ... y a esto llamaban y llaman hoy en día Palacio del Arzobispo, que llamaran mejor tugurio pobre.’

²⁴⁵ Herrera Casado (1983), p. 268 dated the doorway as 17th century; in (1974), p. 269 dated it 18th century.

²⁴⁶ Herrera Casado (1997), p. 182.

in the fabric of private houses in Villaviciosa (Fig. 34).²⁴⁷ Without the aid of archaeological techniques, it is now impossible to discern the floor plan of the foundation or even calculate its dimensions. There is no record of the original plan, and the number of buildings or cells was not documented.²⁴⁸ In 1855, the sixteenth-century choir stalls from the church were taken to the parish church of San Nicolás in Guadalajara, which was later demolished.²⁴⁹

Although the building had fallen into disrepair by 1395, Juan Serrano listed decorative features such as painting and carving. The description of the architecture indicates that Mudejar artists, or at least their artistic traditions, had been employed. The surviving bell tower (Fig. 35) was once attached to the church, which the text describes as well built (*'bien reparada'*). The ground floor of the bell tower was a chapel, with a rib vault and cupboards built into its walls.²⁵⁰ The tower is now embedded into a private house, and its ground floor is used as a storage area, with a pointed arch entry. I could not gain access to this property to verify its vaulting.²⁵¹

Next to the church was a large cloister with a marble fountain in the middle, its spout decorated with black and white tiles; the walls and the upper storey (*'alcoba de suso'*) needed urgent repairs.²⁵² Two small doors led from the chapter house to the church, and two larger doors, opening onto the cloister, had carved decoration in Islamic style (*'labradas a la*

²⁴⁷ Herrera Casado (1974), p. 271.

²⁴⁸ In 1585, a large number of medieval documents were moved from the archive in Brihuega, and are now presumed lost; in 1887, Juan Catalina García asserted the dearth of pre-sixteenth century documentation. Catalina García (1887), pp. 27, 35 fn. 1. He listed the documents available at the time of his writing in p. 50, fn. 1.

²⁴⁹ Herrera Casado (1974), p. 265, fn. 225. Herrera Casado (1983), pp. 169-170.

²⁵⁰ Catalina García (1887), p. 46: 'primeramente entrando el ome á la capiella que esta enuestida en la torre e está bien reparada, e saliendo de la dicha capiella estan unos armarios enuestidos en la pared de la torre con sus puertas con un cerrojo.'

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 46. fn. 2: 'Hoy no queda del monasterio otra cosa que unos lienzos de muro, una portada de piedra de fines del siglo XVIII, y la torre desmochada, en que se ve la obra de dos epocas distintas. En su pie hay abierta una estancia, con entrada y boveda ogival, que sin duda fue la capilla embestida en la torre de que habla el proceso.'

²⁵² Ibid., pp. 46-47: 'saliendo por la puerta de la dicha capiella e de los dichos armarios está una quadra a la qual llaman ellos cabildo, las paredes malas e mal asaz unidas que se quiere caer et el alcoba de suso toda de rreparar de nuevo de suso que se quiere caer. Et en medio desta quadra está vna pileta de marmol con una fuente en derredor e con su caño adrillado de azuleios blancos e prietos.'

morisca').²⁵³ The cloister galleries were paved with white, black and green tiles, and there was a loggia, supported by ten white marble pillars, with a ceiling painted in gold and blue in probably Islamic-style pattern (*'un almocaraves, todo pintado de obra de oro e de azul'*), but in a bad state because of the decay of the roof above it.²⁵⁴ The cloister, with a fountain in the centre, was in a ruinous state.²⁵⁵ On the area below this level, where we can still see the drop in height, rose a building with a cellar underneath.²⁵⁶ This building was described as 'the palace of the kings' because its walls were adorned with the painted figures of unidentified monarchs, noblemen and 'moors' in blue and gold; it had an upper chamber which was in dire need of repair.²⁵⁷ There was a free-standing refectory, near the cloister.²⁵⁸

Beyond the cloistered area, and facing the stream which ran nearby, stood a house with a brick and stone staircase which led to two chambers, each of them with a doorway painted with coats of arms, including those of the King of Castile and of Cardinal Albornoz.²⁵⁹ It is likely that the 'Palace of the Kings' was destined to lodge royal or distinguished visitors, whilst the detached house decorated with Albornoz heraldry was his private residential area in the complex.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 47: 'Et en esta dicha quadra están vn par de puertas pequeñas por do entran a la dicha capiella, e otras maiores como sale ome de la dicha quadra, muy buenas, labradas a la morisca.'

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 47: 'Et delante las (puertas) de la dicha quadra está un anden adrillaado con sus azuleios prietos e blancos e verdes. Et sobre este dicho anden está obrado un almocaraues, todo pintado de obra de oro e de azul, e base a perder por lo malos tejados de suso. Et este dicho almocarraues sotienenlo çinco pares de pilares de marmol prietos e blancos.'

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 47: 'Et delante deste dicho anden está un campo quadrado que fue dexado para vergel e está en medio del fecha vna fuente do se resçibia el agua que salia de la dicha quadra. Et en derredor deste dicho campo están unos salimientos firmados sobre canes que alcançan el agua de los tejados de las camaras e torre por ellos ayuso, e cae en tierra e vienense todos á tierra, et de la una parte está todo caydo.'

²⁵⁶ A small underground chamber in this area may perhaps be a trace of the cellar.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 47: 'Et ayuso deste dicho campo está vn palaçio pintado que llaman de los Reyes et están y pintados rreyes et condes et moros con azul e oro, e este dicho palaçio está sobre bodega. Et sobre este dicho palaçio está vna camara que ha menester grande reparamiento.'

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 47, 'Et saliendo de dicho campo entra el ome en un palaçio que dizen rector, con su palaziete, en que tienen la vianda.'

²⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 47-48: 'Et saliendo de la claustra contra la puerta mayor del monesterio de cara al arroyo está a la mano esquierda una casa cayda et saliendo desta casa está un portal pequeño con sus puertas buenas e en este dicho portal está una escalera de piedra e de adrilla obrada por do suben á dos cámaras que están sobre este dicho portal e sobre otro portal...Et estos dichos portales tienen los çielos pintados de armas del Rey de Castilla e del Cardenal don gil e de otros e estos çielos están de reparar...'

This 1395 description stands in contrast with the text of 1645, which gave the account of a very modest and barren monastery. Its sober appearance was not a reflection of Albornoz's frugal lifestyle but rather the consequence of the loss of its lavishly decorated interiors. The new Hieronymite prior in 1396 had to order extensive repairs of the monastery.²⁶⁰ It is unfortunate that Catalina Garcia did not transcribe the inventory of the movable goods and made just passing mention of the vestments in the sacristy, which included at least one rich chasuble.²⁶¹

1.6. The Departure from Castile

Clement VI appointed Albornoz to the rank of cardinal priest of S. Clemente in December 1350. The position had been vacant since the death of Pierre Bertrand in 1348. Perhaps the Pope had been waiting for the right circumstances to promote Albornoz, who had been engaged in the military campaigns in Spain between 1348 and 1350. Only three of the cardinals appointed in the 1350 promotion were not French nationals: Niccolo Capocci, Rinaldo Orsini, and Gil de Albornoz. The previous representative of Castile in the curia, the Cardinal of Sabina Pedro Gomez (d.1348), was from Toledo. Albornoz filled the vacancy for a Castilian cardinal, and only six years later he would 'inherit' the Sabina title. Alfonso XI had wished for the presence of no less than three Castilian prelates in the Sacred College, but only Gil de Albornoz reached this position.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Sigüenza (2000), Vol. I, p. 167: 'Halló Fr. Pedro Román la casa y lo que a ella tocaba tan malparado que poco menos no halló nada. Para repararlo y darle alguna figura fue menester mucha diligencia, porque estaba todo enajenado, caído, perdido.'

²⁶¹ Catalina García (1887), p. 46, fn. 1: 'Una de las casullas era labrada a grifo con filos de oro, con sus dos cenefas estoriadas de apóstoles ... una sabana de lino con cenefa dorada estoriada de apóstoles, bordada con borlas de plata y un frontal de lienzo figurado de santos.'

²⁶² Mollat (1951), pp. 36-7.

The sudden death of Alfonso XI on 26 March 1350, probably caused by Bubonic fever, brought the siege of Gibraltar to a halt.²⁶³ The king's demise seems to have affected Albornoz, who left Castile only three months later. The reasons that motivated Albornoz to leave his homeland have been debated by most of his biographers.²⁶⁴ A passage in Albornoz's will explicitly mentions the hostility of the successor of Alfonso in the throne, Pedro I, towards Albornoz and his lineage. This animosity has traditionally been interpreted as the reason for his departure.²⁶⁵ Ginés de Sepúlveda blamed it on the tensions caused by the Archbishop's disapproval of the adulterous affair between the married King and Maria de Padilla.²⁶⁶ This legend was perpetuated by later authors, despite the fact that the relationship between Pedro I and Maria de Padilla began after 1350.²⁶⁷ Both Ximeno and Albornoz had turned a blind eye to the affair of Alfonso XI with Leonor de Guzmán.²⁶⁸

Albornoz left Castile at an unprecise date between the middle and the end of June, 1350. On 11 June, Albornoz was in San Blas de Villaviciosa, when the new Bishop of Osma don Gonzalo promised his obedience to the Archbishop of Toledo. On 16 June, Albornoz wrote a

²⁶³ Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, 'Doña Leonor de Guzmán a la muerte de Alfonso XI', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (1932), C, pp. 629-636, p. 629. Luis Vicente Díaz Martín, *Colección Documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369)* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura, 1997), Vol. I, doc. 3.

²⁶⁴ Jara (1914), p. 163 stated that it was not until 1355 that problems arose between Pedro I and Albornoz's family; on p. 165, he suggested Albornoz left in order not to return Paracuellos, and that Pedro I actually did not dare to confiscate the lands; the will of Albornoz proves that by 1364 they were still in his possession. Mollat (1963), p. 126 stated that Albornoz left when he fell in disgrace, like other courtiers of Alfonso XI, and that when he arrived in Avignon, the Pope rewarded him with a cardinal title.

²⁶⁵ Pérez (1579), fol. 18r: 'Fugiens indignationem Petri Regis crudelis ex Concha secreto profectus Avinionem ibi factus Cardinalis a Clemente 6°.'

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 85r-85v: 'Y assi creo yo que no dexo el Arcobispado huyendo, sino porque le hizieron Cardenal año 1350 que era incompatible en Diciembre 1350.' In fact, Juan Bautista Pérez corrected Sepúlveda, but because his work was not printed, it did not have the same diffusion as Sepúlveda's.

²⁶⁷ Castejón y Fonseca (1645), ff. 809-810; Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, p. 297; López (1949) VI, p. 146. Garro de Toledo (1990), ff. 15r, 16v. Cf. Jara (1914), pp. 147-148, 163. See *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1352, v, p. 427; 1354, x-xii, pp. 444-5.

²⁶⁸ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, xc, p. 227.

letter of donation to the monastery in Villaviciosa.²⁶⁹ However, when on June 28 the royal messengers carrying a letter from Pedro I to Albornoz arrived at Villaviciosa, they did not find the archbishop there. These letters were in connection with the Paracuellos village and other lands, which the military Order of Santiago claimed had been illegally sold to Albornoz.²⁷⁰

There was a dispute regarding the improper use of the Order's seal, which had been in the hands of Leonor de Guzmán between 1343 and 1350.²⁷¹ The Order refused to acknowledge the validity of documents produced in that period, which included the purchase of Paracuellos, once their property. The knights of Santiago claimed that Albornoz had therefore acquired their lands illegally, and asked Pedro I to secure their return to the Order. In the letter sent on 28 June, the king offered Albornoz a compensation of 170,000 maravedis in exchange for Paracuellos, Mohernando, Torrebucyet, and the lands in Moya.²⁷² However, Albornoz ignored the offer. He was already in Avignon on August 18, when he wrote a letter of reply to the king from the home of the Spaniard Martin Fernandez in Villeneuve.²⁷³ In this letter, Albornoz insisted that his purchase was valid, and that this was also the case for the properties that his brother Alvar Garcia had acquired, including the village of Mohernando.²⁷⁴

Albornoz's will proves that Paracuellos remained his property until his death, notwithstanding that the King could have confiscated these assets. The archbishop of Toledo not only refused to give up his claim to Paracuellos, but apparently left Castile without the necessary

²⁶⁹ See above *notes* 232, 233.

²⁷⁰ See Moxó (1972), pp. 33-34. Salvador de Moxó, 'Relaciones entre la corona y las órdenes militares en el reinado de Alfonso XI', in *VII Centenario del Infante D. Fernando de la Cerda 1275-1975. Jornadas de Estudio. Ciudad Real, abril 1975: Ponencias y Comunicaciones* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1976), pp. 117-158.

²⁷¹ Jara (1914), pp. 151-156.

²⁷² Díaz Martín (1997), Vol. I, docs. 23, 26.

²⁷³ Aguado, Alemán y Rosales and López Agurleta (1719), pp. 315-6: 'Notum sit omnibus, quod anno Domini MCCL die XVIII Augusti constitutus apud Villanovam Avinionensis dioc., coram Rdo. in Christo Patre et Domino Egidio Archiepiscopo Toletano in domo et hospicio dicti Rdi. Domini Martinus Fernandi Nuntius..'

²⁷⁴ Letters published by Jara (1914), pp. 156-159, 160-162, 238-241.

royal permission.²⁷⁵ Pedro I solved another dispute over the ownership of the village of Zafra in Badajoz in a manner less beneficial to Albornoz. Pedro I returned Zafra, which Alfonso XI had sold to Albornoz for 150,000 maravedis, to the diocese of Badajoz. Although the village paid 70,000 mrs. in compensation to Albornoz, he evidently lost a considerable sum, amounting to over half the price he had paid for the property.²⁷⁶

Some authors suggested that Albornoz left due to the arrival of Pedro I, and the political changes it entailed.²⁷⁷ Grassoti went as far as attributing the departure to fear of the new king, without taking into account that the young Pedro had barely been in power.²⁷⁸ The examples she used to illustrate the fear Albornoz had presumably felt, such as the imprisonment of the bishop of Sigüenza, Pedro Gomez Barroso, and the exile of the archbishop of Toledo Blas Fernandez, date from 1355 and 1360, respectively.²⁷⁹ In fact, Pedro would not order any executions until 1351, and his reputation as ‘the Cruel’ stems mainly from the biased Chronicle by Chancillor Ayala.²⁸⁰ This must be read with caution, since its author supported Enrique de Trastamara, the illegitimate son of Alfonso XI and Leonor de Guzmán.²⁸¹ When he became king, Enrique II

²⁷⁵ Jara (1914), p. 165. Some authors claimed that Albornoz renounced his nationality; Flores Jiménez (1967), p. 19; Hilda Grassoti, ‘En torno al exilio del Cardenal Albornoz’, in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 317-343, at 319-323. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, vii, p. 178; cxxxi, p. 260; clx, p. 277.

²⁷⁶ Juan Solano de Figueroa, *Historia eclesiástica de la ciudad y obispado de Badajoz* (Badajoz, 1929), Vol. I, 1a parte, p. 104.

²⁷⁷ Bandini (1933), p. 10. Guillemain (1972), p. 360. Joaquín Gimeno Casalduero, *La imagen del monarca en la Castilla del siglo XIV-Pedro el Cruel, Enrique II y Juan II* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1972), pp. 81-86.

²⁷⁸ Grassoti (1972), p. 343. In 1350, Pedro I was 15 years old; see *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cccxxxix, p. 391. Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 16v, stated that Pedro tried to have Gil killed.

²⁷⁹ Grassoti (1972), pp. 336-7. For the 1355 imprisonment of bishop, see *Crónica de Pedro I*, ix-x, p. 464; xix, p. 468. See also *Ibid.*, xii, p. 544, for the 1366 killing of the archbishop of Santiago, Don Suero, and the dean Pero Alvarez.

²⁸⁰ In 1629, Mártir Rizo (1974), fol. 66: ‘su nombre era cruel, y sus obras no desmentian a la opinion.’ Grassoti (1972), p. 336, fn. 67.

²⁸¹ Díaz Martín (1997), Vol. I: 1350-Septiembre de 1351, pp. 18-21.

ensured the destruction and manipulation of documents related to Pedro I, attempting to justify his own arrival to the throne after killing his half-brother and legitimate heir.²⁸²

The suggestion that Albornoz fell out of favour with the king and left in a haste, fearing for his life, must be discarded. It is hard to believe that, notwithstanding the territorial dispute over Paracuellos, Albornoz would have hurriedly abandoned his prominent lay and ecclesiastical position. His departure was surely precipitated by the news of his appointment to the title of S. Clemente. Albornoz may have been notified of his impending promotion a few months before it took place in December, and it would be reasonable to assume that he left Castile in order to prepare for his confirmation as cardinal in Avignon.²⁸³

It is also to be noted that those members of the Albornoz family who remained in Castile after Albornoz's departure were not punished by the king. Pedro I's animosity towards the Albornoz family did not begin until after 1355.²⁸⁴ Alvar Garcia de Albornoz was sent on diplomatic missions to France in 1351 and 1352, and was rewarded by the King for his services.²⁸⁵ When Pedro I requested the return of the cardinal in August 1353, Innocent VI declined, contending that he could not defer Albornoz's legation to Italy.²⁸⁶ Three days later, Albornoz left Avignon.

In 1354 the Castilian nobility rose against Pedro to support Queen Blanche de Bourbon and Enrique de Trastamara. The Albornoz family took an active role in the revolt and gathered in the castle of Cuenca, ready to fight against Pedro I's army. After the insurrection had been

²⁸² Arranz Guzmán (2001), p. 423..

²⁸³ Mollat (1951), pp. 39, 45. Trenchs Odena (1972), pp. 278-9

²⁸⁴ Partner (1972), p. 340, fn. 1.

²⁸⁵ *Crónica de Pedro I*, iii-v, pp.429-430; xi-xiv, pp.432-34, xx-xxii, p. 436; xxviii, p. 439.

²⁸⁶ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 427. This correspondence does not feature in the *Crónica de Pedro I*.

quelled, the king issued a pardon which included the Albornoz family.²⁸⁷ In 1355, Innocent VI wrote to Pedro I specifically to request a favourable treatment for Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz and Fernando Gomez de Albornoz, in view of the excellent services paid to the Church by their brother Gil Albornoz.²⁸⁸ In February 1356, Innocent sent another letter to Pedro expressing his delight at the benevolent treatment given to the brothers, and asked that this continued, especially since Fernando was going to join Albornoz in Italy.²⁸⁹ However, the following month, Innocent VI received the news of the confiscation of the possessions of Albornoz, and rebuked the king.²⁹⁰ The Albornoz family left Cuenca and went to Aragon, where the Luna branch of the family could offer support.²⁹¹ In December 1357, Pedro I confiscated the Albornoz lands in Moya.²⁹² Further on, in 1358, he confiscated the castles owned by Ferrand Gomez de Albornoz: Miño and Arcos.²⁹³ The keep of Arcos del Jalón still stands, and constitutes an important survival of fourteenth-century mudéjar building technique and decoration (Fig. 36). The fabric combined a double layer of brick and masonry blocks, and was covered in plaster decoration forming circles; the technique of architectural decoration (*'esgrafiado'*) was widely used in Castile between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁹⁴ On the south wall, where the pattern is best preserved, the

²⁸⁷ The royal pardon, given in November 1355, was transcribed by Eusebio Ramírez, 'Perdón a Cuenca por haber seguido a doña Blanca de Borbon' *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 44 (1923), pp. 341-351. *Crónica de Pedro I*, xi, p. 464. Moxó (1972), p. 24, fn. 16.

²⁸⁸ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 356. Innocent VI also requested the help of Queen Leonor of Castilla and the Archbishop of Toledo, see *Ibid.*, doc. 357.

²⁸⁹ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 435.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. 442, 8 March 1356. Innocent VI asked Guillaume de la Jugie to discuss the matter with Pedro I, *Ibid.*, doc. 443, 15 March 1356. José Zunzunegui Aramburu, *Bulas y cartas secretas de Inocencio VI, referentes a España* (Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1970), 13 March 1356, doc. 209.

²⁹¹ Ibáñez Martínez (2003a), p. 20. *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1356, ii, p. 471. In 1357, king Pedro of Aragon sent them to Paris to enlist the help of Enrique, who had taken refuge there, *Ibid.*, i, p. 476.

²⁹² Urgorri Casado (1972), p. 167.

²⁹³ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1358, xi, p. 486. Nothing remains of the castle in Miño.

²⁹⁴ For example in the 13th-century tower in Hinojosa del Campo, Soria. Ángel Lorenzo Celorrio, *Compendio de los castillos medievales de la provincia de Soria en el que se incluyen torres y atalayas de la misma época: aumentado con las trazas de los ejemplares más representativos y adornado con ilustraciones de aquellos que conservan restos significativos* (Soria: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Soria, 2003), p. 119 and the 15th-century

coat of arms of the Albornoz is clearly visible, although only one author has registered it (Fig. 37).²⁹⁵ There is another coat of arms to the right which is now illegible.

As for the possessions of Alvar Garcia de Albornoz, they were put on sale in 1358.²⁹⁶ In May 1359, Innocent VI addressed Pedro I regarding his attitude against Gil de Albornoz, who found himself deprived of his possessions and his income from benefices blocked while he was in Avignon. Innocent asked him to take into consideration the service Albornoz had paid to Alfonso XI and his role in defending Castile, and ordered Guy de Boulogne to force Pedro to recant and return Albornoz's possessions.²⁹⁷ In 1361, the Pope requested the devolution of benefices owed to Albornoz.²⁹⁸

In April 1367 Enrique and his supporting nobility lost the battle of Nájera, and Alvar Garcia de Albornoz was taken prisoner by Pedro I.²⁹⁹ Gil de Albornoz, then in Viterbo, strove to raise the ransom for his brother's liberation, and gathered 3,000 gold ducats after pawning his personal jewels and precious objects.³⁰⁰ This is proof that Albornoz had a very considerable private treasure with him in Italy, in contrast to the limited means at his disposal for the campaign to recover the Papal States. Albornoz died in August 1367 without having heard of

tower of Juan II in the Alcázar in Segovia, illustrated in Javier Bernard Remón ed., *Castillos de España. II. Castilla-La Mancha* (León: Editorial Everest, 1997), p. 1123.

²⁹⁵ Bernard Remón (1997), pp. 1144-1145. Lorenzo Celorrio (2003), pp. 47-48 does not mention the heraldry. Clemente Sáenz Ruidrejo and Florentino Zamora Lucas, 'Arcos de Jalón' in Juan Espinosa de los Monteros and Luis Martín-Artajo Saracho eds, *Corpus de Castillos Medievales en Castilla* (Bilbao: Clave, 1974), p. 421, failed to mention the heraldry.

²⁹⁶ Díaz Martín (1999) Vol. III, doc. 1.070, Sevilla, 12 December 1358.

²⁹⁷ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 277, 278.

²⁹⁸ Zunzunegui Arámburu (1970), doc. 454. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 442, 443.

²⁹⁹ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1367, iv, p. 552, xii, pp. 556-58. Cf. ACT, 4-2, fol. 1v.

³⁰⁰ Filippini (1933), pp. 406-7. José Trenchs and Carlos Sáez, 'Catálogo de los fondos del Archivo albornociano (Bolonia)', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. IV, pp. 219-340, at pp. 327, 330. Cf. Martí (1966), p. 62.

the fate of his brother, who was freed soon after.³⁰¹ The war in Castile came to an end with the death of Pedro I in 1369, at the hands of his half-brother Enrique.³⁰²

It is only after Albornoz left Castile that Pedro I disposed of certain members of his father Alfonso XI's entourage and confiscated their assets. The case of Juan Estevánez de Castellanos, who had been Alfonso XI's trusted counsellor, and betrayed Pedro I, epitomises the rise and fall from royal grace in this period.³⁰³ Pedro I did not replace every officer who had served his father; he retained at his service Fernand Sanchez de Valladolid, until he fell from grace in 1360.³⁰⁴

When the king sent the former treasurer of Alfonso XI, Fernando Garcia Davelza, into exile in 1353, Albornoz offered his protection in Avignon to the disgraced officer.³⁰⁵ Albornoz interceded for other members of Alfonso XI's court or their relatives, and he employed one of the latter, Alfonso Fernandez de Guadalajara, as his chaplain.³⁰⁶ These actions on the part of the cardinal, and his family's support of the Trastámara party, likely contributed to Pedro I's animosity towards Gil Albornoz. The royal wrath he mentioned in his will of 1364 coincides with the period when the family was actively supporting Enrique de Trastámara.

³⁰¹ BNE, Ms 13023 [Burriel], fol. 72r.

³⁰² Jugie (1986), Vol. II, pp. 230-233.

³⁰³ Salvador de Moxó, 'Juan Estevánez de Castellanos. Elevación y caída de un consejero regio en la Castilla del siglo XIV', in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB* (Burgos: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Burgos y Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos, 1976), pp. 407-421, at pp. 417-419. Díaz Martín (1997), Vol. I, doc. 107: 'Sepades que Johan Esteuanes de Castellanos fiso algunas cosas contra mi seruiçio por que deue perder lo que ha e el cuerpo, es esta mi merçed..'

³⁰⁴ Moxó (1975a), pp. 13-18 and Salvador de Moxó, 'El patrimonio dominical de un consejero de Alfonso XI. Los señoríos de Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid', *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* XXII, no. 85 (Enero-Marzo 1973). Homenaje a Gómez Moreno II, pp. 123-162. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, clxxiv, p. 285.

³⁰⁵ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 248. Avignon, 27 March 1353. Between 1357 and 1358 Albornoz absolved Fernando from his cruel actions during the military campaigns in Spain; José Trenchs, 'Una minuta y un original de Penitenciaría del cardenal Albornoz', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1973), Vol. III, pp. 9-18, at pp. 15-18.

³⁰⁶ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 256-257, 380. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 419. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 69.

1.7. Arrival in Avignon

Albornoz renounced his archbishopric in Toledo, as was customary upon appointment to cardinal, and Clement VI transferred Gonzalo de Aguilar, archbishop of Compostela, to the see of Toledo.³⁰⁷ However, Gonzalo was absent from Toledo and resided in Sigüenza until his death in 1353.³⁰⁸ In January 1353, Gonzalo went to Avignon, where Albornoz gave him a number of objects and books which belonged to Toledo cathedral. By this time, Albornoz would have renounced the mitre of Toledo, although the regulation which obliged cardinals to forfeit their previously acquired rank of archbishop was not in place until 6 December 1353.³⁰⁹ Although the dignity of cardinal precluded the holding of any position above that of bishopric, the accumulation of other titles such as archdeaconries, canonries and bishoprics compensated for this.³¹⁰ Soon after his promotion to cardinal of S. Clemente, Albornoz began to collect an impressive range of such ecclesiastical benefices.³¹¹ In this, as in his artistic interests, he followed the trends set by previous cardinals. After the death of Gonzalo de Aguilar, Innocent VI sold the Papal chamber's rights over his properties and Albornoz was one of the buyers, in March 1353.³¹²

³⁰⁷ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), p. 1.

³⁰⁸ Rivera Recio (1969), p. 89.

³⁰⁹ Mollat (1951), p. 62.

³¹⁰ For the accumulation of ecclesiastical benefices, appointment to the positions, papal and royal interventionism in Toledo cathedral, see Lop Otín (2003), pp. 199-223.

³¹¹ In January 1351, Albornoz requested –and was granted– the archdeaconries of Ledesma and Soria as well as canonries in Zamora and Evora. Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 9-17. Clement VI also granted him in March 1351 canonries in Palencia, Coimbra, and Braga; see *Ibid.*, docs. 32-37, and, in April, further benefices in Lisbon, Sevilla, Zaragoza, Córdoba, Barcelona, Compostela, Oviedo, Orense, and Evora, docs. 52-68.

³¹² *Ibid.*, docs. 250, 251.

Sometimes the Pope reserved certain positions for his appointed candidates, regardless of the choice of the respective Chapter when it involved a Cathedral post.³¹³ Not all the titles and benefices he accumulated were Albornoz's requests, and some were granted by the Pope of his own accord (*de motu proprio*) such as the archdeacons of Alcaraz and Toledo, which effectively meant that although no longer archbishop of Toledo, he would benefit financially from this rich diocese.³¹⁴ As soon as the archdeaconry of Alcaraz was vacant due to the promotion of Albornoz to archdeacon of Toledo, Cardinal Gaillard de la Motte asked the Pope for the position, which suggests that it yielded a desirable income.³¹⁵ Soon after granting him the archdeacons of Ledesma, Soria, Alcaraz, Toledo, Arévalo, and Saldaña, Clement VI allowed Albornoz to nominate deputies or delegates for his visits to these locations during the five years following his appointment.³¹⁶ The Pope also appointed in 1351 guardians for Albornoz's possessions in Spain for the next five years.³¹⁷ By August 1352, Albornoz had a general attorney or representative in Castile, Domingo Fernández.³¹⁸ In 1352, Albornoz was granted further benefices in Huesca and Jaca (Aragon), Salamanca, Burgos, Orense, Ávila, and Palencia.³¹⁹ In 1353, Innocent VI added the archdeacons of Huete (Cuenca), Dijon (Langres) and Saintes.³²⁰

Throughout his career as cardinal, Albornoz requested ecclesiastical benefices and positions for his *familiares* and members of his retinue, which included a large number of

³¹³ In 1342, Benedict XII informed Albornoz that he had reserved the church of Palencia, despite the opposition of the Chapter. Mansilla (1958), doc. 143, doc. IX.

³¹⁴ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 96-98, 126, 127.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. 130.

³¹⁶ April 1351; *Ibid.*, docs. 44-47. For Alcaraz, see *Ibid.*, doc. 110; for Toledo, docs. 127, 135; for Arévalo, docs. 169, 170; for Saldaña, docs. 176, 187.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, docs. 123, 124. Innocent VI appointed further guardians in March 1353, see *Ibid.*, docs. 246, 367.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 171.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, docs. 138-140. For Salamanca, docs. 147, 165. For canonries in Burgos, Orense, Ávila and Palencia, docs. 153-161. In May 1353 Albornoz had permission to delegate his visit to Orense for five years, doc. 265.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, docs. 232-237, 252-255, 271, 488.

Spaniards who followed him to Avignon, and on to Italy.³²¹ In January 1351, Clement VI dispensed all members of Albornoz's retinue from mandatory residence in the place of their ecclesiastical benefice, so that they could receive their income while in absence.³²² As a privilege, Clement VI granted absolution *in articulo mortis* to Albornoz's brothers and their wives in April 1351.³²³ Albornoz certainly sought to provide for his relatives and for other members of his circle. As soon as his nephew Pedro died, Albornoz requested that the benefices that he had held in Toledo and Cuenca were reassigned to other members of his household.³²⁴ Another relative of Albornoz who benefitted from his intercession was Rodrigo Fernandez de Belvis.³²⁵ Alvaro Garcia –the cardinal's brother- addressed the Pope in February 1354 to request a benefice for Domingo Ibañez.³²⁶ Soon enough, members of Albornoz's circle were asking for positions for themselves or for their nephews.³²⁷

Albornoz sought to obtain benefices for the Spanish members of his retinue in Spanish cathedrals and churches.³²⁸ In January 1353, the household of Albornoz included French and

³²¹ For a list of those associated with Albornoz in Spain and Avignon, see José Trenchs Odena, 'La familia y comitiva de Albornoz (1302-1353)', *Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* 15 (1981), pp. 165-178. For a list of those who are documented in Italy with Albornoz, see José Trenchs Odena, 'La cancellería de Albornoz, como legado pontificio' *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974-1979), pp. 470-505, at pp. 497-505. His nephew Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz had to be dispensed since he was the illegitimate son of a married man and a single woman, see Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 69-101. For benefices and dispensations granted to Fernando, due to either age or illegitimate birth, see Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 72-74, 172, 219, 354, 355, 375; Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 155, 156; Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 201. For his nephew Pedro Alvarez de Albornoz, see Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 141-143, 238.

³²² Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 18-31.

³²³ *Ibid.*, docs. 42 and 43. Privilege granted to Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz and his wife Teresa Rodriguez, and to Fernando Gomez de Albornoz and his wife Marquesa Rodriguez.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, docs. 238-245, 269.

³²⁵ In 1353, Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 378, 440. In 1354, Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 141.

³²⁶ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 19.

³²⁷ In September 1352, Juan Fernandez archdeacon of Valderas, asked for a position on behalf of his nephew, see *Ibid.*, doc. 175. For individual direct petitions of benefices, see doc. 260 in 1353; Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 52, 53, 95, 137.

³²⁸ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 217, 357-361, 368, 386-417, 431-451. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 305.

Dutch members, some of whom were chaplains, physicians and secretaries, and Albornoz requested ecclesiastical benefices for them in their home countries.³²⁹

Albornoz lived in Avignon for three years, from 1350 to June 1353, when he left for Italy, although not much is known about his time at the Curia. He had visited Avignon on a number of occasions before he arrived in 1350. During the first two years he witnessed the lavish displays of Clement VI (d.1352) and had the opportunity to develop friendships with other cardinals such as Talleyrand du Perigord and Niccolò Capocci, whose interest in the arts is well documented, as we will see. His education, his diplomatic activities as a royal chancellor to Alfonso XI, and his role as archbishop of Toledo provided Albornoz with an exceptionally rounded knowledge of lay and ecclesiastical politics and affairs. He would have easily fitted in the cosmopolitan culture of the Papal court. The scant documentary evidence regarding the life of Albornoz in Avignon, where he had time to familiarise with and integrate in the luxurious ambience of the cardinal and papal courts, seems limited to his role as General Penitentiary, which he held until 1358.³³⁰ He was only appointed to the position in April 1353 (complying with Innocent VI's promise before his election as Pope), two months before leaving for Italy.³³¹ Francesco degli Atti replaced him in the Office, first on a temporary basis and, from 1358, with a permanent character.³³²

Under John XXII, Avignon became an effervescent cultural centre, where artists arrived to seek patrons whilst clerics arrived to seek promotions and purchased books and works of art

³²⁹ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 198-206, 223, 224, 225. In 1353, Albornoz requested a canonry in Liege for his chaplain Antoine de Halleboye, and a canonry in Münster cathedral for Tillmann de Wolze, docs. 364, 434.

³³⁰ Lecacheux (1898), pp. 37-49; Trenchs (1973), pp. 9-17; José Trenchs, 'En torno a unos documentos de penitenciaría de los años del cardenal Albornoz: 1. El regente de Penitenciaría. 2. Los penitenciarios menores de Roma. 3. Nombramientos de escribanos', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. IV, pp. 145-165.

³³¹ Guillemain (1972), p. 364.

³³² Guillemain (1962), pp. 332-333. Trenchs Odena (1979), pp. 147-151. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 96, 384.

during their sojourns. Italian and English artists found work at the Papal court; the work of Sieneese goldsmiths was available there, whilst the design of the tomb of Benedict XII was trusted to an Englishman, Wilfred or Johannes Anglicus (active 1336-1351).³³³ In the 1340s, a painter from Viterbo, Matteo Giovannetti, decorated large sections of the Papal palace, which Benedict XII started in 1335 and was completed under Clement VI in the 1350s (Fig. 38).³³⁴ Matteo, documented as ‘*pictor pape*’ in 1346, painted the chapel of St. Martial, which opens on the Great Hall, the chapel of Sts. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist in the Audience Hall, and decorated the stairs leading to the Grand Chapelle.³³⁵

Upon his arrival in Avignon, Albornois was allocated the *livrée* of Petramale, and, like other cardinals, he commissioned the building of a hospital attached to the main residence.³³⁶ The *livrée*, located between Rue Petramale and Place St. Didier, had been parceled out by 1445.³³⁷ Housing in Avignon was increasingly difficult to find due to the large number of Curial officials and their staff. Under John XXII, between 1316 and 1332, an accommodation office was created to deal with the demand, renting a number of palaces from local landlords.³³⁸ Upon promotion, each cardinal was allocated a *livrée*, usually for use during their lifetime, albeit in some cases the cardinal might choose to purchase the property.³³⁹ The *livrée* comprised a core building but in some cases the extensions added and attached to the original palace led to such

³³³ Clement V employed Tauro da Siena; see Enrico Castelnuovo, *Un pittore italiano all corte di Avignone: Matteo Giovannetti e la pittura in Provenza nel secolo XIV* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1962), p. 5; for Johannes Anglicus see *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 22-24. Other Italian painters documented working in the Palais des Papes are Enrico d’Arezzo and Pietro da Viterbo; *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 47, 49. Schäfer (1914), p. 313. The decoration of the stairs and the chapel St. Michel is lost.

³³⁶ Pansier (1926-1931), II, p. 79.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 79-80.

³³⁸ Yves Esquieu, ‘Palais et maisons d’habitation en milieu avignonnais au temps du pontificat’, *Monuments Historiques* 170 (1990) Septembre-Octobre, pp. 36-39, at pp. 37-38.

³³⁹ Girard (1958), pp. 51-55. For purchase of a *livrée*, in 1344, see Hervé Aliquot, ‘Achat de la *livrée* Orsini à Villeneuve par le cardinal Hugues Roger’, in *Avignon au Moyen Âge. Textes et documents*, ed. Institut de Recherches et d’Études du Bas Moyen Âge avignonnais (Avignon: Aubanel, 1988), Vol. I, pp. 111-118; Vol. II, pp. 65-69. Hughes Roger, brother of Clement VI, purchased the Orsini palace from Rainaldo Orsini for 4,187 *libras*.

excesses that Urban V threatened with excommunicating those cardinals who interfered with the urban peace of Avignon. The *livrée* de Poitiers, property of Guillaume de la Jugie, a nephew of Clement VI, was one of the most sumptuous residences in Avignon.³⁴⁰ The document of the allocation of a *livrée* to Matteo Orsini in 1328 illustrates the sizeable quarters required to accommodate the cardinal retinue (composed of fifty-six members in the case of Matteo).³⁴¹ The *livrées* had a tower, often crenellated, with the cardinal's coat of arms. According to Pansier, it was the Italian cardinals who began erecting defensive towers upon their arrival in Avignon, following widespread practice in Italy.³⁴² Whilst the crenellation was purely decorative, the thickness of the walls and the positioning of the windows contributed to the defence of the building.³⁴³ Some *livrées* were very imposing, such as the Ceccano (Fig. 39). Annibale da Ceccano (d.1350) added the towers to the structure, which comprises three storeys and is now used as a public library.³⁴⁴

Cardinals' artistic patronage of their *livrées* was generally focused on the decoration of rooms, particularly the chapel and the *tinel* or Great Hall.³⁴⁵ In varying degrees, the *livrées* were influenced by the Palais des Papes: the towers, the mural painting, and the arrangement of the rooms, much in the same way as the cardinals' *familiae* reflected the Papal household.³⁴⁶ The *livrée* of Cardinal Ceccano, the best preserved building of its type, has retained important

³⁴⁰ José Zunzunegui Aramburu, 'La legación del cardenal Guillermo de la Jugie a Castilla y Aragón: 1355-1358', *Anthologica Annua* XII (1964), pp. 129-156, at p. 132; cf. Pansier (1926-1931), II, pp. 82-87.

³⁴¹ Forte (1967), doc. V, pp. 218-219. For a description of his *livrée*, Pansier (1926-1931) II, Doc. Justificatives, 11, 13-15, 21-22. Hayez (1993), p. 54, suggested it was in the parish of Saint-Geniès. See Forte (1967) pp. 188, 190, 192.

³⁴² Pansier (1926-1931), II, p. 13.

³⁴³ Esquieu (1990), p. 38; Aliquot (1993), p. 22.

³⁴⁴ Pierre Pansier, 'Les livrées de la Vergne et de Venise (Lycée actuel)', *Annuaire de la société des amis du palais des papes et des monuments d'Avignon* X (1921), pp. 43-49, at p. 44.

³⁴⁵ The *livrée* of Cardinal Audoin Aubert, nephew of Innocent VI, and now the Town Hall, was painted by Matteo Giovanetti, see Castelnuovo (1962), p. 135-36. For the Hall of the Collège de la Croix *livrée* of Cardinal Gaillard de la Mothe, decorated c.1335, see Marie Claude Leonelli, 'Les peintures des livrées cardinalices d'Avignon', *Monuments Historiques* 170 (1990) Septembre-Octobre, pp. 40-47, at p. 42; Aliquot (1993), pp. 25-31.

³⁴⁶ Dykmans (1971), p. 390.

fragments of the original mural decoration, mostly consisting of heraldic devices (Fig. 40). The heraldic decoration is combined with flowers, and architectural motifs. The coat of arms of the Ceccano family, featuring an eagle, alternates with the heraldry of Jacopo Stefaneschi; the rest of the coats of arms remain to be identified (Fig. 41).³⁴⁷ The windows show fictive decoration, imitating archivolt with black and white keys, a decoration that is found in Italian architecture such as in Orvieto and Siena cathedrals. A frieze runs along the upper register with fictive corbels in perspective, somewhat reminiscent of the cornice in the interior of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.³⁴⁸ Cardinal Bertrand des Déaux, who occupied this *livrée* since 1350, died here on 21 October 1355.³⁴⁹

As we mentioned above, the residence allocated to Albornoz in Avignon has not survived in its original state, and its decorative scheme is not documented. However, it seems that Albornoz bought a house elsewhere in the city. His chaplain Gilles de Oulchy-le-Château, who had been part of his household since June 1351, appears in a document dated January 1353 as the buyer of Albornoz's house in Avignon, something which has not hitherto been brought to attention.³⁵⁰ Perhaps Albornoz invested in a house during his three years in Avignon, and only decided to sell it when he understood that his future destination was Italy. In March 1353 Albornoz put Gilles forward for the vacant post of papal notary.³⁵¹ Albornoz had favoured his relatives and his fellow nationals, requesting benefices on their behalf. Albornoz had in fact

³⁴⁷ Aliquot (1993), p. 24.

³⁴⁸ Leonelli (1990), p. 47.

³⁴⁹ Sylvain Gagnière, 'Le tombeau du cardinal de Déaux à l'église Saint-Didier d'Avignon', *Etudes Vauclusiennes* 17 (1977), pp. 1-10, at p. 2.

³⁵⁰ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 99-101, Albornoz requested Clement VI to grant Gilles a canonry in Laon Cathedral. *Ibid.*, doc. 221, January 1353: 'Inocencio VI concede a Gilles de Oulchy-le Chateau, comprador de la casa del cardenal Albornoz...' The document reads: 'Dilecto filio Egidio de Ulcheiocastro, canonico Suessionensi ... premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu necnon consideratione dilecti filii nostri Egidii, tituli Sancti Clementis presbiteri cardinalis, pro te familiari et provisorio hospitii sui Nobis in hac parte humiliter supplicantis, gratiam facere specialem, canonicatum ecclesie Suessionensis...' ASV, Reg. Vat. 220, ff. 353v-354r, litt.183.

³⁵¹ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 247.

employed chaplains and assistants from a variety of nations, and he had an amicable relationship with the French clergy. He requested a position for the prior of the Augustinian monastery of Nôtre-Dame du Bon Repos, near Avignon, in Montfavet.³⁵² Incidentally, in 1358, Innocent VI allowed Albornoz to have an allocated room in this monastery on account of the fact that the cardinal had funded with his private money the repair of the building and had contributed to its recovery from the ravages of the Black Death.³⁵³ Albornoz had previously been a chaplain at Notre-Dame, and Innocent recognized his involvement in the patronage of the monastery. It is interesting that, perhaps coincidentally, the only document testifying to Albornoz's artistic patronage in Avignon relates to an Augustinian monastery.

Conclusion

Gil de Albornoz rose to the highest ecclesiastical position in Castile whilst he maintained privileged access to the royal court of Alfonso XI. The advantaged social and financial position of his family and the support of his uncle Ximeno were crucial to Albornoz's successful career in Spain. Alfonso XI trusted the young prelate with diplomatic missions, which provided him with

³⁵² Ibid., doc. 197.

³⁵³ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 265: 'Exhibita siquidem Nobis tua petitio continebat quod tu in monasterio Sancte Marie de Bonarepauasu ordinis Sancti Augustini, Avinionensis diocesis, fundato, dotato et constructo de bonis quondam bone memorie Bertrandi, Sancte Marie in Aquiro diaconi cardinalis, cuius, dum viveret et tu in minori gradu existeres, intimus et capellanus fuisti ... ex speciali devotione quam ad monasterium ipsum geris ... et ut canonicis ipsius monasterii ibidem Deo servientibus posset in suis necessitatibus magis utiliter provideri, cum propter sevam mortalitatis preteritam pestem monasterium predictum quoad necessaria canonicorum precipue dampna plurima et incommoda subiisset propter que, nisi adfuisset tui auxilii manus, canonici ipsi necessitatis lege compulsi claustra sua relinquere cogebantur, nencon in reparandis et conservandis possessionibus ac edificiis domorum eiusdem monasterii cum sepe ad monasterium ipsum causa recreationis declinaveris et intendas etiam declinare, quamplures pecuniarum summas de bonis propriis expendisti, ex quibus dictum monasterium et canonici ipsius fuerunt emolumenta non modica consecuti ... reservatis prius pro ... habitationem tuam, dummodo domus prefate quas inhabitabis per te vel alios tuo nomine in earum edificiis debite conserventur et ruine non pateant alicui, habere et ad illas, quotiens tibi videbitur, declinare ibique morari ac in pratis, ortis et virgultis eidem monasterio proximis recreationem et spatium habere valeas.' Avignon, 8 January 1358. ASV, Reg. Aven. 140, fol. 76r, litt.1.

crucial experience in international relations and political negotiation, put to use in the Italian legations.

Cardinal Albornoz spent most of his life in Spain, and he certainly felt attached to his homeland, despite the long periods he spent in Avignon and Italy. He remembered his native city of Cuenca with donations while he was archbishop of Toledo. In September 1348, he donated the large sum of 8,000 maravedies to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Cuenca, requesting in return prayers for the souls of his parents.³⁵⁴ Three months later, he purchased a mill near the river Júcar.³⁵⁵

Toledo and Brihuega benefitted from Albornoz's patronage as Archbishop and as a private donor. In 1347, he established four chantries in the chapels of the Trinity, St. Andrew and St. Leocadia at Toledo cathedral.³⁵⁶ He also instituted the feast of Santa Maria de la O and endowed it with 300 maravedies.³⁵⁷ Albornoz had a crucial role in the building campaign of the west end of the Cathedral, founding the Confraternity of S. María and encouraging the parishioners to join in the effort. Albornoz's legislative background, which pervaded his archbishopric, proved an invaluable asset during his legations in Italy, particularly during the first years.

³⁵⁴ Sanz y Díaz (1965), doc. 413, año 1348; Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, p. 40, fn. 103, Archivo de la Catedral de Cuenca, Institucional, siglo XIV, doc. 222.

³⁵⁵ Sanz y Díaz (1965), doc. 414, 'año 1348.'

³⁵⁶ Pérez (1579), fol. 83r.

³⁵⁷ ACT, Obituario Ms. 42-31, fol. 91v, December. The precise date of institution is not documented.

Chapter 2

Restoring Ecclesiastical control in Italy

This chapter focuses on the main fortresses that Albornoz erected in Italy during his legations, paying special attention to the architect Matteo Gattapone. An important section deals with the residential architecture built under the patronage of Albornoz, and the review of his legacy in Italy takes into consideration the perception of his work amongst his successors.

Innocent VI charged Albornoz in May 1353 with the difficult mission of recovering the Papal State.¹ The Church had slowly lost hold of its political and financial power over the March of Ancona, Romagna, Umbria and Lazio, and the income derived from taxes and tributes was much needed. Clement VI had been a lavish spender, and the building works in the Palais des Papes and his luxurious lifestyle depleted the papal treasury during his ten years as Pope. When he died in 1352, only 35,000 florins remained from a papal treasury of approximately 1,500,000 florins.² Faced with the disastrous financial state of the Church upon his incumbency, Innocent VI decided to concentrate his efforts on the recovery of the Lands of St. Peter.³

The French cardinals Bertrand du Pouget, Talleyrand, Guy de Boulogne, and Bertrand de Déaux had failed to obtain the desired success in their previous legations to Italy. In an attempt to revert the rapid dissolution of papal control over its subject territories, John XXII sent Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget on a legation to the North of Italy in 1319. The Pope granted him

¹ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), n. 267. For the definition and history of the Papal State, see Partner (1972), pp. XI-XIII, 229-265, and Mollat (1963), p. 126.

² Partner (1972), p. 339; cf. Hoberg (1944), p. XVIII.

³ Partner (1972), p. 338; military expenses made up 63,7 % of the papal income under John XXII, 5,6 % under Benedict XII, 21 % under Clement VI, and 40%, at times reaching 66%, under Innocent VI. Cf. Schäfer (1911), p. 15.

plenary powers to negotiate with the local *signori* ruling the Lands of the Church.⁴ Bertrand met an embarrassing end to his legation in 1334, when he had to flee the richly-decorated fortress he had built in Bologna near the Porta Galliera, and returned to Avignon.⁵ Benedict XII appointed the bishop of Embrun, Bertrand de Déaux, as reformer of the Papal State in 1335.⁶ Bertrand de Déaux's partial codification of Italian local laws in various parliaments held in 1335 and 1336 formed the core of the Constitutions of Albornoz of 1357.⁷ Bertrand returned to Avignon in 1337, where Benedict XII appointed him Cardinal of S. Marco.⁸ He was an excellent legislator, and the Pontiff trusted him with the codification of the statutes of the University of Montpellier in 1339.⁹ In 1346, Clement VI sent the French Cardinal back to Italy with unprecedented powers, making him a 'deputy Pope' in effect, and thus setting a precedent for Albornoz.¹⁰ However, Bertrand did not achieve the desired success and returned to Avignon in 1348.¹¹ Clement VI proceeded to send the Italian Cardinal Annibale da Ceccano to Naples and, in 1350, to Rome, where he was assassinated.¹²

Innocent VI found in Albornoz the ideal candidate to lead the campaign to regain the lost territories of the Church.¹³ The Spaniard Albornoz must have made an impression upon the Pontiff, who would have no doubt taken into account his legislative, diplomatic and military prowess. Albornoz had a sound legal education and had taken part on numerous embassies to

⁴ Partner (1972), p. 312.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 312-327. Frati (1912), Benevolo (2005), pp. 30-33.

⁶ Partner (1967), pp. 642-644. Cf. Baluze (1914-1922), Vol. I, pp. 272, 814.

⁷ Partner (1967), p. 643; Mollat (1968), p. 396. Partner (1972), pp. 328, 347, 348.

⁸ Partner (1967), p. 643.

⁹ Mollat (1968), p. 394. Fournier (1890), Vol. II, nos. 946, 947, 949, 953, 955, 957, 960, 963, 967, 969, 979, 984.

¹⁰ Partner (1972), p. 332. Mollat (1972), p. 345. For the concessions and extraordinary powers granted to Albornoz, see Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), nos. 274-353. Cf. Mollat (1951), pp. 566-574 for powers granted to legates, and Zunzunegui Aramburu (1964), p. 136, fn. 27.

¹¹ Partner (1972), p. 334. Cf. Joseph Girard, 'La construction de l'église Saint-Didier d'Avignon', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1936-1937), pp. 631-49, at p. 632.

¹² Partner (1972), p. 335.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 339-354; Mollat (1963), pp. 125-146 for legation.

the French court and to Avignon. His participation in the battle of the Salado river (1340) and the sieges of Alcalá de Benzaide or la Real (1341), and Gibraltar (1349-1350) in Spain provided him with essential military expertise.¹⁴ The archbishops of Toledo were not shy of engaging in action, and Ximenez de Rada, who played an active role in battles such as the Navas de Tolosa, had a standing army of 1,000 men.¹⁵ Albornoz's father and brothers had distinguished military experience too. Albornoz's experience and mentality of the *Reconquista* transpired during his legation in Italy, where he engaged in what effectively was a crusade against the enemy.¹⁶ Albornoz enlisted the help of the Mendicant Orders to preach the crusade that Innocent VI proclaimed in 1356 against the Ordelauffi in Forlì and the Manfredi in Faenza.¹⁷ He carefully balanced diplomatic negotiations with threats of excommunication or interdict and, when necessary, he resorted to armed action against rebellious leaders.¹⁸

Albornoz had valuable experience in overcoming the financial difficulties brought upon by a large military campaign, although his war-mongering in Italy was on a reduced scale. He could only count on a small army, so he resorted to diplomatic negotiation to achieve his objectives.¹⁹ His negotiation skills with the local lords, many of which remained in their position

¹⁴ For the organisation of the Christian front in Spain against the Muslims and the siege techniques, see Torremocha Silva (1994), pp. 67-140. For the technique of digging at the foundations, see *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cxx, p. 252; cclxxi, p. 345; cclxxxviii-ccxc, pp. 358-360; ccxcv, p. 362. For its use in Italy, see Zavatti (2002), p. 140, fns. 7-10. In 1355 Simone, *cavator* from Florence, was sent to the Ancona region by Albornoz 'ad cavandum roccas rebellium ... portavit ferramenta sua necessaria ad faciendum cavas.' ASV, IE 266, fol. 164, quoted by Jamme (2003), p. 381, fn. 27.

¹⁵ González Ruiz (1997), p. 168 and fn. 18.

¹⁶ Partner (1972), p. 340.

¹⁷ Celestino Piana, 'Il cardinale Albornoz e gli Ordini religiosi', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 481-519, at pp. 488-494. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 405, 420-421.

¹⁸ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 363; Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 44-49, 92, 93, 123-129, 188. In June 1355, Albornoz reached an agreement with the Malatesta over the occupied cities, offering a yearly income of 6,000 florins, in conditions similar to those signed with the Visconti in Bologna, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 314.

¹⁹ His troops included Spanish soldiers. Gonzalo Fernandez de Almazán is documented in 1355 as a long-standing officer in Italy; see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 382, 383.

of power after swearing allegiance to the Church, provided a much-needed income and spared his small army from engaging in war.²⁰ Albornoz succeeded with skilful diplomacy and the systematic delegation of power to local rulers and appointed vicars throughout the territory.²¹ Castellany was used as a form of jurisdiction; Albornoz appointed castellans or guardians of the castles and fortresses that had submitted to the Church and the arrangement benefitted both parties.²²

On 30 June 1353, Innocent VI specified the details of the mission entrusted to Albornoz, listing the powers granted to his legate and vicar, and announcing the nomination of Albornoz to the citizens and clergy of the relevant regions in Northern and Central Italy.²³ By papal disposition, the local clergy was obliged to contribute financially to the maintenance of Albornoz and his retinue.²⁴ Another source of income was derived from the copious ecclesiastical benefices that the Pope granted to Albornoz and to members of his circle, mainly in Spanish dioceses.²⁵ Lope Fernandez de Luna, archbishop of Zaragoza, and Pedro Calvillo, bishop of Tarazona, did not hesitate to ask for benefices for members of his entourage while they were in Italy supporting Albornoz.²⁶ After all, they had both been sent by Innocent VI to join the Cardinal in 1353 and 1354 respectively.²⁷ Albornoz's legation would require the appointment of delegates and guardians to cover for his ecclesiastical duties and to supervise his patrimony and

²⁰ Mollat (1972), pp. 345-354. For example Bernardino and Guido da Polenta, who had occupied Ravenna, Cervia and castles in Romagna, were absolved from excommunication and became vicars of the Church in exchange for an annual sum. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 454.

²¹ Mollat (1972), pp. 350-353.

²² Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 186, 325.

²³ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 274-353. In doc. 274, Innocent VI praised the qualities of Albornoz and described the appalling conditions of the Lands of the Church.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, docs. 283, 284. Also in 1358, see Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 123.

²⁵ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 482-485; Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 16, 84, 85, 138, 277, 315-324.

²⁶ For Lope, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 195-202, 270; for Calvillo, docs. 302-304.

²⁷ For Lope, see Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 116, 268, 466. For Calvillo, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 293.

income during his absence from Spain.²⁸ Equally, guardians were appointed in 1354 for Lope de Luna's holdings for a period of five years.²⁹

Clerics came to expect the award of benefices as a form of compensation for their dangerous work in foreign lands. Italy was a perilous destination, as the pilgrims travelling to Rome during the Jubilee of 1350 had experienced, and where Cardinal Annibale da Ceccano had been assassinated.³⁰ In the words of Guillaume Mollat, 'to accept the office of legate to Italy was a heroic gesture.'³¹ The local population at times rejected the authority of the Church, as Albornoz experienced in Forlimpopoli when he was treacherously attacked in 1360.³² As a result of a vicious assault, in 1324 the architect Giovanni da San Gemini abandoned his work on the fortress in Montefalco.³³ The animosity of the local population drove the rector of Spoleto, the Frenchman Jean d'Amiel, to move to Spello in 1333; in 1339, the populace expressed their resentment at being governed by outsiders.³⁴ Albornoz was sensitive to the feelings of mistrust towards foreign officers, and he appointed almost exclusively Italian vicars or deputies, whilst being accommodating to local government practice.³⁵ These officers, the first of whom was

²⁸ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 31, 343, 411-418, 429-431, 497. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 60-66, 196, 281.

²⁹ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 81.

³⁰ Guillaume Mollat, 'Le Jubilé de 1350', *Journal des Savants* (July-September 1963), pp. 191-195, at p. 193. Wood (2002), p. 96.

³¹ Mollat (1963), p. 130.

³² Duprè Theseider (1964), p. 7. Paolo Amaducci, *Origini e progresso dell'episcopato di Bertinoro in Romagna* (Ravenna: Tipo-litografia Ravegnana, 1905), doc. IV: '...insulserunt in prefatum dominum Legatum transeuntem peribi ad exercitum ecclesie et iecerunt in ipsum scopas sive bombardas.'

³³ Luigi Fumi, 'I registri del Ducato di Spoleto', *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 4 (1898), pp. 137-156, at p. 148. Luigi Fumi, 'La rocca di Montefalco e i pareri tecnici per la sua costruzione (1324)', *Bollettino di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XIII (1907), pp. 469-481, at p. 478 (hereafter referred to as Fumi, 1907a).

³⁴ Fumi (1907a), p. 481.

³⁵ He only appointed one French national and three Spaniards; he also maintained the charges of captain and a podestà in Narni, Rieti and Spoleto; Mollat (1967), pp. 43-48, at pp. 45, 47.

appointed in 1355 in Orvieto, were in term for six months, and ensured a smooth transition in the transfer of government to the hands of the Church.³⁶

When Albornoz left Avignon, he headed for Milan, where he is documented in September 1353.³⁷ Albornoz led his small army through the Marche and Umbria, and found himself under siege in Montefiascone in November of the same year. This, he later claimed, was the only fortress loyal to the Church he had found.³⁸ But he steadily took control of the rebellious towns, and by the end of his first legation, in November 1357, Albornoz had secured the surrender of most cities.³⁹

Albornoz was given plenary powers throughout Italy, with the sole exception of the kingdom of Naples.⁴⁰ He had authority to override standing sentences of excommunication and to impose spiritual punishments on the secular population, whilst he had complete jurisdiction over the clergy.⁴¹ The same rights were granted to him in the second legation of 1358.⁴² Yet, despite these plenary powers, Albornoz was expected to heed the advice of Innocent VI during the legations. The Pontiff sent Albornoz clear guidelines on the policy to follow.⁴³ At times, the views of the Pope and his legate clashed. The correspondence between them shows that Albornoz was a man of resolve and followed his political instinct, sometimes disregarding papal opinion. There was certainly room for disagreement concerning the appointment of Italian

³⁶ Ibid., p. 45.

³⁷ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 479. For the documented itineraries Albornoz followed during his legations in Italy, see Claramunt and Trenchs (1972) and Trenchs (1979).

³⁸ Partner (1972), p. 341, cf. Maria Pecugi Fop, 'Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa durante il periodo avignonese con particolare riferimento all'Albornoz', *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 65 (1968) I, pp. 5-102, at pp. 40-44.

³⁹ In 1354, Albornoz regained Viterbo, Orvieto and Spoleto. Partner (1972), pp. 341-342.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 341.

⁴¹ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 308-315. Ibid., docs. 284-298, 304-306; docs. 318-326 for faculty to distribute ecclesiastical benefices. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 146-149 for dispensation of age requirement and illegitimate birth for clerics, and consanguinity in marriages.

⁴² Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 124-193.

⁴³ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 94, 99.

rectors, and, on occasion, Innocent VI overruled Albornoz's decisions. When Albornoz entered Orvieto in June 1354, the controlling Pope rebuked him for failing to notify him of the rendition of the city early enough. Innocent VI was also irritated because Albornoz had decided to enlist the help of Giovanni di Vico, whom the Pope had recently branded a heretic.⁴⁴ Albornoz was a practical man in a foreign and hostile land, with limited resources- and his decisions were perhaps too easily judged from the comfort of the Palais des Papes.

Four years into his legation, Albornoz received notification of the appointment and imminent arrival of Androin de la Roche, Abbot of Cluny.⁴⁵ In April 1357, after learning of the impending arrival of Androin, Albornoz called the 'Fano Parliament' and drew up the *Constitutiones*, a codification of local laws which illustrates his legal expertise.⁴⁶ In May 1357, Innocent announced that Androin was to replace Albornoz, who deserved a respite in Avignon after his arduous legation.⁴⁷ Tensions and disagreements between Albornoz and the Pope may account for this decision, and resurfaced during his second legation.⁴⁸ Once back in Avignon, Albornoz was again General Penitentiary, between 18 November 1357 and October 1358.⁴⁹ When Innocent VI decided to send Albornoz back to Italy, in September 1358, Albornoz reluctantly accepted the legation, requesting that he return to Avignon after three or four years.⁵⁰ In April 1359, Innocent VI sent him to the kingdom of Sicily, to try to pacify the region, which was in a terrible state.⁵¹ In 1360 Albornoz made a triumphal entry in Bologna, although the

⁴⁴ Ibid., doc. 89. Albornoz entered Orvieto on 9 June 1354, Innocent VI wrote on 24 June rebuking him for not notifying him directly; Ibid., docs. 90, 108,109.

⁴⁵ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 11. February 1357.

⁴⁶ Colliva (1977), pp. 101-166.

⁴⁷ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 22.

⁴⁸ In May 1357, Innocent VI expressed his disappointment at hearing of Albornoz's departure from Faenza before subjugating Francesco degli Ordelaffi. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 23, 24, 300.

⁴⁹ Lecacheux (1898), p. 39; Trenchs (1973). Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 313. Cf. Satolli (1990), p. 56.

⁵⁰ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 114, 184, 252.

⁵¹ Ibid., docs. 272, 274.

ecclesiastical control of the city would be short-lived.⁵² In April 1364, when Albornoz had to agree to sign a treaty with the Visconti regarding Bologna, and had been replaced by Androin, he did not hesitate to express his fatigue and disappointment.⁵³ Urban V refused to allow Albornoz to return to Avignon (as agreed before his departure), and therefore the Cardinal requested a legation in Naples. Urban V agreed to this in April 1364.⁵⁴ Albornoz dictated his will in the fortress of Ancona, and did not leave for Naples until the following year. He did not succeed in his attempt to regain control of lands held by Neapolitan nobility- in fact, if we are to believe a letter in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, it seems that Albornoz had exhausted his political skills and patience.⁵⁵ Jamme suggested that Albornoz was aware of his limited success and that his mission was not completed when he died in 1367.⁵⁶ The continuation of Albornoz's campaign by his successors, cardinals Anglic Grimoard and Pierre d'Estaing, involved the erection of new fortresses.

Many *rocche* attest to the reputation of Albornoz as a fortress builder. In fact, too many have been ascribed to him, as recent authors have pointed out.⁵⁷ The building of some seventy-two fortresses has been associated with Albornoz, an excessive number for a patron who spent a total time in Italy of fourteen years.⁵⁸ Chauvin studied the economic implications of the building and upkeep of the fortresses, and the recent contribution by Jamme is particularly valuable as a

⁵² Bandini (1933), p. 17.

⁵³ Partner (1972), p. 352; cf. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 986.

⁵⁴ Partner (1972), p. 352 stated that he did so out of economic necessity. Cf. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 1012, and Theiner (1862), p. 389.

⁵⁵ Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte del Bene, 52, quoted by Partner (1972), p. 353, a letter dated 3 February 1366 described Albornoz's furious reaction to the negative attitude of the nobility.

⁵⁶ Jamme (2003), pp. 377-378.

⁵⁷ Satolli (1990), p. 55.

⁵⁸ Jamme (2003), p. 375.

balanced, critical overview of the subject.⁵⁹ A comprehensive catalogue of all the fortresses which may be attributed to Albornoz, with documentary evidence, would be extremely useful, albeit it was beyond the scope of this thesis. Due to space constraints, I will concentrate on the fortresses that best illustrate Albornoz's patronage, because they are either better documented or preserved: Montefiascone, Ancona, Viterbo and Spoleto. Appendix II is a gazeteer of the fortresses associated with the patronage of Albornoz, including those of Cesena, Salvaterra, Assisi, Narni, Piediluco and Perugia.

The erection of both fortresses and residential palaces addressed the need to maintain a presence in the area once it had been taken; they also expressed the power of the Papacy and sent a clear message to the conquered.⁶⁰ The fortresses embodied the power of the Church and the perceived durability of Papal domination. Consequently, many of them were attacked and destroyed by rebellious citizens during the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

To counteract the hostile disposition of the population, Albornoz justified these fortifications as necessary and beneficial to the city; thus, for example, Amendola had a fortress raised 'for its own safety.'⁶¹ Any defensive building work throughout the State of the Church had to be sanctioned by the Pope or his representative, and permission to erect any private fortification was a privilege granted by Albornoz on few occasions.⁶²

Most of Albornoz's campaign of military architecture was concentrated on the repairs and fortification of existing fortresses, particularly in the Lands of Saint Peter and the Marche

⁵⁹ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, 'Les Moyens de la Defense', pp. 167-200; he pointed out that the works consisted mostly of repairs, *ibid.*, pp. 281-2. Jamme (2003).

⁶⁰ Partner (1972), p. 342. Jamme (2003), pp. 376, 379. Satolli (1990), p. 56.

⁶¹ Jamme (2003), p. 390.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 384. Colliva (1977), L.II, ch. XXVIII, pp. 256, 594. For permission to fortify granted by Albornoz, see Glénisson and Mollat (1964), nos. 252, 262, 320, 624, 641, 665, 734, 1050. Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 172.

between 1353 and 1356.⁶³ The frequency with which the Church had to resort to laying siege to rebellious towns required a body of specialised military engineers, whose names and specialisations appear in the books of accounts.⁶⁴ Often after enduring a siege, most of these strongholds surrendered peacefully, and the building works consisted mainly of updating their defensive system and upgrading the living quarters.

The Church had limited economic means to fund the recovery of its possessions, and had to request loans from Florentine bankers, and the financial assistance of the king of Poland, the king of Hungary, and of the clergy of Germany, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain.⁶⁵ By the end of 1355, after Albornoz had received 10,000 florins, the Apostolic Chamber was in dire shape.⁶⁶ Hungarian troops joined the struggling papal army in 1355.⁶⁷ In 1359, the situation was critical, and Innocent VI requested financial support from Portugal and Spain.⁶⁸ The sale or rent of confiscated possessions of the opponents of the rule of the Church brought some income.⁶⁹ In some cases, the proceeds from the sale were used to fund fortress building.⁷⁰ Sometimes the Church would resort to renting the recovered castles to knights from the papal army.⁷¹

⁶³ Jamme (2003), pp. 385-87.

⁶⁴ In 1359, ASV, IE 290, ff. 21v-22v: Zincio Carnevalis, Rinaldo de Piacenza (both were *ingignerio in hedificis lignaminum*), Symone de Montefiascone (*ingignerio cavarum et trabuchorum*) and Cichino d'Imola (*ingignerio super laboreriis generalibus*), quoted by Jamme (2003), p. 382, fn. 28.

⁶⁵ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981) docs. 11-15, 20, 38, 75, 102, 106, 251, 254, 292, 333, 342, 365-371, 400-403. In 1355 Innocent VI requested a grant of 4,000 florins from Blas Fernandez, archbishop of Toledo, doc. 327. For the financial difficulties of the campaign, see docs. 350-352.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, docs. 423, 427.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, docs. 406, 488.

⁶⁸ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 302-304.

⁶⁹ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 404. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 249.

⁷⁰ Jamme (2003), p. 399.

⁷¹ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 348 for 1355 lease of Onano, Tolentino and San Ginesio.

The expenses incurred during the Italian campaign ranged from 15,000 florins to 700 per month.⁷² In 1354, the yearly total expenses were 130,094 florins and 19 *soldi*; in 1355, it was 192,000 florins.⁷³ For the year 1357, the costs of war summed up 132,143 florins, out of an income of 221,017 florins.⁷⁴ By July 1357, in the face of the dire financial situation, Innocent VI suggested that Albornoz borrow 40,000 florins in Florence.⁷⁵

The chronological sequence of Albornoz's building campaign, according to their foundation date, begins in Montalto di Castro (May 1354), followed by Viterbo (1354-58), Assisi (1353?-1365), Ancona (c.1355-1359), Corneto (September 1355), Terni (1358), Spoleto (1362-1370), Orchia (1363), Orvieto (c.1364-1370), Orte (1366) and Narni (1366).⁷⁶ Albornoz died before seeing the completion of the fortresses of Perugia (completed after 1374), Todi (1371) and Rieti (1372). Most of these fortresses have endured significant restorations and re-building campaigns which render their archeological study difficult. Some of them suffered such extensive damage during siege and war that they had to be rebuilt, whilst some were razed to the ground (Ancona in 1383, Viterbo in 1484). Some buildings have undergone important alterations when they were used as prisons, as was the case in the fortresses of Spoleto and Narni.

⁷² Ibid., doc. 440 for February 1355. Other expenses: 23,000 in March, doc. 451; only 1,010 florins for January 1356, doc. 468. In November 1356, income was 14,512 florins and expenses 20,210 florins, see doc. 501. And in March 1357, the income was 13,114 florins but the expenses were only 700. Cf. Partner (1972), p. 345. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 427.

⁷³ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 465, 466. In 1354 the income was 266,279 florins, and the income in 1355 was 318,219 florins. Innocent VI ordered Albornoz to request a subsidy from the clergy in Italy to cover expenses, doc. 467. In December 1356, the monthly income had been 22,306 and the expenses for the campaign summed up 22,860 florins, see Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 1.

⁷⁴ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 107.

⁷⁵ Ibid., docs. 41, 51, 52.

⁷⁶ Mercurino Antonelli, 'Vicende della dominazione pontificia nel Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia dalla traslazione della Sede alla restaurazione dell'Albornoz', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 30 (1907), pp. 269-332, at p. 287. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 173, fn. 47. Jamme (2003), p. 392, added Montalto and Corneto. Eugenio Duprè Theseider stated that the castles erected by Albornoz were Spoleto, Narni, Gubbio, Assisi; in 'Il Cardinale Egidio Albornoz fondatore dello Stato della Chiesa', *Studia Picena* 27 (1959), pp. 7-20, at p. 8.

The Umbrian fortresses of Assisi, Narni and Spoleto present similar construction techniques and general design.⁷⁷ Most of the fortresses used the remaining structure of previous buildings, for example Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, Imola and Senigallia, and few were completely new foundations (Corneto, Ascoli, Orvieto, Todi, and Perugia).⁷⁸ The term *constructio*, often found in documentation, referred to either the erection of a building on virgin land or to the reconstruction of a fortress.⁷⁹

Part I. The Medieval Architect. Matteo Gattapone.

The documentary evidence provides a very limited number of names of architects, masons or sculptors working under Albornoz during his legations. The surviving books of expenses render the names of only some of these such as Tura da Imola and Matteo Gattapone. Usually the construction workers were recruited locally, although the architects or certain specialised masters appear in the account books working on sites far from their native towns. Thus it is not unusual to find a certain Simone de Firenze or Tura de Imola working in Ancona and Cesena.⁸⁰

The role of the medieval architect must be discussed in the light of the numerous fortresses attributed to Matteo Gattapone, ever since Filippini brought his name to light in

⁷⁷ Luisa Marini and Patrizia Materazzi, 'La Rocca Maggiore di Assisi', *Castellum* 39 (December 1997), pp. 53-56, at p. 55. The edges of wall openings are covered with polished square ashlar stones, and the corners present a building technique consisting of stones placed in alternating horizontal and vertical rows. The three fortresses feature stone corbels which support brick arches forming the machicolations.

⁷⁸ Jamme (2003), p. 390. Although Jamme included Viterbo among the new foundations, it incorporated the palace of Campana, and the placing of the first stone by Albornoz was a ceremonial gesture, see Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 55.

⁷⁹ Jamme (2003), pp. 389-390.

⁸⁰ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 186-187 for Simone de Firenze; p. 190 for Tura da Imola.

1922.⁸¹ Although it is certainly true that medieval architects could supervise several different constructions contemporaneously and direct the campaigns from a distance, it is unlikely that one man could have been as prolific and versatile as to design and supervise the construction of all the structures that have been associated to his name.⁸² The works attributed to Matteo -without documentary evidence- range from the Palazzo del Comune in Gubbio, the fortress of Piediluco, the Ponte delle Torri in Spoleto and the Infermeria Nuova in Assisi to the Palazzo dei Priori, the cloister of Santa Giuliana and the Collegio della Sapienza in Perugia.⁸³

Matteo di Giovanello di Matteo, known as Gattapone or Gattapone da Gubbio, is the documented architect of the fortresses in Montefalco, Spoleto, Campello and Perugia and of the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna. He also supervised the decoration campaign in the chapel of St. Catherine in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi, where Albornoz was temporarily buried. Matteo is first documented working in his native city of Gubbio in 1349 and 1350 as *mensurator* and *geometra*.⁸⁴

Silvestro Nessi limited Matteo's role to that of a mere administrator, on the grounds that no documentation ever refers to him specifically as an architect, and instead he is often described as *soprastantis* or overseer of the project.⁸⁵ Nessi argued that the only documentary reference to Matteo as '*magister*' was by mistake, and that the title '*ser*', which often preceded his name,

⁸¹ Francesco Filippini, 'Matteo Gattapone da Gubbio architetto del Collegio di Spagna', *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* II (1922-1923), pp. 77-93.

⁸² Satolli (1990), p. 66 for mobility of military architects.

⁸³ Filippini (1922-23). For S. Giuliana, see Antonio Muñoz, 'Matteo Gattapone da Gubbio e il chiostro di S. Giuliana a Perugia', *Bollettino d'Arte* II (1922-23), pp. 295-300. Cf. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 53. For the Collegio in Perugia, see Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 92. For the Ponte delle Torri, see Bandini (1933), p. 60. Filippini (1922-23), p. 79, asserted that Gattapone had built the Infirmary, funded by Albornoz (and completed only after his death).

⁸⁴ Giuseppe Mazzatinti, 'L'architetto del palazzo de' Consoli in Gubbio', *Rassegna d'Arte* 12 (December 1901), pp. 187-188, at p. 188: 'Matheus Johanelli vocati Gactaponis, mensurator' and 'geometram'. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 39, fn.13.

⁸⁵ Silvestro Nessi, 'Matteo Gattapone è stato mai architetto?', in *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 27 Settembre-2 Ottobre 1982* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1983), Vol. II, pp. 955-975.

defined his status as a notary or scribe and clearly defined his supervisory role in Spoleto.⁸⁶ Yet, the use of the title ‘*ser*’, the exemption from taxes and the complimentary provision of a clerk, a servant and a horse, imply that he enjoyed deferential treatment above a scribe.⁸⁷ Serra Desfilis defended the use of the term architect for Gattapone, asserting that the officer in charge of supervising the works was also in charge of the administration of the budget and the distribution of salaries.⁸⁸ The medieval architect was a designer, a surveyor, and a clerical administrator who supervised the execution of the project and the smooth running of the workshop.⁸⁹ Gattapone was empowered to draft men and beasts from cities to contribute to the building works of Spoleto and Perugia.⁹⁰ In 1983, Nessi refused to acknowledge Matteo’s authorship in the Collegio di Spagna, despite the formal similarities with the Rocca di Spoleto, a building he had studied closely.⁹¹ Ironically, it is a document in the Collegio di Spagna, dated 1366, which clearly laid out Gattapone’s position as an architect. The document in question was only published by Serra in 1992, and Nessi may not have had access to the Archivio Albornoziano: ‘..master Matteo Gattapone de Gubio builder and engineer, and surveyor of the works for the

⁸⁶ Silvestro Nessi, *Nuovi documenti sulle arti a Spoleto. Architettura e scultura fra Romanico e Barocco* (Spoleto: Banca Popolare di Spoleto, 1992), p. 81.

⁸⁷ Spoleto, Archivio di Stato (hereafter cited as ASSp), Bolletari 1362-63, fol. 3r: ‘Provido viro ser Matheo Gattaponis de Eugubio offitialis operis montis’, 3 September 1362; also, *ibid.*, ff. 12r, 24r, 34r, 53v. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 46 and fn. 35. Guido Guerrini, ‘Documentazione d’archivio’, in *La rocca di Spoleto. Studi per la storia e la rinascita*, ed. Bruno Bruni (Spoleto: Banca Popolare di Spoleto, 1983), pp. 167-177, at p. 167.

⁸⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 31, 43; 46, fn. 34. Guglielmo De Angelis D’Ossat, ‘L’architettura della rocca: qualificazioni, significati e problemi’, in *La rocca di Spoleto. Studi per la storia e la rinascita* ed. Bruno Bruni (Spoleto: Banca Popolare di Spoleto, 1983), pp. 33-79, at pp. 36-37. Nikolaus Pevsner, ‘The term ‘Architect’ in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum* XVII (1942), pp. 549-562. Marcel Aubert, ‘La construction au Moyen-Âge’, *Bulletin Monumental* 119 (1961), pp. 7-42, 81-120, 181-209, 297-323, at pp. 7-17 for terminology of architect. Ernst Pitz, ‘Das Aufkommen der Beruf des Architekten und Bauingenieure. Baubetrieb und Baugewerbe insbesondere nach unteritalianischen Quellen des 13. Jahrhunderts.’ *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 66 (1986), pp. 40-74, at pp. 48-59 for ‘engineers’.

⁸⁹ John Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972), pp. 69-86. Franklin Toker, ‘Gothic Architecture by Remote Control: An Illustrated Building Contract of 1340’, *Art Bulletin* LXVII (1985), pp. 67-95, at p. 67: ‘The usual medieval term for a professional in charge of building was ‘master’ ... and only rarely ‘architect.’

⁹⁰ Giuseppe Abate (OFM), ‘Rapporti di Matteo Gattaponi con Assisi per la costruzione della fortezza di Porta Sole a Perugia’, *Bollettino di Storia Patria per l’Umbria* XXXVIII (1941), pp. 185-189, at p. 187 and Filippini (1922-1923), pp. 90-91.

⁹¹ Nessi (1983), p. 961.

aforesaid lord cardinal of Sabina, and specially charged by the aforesaid lord cardinal of Sabina with the erection and construction of the aforesaid buildings...⁹²

In March 1356, Matteo Gattapone is documented supervising the building work of the fortress in Montefalco, for the Church. The city of Trevi was expected to contribute to the campaign with 300 sacks of quicklime or sandstone.⁹³ The duration of the works in Montefalco is not known, but Matteo is not documented again until 1362. Cardinal Albornoz engaged Matteo's services in April 1362, appointing him as supervisor of the building of the fortress in Spoleto: '...Matteo Gattaponi, citizen of Gubbio ... I nominate you officer and supervisor of the building of the fortress on the hill of the city of Spoleto, for the next three months, which was began on the past month of March, with a salary of 50 gold florins, and [we] put at your service, for the exercise of such office, a notary, a servant, and a horse, and we give you plenary powers to coerce all and each inhabitant of the aforesaid city and county of Spoleto to contribute to the building works ... Ensure that you strive in a faithful and accustomed manner to gain our gratitude by acting accordingly.'⁹⁴

⁹² 'magistri Mathei Guataponi de Eugubio factoris et ingegnerii, ac supstantis prefati domini Sabinensis ipsi laborerio, ac palliatorum predictis constructioni et heredificationi per prefatum dominum Sabinensem specialiter deputati...' Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, Instrumenta praediorum urbanorum caja I, n.37, ff. 2r, 3r. Quoted by Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 48, fn. 41, 3 April 1366 and 25 May 1367.

⁹³ 'domini Macthei superstans pro Ecclesia Romana super quondam fortellitio fieri faciendi apud Montemfalconem quod Comune Trevii deberet mictere ad dictum fortellitium unam fornacchiam calcine ... dictum Comune mictat de dicta calcina ad dictum fortellitium trecentas salmas et non minus.' 10 March 1356. Trevi, Archivio Comunale, Arch. delle Tre chiavi, 22, Riformanze, ff. 204v-205r., quoted by Nessi (1992), p. 82.

⁹⁴ 'Egidius dilecto in Christo Matheo Guattacaponi, civi eugubino, salutem in Domino ... te officialem et superstantem fabrice rocche montis civitatis spoletane, pro tribus mensis futuris, in kalendis mensis martii proxime preteriti inchoatis, cum salario quinquaginta florenorum auri, ad cuius officii exercitium unum notarium, unum famulum et unum equum habere debeas, presentium tenore constituimus et etiam deputamus, dantes et tibi licentiam ac potestatem plenariam concedentes omnes et singulos cives, incolas et habitatores dicte civitatis comitatus et districtus Spoleti ad contribuendum dicto laborerio coercendi et compellendi ac etiam distribuendi inter cives et comitativos dicte civitatis omnia adiutoria, operas manuales et subsidia pro fabricha antedicta nec non inobedientes puniendi et condepnandi ... Te vero dictum officium studeas sic fideliter et solenter exercere quod nostram gratiam proinde consequi merearis.' Cesena, 2 April 1362. Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, Archivio Albornoziano (hereafter cited as AA), Vol.VII, n.188, fol. 211r. Document first published by Francesco Filippini, 'La II^a Legazione del Card. Albornoz in Italia (1358-1367)', *Studi Storici* XII (1903), pp. 263-337, doc. 22; I have used the transcription by Guerrini (1983), p. 167.

The fact that Albornoz entrusted this important project to Matteo suggests that there may have been other commissions, for which documentation is lost.⁹⁵ Matteo's name does not appear in the surviving documentation of the fortresses of San Cataldo (begun 1356) and Assisi (1365) or the Palace in Cesena (1359-1362).⁹⁶ Throughout 1362, Matteo Gattapone, referred to as '*offitiali deputato ad opus montis*', received a monthly salary of 50 gold florins.⁹⁷ In May 1363, the documentary entry specified that he had been chosen by Cardinal Albornoz for the work in Spoleto.⁹⁸ Between 1366 and 1367 the payments refer to him as *Ser Matheo Gattaponis de Eugubio, officiali deputato super constructione et hedificatione cassari montis Spoleti*.⁹⁹ His last payment for Spoleto dates from 1370.

Gattapone's major works, the Rocca in Spoleto and the Collegio di Spagna were both commissioned by Gil de Albornoz. Blasco de Belviso, a member of the Cardinal's family and Rector of Spoleto, also resorted to Gattapone when, in 1363, he wished to adapt a house as his residence.¹⁰⁰ In Bologna, the surviving contract for the Collegio di Spagna, which will be discussed in Chapter 3, does not refer to his role as architect there, and he simply appears as witness. In April 1365 Matteo received his first salary as director of the works of the Collegio;

⁹⁵ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 42 suggested that Albornoz may have met Matteo during his brief stay in Gubbio in 1355.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 42-43. Filippini (1922-23), p. 79, suggested Gattapone as designer of the fortress of Assisi without any documentary evidence.

⁹⁷ ASSp, Bollettari, 1362, ff. 3r, 12r, 24r, 34r, 42r.

⁹⁸ ASSp, Bollettari, 1363, fol. 82v: '*Ser Matheo Gattaponis offitiali montis super constructione et fortilitiis ipsius montis electo per dominum Legatum..*' 21 May 1363.

⁹⁹ ASSp, Bollettari 1365-1367, fol. 15r, 20 January 1366. Bollettari 1366-1367, ff. 31v, 41r, 54v, 66v, 79r, 82r, 96r, 117v, 127r, 139v. 20 March 1366 to 28 February 1367.

¹⁰⁰ ASSp, Bollettari, 1362-63, fol. 58r: '*Item des et solvas Dolti sergenti dominorum priorum populi civitatis, recipienti, pro satisfaciendo magistris manovalibus et operariis, ac etiam hominibus et personis qui dederunt, et a quibus empta fuerunt lignamina, matones, tabule, arena, calcina, ferramenta, et alia necessaria facta et impensa, pro concimine et actatione domorum Sentii Massitti de Campello, quam habitat dominus rector Spoletani ducatus, premissa declaratione et computum ac deliberationem providi viri Mathey Gattaponis de Eugubio, factam per eum de expressa licentia et commissione magnifici viri militis domini Blaschi rectoris provintie supradicte...*' 17 February 1363.

his payments continued until June 1367.¹⁰¹ In 1368 he was supervising the works at Spoleto, now under the mandate of Cardinal legate Anglic Grimoard.¹⁰² Between June 1368 and January 1369, Matteo is also documented in Bologna, so he was working contemporaneously between the two sites. In January 1369, he received 175 florins for his work between June 1368 and January 1369, at a rate of 25 ducats per month.¹⁰³

Gattapone left master Puccio di Norcia in charge of the Bolognese *cantiere* during his short absence, between July and September 1368.¹⁰⁴ It was not rare for a Trecento architect to direct various building sites contemporaneously, and his permanent physical presence was not necessary.¹⁰⁵ The undertaking and completion of a project was possible through the use of drawings, and the employment of a superintendent on site.¹⁰⁶ The 1340 contract for the partial reconstruction of the Sansedoni Palace in Siena illustrates the practice; the surviving drawing detailed the measurements and proportions to be followed.¹⁰⁷

Contemporaneously to the works in Spoleto and Bologna, Matteo was coordinating the adaptation of the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi as a funerary space for his late patron,

¹⁰¹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 47; document in Bologna, Archivio del Collegio, Libros de Contabilidad, Vol.I (1365-1367) fol. 9r. (not transcribed). For further payments to Gattapone, 21 April 1365 to 10 June 1367, Filippini (1922), doc. 3.

¹⁰² 26 March 1368-12 May 1368, Trevi, Archivio Comunale, Archivio delle Tre Chiavi, 25, Riformanze, ff. 58r, 62v: 'Matheus Gactaponis de Eugubio superstantis cassari montis Spoleti', 14 August 1368, *ibid.*, fol. 75r: 'Matheus Gactaponis de Eugubio superstantis cassari montis Spoleti pro reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino nostro episcopo Albanensis ac vicarium generali..'. Documents quoted by Nessi (1992), pp. 86-87. Anglic Grimoard, brother of pope Urban V, had been bishop of Avignon and cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli (1366) before he became cardinal bishop of Albano in 1367. M. H. Laurent (OP), 'Per la storia dei cardinali-vescovi di Albano (1199-1388)', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 2 (1948), pp. 215-225, at p. 221.

¹⁰³ 24 January 1369. Filippini (1922-1923), doc. 5: 'Magister Matheus Gataponi de eugubio, ducatus centum septuaginta quinque boni auri, iusti et legatis ponderis, et hoc pro servitiis et salario per dictum magistrum Matheum cum persona sua a die XXVI mensis iunii MCCCLXVIII citra usque in diem presentem dicto palatio prestitis, ad rationem vigintiquinque ducatorum pro mense'; cf. different transcription by Filippini (1910), p. 61, fn. 5: 'pro servitiis per eum prestitis dicto palatio'.

¹⁰⁴ Filippini (1922-23), p. 82, fn. 25. Cf. Serra Desfilis (1992) p. 48.

¹⁰⁵ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 47; Toker (1985), p. 69; Harvey (1972), pp. 133- 135.

¹⁰⁶ Toker (1985), p. 70.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-94.

Albornoz (d. August 1367). In January 1369, Matteo was paid for helping Albornoz's nephew, Fernando Alvarez, to execute the cardinal's testamentary dispositions: he received 400 ducats for the role (unspecified) played in clothing 200 Bolognese paupers.¹⁰⁸ A few days later, Fernando Alvarez paid Matteo the sum of 175 ducats 'for his services.'¹⁰⁹

In May 1370 Matteo was paid 8 gold florins per month for his work as '*supersititi cassari montis Spoletio*'.¹¹⁰ This indicates that the fortress must have been almost completed; he had started work on a salary of 50 gold florins per month. He received the final payment for his work in Spoleto in September 1370.¹¹¹ In February 1371, Gattapone received a salary from the council of Spoleto, and was described, together with Giovanni di Arezzo, as 'once surveyor at the castle of Campello.'¹¹² No further documentation has survived regarding his work in Campello.

In 1373 and 1374, Matteo was directing the works for the fortress of Perugia, commissioned by Gerard du Puy in 1372.¹¹³ Matteo is last documented in 1383, in Gubbio, where it seems that he spent the last years of his life.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ AA, vol. IX, 18D, 2 January 1369, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 329. First published by Filippini (1910) p. 61, fn. 4. Cf. Filippini (1922-23), fn. 23 for contradiction in quoting source. -Archivio Parte II, Vol. II, n. 18.

¹⁰⁹ AA, vol. IX, 18C, 24 January 1369, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), at p. 329. Filippini (1922-23), p. 82 and fns. 23, 24.

¹¹⁰ ASSp, Camerario, 1370, fol. 8v: 'die ultimo mense magii ... Mactheo Gapteponi de Eugubio superstiti cassari montis Spleti pro suo salario presentis mensis maii, sine retentione gabelle, VIII flor. et tertium auri.'

¹¹¹ ASSp, Camerario, 1370, fol. 22v, 1 September 1370: 'Matheo Gaptaponi superstiti cassari montis dicte civitatis pro suo salario mensis augusti, sine retention gabelle octo florenorum et tertium, dict. VIII flor. et tertium.' Nessi (1992), p. 88, quoted this entry entering incorrect folio number, 23r.

¹¹² ASSp, Riformanze, 7, fol. 31r, 4 February 1371: 'Preceptum factum camerario quod satisfaciat Mactheo Gaptaponi et ser Iohani de Aretio ... solvat et satisfaciat de pecunia et avere dicti Comunis, Mactheo Gactaponi de Eugubio et ser Iohanni de Aretio olim officialibus ad cast(r)um Campelli quantitates denariorum summa pecunie quam continentur in licteris et mandatis facti dicti Comuni etc. pro parte domini nostri domini Legati Bituricensi,' quoted by Nessi (1992), p. 88. Cf. Filippini (1922-23), p. 89, fn. 6.

¹¹³ 27 October-7 November 1373, Trevi, Archivio Comunale, Archivio delle Tre chiavi, Riformanze, 30, ff. 13v, 14r, 21v, 23v, quoted by Nessi (1992), p. 88. Cf. Filippini (1922-1923), p. 77. Gattapone is documented as Gerard's officer, see Marcella Casini Bruni, *Lettere di Gerardo di Puy al Comune di Orvieto (1373-1375)* (Perugia: Università degli Studi, 1970), no. 27. 'Macthey Gattaponis de Eugubio Generalis Offitialis operum Cictadelle Perusii,' Assisi, Archivio Comunale, Riformanze, vol. 5, ff. 21v, 24r, quoted by Abate (1941), pp. 187-8.

Matteo de Gattapone was a versatile architect, and much of what has been written about his formal vocabulary does not stand up to critical review. Serra Desfilis branded certain features as regional without taking into account the wider context of their employment.¹¹⁵ The emphasis on geometry which Serra attributed to Matteo, however, does not imply in my view knowledge of Vitruvius or of Florentine architecture. In fact, the courtyard of the *Rocca* in Spoleto presents a number of irregularities which challenge his theory. Attempting to demonstrate Matteo's knowledge of Vitruvius, Serra stated that all measurements and proportions between spaces in the Collegio di Spagna were calculated *ad quadratum*.¹¹⁶ This was a geometric construction scheme widely employed in the Middle Ages. Its principle is that 'in a series of squares, the side of each successive smaller square is equal to half the diagonal of the larger.'¹¹⁷ In any event, Gattapone was a brilliant and accomplished architect whose designs in Spoleto and Bologna strike a perfect balance between public and private spaces, and between service wings and residential areas. Filippini referred to Gattapone as Albornoz's trusted architect, and Serra Desfilis defined him as his personal architect, although it is certain that other architects were responsible for the numerous fortresses and palaces built and restored throughout the Lands of St. Peter.¹¹⁸ The name of another architect has been brought forward as the designer of at least some of the fortresses: Count Ugolino della Corbara di Montemarte. Ugolino

¹¹⁴ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 54. Giuseppe Marchini, 'Il Collegio di Spagna, edificio monumentale', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 7-29, at p. 20, suggested that he died in 1383.

¹¹⁵ Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 184-6.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187. Kenneth J. Conant, 'The After-Life of Vitruvius in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XVII (1968), pp. 33-38 claimed that the two architects of Cluny III were following Vitruvian proportions.

¹¹⁷ Toker (1985), p. 81. See pp. 80-84 for design methods in medieval architecture. According to Spiro Kostof, *The Architect. Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 86, *ad quadratum* results in the height of the building being equal to its width.

¹¹⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 44: 'arquitecto personal del Cardenal Albornoz hasta la muerte del Legado'; p. 50: 'el arquitecto predilecto del Cardenal Albornoz'; also p. 193. Filippini (1910), p. 61. Marchini (1979), p. 7 described him as his 'court architect.'

(d.1388) was vicar of Gubbio in 1355, vice-duke of Spoleto, marquis of Ancona in 1364, and royal councillor at the Naples court.¹¹⁹ His military expertise must have played a role in the design of the fortresses associated with his name, which include Ancona, Assisi and Orvieto. It has been suggested that he may have worked alongside Gattapone in Narni and Spoleto.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, there is no surviving medieval evidence; and the Chronicle written by Ugolino's brother is the only evidence of his work in Ancona.

Part II. Military and Residential Architecture

2.1. Montefiascone (1353)

Originally a bishop's palace, used as a residence for the Pope and for the Curia Generalis during the thirteenth century, the *rocca* in Montefiascone was extended and fortified after 1348.¹²¹ Located in a strategic position between Viterbo and Orvieto, this fortified palace served as Albornoz's headquarters when he arrived in November 1353. This was his first permanent and secure base in Italy. Albornoz had to endure a long winter siege, and described his harsh living conditions in a poignant letter to cardinals Bertrand des Déaux and Audoin Aubert.¹²² In another letter, to an unknown addressee, he complained that his circumstances precluded him

¹¹⁹ Giuliano Saracini, *Notizie storiche della città d'Ancona, già termine dell'antico regno d'Italia con diversi avvenimenti nella Marca Anconitana, & in detto Regno accaduti* (Rome: Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, 1675), Libro IX, p. 207. Satolli (1990), pp. 57-60.

¹²⁰ Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 55. Bandini (1933), p. 121 attributed the fortresses of Orvieto, Ancona, Assisi and Narni to Ugolino.

¹²¹ Gottfried Kerscher, 'Privatraum und Zeremoniell im spätmittelalterlichen Papst-und- Königspalast', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1990), pp. 87-134, at pp. 90-91.

¹²² 'rocham Montisflasconis in qua moror ... ad veritatem sum obsessus in castro isto ... spero in Dio ... quod providentia dabitur et tristitia mea in gaudium convertetur...' 14 February 1354, quoted by Francesco Filippini, 'La Prima Legazione del Cardinale Albornoz in Italia (1353-1357)' *Studi Storici* V (1896), pp. 81-120 (hereafter referred to as Filippini, 1896b), doc. 5.

from reading and studying.¹²³ During the siege, a chapel was opened on one of the sides of the dining hall, perhaps recalling the chapel of St. Martial in the Great Hall of the Papal Palace in Avignon.¹²⁴ Due to the circumstances, there were limited building works, mainly the assembly of wooden panels to divide the space available.¹²⁵ When Albornoz finally signed a truce with Giovanni di Vico, in the summer of 1354, he left for Viterbo.¹²⁶ The defensive character of the building can be gauged from its exterior, notwithstanding the later window openings (Fig. 42). The surviving southern tower provided a good vantage point and effective protection from enemy attacks (Fig. 43).

In 1357, the treasurer of Spoleto assigned 1,000 florins towards the building of a fortress, which Filippini identified as Montefiascone.¹²⁷ The document states that *Montisfalconis* was in the duchy of Spoleto, near Norcia, which in my opinion renders more probable the identification with Montefalco.¹²⁸ The fortress in Montefalco was being built in 1356 under the direction of Matteo Gattapone.¹²⁹ Cardinal Bertrand des Déaux had previously ordered the construction of

¹²³ ‘...frequentes noctes insones duxerim, nunquam tamen mi licuit non solum sedere in studio, sed neque librum aperire.’ 14 February 1354, quoted by Filippini (1896b), doc. 6. In August 1354 Albornoz was still in Montefiascone, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 98.

¹²⁴ Angela Lanconelli, ‘Le «expense pro reparationibus rocche Montisflasconis» (1348-1359). Notta sull’attività edilizia nel patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia’, in *Le Chiavi della Memoria. Miscellanea in occasione del I Centenario della Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica*, ed. Associazione degli ex-allievi (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1984), pp. 385-409, at pp. 399, fn. 55. Paul Fabre, ‘Un registre Caméral du Cardinal Albornoz en 1364’, *Melanges d’Archeologie et d’histoire de l’Ecole Française de Rome* 7 (1887), pp. 129-195, at pp. 159-160.

¹²⁵ Lanconelli (1984), p. 390.

¹²⁶ Antonelli (1904), pp. 134-146.

¹²⁷ Filippini (1896b) doc. 41, 14 April 1357: ‘Item a comunis terre Nursie, quos receipt dictus dominus Petrus pro dicto domino in diversis diebus et mensibus in civitate Firmi et Anchone de compositiona facta per dictum commune cum camera pro decem millibus florenis, de quibus habuit mille florenos dominus Petrus, constitutus thesaurarius ducatus Spoletanus, convertendos in constructione roche Montisfalconis provintie predictae; residuum vero receipt dominus legatus, videlicet novem millia florenorum’.

¹²⁸ The similarity of the Latin names Montisfalconis for Montefalco and Montisflasconis for Montefiascone can easily lead to misinterpretation. Documents refer to Montefiascone as Montis Flasconis, Montisflasconis and Monteflasconem. Kerscher (1990), p. 90.

¹²⁹ Nessi (1992), p. 82. Nothing remains of the fortress of Montefalco.

the fortress in Montefalco, according to Partner.¹³⁰ Urban V made Montefiascone seat of a bishopric in 1368, and ordered the fortress to be repaired and decorated-which would have perhaps been unnecessary if the 1357 document aforementioned referred to the same building.¹³¹

The fortress of Montefiascone underwent structural changes in the sixteenth century, when the Sangallo family of architects opened a new internal courtyard, and parts of the medieval fabric were destroyed or used as building material elsewhere (Fig. 44).¹³² Recent restorations have been criticised as careless and misleading in the alteration of access to the fortress and the internal passages within its rooms.¹³³ Kerscher analysed the distribution and use of space in Montefiascone and connected it with the Palais des Papes in Avignon, as well as the royal palace in Mallorca.¹³⁴ In my view, the suggestion that the Almudaina in Mallorca may have played a role in the design of the Papal palace in Avignon is far-fetched, even if general artistic ideas could have been transmitted during diplomatic encounters.¹³⁵ There is no documentary evidence or stylistic affinities between the two buildings to support the theory of an artistic exchange. In any case, if the Palais des Papes inspired the layout and function of the rooms in Montefiascone, as Kerscher suggested, there is no reason to doubt that it also influenced the design of other fortresses and palaces commissioned by Albornoz (Figs 45, 46).¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Partner (1967), p. 643.

¹³¹ Baluze (1914), I, pp. 366, 368, 374, 375, 389, 391.

¹³² Kerscher (1990), pp. 92-94. Satolli (1990), p. 57.

¹³³ Maria Piera Sette, 'Montefiascone: una 'nuova' rocca falisca', *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ (Anagke)* (June 1995), n. 10, pp. 100-107.

¹³⁴ Kerscher (1990), pp. 98-134.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-116, and 121.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-134.

2.2. Viterbo (1354-1358)

Cardinal Alborno entered the city of Viterbo on 26 July 1354. Without waiting for papal approval, Alborno decided to erect a fortress in Viterbo immediately after. Tradition has it that Alborno himself placed the first stone of the building that day.¹³⁷ He justified his decision by stating that he was merely acting on the imploring request from the citizens of Viterbo themselves, and suggested in his letter to the Pope that it would be more economical to keep a fortress than to maintain a large garrison to defend the city: ‘I entered Viterbo, where I was received with the greatest possible joy as can be gathered from the fact that I received the urgent request from the Comune of the city, asking that a fortress or a fortification on behalf of the Roman church be built in the aforesaid city; I agreed to the petition and my judgement was that it was preferable to procure a fortress or fortification than to pay for taking the city a second time ... and without your previous special command ... in order to avoid future expenditure, work began in the palace that once belonged to lord Campana during the time of Pope John XXII [which is] an apt location for this, a place that was also chosen by my most reverend lord of Sabina..’¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Enzo Bentivoglio, ‘Le vicende storiche, la fondazione e l’accrecimento della roca Alborno a Viterbo’, *Bollettino d’Arte* 68 (1983), pp. 25-44, at p. 26.

¹³⁸ ‘accessi Viterbium, ubi fui receptus cum maximo gaudio quantum potest ab exterioribus iudicari fuitque mihi per comune ipsius civitatis instantissime supplicatum quatenus rocham seu fortalitium pro Romana ecclesia facerem edificari in civitate predicta; cum petitioni annui, actendens meo iudicio potius expedire in rocham seu fortalicio huiusmodi expendere quam in stipendiariis pro iteranda expeditione. Et licet pressumptuose agam, quia sine vestro speciali precepto, tamen quia non solum expediens, immo summe necessaria videtur ad evitandum futuras expensas, in palacio quondam domini Campane ad hoc apto, ubi tempore felicis recordationis domini Iohannis pape XXII et etiam per reverentissimum patrem et dominum meum dominum Sabinensem locus extitit deputatus, constructioni dicte roche seu fortalitii do operam quantum possum..’, Bentivoglio (1983), doc.V; first published by Filippini (1896b), pp. 111-112, doc. 9.

In 1334, a fortress for the Church had been planned in this location, but it was not executed.¹³⁹ The location had been chosen by the French Cardinal of Sabina Guillaume de Pere Godin (d.1336).¹⁴⁰ The much-altered building stands close to Porta Santa Lucia (the gate through which the papal army had entered the city), and not far from the church of S. Francesco (Fig. 47). As Albornoz stated, the fortress incorporated the palace which had once belonged to Campano da Novara (d.1296), a papal chaplain to Nicholas III and Boniface VIII, and a renowned mathematician and astronomer.¹⁴¹

The surviving medieval wall, which came to light between 1973 and 1974 encased in one of the courtyard's sides, contains two carved coat of arms with a bell, a reference to Campano. A third, plain shield has lost its original painted decoration, which was perhaps that of Albornoz, according to Bentivoglio (Fig. 48).¹⁴² The palace of Campano da Novara was represented in the (destroyed) fresco decoration of his private chapel in the Augustinian church of Santissima Trinità, Viterbo. It appeared as a crenellated building of considerable size.¹⁴³ The palace must have been fortified, as documents refer to a *roccha fortis* in 1329, a *forte castrum* in 1332 and a *palatium* in 1333.¹⁴⁴ By 1355 the first castellan of the rocca, Bonatio de Aritio, or Arezzo, was receiving a salary, and in November, arrangements were made for the wood framework needed

¹³⁹ Bentivoglio (1983), doc. IV.

¹⁴⁰ Eubel (1913), p. 38. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Un matematico nella corte papale del secolo XIII: Campano da Novara (+1296)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 27 (1973), pp. 98-129, at p. 118.

¹⁴¹ ASV, IE 118, fol. 105v: 'Item die XVIII mensis mai accessi Viterbii pro faciendo mundari et reparari hospicium quod quidam fuit d.ni Campani deputatum per Rectorem pro faciendo Rocham seu fortalitium in dicta civitate pro Romana Ecclesia et expendidi in tribus diebus quibus steti ultra mea stipendia..' quoted by Bentivoglio (1983), doc. IV, dated 1334. Paravicini Bagliani (1973), doc. 4, pp. 124-127, at p. 125: in his will of 1296, Campano had left the use of his house in Viterbo to his servant.

¹⁴² Bentivoglio (1983), p. 26. He suggested in conversation that this may once have been a fountain.

¹⁴³ These frescoes were destroyed in the eighteenth century, and our only references are the two engravings by Feliciano Bussi, *Istoria della città di Viterbo* (Rome: Stamperia del Bernabò e Lazzarini, 1742), between pages 188 and 189. Reproduced by Bentivoglio (1983) in Fig. 9.

¹⁴⁴ Bentivoglio (1983) p. 26 and docs I-IV in p. 42.

for the vaults.¹⁴⁵ In 1359 the complex had the *plateam de rocche* added.¹⁴⁶ In 1361, payments were made for the vaulting of a chamber, and the rebuilding of the portico of the main gate; in 1362 more payments followed.¹⁴⁷ Cardinal Anglic Grimoard later described this as ‘one of the most beautiful fortresses in the State.’¹⁴⁸

In 1366, Urban V announced that Viterbo would be the first stop on his return to Rome, and advised Albornoaz to get ‘the fortress, which you had built in the said city’ ready for his arrival.¹⁴⁹ Albornoaz duly complied, and in 1367, the building is described as recently re-built or re-decorated (*fatta di novo*).¹⁵⁰ The Pope referred to it as *arcem*, not *palatium*, in 1366 and 1367, when some cardinals took refuge within its walls.¹⁵¹ As Bentivoglio pointed out, it was not heavily fortified since it fell to the first attack it endured, in 1375.¹⁵² Twenty years later, Boniface IX (1389-1404) had it reconstructed, only for it to be subsequently damaged at the hands of rebellious citizens of Viterbo.¹⁵³ The building has undergone important changes to its fabric, but its general outline has remained: a square palace with corner towers articulated around a courtyard.¹⁵⁴ Two pairs of small windows on the north-west facade are remnants from the early building.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., docs. VI, VII, p. 42. Cf. Theiner (1862), pp. 380, 381.

¹⁴⁶ Bentivoglio (1983), p. 26, doc. VIII.

¹⁴⁷ ASV, Collectorie 247, fol. 255r; fol. 268r for 1362 payments, published by Bentivoglio (1983), doc. IX.

¹⁴⁸ Theiner (1862), doc. DXXVII, p. 537. Anglic Grimoard extolled the beauty of Fabriano, the most beautiful fortress apart from Ancona and Viterbo, yet he did not mention Spoleto.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Igitur cum ad civitatem Viterbiensem intendamus primitus declinare, et in Arce, quam in dicta civitate construi fecit tua fraternitas, immorari volumus...’ quoted by Theiner (1862), doc. CCCCXIII.

¹⁵⁰ Bentivoglio (1983), p. 26 and fn. 10.

¹⁵¹ Theiner (1862), p. 439, doc. CCCCXIII, p. 452; doc. CCCCXXXIV, dated 1367: ‘ad Viterbiensem arcem, in qua tunc resedabamus, cum suis familiis confugiendum temerariis ausibus compulerunt aliquibus ex familiaribus ipsorum Cardinalium et personis aliis se ad eorundem defensionem exponentibus interemptis...’

¹⁵² Bentivoglio (1983), p. 27.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 27. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 172, fn. 44 dated the destruction of fortress to 1434.

¹⁵⁴ For alterations to the building after Albornoaz’s death, see Bentivoglio (1983), pp. 32-35, doc. XV, figs 36, 37.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

Filippini suggested that the fortress commissioned by Albornoz was designed by Ugolino di Montemarte, but did not provide any documentary reference to support such attribution.¹⁵⁶

2.3. Ancona (1355-1359?)

The fortress of Ancona embodied the architectural affirmation of a new form of authority in the Papal State.¹⁵⁷ When Albornoz entered the city in 1355, he ordered that a fortress be built on the strategically situated hill of San Cataldo, site of a previous fortification of the Malatesta, and work started in December.¹⁵⁸ The Rocca had only stood for 30 years when the people of Ancona, in 1383, rose against the papal ‘servitude’ to which they were subjected and razed the building to the ground.¹⁵⁹ By 1675, Saracini could gather from the surviving wall foundations that the fortress had been large enough to house a garrison of 150 soldiers.¹⁶⁰

Francesco de Montemarte in his *Cronaca di Orvieto* stated that his older brother, Ugolino di Montemarte, executed the fortress for Cardinal Albornoz. Francesco remembered his childhood visit to Ancona in 1356 and described the febrile building activity directed by Ugolino, with over one thousand men working at the site.¹⁶¹ Saracini in 1675 referred to a

¹⁵⁶ Filippini (1933), p. 436.

¹⁵⁷ Jamme (2003), pp. 406-7.

¹⁵⁸ ASV, IE 274, *Innocentius VI: Legationis Egidij cardinale in Italia et constructionis roccha papalis anconitana. Expensa* and *Collectorie Camera Apostolica n. 445: ‘Expense pro Cassaro S.Cathaldi de Ancona’*. ASV, IE 281, *Innoc.VI. Rocchae Papalis Anconitanae constructionis expensae an.1356, 1357*. Jamme (2003), p. 394, fn. 86. Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 187-192. For pre-existing structure, Ernst Müntz, ‘Nuovi documenti sulla costruzione della rocca papale di Ancona nel 1356-57’, *Nuova Rivista Misena* V (April 1892), pp. 51-56, at p. 51. Gualtierio Santini, *La rocca papale di San Cataldo in Ancona* (Ancona: S.T.A.M.P.A., 1931), p. 7. For employment of materials from bastion of Mondolfo in 1357, see Jamme (2003), p. 387, fn. 45. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 251.

¹⁵⁹ Santini (1931), pp. 27, 38-39.

¹⁶⁰ Saracini (1675), Libro IX, p. 205. Santini (1931), pp. 45-48 tried to locate surviving structures and features originally in the fortress.

¹⁶¹ Francesco Montemarte, *Cronaca inedita degli avvenimenti d’Orvieto e d’altre parti d’Italia* (Turin: F.A. Gualterio, 1842), pp. 28-29: ‘lo legato se ne andò a stare in Ancona, et subito ordinò al conte Ugolino di far fare la

manuscript (now lost) where Giovanni Bozzi di Orvieto, chaplain of Albornoz, stated that the author of the design of the fortresses of Ancona, Narni, Orvieto and Assisi was indeed Count Ugolino di Montemarte.¹⁶² The attribution to Ugolino has therefore been universally accepted.¹⁶³ Santini added to this corpus the *rocche* of Todi, Ripa, and Spoleto.¹⁶⁴

The construction of the fortress took five to six years, from its inception in late 1355.¹⁶⁵ Two fortresses are mentioned in documents: S. Cataldo and S. Caterina. The books of expenses include payments for both buildings, which makes their history difficult to disentangle.¹⁶⁶ In 1356, the *Descriptio Marchiae Anconitanae* referred to both: ‘Rocha Papalis S. Cataldi et Rocha S. Cateline (sunt in civitate, in comitatu nulla est rocha)’.¹⁶⁷ In 1371, Anglic Grimoard, in his *Praecepta* (a collection of instructions and advice for future governors of the region), mentioned two fortresses in Ancona, one of which he regarded as among the most beautiful in the world, perhaps in reference to its defensive capabilities. He noted that Albornoz had it built very well and with great expense.¹⁶⁸

fortezza di S. Cataldo nella detta città la quale fu riputata e di forza et di habitatione nobil cossa fosse in Italia, et ci fece lavorare di continuo da mille e più persone con star sempre presente il conte Ugolino per dare l’ordini. ... Nel 1356 ... fu la prima volta che io uscisse di casa, che il conte Ugolino mi fe gire in Ancona.’ For documentary evidence which corroborates the number of workers, see Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 191-2.

¹⁶² Saracini (1675), Libro IX, p. 201.

¹⁶³ Santini (1931), p. 9. Bandini (1933), p. 49, fn. 17. Mario Natalucci, ‘La missione del Card. Egidio Albornoz in Ancona secondo la cronaca di Oddo de Biagio’, *Studia Picena* 23 (1955), pp. 137-148, at p. 142.

¹⁶⁴ Santini (1931), p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ Saracini (1675), Libro IX, p. 205 stated that it took four years, from 1356 to 1360. Cf. Santini (1931), p. 13 and Natalucci (1955), p. 143, Jamme (2003), p. 394, fn. 86. Building works are only documented after December 1355: ASV, IE 274, ‘*Expensa pro Cassaro S. Cathaldi de Ancona*’. ASV, Collectorie n. 445: ‘*Expense pro Cassero S. Cathaldi de Ancona*’.

¹⁶⁶ Theiner (1862), doc. CCCXXV, 1356 *Descriptio Marchiae Anconitanae, Massae Trabarie etc. facta tempore Card. Egidii Albornoz circa an. MCCCLVI*: ‘Rocha Papalis S. Cataldi et Rocha S. Cateline (sunt in civitate, in comitatu nulla est rocha).’ In ASV, Cam. Ap. Collect. 445. *Expense pro cassaro S. Cathaldi de Ancona*, I found mention of the cassaro S. Catherine in ff. 38v, 44v, (‘Thebaldo fabbro pro vi linternis de ferro muratis supra turrim anguli pro... et pro una clavi pro porta sancte Catherine’); f. 80r (payment to Andree de Neapoli for work ‘ad cassaro sancte Catherine ad portam’) and f. 118r (‘ponte ante portam cassari sancte Catherine.’). See Jamme (2003), p. 386, fn. 43.

¹⁶⁷ Theiner (1862), doc. CCCXXV, p. 342.

¹⁶⁸ Theiner (1862), doc. DXXVII, p. 536: ‘Item sunt fortalicia, due rocche et villa grata, quorum fortalicioorum sive rocharum est una pulcherrima, ymmo pauce sunt in mundo pulchriores, quam fecit fieri dominus meus Sabinensis

In 1357, Alfarello Fanelli received 1,800 gold ducats to fund the construction, with the warning that delay in the work was punishable with 1,000 florins.¹⁶⁹ The surviving documentation includes list of payments to artists, among whom we find the sculptors Tura da Imola, Giacomo de Fermo, Giacomello di Bartolo da Venezia, Domenico da Bologna and Bartolo della Roccacontrada (Arcevia).¹⁷⁰ None of the artists named in the documents were locals from Ancona. Tura da Imola and Jacopo de Fermo executed heraldic devices of the church, the Pope and Albornoz: ‘5 June. 35 ducats were paid to master Tura of Imola, master sculptor who carved 7 stones with the coat of arms of the Church, of our lord the Pope and our lord the Legate, at a rate of 5 florins per stone. ... 2 June. 35 ducats were paid to master Jacopo of Fermo, master sculptor who carved and inscribed 7 stones with the coat of arms of the Church and of our lord Legate [the] Spanish cardinal, at a rate of 5 florins per stone worked and placed on the wall with these coats of arms. The same day, 28 ducats were paid to master Tura of Imola, for working four windows of stone.’¹⁷¹

The documents do not provide the names of any painters, but some of the materials employed, including fine blue and Armenian red colours, cinabrium and a recipient to hold the

bo. mem. et est notabile factum, et cum magnis expensis fabricata ... Item est in eadem civitate alia roccha, que custoditur.’

¹⁶⁹ Filippini (1896b), doc. 42: ‘Sponte Alfarellus quondam Fanelli, civis Anconitanus, per se suosque heredes ... promictens etiam dictos MDCCC ducatus auri converti et converti facere et distribui de mandato dicti domini legati in laborerium et constructionem cassari seu rocche papalis sancti Cataldi de Ancona cotidie diebus laborate et circa expeditionem dicte constructionis iuxta posse diligentem sollicitudinem habere promixit ... quod dictum laborerium seu constructio dicti cassari fiendi possit in aliquo retardari, sub pena mille florenorum auri.’ Ancona, 25 April 1357.

¹⁷⁰ ASV, IE 281, ff. 21r, 25r, 26r. Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 190. Ceccho Vannis de Norcia, master Menguino da Faenza, Gentiluccio da Paderno, Martino da Sessa and Jacopo Peroudi da Imola.

¹⁷¹ ‘Die quinto junii. Solutum fuit magistro Ture de Imulla magistro sculptori qui laboravit VII.lapides ad arma ecclesie, domini nostri pape, et domini Legati ad rationem V. florenor. pro quol.lapide, XXXV ducat. ... Die secunda junii. Solutum fuit magistro Jacobo de Firmo magistro sculptori, qui incisit et laboravit VII.lapides ad arma ecclesie, domini Legati cardinalis Ispani ad rationem V. florenor. pro quolibet lapide laborato et murato ad dicta arma, XXXV ducat. Dicta die. Solutum fuit magistro Ture pro laboratura IIII fenestrarum de lapide viva, XXVIII ducat.’ ASV, IE 281, *Innoc. VI. Rocchae Papalis Anconitanae constructionis expensae an.1356, 1357*, fol. 10r, quoted by Müntz (1892), pp. 51-56, and Chauvin (1992), p. 190, fn. 109.

pigments needed for painting the heraldry of the Church in the fortress, were recorded in payments to Venetian merchants.¹⁷²

Tura da Imola, like many artists from Romagna, Veneto and Umbria, arrived in the Marche attracted by the opportunity to work in the fortress of Ancona. He also found employment with an old rival of Albornoz, Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio (d.1366). Giovanni had agreed to submit to the Church, and commissioned artistic works from artists associated to the circle of Albornoz, such as Tura de Imola and the Bolognese scribe Bartolommeo de' Bartoli.¹⁷³ Tura da Imola executed and signed the tomb of Giovanni in the cathedral of Fermo.¹⁷⁴ The sarcophagus, placed on columns, is now set against the west wall (Fig. 49).¹⁷⁵ The effigy rests inside a chamber, with two attendant deacons drawing the curtains. Below, the front of the sarcophagus shows Christ enthroned in the centre, flanked by the kneeling figures of St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist, the name saint of the defunct. The Virgin Mary and the archangel Gabriel form the Annunciation at the corners, a feature commonly found in sepulchres in the Veneto.¹⁷⁶ The heraldry of the Visconti and Oleggio decorates the sides of the tomb.

¹⁷² ASV, IE 281, fol. 26r: 'pro uno barile in quo venerunt dicte res pro pingenda in dicto Cassaro arma ecclesie.' The amount paid to Venetian merchants for painting materials was 24 ducats.

¹⁷³ Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio was granted the lordship and rectorship over the Marche in 1360 when he lost Bologna to Albornoz. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), no. 533. For Bartolommeo de' Bartoli, see *Chapter 3, note 169*.

¹⁷⁴ 'INCLITI MAGNIFICIQ. D. D. IOHIS D. OLEGIO. Q. RECTORIS. MARCHIE. ET AD XPTUM EVOCATI. MCCCLXVI. VIII. OCTOB. CORP. SEPULC. TUMULATUR. PUTI-MAGISTER. TURA. DE. IMOLA. FECIT HOC OPUS.' Luigi Serra, *L'Arte nelle Marche: dalle origini cristiane alla fine del gotico* (Pesaro: Gualtiero Federici, 1929), p. 249.

¹⁷⁵ Commissioned by Giovanni's widow, it was moved from the family's private chapel during the renovation of the building. Serra (1929), p. 249.

¹⁷⁶ For example, the tombs of bishop Castellano Solomone (d.1322) in Treviso and Beato Odorico da Pordenone (d.1331) in Udine, the raised sarcophagus of Rizzardo VI di Camino (d.1335) in Vittorio Veneto, the Carrara tombs in the Eremitani in Padua, and the tombs of Giovanni della Scala in Verona and doge Andrea Dandolo in S. Marco, Venice.

2.3.1. A Medieval Description of the *Rocca Papalis*

Oddo di Biagio described the building in his *Cronica de la edificatione et destructione del Cassero anconitano*, written before 1392.¹⁷⁷ This valuable testimony tells us that the Rocca comprised a defensive building (the *cassero*), and a residential and administrative quarter divided into two sections by a high, crenellated wall with a *torre magna* in its middle section, with many chambers, and a dungeon in its basement (Fig. 50). One building rose in each side of the wall: the one facing the sea front was destined for papal use (the whole complex was known as the *Rocca Papale*), and the second palace, facing the town, was used by the Legate.¹⁷⁸ My interpretation is that there were two courtyards, divided by a high wall; in such case, this fortress set a precedent for the floor plan of Spoleto (1362). For defence purposes, the *torre magna* or master tower could only be reached from the papal palace through a spiral staircase.¹⁷⁹

As one entered the complex (through the legate's palace) there was a cloister with a profusion of trees and a fountain in the centre. On one of the sides of the cloister there was a loggia, with four marble columns and covered with painted decoration.¹⁸⁰ Oddo di Biagio stated that the loggia was moved to the Piazza della Farina after the destruction of the fortress in 1387; perhaps it was spared because of its material or artistic value.¹⁸¹ According to Santini, the only surviving representation of the loggia (now lost) is a fresco by Pallavicini, in the palazzo

¹⁷⁷ Lazzaro de' Bernabei, 'Croniche Anconitane trascritte e raccolte: De la edificatione et destructione del cassaro anconitano composta per lo eximio Doctore de Lege meser Odo de Biagio cittadino de Ancona et per me Lazzaro de Barnabeo predicto in questo volume inserta et transcripta', in *Collezioni di documenti storici antichi inediti et editi rari delle citta e terre marchigiane*, ed. Carlo Ciavarini (Ancona: Tipografia del Commercio, 1870), Vol. I, pp. 66-145. Natalucci (1955), p. 137, fn. 1, Santini (1931), p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Bernabei (1870), p. 82.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 83: 'una loggia sopra quattro colonne de pietra nobilmente collocata, coperta de tavole indorate et pente'.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 83. Cf. Saracini (1675), p. 206.

Benincasa of Ancona. However, this is clearly not a medieval loggia, so it must have been wrongly identified with the fortress by the painter or by the author, or by local tradition (Fig. 51).¹⁸² Another loggia was decorated with the painted heraldic devices of kings and of many Italian cities.¹⁸³ The gardens housed a menagerie which included lions, and a dovecote.¹⁸⁴

The tall, crenellated walls of the fortress had elaborated carved windows which were ‘so beautiful, that their sight brought joy to the beholder.’¹⁸⁵ The church was lavishly decorated, with stained-glass windows and a wooden ceiling painted with gold stars.¹⁸⁶ According to Saracini, the coats of arms of Innocent VI, Albornoz, and the Church were sculpted and painted in silver, gold and blue, above its door.¹⁸⁷ Albornoz ordered in 1357 that all fortresses and palaces used by the Church officers should display the heraldry of that institution (the keys), as well as the coat of arms of Innocent VI and of any successive pope, be it in carving or in painting.¹⁸⁸ In the fortress of Castellano in Toscanella, the heraldry of the Church was carved in stone c.1355.¹⁸⁹ Payments for textile heraldic banners are documented in 1358 and 1366.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸² Santini (1931), p. 17.

¹⁸³ Bernabei (1870), p. 83: ‘era una loggia da un canto sopra lo rechioistro, nel quale erano depente tutte le insigne de li re, et principi christiani, et de molte citta de Italia.’ Cf. Natalucci (1955), p. 144.

¹⁸⁴ Lions are documented in ASV, IE, 301, ff. 21v-22r., quoted by Jamme (2003), p. 406, fn. 153. See Gagnière (1988).

¹⁸⁵ Bernabei (1870), p. 83: ‘et per tutto erano palazzi altissimi merlati con fenestre colonnade, intagliate con opera delectose, che davano gran letitia a chi le vedea.’

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.: ‘era la chiesa o ver capella depenta per tutto col tecto coperto de tavole, et pento ad stele d’oro con fenestre de vetro depente.’

¹⁸⁷ Natalucci (1955), p. 144.

¹⁸⁸ Colliva (1977), pp. 604-606, Book II, ch. 36 of *Constitutiones Sancte Matris Ecclesie*.

¹⁸⁹ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 187. ASV, IE 368, fol. 325r-v.

¹⁹⁰ ASV, IE 289, *Innocentii VI. Stipendia Militaror. S.R.E. in partibus Romandiole contra Hereticum de Forlivio Anno 1358* ff. 186r, 187r: ‘Michilio sartori de cessenana pro xx brachis pani lini empti ab eo pro faciendo bandieras ad arma ecclesie pro ponendo in fortificiis’, ‘Chichino Iohanis de faven. sartori pro vi. brachys cum dio. cendati pro faciendo unum panonem ad arma ecclesie’ and ‘francischino magistri zili merchatoris de cessenana pro x. brach. ... fieri faciendi banderias ad arma eccle. optimas in bastitis et fortificys ecclesie.’ In 1366 the supplies received at the fortress of Amandola included a banner: ‘unum vexillum ad arma ecclesie’; Francesco Filippini, ‘Il fulcimento della rocca di Amandola nel 1366’, *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie delle Marche I* (1904), pp. 369-372, at p. 370.

In his will, dictated in Ancona in 1364, Albornoz endowed two chantries in the church, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and St. Cataldo: ‘Item I command and order that two perpetual chantries be established and endowed in the church of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Cataldo, which is inside the papal fortress of Ancona, and that it is seen to that sufficient provision is made for two chaplains, each of whom should receive at least 30 florins per year, and they are to celebrate office in the said chapels.’¹⁹¹

It is most unfortunate that only superficial records have survived for a building which was inextricably linked to Albornoz’s sojourn in Italy. Before the fortress was built, Albornoz stayed in the bishop’s palace, where the submission of Ancona to the Church was signed in 1356.¹⁹² The palace of the legate in the fortress was finished by 1359, and Albornoz resided there for a total of nine years.¹⁹³ Albornoz settled in this fortress on his return from Avignon in 1358, and it was here that he dictated his will in 1364.¹⁹⁴ Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz received his acolyte ‘orders’ in the Cathedral of Ancona in 1356; in the Spring of 1362 the ceremonies of his consecration as subdeacon and deacon were held in the chapel of the *Rocca Papalis*.¹⁹⁵

During his campaigns throughout Italy, it was in Ancona where Albornoz resided for the longest period of time. As the cardinal’s most permanent base, it was a comfortable and agreeable environment. Oddo di Biagio was certainly impressed and was carried away in his

¹⁹¹ Appendix I, lines 40-42; Sepúlveda (1780), XXXIII.

¹⁹² Theiner (1862), doc. CCCXIX, p. 286.

¹⁹³ AA, Vol. V, n. 5: ‘Actum in Rocha papali Ancone, in d. Egidii palatio, 4 nov. 1359’, quoted by Filippini (1933), p. 438.

¹⁹⁴ Appendix I, line 69; Sepúlveda (1780), LVI.

¹⁹⁵ ACT, MS 4-2, fol. 1v: ‘Et anno MCCCLVI die Sabbati, V. Idus Aprilis, fui promotus ad acolitatus ordinem Ancone, in ecclesia maiori, per Reverendum in Christo patrem fratrem Gundissalvum episcopum Segobiensem. Et anno MCCCLXII, die Sabbati III^{or} Temporum III. Idus Martii, fui promotus ad ordinem subdiaconatus Ancone, in capella Roche Papalis, per Reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum fratrem Ioannem Episcopum Anchonitanum. Et anno eodem, die Sabbati III. Nonas Aprilis, fui promotus ad ordinem diaconatus in eodem loco et per eundem patrem.’ The text has been published by García y García (1972a), p. 160, and by Russell (1959), p. 325.

description when he stated that there were so many rooms, and so rich, that one could not put it into words: '*Lengua non epoteria dire, ne proferire.*'¹⁹⁶ Oddo described a delectable environment, richly decorated with stained glass windows, sculpture and painting, with a garden, yet also very well defended with a strong keep, walkways and double crenellations. His description emphasised three main features of the complex: its effective defensiveness (the strong keep and crenellations), the living comforts it offered (running water, under-floor heating, ample staircases), and aesthetic beauty (the joy it brought to the beholder). Notwithstanding its exaggerated tone, this contemporary description is precious because of its rarity. There is documentary evidence to the lavishness of the interiors. I found an annotation on the Book of Expenses in the Archive of the Collegio di Spagna, which indicates the payment of 100 ducats for the decoration of the chamber of Cardinal Alborno, in Ancona, in 1360: 'Item, on Tuesday 24 of the said month of September, in Ancona, I gave lord archdeacon of Alarcon, who requested payment for the expenses he had incurred, as he said, in the chamber of [my] lord 100 ducats ... Juan López. 100 ducats. For the decoration of the chamber of lord Gil.'¹⁹⁷

Filippini published this entry omitting the last, and, in my view, crucial, sentence.¹⁹⁸ In 1361, the Florentine master Giovanni Lapi was employed at the fortress, but it is not known the specific work he executed there.¹⁹⁹ A document from 1365 mentions an *aula paramenti*.²⁰⁰ This was a reception chamber, or antechamber, where sometimes business was conducted, and which was lined with tapestries or painted with fictive draperies. The scene of the Approval of the

¹⁹⁶ Bernabei (1870), p. 83.

¹⁹⁷ AA, Vol. II, n. 40, fol. 2v: 'Item die Martis XXIII dicti mensis Septembris, Anconae, dedi domino archidiacono de Alarchone, quos petiit ex parte domini pro expensis que eum fiendis, ut dixit, in camera domini ducats centum ... johus lopes. C Ducats. Pro ornanda Dni Aegidii Camera.'

¹⁹⁸ Filippini (1905), doc. 81.

¹⁹⁹ Filippini (1933), p. 439.

²⁰⁰ AA, Vol. V, n. 23, quoted by Filippini (1922-23), fn. 15: 'actum in aula paramenti ipsius domini legati, sita in Rocha papalis Anconae.'

Franciscan Rule by Innocent III in the Upper Church of St. Francis in Assisi shows a chamber decorated with wall hangings. Painted curtains survive as wall decoration in Castelvecchio, Verona. The lost inventory of the contents of the fortress in Ancona would have surely provided us with precious information on its decoration. The testamentary executors of the Cardinal requested an inventory in November 1367, for which Domenico Michelis was paid 50 florins in 1368, and which they received in 1370.²⁰¹

Albornoz arrived in Italy with a considerably ample visual culture. He was familiar with Castilian fortresses and with the fortified livrées in Avignon, and the Palais des Papes. These buildings had sumptuous interiors furnishings, and featured defensive towers. The crenellated papal palace in Sorgues, erected by John XXII, had five towers and a courtyard.²⁰² The palace, begun in 1317, had a grand staircase and a chapel, and it was richly decorated with painting, including gold leaf.²⁰³ Clement VI commissioned the addition of further wings to the existing Palais des Papes, in effect building another palace, with the Grand Chapelle and its magnificent staircase, the Tour de la Garde-Robe and the papal chambers, and he employed Matteo di Giovannetti da Viterbo for the decoration of the two chapels.²⁰⁴ The architecture of the Palace is articulated around two courtyards. The crenellated Petit Palais, erected by Cardinal Arnaud de Via (d.1335), was also articulated around a large internal courtyard.²⁰⁵ The Palais des Papes has

²⁰¹ For 1367, ACT, A.8.D.1.5.a, lines 9-10; BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 147v-148r. For 1368, Marti (1966), p. 21. For 1370, BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 130v: 'Item recepit a dicto Domino Bellefortensi testamentum et codicillum dicti bone memorie D. Egidij et unum inventarium factum de bonis existentibus in Anchona.'

²⁰² Aliquot (1993), pp. 75-79.

²⁰³ Ibid., pp. 75-77.

²⁰⁴ For a chronology of the building campaigns in the Palais des Papes, see Gagnière (1975).

²⁰⁵ The architecture of the Petit Palais was analysed by Jean Vallery-Radot, 'Le Petit Palais', in *Société Française d'Arqueologie. Congrès Archéologique de France CXXIe session: Avignon et Comtat-Venaissin* (1963), pp. 59-104.

a courtyard with a gallery, and a monumental staircase at an angle; the courtyard in the Petit Palais was erected under Benedict XII, in the same style as that in the Palais des Papes.²⁰⁶

These palaces certainly influenced Albornoz's concept of the living environment suitable for a cardinal of the Church. Despite the financial constraints, the Spanish legate had to represent his status and the power of the Church he represented in Italy.

2.4. Spoleto (1358-1359, 1362-1370)

The best preserved fortress commissioned by Albornoz, the *rocca* in Spoleto was used as a prison until twenty years ago, and access was restricted until it opened its doors to visitors in 1997. In 2006 the restoration of the building was nearing completion.

In 1354, Albornoz entered the rebellious city of Spoleto and appointed his nephew Gomez de Albornoz as rector of the province.²⁰⁷ The earliest documented reference to the construction of a fortress of the Church in Spoleto dates from December 1358, when Albornoz reproved the citizens of Colcello for failing to contribute to the building campaign.²⁰⁸ The project seems to have been halted for three years, for which there is no documentary evidence, until 1362, when Albornoz appointed Matteo de Gattapone as director of the works. This second campaign would see the completion of the project.²⁰⁹ Satolli suggested that Ugolino di Montemarte was the director of the works from 1359 until 1362.²¹⁰ In April 1362, Albornoz, from his residence in Cesena, appointed Matteo Gattapone with the direction of the works which

²⁰⁶ Esquieu (1990), p. 38.

²⁰⁷ Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 115-117. Bandini (1933), pp. 38, 41.

²⁰⁸ Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'La rocca di Spoleto: Matteo Gattapone, il cardinale Albornoz e il palazzo fortificato nell'Italia del Trecento', *Castellum* 41 (December 1999), pp. 19-28, at p. 20, fn. 20: 'fortalitium construendum nomine romane ecclesie in civitate Spoleti.'

²⁰⁹ Kerscher (1991), p. 14.

²¹⁰ Satolli (1990), p. 73.

had began the previous month, with a monthly salary of 50 gold florins, and the provision of a notary, an attendant and a horse. In the letter of appointment, Albornoz granted Matteo with the authority to summon the citizens of Spoleto to contribute their work on the building.²¹¹

Matteo de Gattapone was the effective designer of the rocca, and he is documented until September 1370.²¹² In October 1367 the building must have been near enough completion, and militarily effective, when the Spaniard Pedro González is appointed castellan of the fortress 'and all its defences.'²¹³ By April 1370, there were 100 infantrymen stationed in the fortress.²¹⁴

The fortress, with a perimeter of 135 x 35 metres, comprises an area of circa 5,000 square metres (Fig. 52).²¹⁵ Its rectangular plan includes two courtyards; the first had a mainly military function (c.64 x 30 metres) and the second formed the core of the residential quarters (35 x 17 metres).²¹⁶ Six square towers dot the perimeter of the fortress; the four corner towers are placed at a slight angle for increased defensibility (Fig. 53). A curtain wall, fortified with towers, surrounds the fortress and the adjoining terrain.²¹⁷ Near the fortress, a gate of access is decorated with the coat of arms of Albornoz on its secondary arch. The building could be entered through the west doorway, or, to avoid having to cross the soldiers' quarters, through a gate on the north, abutting the master tower. This gate provided a secure and more private access to the resident officers of the Church and their guests. Carved on a plaque above the arch are four coats of arms

²¹¹ Filippini (1903), doc. 22. Guerrini (1983), p. 167.

²¹² Bandini (1933), p. 56, fn. 19; the documents in the Archivio di Stato di Spoleto, Camerlangato, 6 February 1366, 4 February and 31 May 1370 refer to Magister Mactheus Gataponus de Eugubio, and in 1370 he is 'superstiti cassari montis Spoleti.'

²¹³ 'dictum cassarum cum omnibus suis fortilitiis et aliis in eo existentibus ... assignavit Petro Consalvo de Hispania ... in tenutam et possessionem dicti cassari et claves omnes dicti cassari.' Archivio Storico del Comune di Spoleto, Riformagioni 1367, quoted by Sansi (1879), Vol. I, p. 238, and Bandini (1933), p. 294.

²¹⁴ Guerrini (1983), p. 167.

²¹⁵ Measurements provided by Bandini (1933), p. 56.

²¹⁶ Measurements by Ugo Tarchi, 'Relazione dell'Architetto Ugo Tarchi sul ripristino della Rocca dell'Albornoz a Spoleto', in Bandini (1933), pp. 327-336, at p. 331.

²¹⁷ For the outer perimeter wall, see Bandini (1933), pp. 61-63.

and the date 1366 flanking the heraldry of Urban V (Fig. 54). This is likely to mark the end of the main building campaign, notwithstanding that Matteo received the final payment for his salary in September 1370 (Fig. 55).²¹⁸

The bare walls of the western courtyard are fitting to its function: the soldiers protecting the fortress lived in this area, probably in wooden or brick barracks leaning against the stone walls. The walls are lower than those of the residential courtyard. Traces of a walkway communicating the six towers are visible to the right (Fig. 56).²¹⁹ To the north is the master tower, known as the *Spiritata*. The east wing of the courtyard forms part of the residential quarter. Occupying the third and fourth levels of this central wing is the Great Hall. The arrangement is similar to that found in contemporary lay palaces of central Italy, such as the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence, where the Great Hall occupies the whole of the upper floor, between the façade and the internal courtyard.²²⁰

The arched passage in the centre of this wall, leading to the *cortile d'onore*, originally had an iron grate securing access to the residential area.²²¹ Above the arch are the coats of arms of Albornoz and Urban V (Fig. 57). A double loggia, covered with groin vaulting, runs along three of the sides of the residential courtyard or *cortile d'onore*. The loggia's side facing the courtyard is articulated through round arches, which are taller at ground level (Fig. 58).²²² Six arches open on the north and south, and three on the east wing. The arches rest on octagonal brick pilasters, with bases and capitals in white stone. The summary decoration of the capitals is reduced to their chiselled corners (Fig. 59). Octagonal pilasters, with chamfered bases, were

²¹⁸ See above *note 111*.

²¹⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 62.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²²¹ Tarchi (1933), p. 333.

²²² Measurements provided by Tarchi (1933), p. 334: the ground arches are 6,85 metres high and the pilasters, 4,95m; in the upper loggia, the arches are 5,10 metres high and the pilasters 3,15 metres high. For the subtle optical effects achieved by Gattapone in this area, see Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 64, 68-69.

used in the cloister in the nearby convent of S. Niccolò.²²³ On the upper storey of the courtyard in Spoleto, the pillars rise from the ground, without bases, and are incorporated into the parapet (Fig. 60). Gattapone thus created a visual effect of enhanced verticality, which added to the residential character of this area, seeking subtle aesthetically pleasing solutions.

In the east of the courtyard stands a marble wellhead, decorated with the heraldry of Nicholas V (1447-1455), and which probably replaced the original piece.²²⁴ The collection of water, essential when sustaining a siege, was assured by the aqueduct of the Ponte delle Torri, and by collecting rain water into a cistern through draining holes on the pavement of the courtyard (Fig. 61).²²⁵ In the northwest corner of the courtyard, a staircase leads to the upper floor (Fig. 62). A small suspended arch marks the junction of the north and west arcades (Fig. 63). This unusual element, which breaks the uniformity of the rectangular plan of the courtyard, creates a distinct space in the upper storey which would have been suitable for public addresses, a viewing point, or perhaps form part of a ceremonial route. As we will see, the same feature appears in the courtyard of the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna. The Palais des Papes in Avignon features a loggia at the summit of a monumental staircase, in the corner of the courtyard, which leads to the Clementine Chapel.²²⁶ Here the staircase leads to the master tower and the Great Hall, and a precedent could also have been the rocca di San Cataldo, which had a loggia formed

²²³ Whether the employment of octagonal pilasters or seen brick fits into a defined regional practice has been the subject of previous works. Achille Bertini Calosso, 'Matteo Gattapone, Fieravante Fieravanti e i primordi dell'architettura del Rinascimento in Umbria', in *Atti del II Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura. Assisi, 1 - 4 ottobre 1937* (Rome: Colombo, 1939), pp. 77-84, at p. 79. Marchini (1979), p. 11. De Angelis D'Ossat (1983), p. 53. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 69, fn. 22.

²²⁴ Paolo Felicetti, 'Dipinti murali e manufatti lapidei nel cortile d'onore', in *La rocca di Spoleto. Studi per la storia e la rinascita* ed. Bruno Bruni (Spoleto: Banca Popolare di Spoleto, 1983), pp. 95-102, at p. 95. Cf. Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti pagani e cristiani riguardanti l'istoria e l'arte esistenti nella provincia dell'Umbria* (Perugia: Tipo-Litografia di G. Boncompagni, 1872), p. 297, who identified the heraldry as that of Albornoz.

²²⁵ For the Ponte delle Torri, see Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 164-5; De Angelis D'Ossat (1983), p. 33. A feat of engineering, the bridge is scarcely documented.

²²⁶ Serra Desfilis (1992), p.70.

by four columns, to the left of the entrance to the residential courtyard. Inside the Great Hall, the surviving corbels on the longer walls indicate that this room was originally vaulted. The architect Ugo Tarchi suggested that the vault be reconstructed, but this was not realised (Fig. 64).²²⁷ Pointed arched windows pierce both sides of the ground floor walls, and small trilobed windows the upper level; their original shape, modified in the interior, can only be seen on the exterior. A wall fountain in the east wall indicates the function of this room as a place for hosting banquets. The Hall opens onto the master tower's *camera picta* to the north. This chamber is decorated with a fifteenth-century fresco cycle of hunting and chivalric scenes (Fig. 65).²²⁸ It is likely that there was an earlier cycle, but no information survives regarding the original decoration of the residential quarters. The surviving interiors of papal palaces in Orvieto and Viterbo, the Palais des Papes or the *livrée* Ceccano in Avignon offer suggestive examples of the type of decoration found in papal and cardinal residences.²²⁹

The residential rooms were located on the south and east wings.²³⁰ The Legate's private chambers occupied the eastern wing of the courtyard. There was a chapel in the north-east tower which was described in the eighteenth-century plan of the fortress as 'modern'. Such small space was in my opinion unsuitable for the legate and his chaplains. It is more likely that an altar was placed against the wall in any of the three rooms of this floor. Because there is no extant chapel, its existence has been questioned, even though it would have been extremely unlikely to deprive a residential building for the clergy of such an essential element.²³¹ The fortress of Montefiascone had a chapel in the dining hall in 1354, with a large candelabrum 'for

²²⁷ Tarchi (1933), p. 336.

²²⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 68.

²²⁹ For the painted decoration in Viterbo and Orvieto, see Gary M. Radke, 'Medieval Frescoes in the Papal Palaces of Viterbo and Orvieto', *Gesta* XXIII/1 (1984), pp. 27-38.

²³⁰ Bandini (1933), p. 123, fn. 43.

²³¹ De Angelis D'Ossat (1983), pp. 66-67. Cf. Kerschler (1991), pp. 17, 19.

candles when the legate celebrated Mass.²³² The interior of the building in Spoleto was modified under Nicholas V and was further altered during its time as a prison, factors which account for loss of archeological evidence.²³³ None of the extant fortresses associated with Alborno have a space that was marked out architecturally as a chapel. It is regrettable that precisely the one fortress documented as having a chapel, Ancona, has not survived.

Notwithstanding the absence of a chapel, the general layout of the building, with two courtyards and six towers, recalls the Palais des Papes.²³⁴ The double courtyard of the thirteenth-century castle of Lagopesole, erected by Frederick II in Potenza, has been brought into the discussion of the design of the Spoleto fortress.²³⁵ However, the fortress of Ancona (1355-1359), closer to Spoleto than Lagopesole geographically and chronologically, set a precedent for the Umbrian fortress in the division of the complex into two courtyards, even if the description by Oddo di Biagio is not detailed enough to allow for a reconstruction of the architectural plan. Serra and De Angelis D'Ossat suggested as possible models for Spoleto the Italian castle of Prato (a rectangular plan with six towers) and the Spanish castles of San Fernando de Cádiz and Antequera in Andalucía, and Molina de Aragón in Guadalajara.²³⁶ Kerscher instead proposed the castles of San Servando and Maqueda, in Toledo, even though they are of a later date than Spoleto.²³⁷ Alborno was familiar with the fortresses in his Toledo archdiocese (Molina de Aragón, Sigüenza, Guadalajara), and it is likely that he would have seen the fortress of Antequera during the 1340s military campaigns in which he took part. Throughout the Middle Ages, the archbishops of Toledo had built fortresses and defensive walls in villages of the

²³² Lanconelli (1984) p. 399, fn. 55; for the chapel, see Fabre (1887), pp. 159-160.

²³³ Filippini (1922-23), p. 77. Serra Desfilis (1999), p. 24, or (1992), p. 71.

²³⁴ For influence of the Palais des Papes on Italian architecture, see Kerscher (1991), pp. 14, 17, fn. 14.

²³⁵ De Angelis D'Ossat (1983), p. 37; Marchini (1979), p. 10; Kerscher (1991), p. 22. Cf. Serra (1992), p. 60.

²³⁶ For Prato, see Serra (1992) p. 60, fn. 9. De Angelis d'Ossat (1983), pp. 37-38.

²³⁷ Kerscher (1991), p. 21. For Maqueda, dating from the late 15th century, see Bernard Remón (1997), pp. 821-824; for San Servando, rebuilt in 1380, *Ibid.*, pp. 840-841.

diocese over which they exercised a lordship.²³⁸ The archbishop of Toledo was, after all, the largest landowner in Castile.²³⁹ The fortified palace in Brihuega was a residence of strategic importance since it controlled their lands, and was richly decorated, as seen above.²⁴⁰ The castles of the archbishops of Toledo were so militarily effective that Alfonso XI ordered to tear down one of them, the *alcázar* of Illescas, in 1323.²⁴¹

In Spain, the large fortresses of Molina de Aragón and Sigüenza are perhaps the closest in appearance to that in Spoleto. Of Arabic foundation, the large fortress of Molina de Aragón dates from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (Fig. 66).²⁴² With the main keep in a corner, the vast space enclosed within its walls was capable of sustaining the local population if required; there was a church, of which the foundations remain (Fig. 67). A watch tower (*atalaya* or *torre de Aragón*) was connected to the main stronghold by a covered passage, whilst seven large towers defended the perimeter of the fortress. The contemporary castle of Sigüenza, residence of the local bishop, has three courtyards (Fig. 68).²⁴³ The east wing, where the chapel was located, was the residential area for the prelates.²⁴⁴ Notwithstanding its major reconstruction after Civil War damage, the general design of the castle may have influenced that of Spoleto.²⁴⁵ Gil de Albornoz left his native land at the ripe age of nearly 50 years and his lifetime experience of Spanish castles surely informed his concept of what was desirable in a fortified palace.

²³⁸ Merlos (2000), pp. 27-30.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39, fn. 37.

²⁴² Bernard Remón (1997), pp. 773-777. Francisco Layna Serrano, *Castillos de Guadalajara: Descripción e historia de los mismos y noticias de sus señores* (Guadalajara: Aache, 1994, 4th edition, first published 1933), pp. 385-406. Antonio Herrera Casado, *Guía de Campo de los Castillos de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Aache, 2000), pp. 156-163.

²⁴³ Layna Serrano (1994), pp. 133-150. Bernard Remón (1997), pp. 785-791.

²⁴⁴ Bernard Remón (1997), p. 789.

²⁴⁵ Herrera Casado (2000), p. 57.

The similarities between the courtyards of Rocca in Spoleto and the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna seem to indicate that Albornoz requested the application of the same model to two buildings with different purposes and character. Both buildings are contemporary and were designed by the same architect; Gattapone was directing the works at Spoleto from 1362 whilst the Collegio was under construction in 1365, a year after its foundation. The courtyard of the college and the residential courtyard of the fortress share elements such as the use of brick, the octagonal pilasters, and the double-storey arcades with round arches; even the employment of a similar scale in the measurements of the elements of the logge (Figs 62, 69).²⁴⁶ Whilst Spoleto is a fortified palace for the administrator of the province, the Collegio is a residence for students in the centre of a University town.²⁴⁷ Therefore, the design was not overly dependent on function, and the taste of the patron was the decisive factor in the application of the same model to Spoleto and Bologna.

2.5. Residential Architecture. Cesena (1359)

In April 1359, Albornoz began the construction of a new palace in Cesena that was to be his residence. The building and decorating expenses, which are detailed in five volumes of *Introitus et Exitus*, amounted to 12,591 florins and 71 ducats.²⁴⁸ The palace, now the Town Hall, has undergone a great deal of structural and decorative changes.²⁴⁹ Despite these, the west and east walls have preserved a number of their original window openings and decoration.

²⁴⁶ Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 69, 118.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61 argued that the rocca is not strictly military. See White (1993), pp. 507-515 for the development of the fortified palace in Italy.

²⁴⁸ Filippini (1933) p. 441. Cf. Zavatti (2001), p. 148. For expenses, see ASV, IE 287, 290, 291, 292.

²⁴⁹ Scipione Claramonte, *Caesena Historia* (Cesena: Caroli de Neris, 1631), libro XVI, fol. 749. Zavatti (2001), p. 150. Filippini (1933) p. 441. Zavatti (2001), p. 152

Amilcare Zavatti was able to study the building in 1932, and planned a careful restoration, but his project was halted due to political reasons during the rise of fascism, and his intervention was limited to the ground floor.²⁵⁰ Zavatti was only allowed to explore the upper levels of the walls. Despite these constraints, tantalizing decorative fragments, including mural painting and architectural elements came to light during Zavatti's short campaign.²⁵¹ The work of Zavatti remains the only scholarly study of the building, although the documentary references he used cannot be accurately matched with the manuscript sources.²⁵² In 1903, a fire destroyed most of the archive preserved in the Palazzo Comunale, and therefore precious documentary evidence was lost.²⁵³

The name of Guido di Zerbini of Forlì appears in some of the documents preserved in the Vatican *Introitus et Exitus* as *ingegnerius a lignamine*, which indicates that, if he was not the architect, he was the surveyor of the wooden structures and executed the ceilings.²⁵⁴

The *Descriptio Romandiole* listed two palaces in Cesena, the *palatium vetus* and the *palatium novum*, the latter of which had been built by Gil Albornoz.²⁵⁵ The arch that opens on

²⁵⁰ Zavatti (2001), p. 136. Amilcare Zavatti, *Per il palazzo Albornoziano di Cesena* (Cesena: A. Bettini, 1936), p. 6.

²⁵¹ Filippini (1933) p. 441, fn. 2: 'Dietro le indicazioni, da me date, dei documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano, per interessamento del Podestà di Cesena e per opera degli ingegneri Zavatti e Zucchini, furono fatti assaggi nelle muraglie antiche, tuttora esistenti, che hanno rivelato importantissime tracce di finestre before e di molti elementi architettonici e decorative, nonchè avanzi di pittura nella 'Sala Magna'. È d'augurarsi che si possa procedere al restauro di questa parte notevole dell'insigne monumento.'

²⁵² After scouring the *Introitus et Exitus* used by Zavatti, I realized that his references match the manuscripts on a random manner, perhaps due to typographic mistakes. This precludes that this may have been caused by a change of cataloguing numbers, classmarks, or pagination. I have followed the folio numeration as found in the original manuscripts. Zavatti mentioned the payment for a wooden candelabrum, but I could not locate this information in any of the references he provided, Zavatti (2001), p. 144, ASV, IE 287, fol. 190; IE 291, fol. 94 and IE 292, fol. 83.

²⁵³ Zavatti (2001) p. 156.

²⁵⁴ ASV, IE 287 fol. 113r: 'magistro Guidoni zerbini magistro lignamini ingegnerio ad facienda solararia.', the name of Raynaldo da Piacenza also appears very frequently in the payments, but both are always referred to as *ingegnerius a lignamine*. Zavatti (2001) p. 146 did not support the attribution to these two given that the word *ingegnerius* was not exclusively applied to architects in the Middle Ages, and he searched in vain for the name of the architect.

²⁵⁵ Theiner (1862), doc. DXXV, p. 498: 'Item in dicta civitate Cesene est quedam pars vocata Murata Cesene, sita in montibus a parte superiori, circumdata quodam muro alto, in qua sunt duo magna palatia, unum vetus et aliud novum, quod fieri fecit bone memorie dnus. Sabinensis.'

the ground floor of the building into the square was mentioned in the text.²⁵⁶ Albornoz resided in the *palatium vetus* while the new palace was being constructed.²⁵⁷

The *palatium novum* was built between 1359 and 1362 by master Donato Busini da Firenze and Guidone di Zerbino da Forlì, on the north-west of the older palace.²⁵⁸ The palace was richly decorated.²⁵⁹ The local painter Basco Guarnerio depicted the coats of arms of the Church on the palace, and decorated the private chambers of the Cardinal.²⁶⁰ Following customary practice, the heraldry of the Church appeared in at least one of the rooms.²⁶¹

The foundations of the new palace were laid on 1st April 1359, after some houses had been demolished to make way for the new building.²⁶² Albornoz is documented residing in Cesena on 9 April 1359, and further notices regard a chapel and a *camera paramenti* in the palace.²⁶³ The palace was near completion by the end of 1362, when payments become more infrequent. A document dated May 1363 was signed in ‘the palace of the legate.’²⁶⁴ The

²⁵⁶ Ibid.: ‘porta secunda posita est in medio dictorum palatiorum supra plateam Cesene, et per istam portam ingreditur in dictam Muratam eundo per dictam plateam, et custoditur solum de nocte.’

²⁵⁷ Zavatti (2001), p. 154 quoted ASV, IE 291, fol. 95v as reference for painting of a religious image in the *palatium vetus*, but I could not confirm it.

²⁵⁸ Paola Battelli and Francesca Renzi, ‘Palazzo Comunale’ in Palazzi Nascosti. Un percorso di arte e di storia per le via della città, Associazione Culturale Artemisia ed. (Cesena: Il Ponte Vecchio, 2000), pp. 11-17, p. 11.

²⁵⁹ ASV, IE 287, ff. 194r, 206v, 218-200v. Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 185, 286.

²⁶⁰ Chauvin (1992), p. 184, Vol. 1; ASV, IE 287, ff. 206v, 209r.

²⁶¹ Zavatti (2001), p. 142: ‘ad affermare anche coi mezzi dell’arte il nuovo dominio, un Pietro da Padova dipinse in una stanza le chiavi e lo stemma della Chiesa’, without specifying source, and I could not find references to this painter in any of the documents consulted.

²⁶² ASV, IE 291 *Innocentii VI Expens. pro Fabric. Palatii novi Cesenae. Anno 1359*. Fol. 4r lists the rope used to trace the outline of the new building (30 March); fol. 5v mentions the excavations to lay the foundations; ff. 9, 11v, 12, 12v, 14v, 15 record the demolition of houses; fol. 33v for the foundations of the chapel of the legate.

²⁶³ Filippo Liotta and Paolo Nardi, ‘Regesti di documenti dell’Archivio di Stato di Siena’, in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. IV, pp. 167-215, at p. 187, doc. 31: ‘dominus Egidius Sabinensis episcopus ... Cesene morans.’ 22 May 1359, doc. 34c: ‘in civitate Cesene, in capella maiori palatii habitationis.’ 1 June 1359, doc. 34e: ‘Acta fuerunt Cesene, in camera paramenti ipsius domini legati.’ Cf. Claramunt and Trenchs (1972), p. 395.

²⁶⁴ AA, Vol. V, n. 57: ‘Actum Cesene intra muratam videlicet in domo seu palatio prefati domini Legati habitationis’, quoted by Amaducci (1905), doc. IX.

surviving documentation shows that most of the workers were from Cesena, Forlì, or Bologna.²⁶⁵ Yet, the altar of the chapel was executed by one Master Ventura of Brescia, and the Florentine Nerio Michele was documented plastering the walls of the palace.²⁶⁶ The expenses for the building of the rocca in Ancona also registered mostly local artisans and artists.²⁶⁷

The palace in Cesena occupied an area of 490 square metres, had three floors and was crowned with decorative battlements (which collapsed during an earthquake in 1483).²⁶⁸ The entrance to the building was through two large arched doorways on the east front. Traces of two large paired windows and an oculus survive to the north of the wall (Fig. 70). The first floor had a loggia facing the square on the north, lit by paired windows.²⁶⁹ The upper floor was the *piano nobile*, with a large Hall in the north side (as seen in the fortress of Spoleto), measuring over 20 metres in length, and 11 metres wide. The present north façade bears little resemblance to its original aspect, which, according to Zavatti's reconstruction, featured an external staircase which led to the first and second floors and landed at the Great Hall (Figs 71, 72). The west end of the Hall was lit by three paired windows (Fig. 73).²⁷⁰ The round arches are richly decorated in the archivolt with geometrical patterns, foliage and flowers (Fig. 74).²⁷¹

Adjacent to the Great Hall, two rooms completed the *piano nobile*. On the upper section of the wall between one of these rooms and the Hall, Zavatti found remains of painted decoration. The decoration consisted of geometrical shapes, unspecified coats of arms and

²⁶⁵ ASV, IE 287: Petro Brango blacksmith of Cesena (fol. 105r), master Guido Zerbini of Forlì (fol. 113), Guido Checci of Cesena (fol. 139v), Tundo of Forlì (fol. 190r); IE 292: Raynaldo of Piacenza (fol. 28v)

²⁶⁶ ASV, IE 287, fol. 190r for Ventura (painter who executed altarpiece for chapel), fol. 239v for Nerio (he worked at plastering and whitening the walls in 1362).

²⁶⁷ ASV, Camera Apostolica, Collettorie 445, *Expense pro cassaro S. Cathaldi de Ancona*, fol. 2r lists *lapides* Antonio Georgii de Ancona, Jacobo Anthonii de Ancona, and others.

²⁶⁸ Zavatti (2001), p. 148, ASV, IE 292, fol. 145r: 'ad faciendum merlos palatii domini Legati'. Ibid., pp. 158, 166.

²⁶⁹ ASV, IE 287, fol. 105r: 'laboraverunt ad faciendam fenestras duplas logie pallatii s.plateam.'

²⁷⁰ See Zavatti's plan in Zavatti (2001), p. 145.

²⁷¹ Zavatti (1936), p. 7 stated that there were grapes and birds, which are no longer visible.

foliage. It is most unfortunate that he could not register the decoration in detail, as the heraldry would have proven very useful.²⁷² The smaller room opened on to the hall through an arch, and was lit by two windows. On the wall that separated this room from the hall Zavatti found further remains of wall painting: a pattern formed of rectangular blocks in perspective, coloured in white, red and green.²⁷³ Zavatti suggested that this small space could have been a chapel.²⁷⁴ In June 1361, payments were made to sculptors from Romagna who had worked in the chapel of the legate, notwithstanding that it was a feast day.²⁷⁵ In September, Pietro Brango, a local blacksmith, was paid for chains, bolts for the chapel's door and windows, and the doorframe. The chapel is described as painted: 'On 13 of September a payment was made to Pietro Brango, blacksmith of Cesena, for 3 chains and 3 bolts for the door and windows of the painted chapel of our lord the Legate, and for a doorframe later taken to the said chapel...1 flor. B viii.'²⁷⁶

The payments for the high altar in 1361 provide us with the name of two artists, Ventura of Brescia and Niccolo Tunde of Forli: '.. who worked on Saturday 23 December in the manufacturing of a high altar with master Ventura painter of Brescia for our lord the Legate in the chapel of the aforesaid palace ... on the feast of the Nativity ... master Ventura painter of Brescia, master carpenter, who worked to manufacture for our lord the new altar together with master Nicolo, and master Tunde of Forli in the chapel of the palace of the Legate.'²⁷⁷

²⁷² Zavatti (2001), p. 162: 'metemmo in luce gli scarsi residui di affreschi contemporanei alla costruzione dell'edificio, e dove si scorgono comparti geometrici, tondi polilobati, stemmi ed ornamenti a fogliami.'

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 164.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 164.

²⁷⁵ ASV, IE 287, fol. 139v: 'Die dominicho xxvi mensis jun. solutio fuit pro Romagnolu ... magris. lapide. qui die lun.xx, die martis xxi, die mercury xxii non obstante festo s. juliani, die jovis xxiii die sabati xxv mensis jun. laboraverunt ad palatium dni.legati ad tagland. lapid. pro capella dni.legati, et ad murandum chochinam q. fit mx.domini confessoris dni.legati...Guido Checci de Cessena, Marchus Iohanis, Petrus Cherchi de cessenana, flor. vi.'

²⁷⁶ ASV, IE 287, fol. 105r: 'Die XIII mensis septembris solutiam fuit petro brango huius fabro de cess. pro iii cadenatis et iii stanghettis portis et fenestris Capelle picte domini legati et uno seramie porto post dictam capellam...flor. 1, B viii.'

²⁷⁷ ASV, IE 287, fol. 190r: 'pto. qui laboravunt die sabati xxiii decembris ad faciendum unum altare cum magistro ventura pict. de Brissia pro domino legato in capella dicti palatii .. ch.medi. missam in festo Nativitate ad

The document indicates that the same artist, Ventura of Brescia, was responsible for the painting and collaborated on the wooden framework with Niccolo. It is worth noting that these artists were not local, and that Guarnerio da Cesena produced the heraldic decoration.²⁷⁸ The windows of the chapel were covered with cloth in 1361, perhaps as a temporary solution until stained glass was put in place; we do not know if they were replaced.²⁷⁹

In 1362, Pietro Brango was paid for the key and lock of the painted chamber of the Legate. This chamber could have been the Legate's private room or study.²⁸⁰ The lodgings for the General Treasurer, Aymeric, included a chapel, and a cupboard for his books, executed in 1359.²⁸¹ The complex included a garden, complete with dovecote.²⁸² Overall, it was a lavishly decorated and enjoyable environment, and it was here that Albornoz resided for long periods.²⁸³ Also in Cesena, Albornoz endowed the conventual churches of S. Giacomo and S. Filippo with 10 ducats towards their building repairs, in March 1359.²⁸⁴

...pictorem B quinque ... magistro venture pct. de Brissia, magistro ligamis. que stesit ad faciendi xdm. altare novum cum magistro Nicolao magistro Tunde de forlio in capella pallatii d.Legati...B vi.'

²⁷⁸ Zavatti (2001), p. 146, and Chauvin (1992), p. 184 mentions as source ASV, IE 287 ff. 206v, 209r, 507r. Filippini (1933) p. 441.

²⁷⁹ ASV, IE 287, fol. 190r: 'finestras impanatas in capella palatii domini Legati'. For comparable use of oiled or waxed cloth and parchment on windows, see Martin (1998), p. 79, fn.155, for *impanate* used in the Papal palace in Anagni in 1299. Alabaster was employed in the Duomo in Orvieto, see *ibid.* p. 79, fn.157.

²⁸⁰ ASV, IE 287 (1362) fol. 222r: 'Item pro iii clavis et una clavatura pro camera picta domini legati xii B..'

²⁸¹ ASV, IE 290, fol. 3r. ASV, IE 291, fol. 100r, ASV, IE 292 fol. 54v refer to the house of the treasurer. IE 292, fol. 93r: 'magistris lignaminum ad faciendam capitellos pro Beschantii pro sollariis pallatior.; magistris lapidu et manegiis qui laboraverunt ad faciendum celum camere inferioris domini thesaurari; magistro silvestro mercator. lignaminum pro x travessis...emp. ab eo, pro capella domini tesaur. que fit in domo sua ad ratione xx pro travisello, et xvii pro colonna per capella.'; fol. 94r: payment to 'magistris lapidum et lignaminum et manegiis qui laboraverunt ad faciendum capella domini thesaur.'; the ceiling was placed soon after, fol. 104r: 'ad faciendum techtium capelle domini thesaurarii et celum camarete dicte capelle.'; ff. 76r, 91r: 'magistris lignaminum et lapidum et manegiis qui laboraverunt ad faciendum armadium domini thesaurarii pro libris suis et ad faciendum celum camere inferiore dicte domus et ad portandum gessum.' Payments to Pietro Cecchi and Rainaldo di Piacenza among others.

²⁸² ASV, IE 287, fol.161.

²⁸³ Zavatti (2001), p. 148. Giovanni Battista Braschi, *Memoriae Caesenates sacrae et profanae per saecula distributae* (Rome: Carolus Testa, 1738), ch. XXI, 28: 'Solebat ibidem ... ipsemet ... frequentius residere.'

²⁸⁴ AA, Vol. II, no. 40, fol. 1r: 'Primo die jobis vii mensi marti anno nativitatem dni.mo. cccclviii ... diedi dno. Johanni Lupi Archidacono de Alarchone q.die m...dni ... ducati x ... storum jacobii et philipi cesen. pro reparatione ecclesie sue.'

In Forlì, Albornoz restored and embellished the Palazzo del Governo, and in 1363 a document refers to a '*camera picta palatii papalis*.'²⁸⁵

2.6. Success and successors

The success Albornoz obtained within a short period of time was embodied in the *Regestum recognitionum et iuramentorum fidelitatis civitatum sub Innocentio VI*, a catalogue of the cities which had sworn allegiance to the Church by 1355, composed in Fermo.²⁸⁶ This compilation was divided in three volumes which were presented to the Pope.²⁸⁷ The frontispiece to the text is decorated across two folios, 6v and 7r (Figs 75, 76). Folio 6v has a half-page miniature representing Cardinal Albornoz receiving the keys of subject cities, the *traditio clavium* (Fig. 75).²⁸⁸ The scene brings to mind the legendary meeting in Viterbo between Urban V and Albornoz in 1367, during which the Cardinal answered the Pope's questions about his achievements in Italy by bringing the keys of all the conquered cities.²⁸⁹ Even though this meeting did not take place (Albornoz died in August 1367 before meeting the Pope), it would have been reasonable to expect some account of the vast expenses brought by the legation. Only the first legation devoured 78.86 % of the Papal income.²⁹⁰ During the pontificate of Innocent VI, a total of 797,701 florins were spent on the Italian campaigns.²⁹¹ In total, 45,000 florins were

²⁸⁵ Filippini (1933), pp. 441-2.

²⁸⁶ ASV, Arm. XXXV, Cod. XX, fol. 47r: 'Que fuerunt acta firm. in Girone in palatio habitationis dicti domini legati in sala ppe. ipsius cameram.'

²⁸⁷ ASV, Arm. XXXV, nos. XIV, XVI, XX. Chauvin (1992), Vol.1, pp. 422-423.

²⁸⁸ Joachim Felix Leonhard, *Ancona nel Basso Medio Evo. La politica estera e commerciale dalla prima crociata al secolo XV* (Ancona: Il Lavoro Editoriale, 1992, first published 1983), p. 186.

²⁸⁹ Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 17r.

²⁹⁰ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 215-216. The reserves of Clement VI had to be used up when the deficit became overwhelming, and Innocent VI was forced to sell precious objects.

²⁹¹ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 244, table no.7.

spent during the legation of Albornoz, between 1356 and 1360-1361, in the reconstruction and repairs of fortresses in Italy.²⁹² Between 1354 and 1358, over 15 fortresses were undergoing repairs.²⁹³

In the *Regestum* frontispiece, Albornoz is represented in the centre, sitting on a cushion on a podium inside a baldachin, with a cloth of honour on the back. A small white dog cuddles up near his feet. It wears a red collar with bells, matching the colour of the cardinals' vestment.²⁹⁴ Dogs are frequently found at the feet of funerary effigies in tomb sculpture, and they are associated with the virtue of loyalty. A similar white dog, also wearing a collar with bells, appears in the *Decretum Gratiani* in the Vatican Library (Fig. 77).²⁹⁵ Perhaps the dog represents Albornoz's loyalty to the Church.

The representation of the enthroned cardinal recalls the iconography of legal texts, for example the illustration on the *Novella in Decretales* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²⁹⁶ This would be a fitting representation for a cardinal who was a legal expert, and for the *Regestum recognitionum*, the official catalogue of the cities subject to the Church.²⁹⁷

²⁹² Ibid., pp. 168, 280; Gualdo (1972), p. 604.

²⁹³ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 192.

²⁹⁴ Dog collars adorned with bells were included in the sale of precious objects that Innocent VI was forced to undertake in 1358 to fund the war campaign in Italy. Müntz and Faucon (1882), p. 222: 'IIIor colaria pro canibus cum xviii campanellis'. A white dog also appears in fol. 2v of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, (hereafter cited as BAV), Urb. Lat. 160, illustrated by Niccolo di Bologna; see Elly Cassee, 'Illustratori bolognesi del Trecento', in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica. Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana. Cortona, 26-28 Maggio 1978*, ed. Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Wadenburg (Florence: Olschki, 1979), pp. 395-418, at p. 404, Fig. 5. In the Chapel of St. Catherine in S. Francesco, Assisi, a similar dog features in the scene representing St. Catherina before Maxentius.

²⁹⁵ BAV, Vat. Lat. 1366, fol. 97r.

²⁹⁶ *Novella in Decretales* by Giovanni d'Andrea, c.1355-1360. Separate leaves are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Ms 331), the National Gallery of Art in Washington (MS B-22225) and the Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms. M. 747), New York, transcribed by Bartolomeo de' Bartoli and illuminated by Niccolò da Bologna, see *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections* (exhibition catalogue, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 3 November 2001-16 December 2001), eds Susan L'Engle and Robert Gibbs (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2001), cat. no. 20, pp. 226-229, p. 226.

²⁹⁷ Susan L'Engle, 'Legal Iconography', in *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections* (2001), pp. 75-104, at p. 80. The figure of authority is emphasized through its position within the group, the elaborate detail of his seat or throne, vestments, and the cushion at the feet.

In the half-page miniature, five men approach Albornoz from the left, offering the keys of the five walled cities which the cardinal holds in his right hand, directly above their heads (see Fig. 75). The decision to accept the authority of the Church over them is represented literally: Albornoz is now in possession of the cities, which he holds over their submissive inhabitants. Leonhard suggested that the represented cities are Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia and Ancona, and identified the figure closest to the cardinal, with a coif and long robe, offering three keys, as Malatesta Guastafamiglia.²⁹⁸ To the left, there is a group of soldiers on horseback, wearing helmets and chain mails. The figure closest to the Cardinal, holding a sceptre and wearing a helmet with an elaborate finial, is probably the captain of the Papal Army and rector of the Marche, the Spaniard Blasco de Belviso.²⁹⁹ The heraldry of the Church (a cross) decorates his horse trappings and chest armour, and is on one of the standards carried by the soldiers. A square banner with the keys of the Church is also seen.

In the background, in the upper right corner, a city rises on a hill. Leonhard suggested that this was meant to be Ancona, where Albornoz placed the headquarters of the Church and where he resided for most of his first legation.³⁰⁰ Indeed, the city walls and the large, fortified building could represent Ancona, but work on the fortress had just started a few months before this manuscript was produced.³⁰¹ In fact, on close inspection, one can make out that the tower has a parapet near the top, and is made up of different modules. It brings to mind Trajan's Column in Rome. Similarly, the strong palace or fortress could be the Papal Palace in San Giovanni in Laterano, or even the Vatican. Between the palace and the column rises the top of

²⁹⁸ Leonhard (1992), pp. 187-188.

²⁹⁹ Chauvin identified these figures as Blasco Fernandez de Belviso and Rodolfo da Camerino. Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 422.

³⁰⁰ Leonhard (1992), p. 187.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187 insisted on Ancona, on the base of payments for work in 1354, in ASV, IE 274, and Natalucci (1955), p. 143. Albornoz entered Ancona in November 1355.

the pointed facade of a church, perhaps one of the Roman basilicas; and, closer to the group of soldiers, a triangular shape, built with distinctive blocks of stone, could be the pyramid of Caius Cestius. The location of the city on a steep hill and the presence of the city walls could also represent any of the many cities which Albornoz had ‘reconquered’, each and all of which could be seen as a symbolic representation of Rome, to which they all belonged, in the eyes of the Pope and his loyal Legate Albornoz.

Folio 7r of the manuscript consists of a full-page introductory text, framed by figurative and heraldic decoration (Fig. 76). On the lower register are three coats of arms. From left to right, the first one contains the heraldry of Innocent VI, with the Papal tiara.³⁰² Next to it, and supported by two angels, is the heraldic device of the Church.³⁰³ The coat of arms to the right is that of Albornoz, crowned by a cardinal’s hat. On the right margin of the page are three figures standing in niches. At the top, St. Peter, with tiara, halo and two keys, St. Paul below holding a sword and a book, with halo, and, lastly, a Pope holding a closed book. The absence of halo and the beard suggest that this is a representation of Innocent VI.³⁰⁴

By 1362, Albornoz had succeeded in regaining control of the Papal State.³⁰⁵ Six years later, his accomplishment was destroyed.³⁰⁶ Peter Partner, challenging the preceding laudatory literature, described the mission of Albornoz as a failure, blaming it on the cardinal’s

³⁰² Donald Lindsay Galbreath, *Papal heraldry* (London: 'Heraldry Today', 1972, 2nd edition, first published 1930), p. 78: gules a lion silver and a bendlet azure, a chief gules sustained by a filet azure and charged with three scallops silver. Galbreath stated that the only contemporary example of the colour scheme is to be seen on the title-page of the Statutes of the Mercers’ Guild of Bologna, in the Museo Civico (either MS. 636 or 365), but the *Regestum* dates from 1355.

³⁰³ Galbreath (1972), p. 4: gules a cross silver, between four pairs of crossed and tied keys all silver.

³⁰⁴ See below, *Chapter 5*, p. 354 and Figure 178 of this Thesis.

³⁰⁵ Marti (1966), p. 15.

³⁰⁶ Paul Lecacheux and Guillaume Mollat, *Urbain V. Lettres secretes et curiales se rapportant à la France, extraites des registres d’Avignon et du Vatican* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1955), no. 2685: ‘cum propter mortalitatum pestes et bellorum excidia terrae istae vacuatae existant.’

authoritarian rule.³⁰⁷ Marti was far more praising of the cardinal, who ‘with selfless devotion, strength, courage, and imagination, and also with subtle cunning and devious machinations, ... succeeded in regaining, at least formally, many towns.’³⁰⁸

Partner made a valid point when he stated that modern historians have approved of Albornoz despite his morally controversial tactics, whilst they disapproved of Androin.³⁰⁹ It is true that Androin sought to find peace at certain costs which Albornoz was not prepared to pay, such as entering negotiations with the Visconti.

Albornoz deserves recognition for having created, secured and maintained a grid of military and residential bases which his successors used. Although he has been singled out as a formidable patron of fortresses, most legates sponsored the creation of new fortifications. Albornoz set up a complex and efficient administrative and financial network of officers, deputies and vicars who contributed to the success of his campaign.³¹⁰ Anglic Grimoard, Pierre d’Estaing and Philippe de Cabassole retained Albornoz’s officers and councillors.³¹¹ Urban V sent his own brother, Anglic Grimoard, to replace Androin de la Roche after the death of Albornoz.³¹² In 1371, Pierre d’Estaing replaced Anglic Grimoard as legate in the eastern Papal State, whilst Philippe de Cabassole controlled the remaining territory and Gerald du Puy, abbot of Marmoutier, was in charge of the finances.³¹³ Jamme highlighted the role played by French cardinals as patrons of architecture in Italy, conceding that Albornoz was ‘the talented initiator of

³⁰⁷ Partner (1972), pp. 354, 357.

³⁰⁸ Marti (1966), pp. 14-15.

³⁰⁹ Partner (1972), p. 446.

³¹⁰ Mollat (1967), p. 48.

³¹¹ Jamme (2003), p. 399.

³¹² Partner (1972), pp. 355-365.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

a political and architectural programme.³¹⁴ Urban V, perhaps spurred on by his return to Italy and the success of Alborno, encouraged Androin de la Roche to erect a fortress in Cento, in the Bolognese diocese, which had been projected by Bertrand du Pouget.³¹⁵ When the Sacred College criticised the performance of Androin in Italy, he argued in his defense that he had secured the erection of two fortresses from the defeated habitants of Terni, at their own expense, in 1357.³¹⁶ While Androin was vicar general in Bologna from 1364 to 1368, he also rebuilt the fortress of Bertinoro and began the construction of a castle in San Giovanni in Persiceto, Bologna.³¹⁷ In 1366, under Androin's mandate, works were under way in the castle of San Felice, the city gates, and the potestá palace, as well as the fortified palace of the legate.³¹⁸

Androin's successor in Italy, the papal legate Anglic Grimoard, saw the completion of the fortress in S. Giovanni in Persiceto.³¹⁹ Anglic Grimoard was an important patron of architecture. In a period of two and a half years he engaged in eight important building projects: he reconstructed the two rocche erected by Alborno in Forli, completed the castles of Jesi and Osimo, began the building of fortresses in Faenza, Urbino, Fabriano and Casteldurante, and rebuilt the fortress in Senigallia. He listed his achievements, and his unfinished projects, in the *Praecepta* manual he left for his successor.³²⁰ Anglic urged his successor to complete his fortress in Faenza.³²¹ Anglic advised his successor to guard the fortification he had built at the

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 400.

³¹⁵ Theiner (1862), doc. CCCXCIII, p. 417.

³¹⁶ Jamme (2003), p. 397.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 400, fn. 124.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 407, fn. 157.

³¹⁹ Theiner (1862), p. 529: 'S. Iohanne in Persiceto, ubi fuerat inceptum unum castrum per dominum meum Cluniacensem in fundamentis, et ego laudabiliter cum magna turre et aliis turrillis feci compleri meo tempore..'

³²⁰ Ibid., pp. 529 (Bologna), 532 (Faenza, Forli), 534 (Urbino), 535 (Casteldurante), 537, 538.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 532: 'Item in dicta civitate Faventie non fuerat usque ad hec tempora casserum sive castrum, propter quod sepe divisiones et rebelliones dicte civitatis contigerunt: ego vero premissa attendens deliberavi fieri unum casserum, et est iam quasi medium, quod erit salus illius civitatis et provincie: recordetur dominus meus, quod casserum illud compleatur, ad evitandum premissa dederam ordinem ... Et supplico dno. meo. in quantum diligit

gates of Bologna and to complete the city walls he had started, as well as to repair the bridge Ilicis.³²² He also requested for the completion of the beautiful fortresses in Urbino and in Casteldurante, which he had started.³²³ Anglic commissioned the castles in Osimo and Jesi.³²⁴ In Fabriano, Anglic built a castle which he proudly considered the most beautiful in the lands of the Church, apart from the fortresses of Ancona and Viterbo. It is noteworthy that he regarded those two buildings to be more magnificent than the fortress of Spoleto. The castle in Fabriano had been planned by Albornoz, but building only began in 1369. As we read in Anglic's description, defensibility was not so much an issue as its beauty: 'Item in that place I ordered to be built from foundations a beautiful castle, and I believe it is the more beautiful in all the Lands of the Church, except those of Ancona and Viterbo. It was built with great effort and expense, it is not yet thoroughly concluded; but it is nearing completion; and the former were commissioned by my lord, who passed away.'³²⁵

The *rocca* of Urbino, which has been previously linked to the patronage of Cardinal Albornoz, was only begun in 1370, and was commissioned by Anglic Grimoard.³²⁶ Anglic was proud of the role he had played as a patron of fortresses who had contributed to the secure control of the Lands of the Church, and he ensured that his successor would be fully aware of his

honorem domini nostri et statum ecclesie, quod provideat, ut dictum cassarum compleatur...' For dating, Jamme (2003), p. 395, fn. 94.

³²² Theiner (1862), p. 529.

³²³ Urbino: 'in uno pulcro cassaro, quod feci fieri, est reducta: cassarum est pulchrum et in fortalicium positum, supplico dno. meo, ut perficiatur, habeat illud recommendatum'. Casteldurante: 'in quo castro feci meo tempore fieri unam pulchram roccham propter securitatem dicti castri et provincie: que roccha est in fortitudine nondum tamen completa, ipsam dno. meo, ut compleatur, recommendo, et modica restant ad complendum'. Theiner (1862), pp. 534-535.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 538: 'civitas Auximana, ubi est pulchrum et forte castrum, quod tempore meo fieri feci ... civitas Esii, que habet cassarum bonum, et quem fieri feci tempore meo.' Cf. Jamme (2003), p. 400, fn. 125.

³²⁵ 'Item in eodem loco feci fieri a fundamentis unum pulchrum castrum, et credo esse pulchrius in omnibus terris ecclesie, duobus exceptis Ancona et Viterbio: fuit factum cum magnis laboribus et expensis, nondum autem penitus perfectum, sed in consumatione est, et illud faciet fieri dnus. meus, qui bravium accipiet.' Theiner (1862), p. 537. For date of commencement, see Jamme (2003), p. 394.

³²⁶ Jamme (2003), pp. 394, 400.

achievements. The French legate and cardinal Pierre d'Estaing commissioned the erection of the fortress of Todi and executed the fortress in Perugia ordered by the Pope in 1371.³²⁷ Thus, the successors of Albornoz in Italy continued his campaign of fortress-building.

Conclusion

The fortresses embodied the power of the Papacy, playing a role as psychological 'weapons'; they perpetuated the domination of previous 'tyrants' and therefore were attacked by the rebellious population and destroyed. This was the case in Viterbo, Perugia, Città di Castello, and Ascoli, during the uprisings in 1375 and 1376, and Ancona in 1387.³²⁸ Despite the significant efforts of the papal legates, and the heavy financial investment in these campaigns, the domination of the Church was not long-lasting.

The erection of fortresses was not just part of the political programme. They responded to a real defensive need, and any embellishment was superfluous- particularly taking into account the restricted financial conditions that Albornoz had to face. He had to recur to lending cash from his own sources, and even pawned his personal jewellery to fund some of the war costs; for example while he was struggling to recover Orvieto or Perugia.³²⁹ Building of fortresses was the chief destination of the funds available to Albornoz. During the period 1353 and 1360, Albornoz used 1,504,000 florins to fund the military campaigns, and 45,000 in

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 401. For Perugia, Schäfer (1937), p. 383; Duprè-Theseider (1938), pp. 84-8.

³²⁸ Jamme (2003), pp. 412-413, fns. 179, 184.

³²⁹ Consalvo Dottarelli, *Storia di Bolsena, con speciali riguardi per la valle del lago e le isole* (Orvieto: Tipografia Rubeca, Scaletti & Scarmiglia, 1928), p. 237. Filippini (1896b), doc. 41, p. 504. Filippini (1933), pp. 12, 228, 252, 364.

building works of fortresses.³³⁰ These were by far the costliest buildings of their time, and set up precedents for the Renaissance castles.

The fortresses Alborno commissioned were the perfect combination of fort and residence; their defensive capabilities equipped them to resist new methods and tools of siege craft, whilst providing comfortable accommodation for the body of servants, soldiers, officers, and temporary guests.

The influence of the Papal Palace in Avignon, which Clement VI envisaged as a ‘new Rome’ must have been an important component of the fortresses and palaces built by Alborno.³³¹ The Papal Palace was the seat of government, but it had a defensive character. The fortress of Ancona was, like Spoleto, a fortified palace with a double courtyard. The older section of the Palais des Papes in Avignon, built by Benedict XII between 1335 and 1342 on the site of the Episcopal palace, was an austere building regarding sculptural decoration and beamed floors; it was decorated with frescoes under Clement VI.³³² The Grand Audience and the Great Chapel above it were started in 1345 and completed in 1351.³³³ Innocent VI limited his input to reinforcing sections of the building.³³⁴

Essentially, the buildings that sprung up in the Land of St. Peter were residences for members of the Church, which required a chapel. Yet they had to be equipped as strongholds in a hostile land, and offer a safe –but comfortable enough- environment for the fulfilment of administrative, political and social functions. The residential purpose of this magnificent building illustrates the symbolic role of these castles. Their defensiveness was as assured as was

³³⁰ Gualdo (1972), pp. 577-607, p. 604.

³³¹ Wood (2002), pp. 43-73; for Nova Roma and parallels with Roman basilicas, pp. 71-73.

³³² Gagnière (1975), pp. 15-64.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

their residential character. The enticing description of the fortress of Ancona recalled the green spaces and the lavish decorations, and Oddo di Biagio was in awe of the tall crenellated buildings. These were buildings adequate to the social and political status of a cardinal, and were fit for a Pope. The fortress was Albornoz's residence for long periods, and provided him and his retinue with a safe and comfortable environment.

The role played by papal legates in Italy was remembered not only through the fortresses they commissioned. In Terni, the archbishop's palace has a room decorated with the coats of arms of papal legates including Bertrand de Déaux (although with inverted colours) and Albornoz (Figs 78, 79).³³⁵

³³⁵ The inversion of the colours of Bertrand's heraldry is also seen in fol. 294r of BAV, Cod. Cap. S. Pietro B 63.

Chapter 3

Piety and Learning: The legacy of Albornoz in Italy

This chapter examines the artistic patronage of Albornoz in religious and secular institutions in Italy, with a particular focus on his funerary chapel at Assisi. During his first Italian legation, Albornoz had little time to indulge in artistic commissions, and his priority was to regain control of the Lands of St. Peter, moving incessantly as he secured its territory, and ordering the erection of fortified residences and castles. As soon as his mission was accomplished, he commissioned the work of local architects and painters to embellish the buildings in Ancona, Spoleto, and Cesena, and to turn them into places suited to the status of a papal legate and vicar. In his will, drafted in 1364, the cardinal established the foundation of a residential college for Spanish students in Bologna, together with monetary contributions to religious houses in Ancona and Assisi. When Albornoz died three years later, in 1367, he was buried in the chapel of St. Catherine in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi. As noted above, Albornoz's testamentary executors entrusted the decoration of his funerary chapel to the Umbrian architect Matteo de Gattapone and the Bolognese painter Andrea de' Bartoli, who had both previously worked for the cardinal.

3.1. Ancona

Albornoz ordered in his will the construction of a chapel in the cathedral of Ancona. Having chosen the dedication to St. Clement, the cardinal delegated on others its actual execution and location: 'Item I wish and order that a chapel in honour of St. Clement martyr be

built in the cathedral church of Ancona, in a place to be determined by the Bishop with his Chapter, and the executors of my will.’¹

Albornoz’s endowment coincided with the rebuilding campaign of the east end of the cathedral, when two side chapels were added and the high altar was remodelled.² The new high altar was consecrated in 1306.³ The current chapel of St. Lawrence, to the right of the high altar, has been linked to the foundation of Albornoz.⁴ It has a rib vault and a fourteenth-century depiction of St. James of Compostela on the wall. In the meeting of the testamentary executors of Albornoz, held in Bologna in May 1368, Gomez Garcia de Albornoz was charged with the appointment of the chaplains; it was also established that should he die without descent, he would be succeeded by Fernando Sancho de Moya, the castellan of the fortress of Ancona.⁵ The chapel was altered when it was adapted in the fifteenth century as the burial chapel of the Bonincasa family.⁶ Two coats of arms of Albornoz survive in the cathedral: one is found on the back of the arcade over the high altar and another is located on the external wall of the apse (Figs 80, 81).⁷

Albornoz also left in his will 100 florins to the Dominican and Augustinian friars, and double that amount to the Franciscan convent, as a contribution toward the completion of the refectory and chapter house of their convent: ‘Item, I leave 100 florins to the preacher friars of

¹ Appendix I, lines 40-41; Sepúlveda (1780), XXIX.

² Plan in Celso Battaglioni, *Basilica Cattedrale di San Ciriaco. Millenario della fondazione* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997), p. 13. Natalucci (1955), p. 146, fn 1. Mario Natalucci, *Visita al Duomo di S. Ciriaco e breve itinerario della città di Ancona* (Città di Castello: Unioni Arte Grafiche, 1958), pp. 31, 35, 42.

³ Cesare Posti, *Guida storico-artistica del duomo di Ancona* (Jesi: Unione Tipografica Jesina, 1912), pp. 32-35.

⁴ Battaglioni (1997), p. 35.

⁵ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 75v-76r: ‘volumus ordinamus et declaramus quod capella que construitur in Ecclesia sancti Chiriaci de Anchona doctetur in redditibus sicut alie que sunt constructe in Civitate Anconitana e quod presentatio Capellani ad hujusmodi Capellaniam cum sacaverit spectet et pertinere ac spectare et pertinere debeat ad magnificum militem dominum Gomecium Garsie de Albornocio...’

⁶ Battaglioni (1997), p. 35.

⁷ Natalucci (1955), p. 146, fn. 1. Cf. Battaglioni (1997), p. 37.

Ancona for the fabric of their church. Item, I leave 100 florins to the hermit friars of Ancona. Item, I leave 200 florins to the minorite friars of Ancona for the completion of the refectory and chapter house of their monastery.⁸

The amount donated to the Franciscans constituted a sizeable bequest.⁹ The refectory and chapter house of S. Francesco delle Scale (which had been rebuilt in 1323 by Niccoló degli Ungari) did not survive the radical alteration of the building in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Communal spaces in Mendicant convents could be richly decorated, for example, in Florence, the chapter house or ‘Spanish Chapel’ in the Dominican church of S. Maria Novella, frescoed by Andrea Bonaiuti c.1366-1368, or the refectory in the Franciscan church of S. Croce, painted by Taddeo Gaddi c.1340-1350.¹¹ No evidence survives that illustrates how the 200 florins were spent. The Augustinian and Dominican churches in Ancona were either demolished in the eighteenth century or radically renovated.¹²

3.2. Assisi

3.2.1. Donations to San Francesco

Albornoz left to the Convent of San Francesco a silver statuette of the Virgin and three valuable ‘*tapeta*’: ‘Item I order and command that an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which weighs thirty marks, is to be given to the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi, as well as three large

⁸ Appendix I, line 41; Sepúlveda (1780), XXX-XXXII. Cf. Saracini (1675), Libro IX, p. 208: ‘centum Florenos pro complemento Refectorii, & Capituli sui Conventus decem Florenos.’

⁹ Saracini (1675), Libro IX, p. 308. Michele Buglioni, *Istoria del convento di S. Francesco dell’Ordine de Minori d’Ancona* (Ancona: Stamperia di Pietro Ferri, 1795), p. 46.

¹⁰ By 1795, the chapter house was adapted as a study room and the refectory was being used as store for grain. Buglioni (1795), pp. 34, 41.

¹¹ Julian Gardner, ‘Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella’, *Art History* 2 (1979), pp. 107-138. For S. Croce, see White (1993), p. 418 and fig. 253.

¹² Buglioni (1795), pp. 46, 183.

tapeta of mine, that is, the one which was purchased in Ancona for sixty ducats, the one which belonged to lord Albertaccio, and one of the two larger ones decorated with my heraldry.’¹³

Like a great deal of the contents of the treasury of San Francesco, these objects have not survived; the monastery has suffered important losses of archival documents and the looting of the treasury.¹⁴ The oldest preserved inventory of the sacristy dates from 1338, followed by inventories of the treasury in 1370, 1430 and 1473; they constitute our most valuable source of information.¹⁵ The donation of the image (*ymago*) of the Virgin Mary specified its weight, albeit not the material. The inventory of 1370 provided this information, stating that it was made of gilt silver: ‘Item, another image of the Blessed Virgin with [her]Son in [her] arms, made of silver, gilt; which lord Egidius cardinal and bishop of Sabina, [who is] buried in the chapel of Saint Catherine, donated.’¹⁶ The image was therefore a silver statuette, and is last mentioned in the 1473 inventory.¹⁷ The partial inventory of the Papal Treasury in 1303, under Benedict XI, included a box which contained a gilt silver figure of the Virgin with the Child in her arms.¹⁸

¹³ Appendix I, lines 38-39; Sepúlveda (1780), XXV.

¹⁴ Umberto Gnoli, ‘Il Tesoro di San Francesco d’Assisi’, *Dedalo* VII (1921), pp. 421-441, VIII (1922), pp. 555-579. Cristofani (1959), Libro 6, Vol. II, p. 334. Silvestro Nessi ed., *Inventario e Regesti dell’Archivio del Sacro Convento d’Assisi* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1991), p. XXXIII.

¹⁵ Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 337. The inventories were transcribed and published in 1914 by Leto Alessandri and Francesco Pennacchi, ‘I più antichi Inventari della Sacristia del Sacro Convento di Assisi (1338-1473)’, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* VII (1914), pp. 66-107, 294-340.

¹⁶ Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), Inventory of 1370, no. 33: ‘Item alia ymago beate Virginis cum Filio in brachiis, de argento, inaurata; quam dedit dominus Egidius cardinalis et episcopo Sabinensis, sepulti (sic) in capella sancte Catherine.’ Inventory of 1430, no. 45: ‘In primis una ymago beate Marie Virginis cum Filio in brachiis, de argento inaurato; quam dedit dominus Egidius cardinalis.’

¹⁷ Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), Inventory of 1473, no. 51: ‘una ymago beate Virginis cum Filio in brachiis, de argento inaurato; quam dedit dominus Egidius cardinalis.’ Cf. Silvestro Nessi, *La basilica di S.Francesco in Assisi e la sua documentazione storica* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1994, 2nd edition, first published 1982), p. 396 stated that the statuette had an amber rosary, but this information is very likely a later addition to the inventory.

¹⁸ Pietro Luigi Galletti, *Del Vestarario della Santa Romana Chiesa Discorso* (Rome: Giovanni Generoso Salomoni, 1758), p. 70: ‘una cassetta in qua est ymago B.Virginis cum filio in brachio de arg. deaurato.’

The three ‘*tapeta*’ that Albornoz had donated in his will are not identified in any inventory as his donation.¹⁹ Rugs, tapestries or draperies, which could be laid on floors and hung on walls, were an essential part of a comfortable environment and easily portable. These costly textiles were included in wills and inventories.²⁰ In September 1359, Alfonso Martini noted in his account book the disbursement of thirty-two and a half ducats to the son of Albertaccio, to complete the payment for some tapestries.²¹ Lord Albertaccio can be identified as Albertaccio de’ Ricasole, a Florentine member of the household of Albornoz and later promoted to the vicariate in Ancona.²² Cardinal Albornoz was represented kneeling on a brightly coloured rug with geometrical patterns, which could perhaps be interpreted as a reference to his munificence, in the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi (Fig. 82).

The 1370 inventory of the treasury in Assisi included a chasuble, a dalmatic, a tunic and thirteen dossals which were identified as having belonged to Albornoz. These liturgical textiles were not mentioned in his will, and were probably donated by the cardinal during his lifetime: ‘In the second box are a chasuble, a dalmatic and a shirt red and gilt, which belonged to lord Egidius, cardinal. ... Inside another box, to the right, is a dossal of red *tartaricum*, with circles, gilt, which belonged to lord Egidius, cardinal and bishop of Sabina ... Also, in that very place is a dossal of *tartaricum*, with a violet field, with various gilt birds ... Also, in that very place is another dossal similar to this one, with various gilt animals; which belonged to lord Egidius cardinal of Sabina. ... Item in the aforesaid compartment are ten dossals, [made] of very fine

¹⁹ Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), Inventory of 1473, no. 241: ‘In primis tappeta magna III.’

²⁰ In 1340, Matteo Orsini donated his four best draperies to his nephew Teobaldo. Forte (1967), p. 257: ‘quatuor de tappetis suis, videlicet, meliora’. An inventory in Toledo Cathedral lists ‘dos tapetes que dio el arzobispo don ximeno a las armas de don johan manuel. Item dos alfombras alas armas de don johan manuel’, ‘un tapete viejo delas armas del arzobispo don gutierre’, ACT, X.12.B.1.2, 2a, ff. 19r, 20v.

²¹ Filippini (1903), doc. 81, p. 56: ‘Item, die Dominico XV mensis Septembris, dedi Anthonio, filio domini Alberti de Ricasulis, de pretio tapetiorum quod restabat sibi recuperandum, duc. XXXII cum dimidio’.

²² Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 355, 481. Liotta and Nardi (1979), p. 199, doc. 198.

wool cloth, with circles in which appear the coats of arms of lord Egidius cardinal, and they are in a sack with a label [attached].²³

Nessi suggested that the ten dossals were allocated to each of the ten minor altars in the Lower Church.²⁴ The 1473 inventory, which included all the items mentioned in 1370, is the last documented evidence of their presence in Assisi.²⁵ None of these objects has survived.

3.2.2. Chapel of St. Catherine

The chapel of St. Catherine, in the entrance transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco, was the temporary burial place of Cardinal Albornoz (Fig. 83).²⁶ The absence of building records poses difficulties for the dating of architecture and decoration of the church of

²³ Alessandri and Pennachi (1914), Inventory of 1370, nos. 95, 160, 177, 178, 204: 'In secunda tabula sunt planeta, dalmatica et tonicella rubea inaurata; que fuerunt domini Egidii cardinalis ... Intus in alia tabula, ad manum dexteram, est unum dossale tartaricum rubeum, cum compassis, deauratum; quod fuit domini Egidii cardinalis et episcopi Sabinensis ... Item ibidem est unum dossale tartaricum, cum campo violato baldachino, cum avibus deauratis combinatis. Item ibidem est aliud dossale simile huic, cum animalibus combinatis et deauratis; que fuerunt domini Egidii cardinalis Sabinensis ... Item in dicto fundo sunt decem dossalia, de nobilissimo panno laneo, cum compassibus, in quibus sunt arma domini Egidii cardinalis, et sunt in quodam sacullo, cum sua superscriptione.' *Tartaricum* is a type of cloth; see Inventory of 1370, no. 219: 'Item planeta antique, de tartarico opera, et rubea.' See Inventory of 1430, no. 120 'In secunda tabula sunt planeta, dalmatica et tonicella rubea inaurata, et in planeta fimbrie de auro cum mediis figures; que fuerunt domini Egidii cardinalis'; no. 175: 'Item ibidem est aliud dossale tartaricum rubeum, cum compassis, deauratum; quod fuit domini Egidii cardinalis'; no. 191: 'Item duo dossalia pro mortuis, de tartarico violato baldachino: quorum unum est cum avibus combinatis, aliud cum animalibus combinatis et deauratis; que misit dominus Egidius cardinalis'; no. 198: 'Item novem dossalia de panno bruno, cum compassibus et armis domini Egidii cardinalis, pro altaribus parvis.' The 1473 inventory provides a more detailed description; no. 127: 'In secunda tabula sunt planeta, dalmatica et tunicella, in quibus est littera C, rubea inaurata, et un planeta fimbriis de auro cum mediis figuris; que fuerunt domini Egidii cardinalis'; no. 184: 'Item aliud dossale tartaricum rubeum, cum compassis, deauratum; quod fuit domini Egidii cardinalis. Littera E'; no. 207: 'Item novem dossalia de panno bruno, cum armis domini Egidii cardinalis, pro altaribus parvis. AD.' By 1473, two of the dossals had been lost, see *Ibid.*, p. 103, fn. 1.

²⁴ Nessi (1994), p. 396.

²⁵ Alessandri and Pennachi (1914), Inventory of 1473, nos. 51, 127, 184, 207.

²⁶ The current church of San Francesco is built on an east to west axis. Giuseppe Rocchi, *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. Interpretazione e rilievo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), pp. 15, 31-33. This thesis refers to the liturgical cardinal points rather than the accurate geographical ones.

San Francesco in Assisi, founded in 1253.²⁷ Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga wrote between 1570 and 1580 a description of the church which, despite its errors, remains a useful tool.²⁸ In this, he stated that Alborno had erected the chapel of St. Catherine, and later historians perpetuated the belief that the chapel was built in the mid-fourteenth century.²⁹ The chronological sequence of the side chapels which were opened in the nave of the Lower Church between the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century has been disputed.³⁰ The first chapel to be added was probably that of St. Nicholas, in the right of the eastern transept, which was completed by 1306.³¹ It was commissioned by the cardinal of S. Adriano Napoleone Orsini (d.1342) as a funerary chapel for his brother Gian Gaetano (d.1294?). On the opposite end of the transept, Napoleone had another chapel built for himself, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and completed by 1312.³² The two brothers are represented on the upper west wall of the chapel of St. Nicholas, being presented to Christ by Sts. Nicholas and Francis.³³ The architecture of the Orsini chapels and the chapel of St. Martin, on the north wall of the nave, influenced the design of the chapel of St. Catherine, with a pentagonal apse, pierced by three lancet windows with stained

²⁷ No accounting books for the building of the church survive from before 1359. Frank Martin, *Le vetrate di San Francesco in Assisi. Nascita e sviluppo di un genere artistico in Italia. Il miracolo di Assisi. Collana storico-artistica della basilica e del sacro convento di S. Francesco, Assisi*, 9 (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1998), pp. 15, 118. Nessi (1991), pp. X-XI.

²⁸ Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 148. Pietro Scarpellini published and commented the text in 1982. Pietralunga (1982).

²⁹ Pietralunga (1982), pp. 32, 36.

³⁰ Martin (1998), pp. 95-107; Pietralunga (1982), pp. 205-208; Irene Hueck, 'Die Kapellen der Basilika San Francesco in Assisi: die Auftraggeber und die Franziskaner', in *Patronage and Public in the Trecento: Proceedings of the St.Lambrecht Symposium, Abtei St. Lambrecht, Styria 16-19 July, 1984*, ed. V Moleta (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1986), pp. 81-104. Simon Robin, 'Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi', *The Burlington Magazine* CXVIII, no. 879 (June 1976), pp. 361-366, at p. 361, suggested that the chapel of the Magdalen was the earliest. For an overview of the bibliography regarding the dating of the chapel of St. Catherine, see Pietralunga (1982), pp. 190-196. Volpe (2002), pp. 310-311.

³¹ Hueck (1986), p. 88. Martin (1998), pp. 96-98 and Cesare Cenci OFM, *Documentazione di vita assisana, 1300-1530. Volume I. 1300-1448* (Grottaferrata-Rome: Collegi S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1974), p. 45.

³² Pietralunga (1982), pp. 66-68, 78-80. Martin (1998), p. 96, and Hueck (1986), pp. 88-90. Cf. Jürgen Wiener, *Die Bauplastik von San Francesco in Assisi* (Werl and Westfalen: Dietrich-Coelde, 1991), pp. 230-238.

³³ Hueck (1986), pp. 88-90. For inscription identifying figures, see Igino Benvenuto Supino, 'La cappella di Gian Gaetano Orsini nella basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi', *Bollettino d'Arte* VI (1926) July, pp. 131-135, at p. 131.

glass. Thode pointed out that the structural similarities between this chapel and others in the Lower Church indicate that they date from the same period, c.1300, and the stained-glass windows date from the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁴ Thode, rejecting the then prevailing opinion, limited the input of Alborno's patronage to the decoration of the chapel.³⁵ In 1911, Francesco Filippini unearthed documents in the Collegio di Spagna relating to payments to Matteo Gattapone and Andrea de' Bartoli for work in the chapel, and insisted on the role of Alborno in the construction of the chapel, which he dated 1362-68, including the stained-glass windows.³⁶ The date suggested by Hueck for the architecture of the chapel, between 1310 and 1320, is completely acceptable.³⁷ Martin has recently established the dating of the stained glass in the chapel to between 1320 and 1325.³⁸ Thus, the stylistic study of the architecture and stained glass windows, and the interpretation of the documentary evidence, confirm what Thode had first suggested in 1885. Nonetheless, a surprisingly high number of authors still accept Filippini's dating and attribution.³⁹

The chapel of St. Catherine is the only one in the Lower Church without side walls framing its entrance archway, and the steps that lead to it are much lower than those in the other side chapels (Fig. 84).⁴⁰ Two small windows were opened at an unknown date on the upper side

³⁴ Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Berlin: Grote, 1926, 3rd edition, first published 1885), pp. 299-301. Scarpellini agreed with Thode and Marchini, see Pietralunga (1982), pp. 190-191. Cf. Nessi (1994), p. 345, Hueck (1986), p.103.

³⁵ Thode (1926), p. 299.

³⁶ Francesco Filippini, 'Andrea da Bologna, miniatore e pittore del sec. XIV', *Bollettino d'Arte* V (1911), pp. 50-62.

³⁷ Hueck (1986), p. 103.

³⁸ Martin (1998), pp. 324-325. For dating, Frank Martin, 'Cappella di santa Caterina d'Alessandria. Vetrate (1320-1325)', in Giorgio Bonsanti ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), Vol. 2- Testi: Schede, pp. 315-320.

³⁹ After Filippini: Rocchi (1982), pp. 35, 72; Piana (1972), p. 510; Mario Dal Mas, 'Contributo alla conoscenza dell'architetto Matteo (di Giovannello) Gattapone da Gubbio', *Bollettino del Centro Studi Storia dell'Architettura* 30 (1983), pp. 34-41, at p. 35; Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 91.

⁴⁰ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 164 suggested that the side walls were demolished during the alteration of the chapel as burial place of Alborno. Luigi Carattoli, Mariano Guardabassi and Giovanni Battista Rossi-Scotti, 'Descrizioni del santuario di S. Francesco d'Assisi (1863)', *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XVIII

walls, close to the arch, for better lighting.⁴¹ Attached columns and colonettes rise from the floor to the six-ribbed vault, the key of which is decorated with two human heads, one male and one female. Human heads also appear in the key stones of the vaults in the chapels of St. Nicholas, St. Anthony Abbot, St. Martin and St. John the Baptist.⁴² Both the external wall and the lower section of the internal wall are faced with pink Subasio stone slabs, framed by white strips of the same stone.⁴³ A small sacristy opens on the north wall of the chapel, and there seems to have been a door on the south wall which led to the cemetery.⁴⁴

The three apse windows are filled with stained glass representing a total of eighteen figures of saints, standing on flat platforms and identified with inscriptions (Fig. 85).⁴⁵ The windows were probably executed by Giovanni di Bonino.⁴⁶ Martin pointed out the stylistic similarities between the stained glass windows in this chapel and those in the chapel of St. Louis, and he dated the windows in the chapel of St. Catherine to before 1325.⁴⁷ The absence of references to Cardinal Alborno in the glass windows reinforces this dating. Whilst the windows in the Orsini chapels feature the patron and his family coats of arms, and the windows of the

(1925), pp. 91-227, at pp. 134-38 listed the measurements of the chapel: 7,77 metres long, 7,21 metres wide, and the marble lining of wall 3,16 metres. Measurements of the painted scenes of the cycle, obscured by dirt in 1863, vary between 2,90-3,30 metres height x 2,70-2 metres width, *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

⁴¹ Rocchi (1982), p. 72.

⁴² Enrica Neri Lusanna, 'Cappella di santa Caterina d'Alessandria. Maestranza umbra. Capitelli e chiavi di volta (secondo decennio del sec. XIV)', in Giorgio Bonsanti ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), Vol. 2. Testi: Schede, pp. 320-321. See figure 165 in *Ibid.*, Volume 3: Atlante for St. Anthony Abbot.

⁴³ Pietralunga (1982), p. 190. Rocchi (1982), p. 17.

⁴⁴ Carattoli, Guardabassi and Rossi-Scotti (1925), p. 138.

⁴⁵ Giuseppe Marchini, *Le Vetrate dell'Umbria. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. Italia. Vol. I* (Rome: De Luca, 1973), pp. 137-147. Martin (1998), pp. 118-120, 143-148, 324-331.

⁴⁶ Carlo Fea, *Descrizione ragionata della Sagrosanta Patriarcal Basilica e cappella papale di S.Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1820), p. 11. Martin (1998), p. 118.

⁴⁷ Martin (1998), pp. 105, 144-148, 171-176.

chapels of St. Martin and St. Louis include the kneeling donors, those in the chapel of St. Catherine contain neither heraldry nor a representation of a donor.⁴⁸

The central window, divided in two panes, shows the Virgin and Child facing St. Catherine of Alexandria on the uppermost level; below, St. Agnes and St. Lucy, and, in the lowest register, St. Francis and St. Clare. The left window shows St. Cecilia facing St. Mary Salome (?), below, St. Tecla and St. Margaret, and in the lowest register, St. Anthony of Padua and St. Petronilla.⁴⁹ The right window shows in the left pane a female saint, facing St. Mary Magdalen (?); below, St. Giuliana of Bologna (?) next to St. Agatha and, on the lowest register, a female saint and St. Louis of Toulouse, stepping on a crown.⁵⁰ The three male saints are Franciscan: the founder of the Order, his close follower St. Anthony, and St. Louis. The predominance of female saints (thirteen, plus the Virgin Mary, out of eighteen figures) might perhaps indicate that the chapel was used by a female congregation.⁵¹ Martin suggested that the female branch of the Tertiary Franciscans worshipped here, and that a small altarpiece in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, painted by Puccio Capanna, may have belonged to this chapel (Fig. 86).⁵² This panel represents the Virgin and Child and eight female saints. Seven of these saints are also present on the windows of the chapel: Agnes, Lucy, Catherine, Mary Magdalen, Margaret, Clare and Agatha. The eighth saint is Elizabeth of Hungary, the patron saint of the Tertiary Order

⁴⁸ Martin (1998), pp. 117, 189, 291-296 and plates 202, 231, 238, 245, 283, 292. For the Orsini chapels, see Marchini (1973), pp. 100-102. Below the figure of Napoleone Orsini on the stained glass, an inscription reads: D [ominus] NEAP[o]L[ius] Q[ue]. CA[r]DI[nal]. FEC[erunt] F[i]CRI. H[oc]. OPUS.

⁴⁹ Martin (1998) p. 327 identified the saint facing Cecily as Mary Salome. The inscription reads 'S.MA..' and there is another Magdalen on window B-I., with the inscription 'S. MAR...A M...'

⁵⁰ Martin (1998), pp. 329-331. Marchini (1973), p. 143 identified only St. Louis of Toulouse, the Magdalen and St. Agatha (?).

⁵¹ St. Catherine also appears on the window of the left transept of the Upper Church, c. 1275, with other enthroned virgin saints, including Sts. Lucy, Agatha, Clare, Margaret, Barbara, Agnes and Cecily, identified with inscriptions. Martin (1998), ill. 93, nos. 70-73, 75-77, pp. 258-260.

⁵² Frank Martin, 'Exemplum mulierum und ordo continentium. Zu Dedikation und Function der Katharinenkapelle in der Unterkirche von San Francesco in Assisi', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* XLIV/1 (2000), pp. 79-105. The presence of a female congregation in the Lower Church –in an unspecified chapel– is documented in December 1342 and September 1358; Cenci (1974), pp. 92, 125.

together with St. Clare.⁵³ Martin suggested that a cross in the treasury of San Francesco, decorated with an enamel plaque representing the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, may have formed part of the liturgical furnishings of the chapel.⁵⁴ Other Mendicant churches had chapels reserved for female congregation, such as the Cappella delle Volte in S. Domenico at Siena and the Cappella Rucellai, in the south transept of S. Maria Novella in Florence.⁵⁵ In Assisi, the only two chapels dedicated to female saints in the church, Mary Magdalen and Catherine, are on the liturgical south wall. Hueck convincingly argued that the iconographical programme took into account issues of gender and that there was an intention to provide role models for the female congregation: the Magdalen being a repentant sinner, and Catherine a virtuous young girl who was the bride of Christ.⁵⁶ As Martin pointed out, the close relationship that these two saints developed with Jesus made them particularly appealing to the Franciscans.⁵⁷ The life of St. Catherine, who became *sponsa Christi* in a domestic surrounding, illustrated how to lead an exemplary life to young girls who found it easier to relate to a saint in a secular, rather than a monastic or heremital, setting.⁵⁸ There is nothing to suggest that Albornoz held a particular devotion for St. Catherine, although she was a very popular saint across Europe throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. If Albornoz did not dedicate the chapel to either of his cardinal title saints (St. Clement or St. Sabinus), it was because the dedication to St. Catherine was long standing. Martin suggested that the chapel had been previously used as a funerary

⁵³ The crossing vault of S. Chiara in Assisi includes depictions of Sts. Clare and her sister, Agnes, Lucy, Cecily, Catherine and Margaret. Martin (1998), p. 44.

⁵⁴ Martin (2000), p. 98. Patricia Lurati in *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 16 March 1999-27 June 1999), eds. Giovanni Morello and Laurence B. Kanter (Milan: Electa, 1999), cat. no. 50, p. 171, catalogued it as a French composite reliquary from the first half of the 14th century, donated by Cardinal Tommaso Orsini. A relic of St. Catherine's hair appears in the 1430 inventory of the treasury, see Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), p. 314, item 25.

⁵⁵ Martin (2000), pp. 99-100.

⁵⁶ Hueck (1986), p. 103.

⁵⁷ Martin (2000), pp. 86-87.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

space for female Franciscan Tertiaries.⁵⁹ The dedication to St. Catherine, a virgin martyr, would be appropriate for a chapel used by female Tertiaries, who outnumbered male members of this Order in Assisi.⁶⁰ In her testament of 12 April 1341, Pucciarella di Bonincontro left 10 pounds for the new cemetery of Tertiaries to be built in San Francesco.⁶¹ Members of this Order could also be buried inside the church, in the vicinity of the chapel of St. Catherine.⁶² In 1343, Dialta di Gualterio requested burial in San Francesco and relinquished 100 pounds in his testament ‘for the building works of a new chapel in the church of blessed Francis of Assisi for the religious sisters.’⁶³

Albornoz followed the established custom amongst cardinals regarding burial requests, which consisted of specifying a favoured place but providing alternative options. He requested to be buried in the Franciscan church, or, if that was not possible, in the most prominent church of the city where he should die, if he happened to be away from Italy. If he were to die in Italy he chose Assisi for burial, which suggests that he had discussed it with the friars and had obtained Papal permission. Albornoz did not specify a chapel or a particular position within San Francesco, in contrast with the instructions for burial in Toledo: ‘Item, I wish, establish and order that my funeral and exequies are to be held in the church of Saint Francis confessor of the Order

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 79-105.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 97: of the 48 novices registered in 1304, only 8 were male.

⁶¹ ‘cimitero novo Continentium fiendo in loco sancti Francisci de Asisio pro opere dicti cemeterij decem libras denariorum pro anima sua ... Ordini Continentium mulierum pro orationibus pro anima sua XX soldos denariorum’, Assisi, Archivio del Convento, Reg. nr. 128, quoted by Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika S. Francesco im Assisi* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1915-1928), Vol. I, p. 40; Vol. III, pp. 79-80. Cf. Nessi (1991), p. 114, no. 370. For burial of women in San Francesco, see Nessi (1991), p. 100 (no. 291, dated 1326), p. 108 (no. 331, dated 1335), p. 113, nos. 366, 370 (dated 1341), p. 114 (no. 375, dated 1341), p. 115 (no. 381, dated 1342, Tertiary member Suor Tizia del fu Francescone), p. 116 (no. 387, dated 1343), p. 122 (no. 423, dated 1347), p. 125 (no. 442, dated 1348, Giovanna di Petriolo requested burial in the cemetery).

⁶² Nessi (1994), p. 455.

⁶³ ‘reliquid de bonis suis pro anima sua centum libras denariorum pro opera nove cappelle fiende in ecclesia beati Francisci de Assisio per dominas sorores continentis.’ Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, Archivio del Convento di S. Francesco, Miscellanea d’istrumenti 1294-1408, Vol. X, n. 16, quoted by Filippini (1910), p. 55, fn. 2. Cf. transcription by Cenci (1974), p. 93, 30 January 1343. Nessi (1994), p. 455 stated that the document refers to the concession of the chapel to the Tertiaries.

of the friars minor in the city, land or place in which I happen to die: and if there were no such church of Saint Francis confessor in the city, land, or place where I happen to die, I wish and order that my exequies are to be held in the most solemn church of the same city, land or place in which the journey of my body comes to its end. Item, I wish, establish and order, that if I happen to die in Italy, my body is to be buried in the church of Saint Francis at Assisi, to be deposited and entrusted, that is, until the indignation of the present or another King of Castile against my family ceases, and then my bones are to be taken to the church of Toledo, and be buried in the centre of the chapel of St. Ildefonso confessor, before the altar of the same St. Ildefonso, and there a tomb is to be made, fitting to the property of my status, and this I wish to be done, if during the life of the reverend father lord Lope archbishop of Zaragoza, or of other relatives of mine, such as the noble lord Alvaro Garcia or Fernando Gomez comendator of Monte Albano, or Gomez Garcia my nephew, son of the aforementioned Alvaro Garcia, can this thing be done conveniently. Otherwise I then wish that my bones are not transferred from the chapel in the monastery of Saint Francis where they are buried; but that they rest there without any translation.⁶⁴

The mortal remains of the cardinal would only remain in Assisi for four years because they were translated to Toledo in 1372.⁶⁵ The tomb in Assisi was planned as a temporary repository for the body of Albornoz, as he had specified his wish to be eventually buried in Toledo once the royal wrath against him and his lineage had subsided. Therefore the frescoes were executed between September 1367 and 1372. It is not known if the stories of St. Catherine covered an earlier cycle; the chapel was probably dedicated to the saint since its foundation, as the prominent position of St. Catherine on the central stained glass window indicates. The

⁶⁴ Appendix I, lines 11-14; Sepúlveda (1780), VI-VII.

⁶⁵ Filippini (1933), p. 418.

earliest documentary mention of the chapel of St. Catherine dates from 22 October 1356, when a payment was recorded for a rope for the lamp of St. Catherine.⁶⁶ The altar frontal documented in 1338 with stories of the life of St. Catherine may have belonged to the chapel.⁶⁷ A book of expenses in the Collegio di Spagna recorded a payment of 300 florins to the Assisi merchant Apollonio Massarelli, for an unspecified chapel in San Francesco.⁶⁸ Given the date on the payment, September 1362, Filippini interpreted this as the commencement of works in the chapel, which he understood as founded by Albornoz.⁶⁹ However, the same document contains, soon after this payment, a reference to the deceased cardinal, who died in 1367, and it is likely that the scribe omitted the ‘V’ in the date (thus MCCCLII instead of MCCCVII), leading to confusion.⁷⁰ The payment was therefore made in September 1367, a month after Albornoz died, when it was clear he would be buried in Assisi. The initial deposit of 300 florins is followed by other payments, for works executed in the chapel, and which were finalised in December 1367. Matteo de Gattapone was paid 500 gold florins for his work in the ‘renovation and the painting or embellishments necessary in the chapel of the church of San Francesco, where the body of the aforesaid dominus Egidius lies.’⁷¹ The document, which does not mention the dedication of the

⁶⁶ ‘pro circulo lampadarum St. Catherinae’, quoted by Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. III, p. 80, n. 154. Pietralunga (1982) p. 190. Nessi (1994), p. 456. Martin (1998), p. 105.

⁶⁷ Alessandri e Pennacchi (1914), Inventory 1338, p. 83, item 163: ‘Item unus pannus rubeus, cum ystoria Crucifixi, et ystoria beate Katherine, quam dedit Frater Franciscus Massioli di Assisio, laycus.’ Nessi (1994), p. 455.

⁶⁸ AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, fol. 7: ‘Recepi rationem ab Apollonio Maccarelli mercatori de Asisio de CCC florenis sibi depositatis de mense Septembris MCCCLXII’, fol. 13r: ‘pro capella quae est in ecclesia beati Francisci ... pro bona memoria olim dominis Sabinensis’, quoted by Francesco Filippini, ‘Il Card. Albornoz e la costruzione dell’Infermeria nuova nel Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi’, *Rassegna d’arte umbra* I (1910) fasc. II, pp. 55-62, at p. 57, fn. 3; Filippini (1911), p. 50; Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 159-160. Nessi (1994), pp. 455-456.

⁶⁹ Filippini (1910), p. 57; Filippini (1933), p. 286.

⁷⁰ Marchini (1973), p. 137; Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 160.

⁷¹ ‘Matheus Gataponi de Eugubio ... accepisse a d. Alvario arcidiacono de Opte quinquecentum florenos puri auri et boni ponderis ... pro reparatione capelle situate in ecclesia sancti Francisci de Assisio, ubi est corpus venerabilis viri domini domini Egidii episcopi Sabinensis, olim cardinalis legati in partibus Italie, de mandato venerabilis viri Alfonsi Fernandi arcidiaconi Valentiniensis, executoris ultimi testamenti sopradicti d.Egidii ... dedit et solvit eidem Matheo Gataponi pro supradicta reparatione et actatione, picturis seu ornatibus in predicta capella necessariis ... expendere solvere et pagare pro picturis, ornamentis et aliis oportunis ad capellam supradictam, secundum

chapel to St. Catherine, specified the work undertaken: ‘for the walling up of the cemetery door, and for the making of another door, and the moving of the grill and the making of colonnettes and capitals and for the raising and alteration of the altar and the steps, and for the making of the pavement and many other things ... for the alteration of the steps, and for the making of colonnettes and capitals ... for five-hundred wooden pieces for the scaffolding in the said chapel at a rate of fifteen pounds for a thousand, for the workmen and the masters and the dismantling of the aforesaid scaffolding ... for the walling up of the cemetery door ... and for the walling-up of windows.’⁷²

The closing of windows and the assembling of scaffolding suggest preparation for the fresco campaign. Gattapone was in charge of supervising the works, which included remodelling the walls, lining the lower areas with marble, the renovation of the pavement and altar, and the tomb.⁷³ The alteration of the pavement and altar would strongly suggest that these were related to preparation for burial, as the chapel was to receive the tomb of Albornoz. The cardinal had not prepared a funerary chapel during his lifetime, and he had only left instructions to be buried temporarily in an unspecified location of San Francesco in Assisi. It is therefore likely that the date of this document is September 1367.

The account book in the Collegio di Spagna mentioned the deed of the commission of the painting, a document now lost, which would shed light onto the details of the role played by

mandatum et dispositionem ultimam factam per supradictum d.Egidium in suo ultimo testamento ... in capella supradicta.’ Trevi, 18 December 1367. AA, Vol. IX, n. 13, quoted by Filippini (1922-23), doc. 4. Cf. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 161.

⁷² ‘causa faciendi murari portas cimiterii et causa faciendis fieri aliam portam et causa mutandi grates et faciendi columpnellos et capitellos et causa alzandi et mutandi altarem et gradiles et fieri pavimentum et multa alia ... causa mutandi grata et faciendi columpnellos et capitellos ... pro Vc cuppis in dicta cappella ad lb.XV pro mille pro manualibus et magistris et deletura dictorum cupporum ... faciendi murari portas cimiterii ... pro murando fenestras.’ AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, ff. 25-26, quoted by Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 161, 164.

⁷³ Marchini (1973), p. 137, fn. 254. Volpe (2002), p. 311.

Gattapone and Andrea de' Bartoli.⁷⁴ The work executed after the demise of Albornoz consisted of a restoration of the chapel in order to receive the sepulchre and to be decorated accordingly.⁷⁵ The testamentary executors of the will of Albornoz agreed in 1368 to cover the expenses for the painting and upkeep of the chapel where Albornoz was buried in Assisi, although they did not specify the amount to be spent.⁷⁶ Since the chapel was completed well before Albornoz's death, it could have been decorated already, and the renovation would have consisted of structural changes to the chapel as well as re-painting its walls and vault. As we have seen, the stained glass windows were in place before 1350. Matteo di Gattapone was probably in charge of supervising the work of Andrea de' Bartoli and other artists in the chapel.⁷⁷ The profession of the medieval architect was versatile, and it involved a supervising role of the progress of the building works, as well as the possibility of designing sculptures or other monuments. In Avignon, in 1361, Bertrand Nogayrol, the *directori operum domini nostri pape*, received 250 florins for his work in the monumental tomb of Innocent VI in the Charterhouse at Villeneuve.⁷⁸ The average cost of building a chapel in the fourteenth century was 208 florins, without taking into account the decoration expenses.⁷⁹ Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore spent 600 florins in his burial chapel of St. Louis, in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi, in 1312.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, Libro di Spese: 'Item dedi Ser Stricche rogato de infrascriptis promissionis picture capelle et pro instrumento, fl. I.', quoted by Filippini (1911), p. 52, fn. 3.

⁷⁵ 18 December 1367, AA, Vol. IX, n. 13, quoted by Filippini (1922-23), doc. 4, p. 93.

⁷⁶ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 74r: 'Item codicillando et voluntati ultime prefati domini Egidij cardinalis addendo declaramus volumus et ordinamus quod in capella dicti domini Egidij sita in Ecclesia fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci de Asisio fiant de pecuniis et bonis dicti domini Egidij picture et expense sufficientes et decentius iuxta decentiarum status dicti domini Egidij Cardinalis quia intentio ipsius talis fuit.'

⁷⁷ Volpe (2002), p. 311.

⁷⁸ Déprez (1900), p. 242, fn. 4.

⁷⁹ Samuel Kline Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death- Six Renaissance cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 214.

⁸⁰ Hueck (1986), p. 93. Gentile planned to be buried in the chapel of St. Martin, which was not completed at the time of his death; see Martin (1998) pp. 104-105.

In May 1368, the testamentary executors of Gil de Albornoz assigned 2,000 florins to pay for his permanent tomb, the location of which was not yet determined.⁸¹ At that stage, the political circumstances in Spain were not auspicious for the definitive burial of the cardinal in his native Castille, and the executors limited their role to allocating the fund to this purpose. But with the arrival of Enrique II to the throne in 1369, it was possible to fulfil Albornoz's final wish, and his magnificent tomb was finally sculpted in Toledo around 1372. In Assisi, priority was given to the decoration of the chapel. An ornate and costly tomb was subject to accidental damage during the campaign, and it is likely that such a monument was planned for after the completion of the works. Although in principle this was only the temporary burial place of Gil de Albornoz, his testamentary executors funded the important cost of the permanent fresco decoration. The fact that this was a provisional solution did not imply that the monument or its surroundings had to be modest. In Rome, Cardinal Gudiel (d.1299) had a magnificent temporary tomb erected in Santa Maria Maggiore.⁸²

The sacristy opening to the north was perhaps added in order to meet Albornoz's request of a high number of anniversary masses.⁸³ The first anniversary service of Albornoz's death was held in the chapel.⁸⁴

In December 1367, Andrea de' Bartoli received 450 florins for his work in the chapel, 10 of which corresponded to the painted decoration of Albornoz's tomb: 'Item, the aforesaid master Andrea, painter from Bologna, received for his painting of the chapel 450 florins. Item, he received for the painting of the sepulchre placed above the grave 10 florins. Item, for plaster

⁸¹ AA, Vol. IX, n. 5, 12 May 1368, Bologna, quoted by Filippini (1911), p. 51, and Volpe (2002), p. 311. Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 323.

⁸² See below, *Chapter 5*, pp. 308-309 and Figures 145 and 146 of this Thesis.

⁸³ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 164.

⁸⁴ Filippini (1933), p. 416, fn. 3. AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, fol. 13r, account book of Alfonso Fernandez: 'Expense facte de mense Augusti MCCCLVIII pro obsequio et annuali olim bo.me.d.Sabinensis, de mandato domini camerarii, in quibus obsequiis fuit d.Gometius et d.Arcidiaconus'.

used for the painting of the tomb, 1 lire, 12 sec. Item, for the expenses which master Andrea is expected to incur during the painting of the chapel, 1 florin.⁸⁵

The floor tomb of the cardinal was decorated by Andrea de' Bartoli and master Pace: 'Item, the aforesaid master Andrea received for the painting of the sepulchre placed above the place of burial, X florins; item, master Pace, painter, received for the painting of lettering made above the sepulchre of the bishop of Sabina, V florins.'⁸⁶ Our knowledge of the lost tomb in Assisi is limited to the documentary evidence above, which tells us that it had painted decoration and an epitaph, and a sixteenth-century description of the chapel. The latter was provided by Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga, who stated that the tomb was in the middle of the chapel, with the cardinal's hat hanging over it: 'And in the middle [of it] is his tomb, and to mark it, his cardinal hat with the buttons and cords and other adornments are attached to the dome of the chapel.'⁸⁷

This statement would suggest that Pietralunga believed that the body was still there, although he did not describe the tomb. It is feasible that the sepulchre was in the centre of the chapel, with a

⁸⁵ 'Item habuit magister Andreas pictor de Bononia causa pingendi cappellam flo.ccccl ... Item habuit magister Andreas predictus pro pictura tombe sita supra sepulturam fl.10. Item pro una saecula gessi pro pingendo tombam, l. I, sec. XII. Item pro expensis factis magistro Andree qui expectavit causa continuandi cappellam ad pingendum fl. I', quoted by Filippini (1911), pp. 50, 51; he included it among the payments in AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, c. 7r. He only gave a partial transcription of these in Filippini and Zucchini (1947), p. 8, and dated 1368. In 1979 Volpe referred to the document using the modern folio number, 13r. Carlo Volpe, 'Per il problema di Andrea de' Bartoli, pittore dell'Albornoz', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 45-54, at p. 47, fn. 6. The frescoes in the small chapel of St. Lawrence in the Lower Church at Assisi (in the passage between the chapels of St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Anthony of Padua), have also been attributed to Andrea de' Bartoli. Although no documentation survives for these paintings, I agree with the attribution to Andrea and his workshop on the basis of style. See Giorgio Bonsanti, 'La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento', in Giorgio Bonsanti ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), Vol. 3, Testi, pp. 113-208, p. 203, figs 541, 542, 544, 551; Volpe (2002), p. 368; Filippini (1911), p. 53 and Pietralunga (1982), pp. 210-11. Cf. Nessi (1994), p. 452, who attributed the frescoes of St. Lawrence to Andrea da Bologna

⁸⁶ 'Item habuit magister Andreas predictus pro pictura tombe site supra sepulturam flor.X; item habuit magister Pace, pictor, pro pictura designationis facte super sepulturam bo.me. episcopi Sabinensis, flor.V.' AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, account book of Alfonso Fernandez, quoted by Filippini (1911), p. 52, fn. 5. Pace is probably the same who painted the heraldry of Albornoz and the Church on the city gates and palazzo pubblico in Assisi in 1367, see Brizi (1898), pp. 57, 71.

⁸⁷ 'Et in mezzo gli è la sua sepultura; et nella cupula della capella, per segno di ciò, a quel diritto gli è il suo capello con bottoni et mappe et altri adornamenti attaccato.' Pietralunga (1982), p. 32. Fra Ludovico reported that cardinal hats also hung over the tombs of Cardinals Gentile di Montefiore (d.1312) and Pierre de Bar (d.1252), not longer extant. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 46.

low-rising slab, and that it was dismantled after the translation of the body. If it was a wall tomb, of which no trace remains either, it may have been behind the altar. The earlier tombs in the private chapels of the Lower Church were wall monuments located in the apse, like those of Gian Gaetano Orsini or Gentile da Montefiore (d.1312).⁸⁸

The chapel is decorated with eight scenes of the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, framed by a decorative band which contains the coats of arms of Cardinal Albornoz. Scarpellini suggested that there were more scenes on the outside of the chapel, facing the church, as the fragmentary remains on the top left indicate.⁸⁹ The two compartments closer to the entrance of the chapel are filled with seven figures, on a larger scale than the figures of the cycle of St. Catherine. On the left wall, three saints stand in rounded niches, two of whom are identified as S. CLEMENS and S. FRANCISCUS.⁹⁰ St. Clement, in the centre, wears the papal tiara and holds an open book with his left hand, whilst he points his right hand to the head of the figure kneeling at his side.⁹¹ The kneeling figure at the feet of St. Clement, with his hands joined in prayer, is a cardinal who has left his hat on the ground as a sign of respect (Fig. 82).⁹² This is obviously Gil de Albornoz, although there is no inscription identifying him. He has a short beard and grey hair on his uncovered head, and he is represented on the same scale as the saints. The depiction of Cardinal Gentile on the west wall of the chapel of St. Martin also included the

⁸⁸ Nessi (1994), p. 454, for the tomb of Gentile, now lost.

⁸⁹ Pietralunga (1982), p. 191.

⁹⁰ Thode (1926), p. 301.

⁹¹ For the triple crown type of papal tiara, represented here, in S. Domenico in Treviso frescoes by Tommaso da Modena, and in the chapter house of S. Maria Novella in Florence, see Gibbs (1989), p. 83. In the 16th century, Pietralunga transcribed the words, no longer visible, on the open book held by the Pontiff: 'ESTO PRINCEPS MUNDI FRATER NOSTER.' Pietralunga (1982), p. 34. For the iconography of St. Clement, see George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art. Iconography of the saints in the painting of North East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), cols. 233-237.

⁹² For the hands joined in prayer with extended fingers, see Gerhart Ladner, 'The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Didascaliae-Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. Sesto Prete (New York: Bernard M. Rosenthal, 1961), pp. 245-275, at p. 245: the gesture was adopted during the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227-1241) and not much later than 1254, death of Innocent IV.

cardinal hat cast aside, on the balustrade, whilst Gentile, wearing the Franciscan habit, touches the hand of St. Martin as he respectfully bends his right knee. In the chapel of St. Catherine, Cardinal Albornoz, both knees on the ground, is placed between St. Clement and an unidentified mitred saint. The latter figure, standing nearest the entrance of the chapel, holds the open palm of his left hand behind the head of the cardinal as a sign of intercession, signalling his protection and blessing of Albornoz. The right hand and the inscription of this figure are now missing, but fra Ludovico stated that he was holding a cross, and he identified this bishop saint as St. Ildefonso, although he did not mention an inscription.⁹³ The figure could indeed represent St. Ildefonso, considering that St. Eugenius appears on the wall opposite, and that Albornoz had requested burial in the chapel of St. Ildefonso in Toledo Cathedral.⁹⁴ He could also be St. Sabinus, the local saint and martyr of Spoleto, or a reference to his cardinal title of Sabina. The local saints Sabinus, Rufinus and Victorinus appear in the chapel of St. Nicholas.⁹⁵ In my opinion, it is likely that the figure represents St. Ildefonso, because of its prominent position close to the cardinal, and the significance of the title of Primate of Spain associated with the archbishop of Toledo. To the left of St. Clement appears St. Francis, displaying the five wounds or Stigmata and holding a closed book as he points with the index finger of his right hand to Cardinal Albornoz.

On the opposite wall of the chapel, there are three bishop saints in rounded niches: from left to right, St. Blaise (S. BLASIUS), St. Eugenius (S. EUGENIUS) and St. Louis of Toulouse (S. LUDOVICUS) (Fig. 87).⁹⁶ St. Blaise was, like St. Catherine, one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, and a popular saint in Italy, but the choice must have been made by Albornoz, whose

⁹³ Pietralunga (1982), p. 34; he did not mention the titulus under St. Francis either.

⁹⁴ Filippini (1911), p. 52. Pietralunga (1982), p. 192. Volpe (2002), p. 314.

⁹⁵ Hueck (1986), p. 91, linked the presence of local saints to the input of the Franciscans, not of the patron. St. Adrian, titular saint of Cardinal Orsini, does not appear in the chapel.

⁹⁶ Thode (1926), p. 301, reported only Blaise, Eugenius and an unidentified bishop.

private devotion to the saint led him to establish the Augustinian monastery in Villaviciosa.⁹⁷ St. Eugenius, the seventh-century archbishop of Toledo and uncle of St. Ildefonso, occupies a prominent position in the centre, between St. Blaise and St. Louis. He is dressed in white vestments and St. Louis points to him with his right hand. Given that this is the mother church of the Franciscans, it might have seemed appropriate to place the Franciscan saint in the middle, but since the Spaniard Albornoz was not a Franciscan, reference is made to his archbishopric of Toledo instead. The choice of saints reflected Albornoz's ecclesiastical career: St. Eugenius was archbishop of Toledo, whereas St. Clement and St. Sabinus are the titular saints of his cardinal titles. Five of the saints stand on what looks like circular cushions, except St. Francis, who rests his bare feet on thorny branches, perhaps reflecting the figure of Lady Poverty, on the crossing vault of the high altar. It is noteworthy that neither St. Blaise nor St. Eugenius are Franciscan saints, and that all the saints in these two compartments, close to Albornoz and acting as his intercessors are male. Furthermore, all the saints, except St. Francis, belong to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of bishop, archbishop and Pope. Albornoz and the six male saints near him or facing him on the opposite wall are separated and framed away from the female saints of the cycle of St. Catherine.⁹⁸ It seems to have been a convention that most of the cardinals represented in the adjoining chapels are introduced by male saints such as Martin, Nicholas and Francis, with the

⁹⁷ See above, *Chapter 1*, pp. 79-88. For the iconography and examples of St. Blaise in Italian painting, see Kaftal (1978), cols. 157-174- represented generally as an old, bearded bishop holding a mitre. Also George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art. Iconography of the saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), cols. 201-210. Maria Chiara Celletti, 'S. Biagio: Iconografia' in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1963), Vol. III, cols 160-165. A chapel in the cathedral of Assisi was dedicated to this saint by 1348, and another in the church of S. Stefano in 1362; Cenci (1974) pp. 102, 140. In 1430 the sacristy of San Francesco in Assisi had a reliquary with a finger of St. Blaise; see Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), p. 313, item 22: 'Item unum tabernaculum parvum de argento, inauratum, in quo est cristallus cum digito beati Blasii; et dictum tabernaculum caret pede, et in pomo est scriptum: DIGITUS BEATI BLASII.' Umberto Gnoli, 'Il Tesoro di San Francesco d'Assisi', *Dedalo* VII (1921) 421-441, VIII (1922), pp. 555-579, at p. 430, dated it late 14th -early 15th century. Umberto Utro in *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (1999), cat. 52, p. 173, dated it to the second half of the 14th century.

⁹⁸ Martin (2000), p. 92.

exception of the chapel of the Magdalen, where bishop Pontano (d.1329) kneels to the side of the female saint.⁹⁹

The intercessory role of the Virgin Mary, strongly emphasised in the Orsini chapels, is here replaced by male saints, who stand in individual niches without interacting with one another.¹⁰⁰ They are admittedly constrained by their architectural space, but their frontal stance is unusual. The Virgin Mary does not feature on the painted surface, but the central window contains a figure of the Virgin and Child which would have provided a devotional focus for the beholder, and for the kneeling figure of Cardinal Albornoz. There is no altarpiece in this chapel. The height at which the figure of Albornoz is placed precluded a linear visual link between this large scale figure and an altarpiece placed on the altar at a lower level. The patron is not represented on the south wall, from where his figure would be facing the tomb of St. Francis in the east end. Instead, Albornoz is located on the north wall, his profile facing the east window of the chapel of St. Catherine. Thus, he is on the right side of the window which features the Virgin Mary, a position that highlights his privileged status.

The cycle of St. Catherine consists of eight scenes. Catherine was a fourth-century virgin of noble birth, who converted to Christianity and rebuked emperor Maxentius for his persecution of the Christians and worshipping of false gods. After she converted the pagan scholars and empress Faustina with her learned eloquence, Catherine was martyred, and her body was carried by angels to Mount Sinai. The sequence of the cycle is to be read upwards beginning in the south wall: The Conversion and Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, St. Catherine in front of emperor Maxentius, the Dispute of St. Catherine with the Philosophers, and the Martyrdom of

⁹⁹ Marchini (1973), p. 91. See Lorraine Carole Schwartz, *The fresco decoration of the Magdalen chapel in the Basilica of St Francis at Assisi* (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1993), pp. 222-312. Martin (1998), pp. 101, 190-91. The heraldry of Pontano appears on the chapel walls.

¹⁰⁰ See Martin (1998), pp. 112, 113. Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 80-82; cf. Wiener (1991), pp. 230-238.

the Philosophers, followed by the scenes on the entrance arch: Conversion of Faustina in prison, Martyrdom of Faustina, St. Catherine at the wheel, and the Beheading of the saint (Figs 88-95).¹⁰¹ The scenes are arranged in a sequence that reads from bottom to top, alternating between the right and the left walls. Like the chapel of St. Martin, the cycle begins to the right of the altar, on the south wall, and, weaving an invisible 'x' trajectory, jumps from one wall to the opposite one.¹⁰² The scenes are framed by decorative bands filled with busts of saints, angels, vegetal motifs and Albornoz's coat of arms. The ribs of the vault are decorated with Cosmatesque motifs, and the ceiling of the vault is painted blue, with golden stars. The window splays contain seated figures of Doctors of the Church, saints and apostles, and the coat of arms of Albornoz. One-line inscriptions run below each scene of the cycle, describing the events depicted, and some of the characters are identified by their written names.¹⁰³ The area just outside the chapels of St. Catherine and St. Anthony was reserved for burial of friars, and the plastering of the walls in this area in 1491 probably erased frescoes which would have been there, perhaps as part of the decorative scheme of the chapel of St. Catherine.¹⁰⁴

The first scene of the cycle represents the Conversion and Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine (Fig. 88). The young, blonde Catherine, wearing fashionable and luxurious clothes, is converted after talking to a hermit in a countryside setting, which features a stream and rabbits.

¹⁰¹ For the iconography of St. Catherine, see Kaftal (1978), cols. 188-201; Kaftal (1952), cols. 225-234.

¹⁰² For the reading sequences in medieval cycles, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'Un nuovo metodo per lo studio della pittura murale: il problema dell'ordine narrativo', *Storia dell'Arte* 77 (1993), pp. 115-122; for the chapel of St. Martin, see p. 119. I disagree with her interpretation of the reading 'plan' as symbol of the unity of the Church.

¹⁰³ For a transcription of the inscriptions, see Volpe (2002), pp. 312-315. Scarpellini switched the transcription of the scenes of the Disputation and the Martyrdom, see Pietralunga (1982), pp. 191-192. The crossing vault in the east end of the Lower Church also presents extensive inscriptions.

¹⁰⁴ Some of the scenes have been damaged by water infiltration, a problem which is documented in this area since 1594. Nessi (1994), p. 358; cf. Cenci (1975) II, p. 856.

The hermit is holding a painted panel of the Virgin and Child for her to kiss.¹⁰⁵ The panel reappears inside St. Catherine's palace, where it sits on a draped altar in her chamber as the Mystic Marriage takes place.¹⁰⁶ The representation within the same space of two events that took place at different times is also found in the Martyrdom episodes.

The second scene shows Catherine at the court of Emperor Maxentius, extolling her Christian faith (Fig. 89). The positioning of Catherine's fingers while she argues with the Philosophers seems to refer to the Scholastic Disputation as it was usually enacted in late medieval universities.¹⁰⁷ Pagan worshippers are sacrificing animals to the idol placed on an altar, to the left of Catherine. A golden rug divides the people into two clear groups: musicians and courtesans fill the right space, whilst shepherds and servants carry out animal sacrifices on the left side. The chamber where Catherine stands shows cosmatesque decoration on its walls, matching the mural ornamentation that covers the large niches with saints on the walls near the entrance of the chapel.

The Disputation of St. Catherine with the philosophers, some of whom are represented concentrating on their books and using reading lenses and spectacles, shows Andrea de' Bartoli's attention to detail (Fig. 90). The scientific representation of objects was mastered by Tomaso da Modena, whose work may have influenced Andrea.¹⁰⁸ Two of the philosophers converted by the

¹⁰⁵ Frank Martin pointed out a similar example of representation of an icon in an altarpiece with the cycle of St. Catherine in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, see Martin (2000), ill. 16, and p. 89.

¹⁰⁶ Kaftal (1952), fig. 244, reproduced the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine from Antella by Spinello Aretino, c.1387 where Catherine is represented praying in front of a panel placed on an altar, but the Conversion of the saint and the Marriage take place in two different scenes.

¹⁰⁷ Susan L'Engle, 'Legal Iconography', in *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections* (exhibition catalogue, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 3 November 2001-16 December 2001), eds Susan L'Engle and Robert Gibbs (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2001), pp. 75-104, at p. 80. See Eileen Kane, *The Saint Catherine Chapel in the Church of San Clemente-Rome* (Rome: Collegio San Clemente, 2000), pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁸ Tomaso da Modena, c.1352, depicted a series of cardinals in their studies in the chapter house of S. Domenico in Treviso, some of whom he represented using reading glasses. The representation of Cardinal Hughes de Billom, blowing on his pen, is echoed in the figure of St. John the Evangelist in the chapel of St. Catherine; see Gibbs (1989), pp. 63-86, 202, and Volpe (2002), p. 321.

saint reappear in the next scene, the Martyrdom of the Philosophers, where they are being burned at the stake (Fig. 91).¹⁰⁹

The fifth episode is the Conversion of Empress Faustina whilst visiting Catherine in prison (Fig. 92). The fortified prison is represented with rusticated masonry and a lower wall with battlements surrounding it. Whilst in prison, Catherine was fed by angels, an event which can be seen through the window on the turret.¹¹⁰

The cycle continues with the Martyrdom of Empress Faustina, who has her breasts removed and her head cut off. Both events take place within the same architectural setting (Fig. 93).¹¹¹ The deity represented on a column in the small altar to the left of the scene is an explicit reference to the pagan religion of the Emperor and the executioners. The scene of St. Catherine and the wheel, which miraculously splintered and injured her executioners-to-be, is set just outside Maxentius' palace. Angels brandishing swords punish the executioners, one of whom is the same who cut off the Empress' head in the previous scene (Fig. 94). The last scene of the cycle shows the frontal depiction of the Beheading of St. Catherine, an outburst of blood gushing from her severed neck (Fig. 95). Angels carry her body in a cloth to Mount Sinai; the iconography recalls actual funerary sculpture where the effigy lies on a cloth. On the right side of the scene is represented the hermit who watched the body of St. Catherine, inside a cave, and a building with a bell-tower, the monastery built by Justinian on Mount Sinai.¹¹²

The representation of marble mosaics (inside the niches where the saints stand) and porphyry (in the window splays) compensate for the relative poverty of materials used in the decoration of the chapel. Fictive marble panels form part of the mural decorations of the

¹⁰⁹ Volpe (2002), p. 313.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 314-315.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 314 stated that this arrangement stems from Emilian school of painting.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 315; Carattoli, Guardabassi and Rossi-Scotti (1925), p. 138.

Cappella Scrovegni in Padua and the chapel of St. Martial in the Palais des Papes. The architecture of the niches stands in contrast with the Gothic traceries decorating the niches on the intrados of the chapel of St. Martin. In the chapel of St. Catherine, the open loggia running along top sections of architecture with intersecting arches recalls the Papal Palace in Viterbo.¹¹³ The painter took into account the point of view of the spectator and the source of light when designing the settings of the scenes, and attempted to blend the fictive setting with the actual architectural space.

There are many artistic testimonies to the extent of the popular devotion to St. Catherine which are contemporary to the cycle in Assisi. The church of S. Francesco in Bologna had a chapel of St. Catherine, which was painted in 1348.¹¹⁴ In 1357, a private altar of St. Catherine paid by a notary in S. Giacomo, Bologna, had a panel altarpiece with stories of her life.¹¹⁵ The Clarissan churches of S. Chiara and S. Maria Donna Regina in Naples also had painted cycles of the saint.¹¹⁶ She also featured in the frescoes of the Augustinian monastery of S. Leonardo al Lago near Siena, dated c.1360.¹¹⁷ St. Catherine, an educated princess, was the protector saint of theologians and students in general, which was a suitable choice for Albornoz, a learned prelate and patron of a college.¹¹⁸ St. Catherine was an appropriate choice for the illustration of legal books; for example, ms. E.I.1, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin, which a

¹¹³ During the 14th century, and influenced by the diffusion of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by Pseudo Bonaventure, stories were represented in vivid detail, portraying contemporary settings for a more effective- and sympathetic- identification of the viewer with the story. Belting (1985), pp. 152-153; Gibbs (1989), pp. 205-206. See also C Mary Stallings-Taney ed., *Iohannis de Cavlibus Meditationes Vite Christi*. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 153 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997) and C Mary Stallings-Taney, 'The Pseudo-Bonaventure Meditationes Vite Christi: Opus Integrum', *Franciscan Studies* 55 (1988), pp. 253-280.

¹¹⁴ Filippini and Zucchini (1947), p. 246.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹¹⁶ Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, eds, *The Church Of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography And Patronage In Fourteenth Century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 7. No artist has been identified.

¹¹⁷ Sharon Dale, 'San Leonardo al Lago: A Study in Augustinian Iconology', *Arte Cristiana* LXXX (1992) 265-274, p. 268, and p. 265 for dating of c.1360.

¹¹⁸ Brandi (1963) *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, cols. 975-978.

Bolognese artist decorated in the 1330s with an Allegory of Law and the Martyrdom of St. Catherine in the lower half of the first folio.¹¹⁹ Four scenes of the life of St. Catherine are represented in folio 1r of Padua A. 25, executed in 1343 for Miklós Vásári, provost of Esztergom, Hungary.¹²⁰ The text comprises the *Constitutions* of Clement V with the *Apparatus* of Giovanni d'Andrea and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. The Conversion of St. Catherine and the Mystic Marriage present certain similarities to the scenes in Assisi, such as the figure of the hermit offering an icon of the Virgin to St. Catherine, and the way in which the Virgin Mary holds a grip on the forearm of St. Catherine while the Child places the wedding ring in her finger (Figs 88, 96). The most recent bibliography suggests that the manuscript was executed in Bologna or in Rome, where Miklós was residing in 1343.¹²¹

The votive figure of Albornoz at the feet of St. Clement echoes the image of Innocent VI painted by Matteo Giovannetti in the chapel of the Charterhouse of Villeneuve.¹²² Innocent VI founded the monastery in 1356 on the site of his *livrée*, which is decorated with a cycle of the life of St. John the Baptist. The Pope is represented on the south wall of the chapel, kneeling at the feet of the Virgin, with the papal tiara on the ground (Fig. 97).¹²³ There are clear parallels with the image in Assisi; in both cases the donor figure is separated from the divine realm by a platform that projects toward the beholder, which is rendered more decorative in Albornoz's case

¹¹⁹ L'Engle (2001), p. 85.

¹²⁰ Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, A.25, fol. 72r: 'Explicit apparatus domini Ioannis Andree super Clementinas in millesimo trecentesimo XLIII. ... Iste liber est domini Nicolai prepositi Strigoniensis.' Silvio Bernardinello, *Catalogo dei codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova. In appendice gli incunaboli con aggiunte manoscritte* (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 2007), pp. 47-49. Francesca D'Arcais, 'L' <Illustratore> tra Bologna e Padova' *Arte Veneta* XXXI (1977), pp. 27-41, at p. 33, she stated that they were the work of a mature 'Illustratore'; Cassee (1978), p. 403. Cf. Count Adalberto Erbach de Fuerstenau, 'La miniatura bolognese nel Trecento (studi su Nicolò di Giacomo)', *L'Arte* XIV (1911), pp. 1-12, 107-117, at p. 12.

¹²¹ Bernardinello (2007), p. 48.

¹²² Volpe (2002), p. 312.

¹²³ Castelnuovo (1962), pp. 121-135.

with the colourful woven rug.¹²⁴ This may be a reference to the *tapeta* donated by the cardinal, and which were valuable enough to be included in detail in his will. Albornoz may have seen the work of Giovannetti in the chapel at Villeneuve, perhaps when he returned to Avignon between 1357 and 1358. Volpe suggested that Andrea de' Bartoli was familiar with the frescoes in Villeneuve, although his presence is not documented there.¹²⁵ It is more likely that the patron may have expressed his wish to be represented in a votive scene just like Innocent VI, even if he did not live to supervise the decoration of his burial chapel in Assisi.

Although the cycle features long inscriptions, the signature of the artist is absent. This could have been included, as was the case in the Cappella del Corporale in Orvieto Cathedral, decorated between 1357 and 1364. A prominently-situated inscription states that the author of the paintings was Ugolino di Prete Ilario.¹²⁶

The cycle at Assisi features five scenes of martyrdom, represented rather crudely, and in fact the most explicitly bloody scenes in the whole of the church, both Lower and Upper. Certainly, scenes of martyrdom are graphic by their very essence, but the frontal views of beheadings were not as common at this stage.¹²⁷ Andrea's attention to detail and the presence of marginal episodes or characters is patent throughout the cycle. Whilst his work in Assisi

¹²⁴ Although Volpe (2002), p. 314, described this as a cushion, perhaps because its striped pattern is similar to the cushions where the saints stand, it is certainly a rug or tapestry, draping over the wooden structure underneath. Rugs are also represented elsewhere in the cycle, in the scenes of the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, and St. Catherine in front of Maxentius.

¹²⁵ Volpe (2002), p. 312.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 312. Catherine D. Harding, *Guide to the Cappella del Corporale of Orvieto Cathedral* (Perugia: Quattroemme, 2004), pp. 51-58. Ibid., p. 52, for the inscription, beneath the Crucifixion scene, which reads: 'HANC CAPPELLAM PIXIT UGOLINUS PICTOR DE URBEVETERI ANNO DOMINI MCCCLXIV DIE JOVIS VIII MENSIS IUNII.' Harding mentions in p. 58 a document in the Archive of the Opera del Duomo which stated the payment in 1362 to ser Cecco di Pietro for the inscriptions.

¹²⁷ In the Cappellone at Tolentino (c.1327), the representation of Injustice, on a spandrel, includes a decapitated figure with blood spurting from the open cut of the neck; the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents is also rather graphic. Miklos Boskovits, 'Studi sul Cappellone di San Nicola: work in progress', in *Il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1992), pp. 7-10. Miklos Boskovits, 'La nascita di un ciclo di affreschi del Trecento. La decorazione del Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino', *Arte Cristiana* LXXVII (1989), fasc. 730, pp. 3-26, argued that the chapel was originally the Chapter House of the Augustinian community, and the tomb of St. Niccolò was moved there in the mid-14th century.

admittedly does present shortcomings in the accurate representation of architectural space or the liveliness of the figures, the paintings have been, in my opinion, unfairly treated by previous authors. Pietralunga merely referred to them in passing as ‘stories of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr of Mount Sinai, a mediocre work.’¹²⁸ Innamorati and Bonsanti rightly pointed out that this cycle, which constitutes Andrea de’ Bartoli’s most important work, has received little scholarly attention.¹²⁹ Its style, with its raw expression of emotions, has been described as provincial and crude and bordering the caricature.¹³⁰ Some of the figures are in bald foreshortening, for example in the scene of the Martyrdom of the Philosophers. Filippini made the valid point that this awkwardness and imperfection might be due to the fact that Andrea, who worked as an illuminator of manuscripts, was not used to working in large spaces.¹³¹ Scarpellini, however, considered the frescoes in St. Catherine’s chapel as the work of a notable artistic personality, who introduced innovative elements in the rather stale art being produced in Assisi during the second half of the fourteenth century, and pointed out that the effects of these frescoes in Umbrian painting have not been investigated.¹³²

3.2.3. Burial in S. Francesco

The Lower Church was a privileged burial place for a very limited number of patrons who could face the expense of decorating the walls of their private chapels with paintings by

¹²⁸ Pietralunga (1982), p. 34: ‘storie di Santa Caterina, virgine e martire del Monte Sinai, opera mediocra.’

¹²⁹ Simonetta Innamorati, ‘Di nuovo su Andrea de’ Bartoli e sulle origini di Carlo da Camerino’, *Antichità Viva* XXXI (1992), pp. 23-30, at p. 29. Giorgio Bonsanti ed., *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), Vol. 1- Testi: Saggi, pp. 113-208, at p. 205.

¹³⁰ Enrico Castelnuovo, ‘Andrea da Bologna’ *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. 3 (Rome, 1961), p. 82: ‘espressionismo brutale e caricaturale, che deriva dall’accentuazione di certi caratteri icastici della miniatura bolognese.’ Filippini (1911), p. 55 described it as ‘realismo grossolano.’ Volpe (2002), p. 312.

¹³¹ Filippini (1911), p. 55.

¹³² Pietralunga (1982), p.194.

leading artists such as Simone Martini. The choice made by Gil Albornoz of San Francesco in Assisi as his burial place demands our attention: this church had no connections to his cardinal titles of S.Clemente or Sabina, and no documentation indicates that he held a particular devotion for St. Francis. In fact, Albornoz was the cardinal protector of the Order of the Servites (Servi di S.Maria), and Talleyrand de Perigord was the protector of the Franciscans.¹³³ Yet, it is interesting to note that the generosity shown by Albornoz towards the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian orders was not extended to the Servites, and he did not even mention the Order in his will.¹³⁴ He showed a deferential treatment of the Franciscans in his will, where he allocated them double the amount than to the Dominicans and Augustinians.

Other cardinals buried in San Francesco were linked to the Order in a more direct manner than Albornoz. For example, Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore (d.1312) was buried there because he was a member of the Franciscan Order. Unlike the cardinal of S. Adriano Napoleone Orsini, Gentile remembered his cardinal title (S. Martino in Montibus) in the cycle of frescoes that decorate the chapel of St. Martin.¹³⁵ Both St. Martin of Tours and Pope Martin, buried in the Roman church of his title, are represented in the windows.¹³⁶ The patron appears on the frescoes and on the stained glass windows, although he was actually buried in the chapel opposite this one.¹³⁷ Gentile is identified by an inscription on the central window, where he is kneeling in front of Pope Martin, with his cardinal hat prominently hanging over his head.¹³⁸ Perhaps this is a reference to the funerary context of the chapel, since hats were hung over the sepulchres of

¹³³ Piana (1972), p. 483. A Gianius, *Annales sacri Ordinis fratrum Servorum beatae Mariae Virginis* I, (Lucca, 1719), p. 305. For Talleyrand, see Baluze (1928), Vol. II, pp. 272-238; Remigio Ritzler (OFM), 'I Cardinali e i Papi dei Frati Minori Conventuali', *Miscellanea Francescana* 71 (1971), pp. 3-77.

¹³⁴ Gianius (1719), p. 305. This preference for the Franciscans was pointed out by Piana (1972), p. 483.

¹³⁵ Hueck (1986), p. 91. Marchini (1973), p. 118.

¹³⁶ Marchini (1973), p. 118.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Martin (1998), pp. 194-195. Martin of Tours appears on the fresco in the west wall.

cardinals. Gentile kneels on a platform, and Pope Martin is blessing with his right hand and gesturing towards him.¹³⁹ Gentile appears again on the window of the chapel of St. Louis, dressed in Franciscan habit and kneeling in front of St. Anthony, with an angel above holding the cardinal hat.¹⁴⁰

Cardinal Pierre de Bar (d.1252) was buried outside the Magdalen chapel, which was later decorated under the patronage of the Franciscan bishop of Assisi Teobaldo Pontano (d.1329).¹⁴¹ Pierre de Bar, a French Benedictine, was cardinal of S. Marcello and, later, cardinal bishop of Sabina. As a non-Franciscan, non-Italian and as cardinal bishop of Sabina buried in the Lower Church of Assisi, he established an important precedent for Gil de Albornoz.

Albornoz was not a member of the Franciscan Order, and his only private foundation had been an Augustinian monastery in Castile. Yet, Albornoz was interred in a large chapel in S. Francesco, the Mother house of a tremendously popular Mendicant Order in the Middle Ages, and the burial place of St. Francis and thus a pilgrimage site. He was probably granted burial here in recognition for his role in regaining the Papal State. Albornoz had also increased the security of the city with the fortress he erected, not far from San Francesco. Thus, the Franciscans in Assisi may have felt particularly grateful towards the cardinal. The rapport between Albornoz and the Franciscans in Assisi is documented since 1353, when the Franciscans sent a nuntius to the cardinal; in 1355 they held a banquet in the convent for Albornoz's *familia*.¹⁴² In 1360 the Minister General visited Albornoz in Ancona, and presents were later sent to the Legate.¹⁴³ In 1362 Albornoz had lifted the interdict that Assisi had endured since

¹³⁹ Marchini (1973), p. 123; the inscription reads: 'GE[n]TILIS CARDINAL.'

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 148-156. Inscription identifies him: 'D[ominus] GENTILI[s].'

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 91. Schwartz (1993), pp. 222-312. Martin (1998), pp. 101, 190-91. Pietralunga (1982), p. 46. The heraldry of Pontano appears on the chapel walls.

¹⁴² Filippini (1910), p. 56, fn. 1. Cenci (1974), p. 117.

¹⁴³ Filippini (1910), p.57 fn. 1. Cenci (1974), pp. 135, 137, 144, 145.

1321, and the town pledged loyalty to the Church.¹⁴⁴ Albornoz visited Assisi in April 1367, a few months before his death.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, a number of friars in the community hailed from Spain, and attended the chapter held a month after Albornoz's death.¹⁴⁶ On the occasion of the first anniversary of his passing, the testamentary executors charged Apollonio Massarelli with the distribution of small donations to each and all of the Spanish friars.¹⁴⁷ One of Albornoz's testamentary executors was the Franciscan Minister of the province of Bologna, fra Tommaso del Frignano, who became Minister General of the Order in 1367.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the Franciscan confessor of Cardinal Albornoz, as a trusted confidant, may have suggested Assisi as a suitable final resting place. He was Gonzalo de Mecia, who had left Spain with Albornoz, following him to Italy.¹⁴⁹ In 1354, Albornoz requested from the Pope the promotion of his confessor Gonzalo to the bishopric of Badajoz.¹⁵⁰

One factor that may have been important in his choice is that San Francesco in Assisi represented the Papal power in central Italy. As noted earlier, Albornoz's mission was to restore ecclesiastical authority, and where better to have a private chapel than in Assisi, which was

*Ecclesia Specialis and Capella Papalis?*¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Cristofani (1959), libro III, p. 202. Cf. Filippini (1910), p. 57.

¹⁴⁵ Filippini (1910), p. 57 claimed that Albornoz entered Assisi for the first time on 5 April 1367. Filippini (1922-23), p. 79 said Albornoz visited in April 1367, not that it was his first visit. Cenci (1974), p. 155 instead included the acceptance of Assisi's submission to the Church in April 1367, when Albornoz accepted their submission by letter from Spoleto on 22 April- perhaps confirming his previous visit.

¹⁴⁶ Piana (1972), pp. 512-513.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 516.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 484. John H R Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 337. Tommaso del Frignano was Minister General between 1367 and 1372.

¹⁴⁹ Filippini (1896b), doc. 23. See Glénisson and Mollat (1964), n. 227, and Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 386. Cf. Piana (1972), p. 486.

¹⁵⁰ Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 295. Piana (1972), p. 487.

¹⁵¹ Carl Brandon Strehlke, 'Francis of Assisi: his culture, his cult, and his basilica', in *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (1999), pp. 23-51, at p. 33. Amato Pietro Frutaz, 'La chiesa di S.Francesco in Assisi 'basilica patriarcale e cappella papale'', *Miscellanea Francescana* 54 (1954), pp. 399-432, at pp. 422-432; Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *S. Francesco in Assisi: Ecclesia specialis. La visione di papa Gregorio IX di un rinnovamento della Chiesa* (Milan: Biblioteca Francescana, 1994).

The church of S. Francesco was also the burial place of two Spaniards connected to Cardinal Albornoz, Blas Fernandez de Belviso and his son Garcia.¹⁵² They were killed in battle in 1368 near Piediluco, just a year after Albornoz died.¹⁵³ Their privileged place of burial was granted on account of their services to the Church.¹⁵⁴ Their bodies rest in wall tombs in the chapel of St. Anthony Abbot, to the right of St. Catherine's. The tomb of Blasco is to the right of the altar, that of Garcia to the left (Figs 98, 99).¹⁵⁵ Blasco's widow, doña Sancha, commissioned the monuments.¹⁵⁶ The chapel was founded in 1360 by Vagnozzo di Francesco (d.1390), who left 80 florins for the decoration of the chapel and the erection of his tomb, which would have been *supra terram*, that is, not just a floor slab.¹⁵⁷ Neither his tomb nor the paintings have survived. The chapel was originally frescoed with a cycle of the life of St. Anthony, which was ruined by the end of the seventeenth century, and which has disappeared without trace.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, pp. 387-388. Antonio Salvi, 'S. Francisci Asisinatis in Basilica Blasci Fernandi de Belviso epitaphius', *Collectanea franciscana* LXII (1992), pp. 635-643, p. 641, fn. 8. Glénisson and Mollat (1964), docs. 193, 196.

¹⁵³ Salvi (1992), p. 642. Sansi (1879) I, pp. 244-5.

¹⁵⁴ The tomb of Blasco is framed by an inscription in Gothic script which emphasises his brilliant career at the service of the Church, and defines him as born in Spain: 'yspanus natu'; transcribed in 1875 by Cristofani (1959), p. 204; cf. Salvi (1992), pp. 635-643. Enrica Neri Lusanna, 'La scultura in San Francesco' in Giorgio Bonsanti (ed), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi. The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), Vol. 3, Testi, pp. 209-230, at pp. 224-25.

¹⁵⁵ Neri Lusanna (2002), p. 308.

¹⁵⁶ Salvi (1992), p. 643. Cesare Papini, *Notizie sicure della morte, sepoltura, canonizzazione e traslazione di S. Francesco di Assisi e del ritrovamento del di lui corpo* (Foligno, 1824), p. 316. Giuseppe Fratini (OFM), *Storia della Basilica e del Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato: Guasti, 1882), p. 239: Sancia gave 300 florins to the friars toward the expense of the tombs; but Cristofani stated that the amount was 1,302 florins; Cristofani (1959), p. 204, fn. 23. See also Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. II, p. 160 and Nessi (1994), p. 396.

¹⁵⁷ August 1360: 'iussit...corpus suum seppelliri apud ecclesiam beati Francisci de Assisio in capella Sti Antonii de Viena sita et quam dictus testator fieri fecit in ecclesia... voluit dictus testator, quod per infrascriptos et eius fidei commissos expendantur et expendi debeant de bonis ipsius pro picturis et aliis ornamentis fiendis in capella St. Antonii supradicta ... et pro uno pilo faciendo supra terram in ipsa capella ubi seppelietur corpus ipsius testatoris octuaginta florenos auri.' Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. III, p. 81, n. 179; p. 82, n. 199. Nessi (1994), p. 457, and Silvestro Nessi (ed), *Inventario e Regesti dell'Archivio del Sacro Convento d'Assisi* (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1991), p. 139, no. 524. Cristofani (1959), p. 204, fn. 22. Thode (1926), pp. 301-302 stated that it was founded in 1360, after Carlo Fea, *Descrizione ragionata della Sagrosanta Patriarcal Basilica e cappella papale di S.Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1820), p. 11.

¹⁵⁸ Luigi Carattoli, Mariano Guardabassi and Giovanni Battista Rossi-Scotti, 'Descrizioni del santuario di S.Francesco d'Assisi (1863)', *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XVIII (1925), pp. 91-227, p. 131. Pietralunga (1982), pp. 36, 201-202. Nessi (1994), p. 361.

3.2.4. Andrea de' Bartoli

According to Vasari, the author of the frescoes in the chapel was Buffalmacco, who in 1302 painted the chapel of St. Catherine, and, later, painted the chapel of the Spanish cardinal Gil de Albornoz. Despite the mistake Vasari made in differentiating the chapel as two, he may well have referred to earlier frescoes existing before Albornoz was buried there in 1367.¹⁵⁹ The cycle was also attributed to the painter Pace da Faenza, who is documented working in S. Francesco in 1354.¹⁶⁰ Filippini found a payment in 1368 to Andrea da Bologna, whom he identified as Andrea de' Bartoli.¹⁶¹ The current bibliography refers to Andrea de Bartoli.¹⁶² Andrea de' Bartoli was active between 1355 and 1380, and is documented in Cesena, Pavia, Assisi and Bologna. His brother Bartolomeo was a scribe who was qualified to edit and supervise the texts he copied.¹⁶³ Orandelli found documentary evidence of Bartolomeo's work

¹⁵⁹ Nessi (1994), pp. 326-327. Pietralunga (1982), p. 192 for attribution to Buffalmacco.

¹⁶⁰ Volpe (2002), p. 311.

¹⁶¹ Nessi insisted on calling him Andrea da Bologna, see Nessi (1994), pp. 327, 452. The personalities of Andrea de Bologna and Andrea de' Bartoli were differentiated by Longhi in 1950; see Scarpellini (1982) pp. 192-193; Castelnovo (1962), p. 82, and Robert Gibbs, 'Andrea de' Bartoli' in Turner ed., *Dictionary of Art* (London: Macmillan, 1996), Vol. 2, p. 18.

¹⁶² Giorgio Bonsanti, 'La pittura del Duecento e del Trecento', in Bonsanti (2002), Vol. 1- Testi: Saggi, pp. 113-208; see pp. 203-206 for overview of Andrea de' Bartoli.

¹⁶³ Filippini (1911), p. 58. Leone Dorez ed., *La Canzone delle Virtù e delle Scienze di Bartolomeo di Bartoli da Bologna* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1904), p. 12; Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2058, *Decretum Gratiani*, undated, is signed at the end as: 'Correctus per dominum Franciscum de Prato et per Bartholomeum Bertholi de Bononia in ecclesia Sancti Barbatiani. Frater Adigherius condam Ugolini de Castagnolo scripsit.' Ms. Lat. 10072 at Munich, dated 1374, he signed: 'correctum et scriptum per me Bartholomeum de Bartholis de Bononia scriptorem', see Francesco Filippini, 'Bartolomeo de' Bartoli da Bologna e il poema in lode di Roberto d'Angiò', *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna VII* (1917), pp. 249-270, at p. 250; Paul Durrieu, 'La provenance d'un des plus beaux manuscrits peints au XIV siècle par Nicolò di Giacomo di Bologna', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 77* (1916), pp. 111-136, at p. 117. See also Susan L'Engle, 'Production and Purchase: Scribes, Illuminators and Customers' in *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections* (exhibition catalogue, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 3 November 2001-16 December 2001), eds Susan L'Engle and Robert Gibbs (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2001), pp. 39-53, at pp. 48-49. For his will of 1384, see Filippini (1917), p. 250, fn. 3.

as a scribe in 1330.¹⁶⁴ By 1358, Bartolomeo resided in the parish of S.Vitale, Bologna.¹⁶⁵ The account book of Alfonso Martini in May 1359 includes a payment to Bartolomeo (described as the brother of Andrea the painter) for books he had produced for Giovanni de Siena, deputy of Giovanni di Oleggio: ‘Item, the following day Saturday IIII of the said month, I gave, by mandate of my lord, to lord Giovanni di Siena, deputy of lord Giovanni di Oleggio, XL ducats for him to give to the brother of master Andrea the painter, for books which he had made for this lord, XL ducats.’¹⁶⁶ The same document provides evidence of work produced for Gil de Albornoz by both Bartolommeo and Andrea. In August 1359, Bartolommeo received payment for books which he had transcribed for Gil de Albornoz, whilst his brother Andrea was reimbursed for the purchase of pigments. The text does not specify the use given to these pigments, which could have been employed for the illumination of the books or for unrelated painting elsewhere: ‘Item, on Sunday XVIII of August, I gave in Cesena, by mandate of my lord, to master Bartholomeo, scribe, brother of master Andrea the painter, for books which he had transcribed for the lord, sixty ducats. Item, the same day, by mandate of my lord, I gave to the aforesaid master Andrea, for the purchase of pigments, fifty ducats.’¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Giorgio Orlandelli, ‘Bartoli Bartolomeo’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, VI (Rome, 1964), pp. 559-560; Bartolomeo, resident in the parish of S. Sigismondo, promised to transcribe a *Digestum Vetus* for a Bolognese book seller.

¹⁶⁵ Pini (1981), p. 357: ‘magister Bertolomeus Bertoli de Bertollis scriptor.’ Filippini (1917), p. 252, fn. 3 for document dated 1366: ‘in capella S.Vitalis in domo habitationis domini Bartollemei quondam ser Bartolli de Bartholis scriptoris.’

¹⁶⁶ ‘Item, sequenti die Salutati.mi.dn. IIII dicti mensis dedi de mandato domini, domino Iohanni de Senys, vicario domini Iohannis de Olegio, XL ducatos per eum dandos fratri magistri Andree pictoris pro libros quos facit pro domino.’ AA, *Libro di Spese*, Vol. II, no. 40, fol. 1v, quoted by Filippini (1905), doc. 81. Volpe (1970) referred to this document as *Libro di Spese*, Vol. II, no. 40, fol. 2r.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Istem die Dominico XVIII mensis Augusti dedi Cesene de mandato domini magistro Bartholomeo fratri magistri Andree pictoris scriptori pro libris quo scribit pro domino, duc.sexaginta. Item, eadem die dedi de mandato domini dicto magistro Andree pro emendis coloribus duc.cinquaginta.’ AA, *Libro di Spese*, Vol. II, n. 40, fol. 2r. Malaguzzi Valeri mentioned a very richly decorated *Digestum Vetus* with notes by Albornoz in the Collegio di Spagna, but gave no signature or detailed description and I have not been able to locate it. Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, ‘La miniatura in Bologna dal XIII al XVIII secolo’, *Archivio Storico Italiano* ser.V, XVIII (1896), pp. 242-315, p. 258: ‘il ricchissimo *Digestum vetus* annotato del card. Albornoz, del Collegio di Spagna ... ricco di figure intercalate nel testo.’

Cardinal Albornoz resided in Cesena at the time of this commission, which perhaps facilitated an encounter between the artists and the patron.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the portrayal of Albornoz in the chapel of Assisi may bear some actual resemblance to his appearance. The frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi were executed very soon after the death of the patron, and if the author of the frescoes is the same as that Andrea de' Bartoli who had illuminated manuscripts for the cardinal before, he would have remembered his patron's appearance, if he had met him in person.

On the preface to the book of expenses in the Collegio di Spagna for 1359-1360, Alfonso Martini stated that Andrea had received numerous payments for books produced for Cardinal Gil Albornoz.¹⁶⁹ Further on, the account book registered that on February 1360, Bartolommeo was sent to Pietro Farnese. It is implied that Andrea held the higher reputation of the two, since Bartolomeo is still described as 'brother of master Andrea': 'Item, on Saturday XXII of the said month of February, I sent master Bartholomeo of Bologna, scribe, brother of master Andrea the painter, by means of lord Petro de Farnese, by mandate of my lord, forty ducats.'¹⁷⁰

Bartolomeo may have also composed the *Canzone delle Virtù e delle Scienze* (Chantilly, Musèe Condè, Ms. 1426).¹⁷¹ The allegorical poem, written in 1349, was dedicated to Bruzio di

¹⁶⁸ Liotta and Nardi (1979), doc. 31: 'dominus Egidius Sabinensis episcopus ... Cesene morans.' Claramunt and Trenchs (1972), p. 395.

¹⁶⁹ AA, Vol. II, n. 40: 'Multa praeterea notantur pecuniarum summe Magistri Andree Scriptori per eundem solte pro libris ad ipsius Aegidii usu scribendis, pingendisque. Atque hinc multorum ex his, quos ab Aegidio habuimus, asservamusq., Codicem scriptore noscimus.'

¹⁷⁰ 'Item die Sabbati XXII dicti mensis Februarii misi magistro Bartholomeo de Bononia scriptori fratri magistri Andree pictoris pro dominum Petrum de Farnesio de mandato domini ducatus quadraginta.' AA, *Libro di spese*, Vol. II, no. 40, fol. 3v.

¹⁷¹ Filippini (1917), p. 257 suggested that Bartholomeo was the author of the text. The poem to Robert d'Anjou in Biblioteca Magliabechiana, Florence, has as appendix with the *Canzone*, and Filippini, *Ibid.*, pp. 268-270 attributed the Poema in lode to Francesco di Prato, the same who had worked with Bartolomeo in the *Decretum Gratiani* in Paris above. Florence, Biblioteca Magliabechiana, VII, n. 17.

Luchino Visconti, who is represented in one of its numerous illustrations.¹⁷² Dorez argued the connections with the Augustinian Order of this poem.¹⁷³ The illustrations of the *Canzone* have been attributed to Andrea.¹⁷⁴ In the same way that the iconography of the Virtues may have been derived from a cycle of frescoes, a manuscript may have influenced the iconography in the Assisi chapel of St. Catherine.¹⁷⁵ The wealth of detail in the scenes at Assisi does seem to show the influence of miniature illumination, which has been denied by recent authors.¹⁷⁶ Andrea adapted his style to the monumental scale, revealing his training as an illustrator.¹⁷⁷ It was not unusual for an artist to practice illumination and panel or fresco painting, and this was the case of Tomaso da Modena, Jacopo di Paolo (nephew of Niccolò) and Andrea de' Bartoli himself.¹⁷⁸ Andrea de' Bartoli had worked mostly as a manuscript illuminator, but that would not have been an impediment to his working on frescoes.¹⁷⁹ Simone Martini decorated manuscripts for

¹⁷² The manuscript is in Bibliothèque Condè, Chantilly. Orlandelli (1964), pp. 559-560. Dorez (1904), p. 9; in p. 11 he transcribed the final sentences of the text: 'Bartholomeo da Bologna di Bartholi/ Me fè, perch'io m'incarholi/ Cum miser Bruze, et feme a lui depinzere.'

¹⁷³ Dorez (1904), pp. 53-60.

¹⁷⁴ Filippini (1911), p. 58; Volpe (1979) p. 50; Bonsanti (2002), p. 204. Alessandro Conti, 'Problemi di Miniatura Bolognese', *Bollettino d'Arte* LXIV, n. 2 (1979), pp. 1-28. Cf. Orlandelli (1964), p. 559.

¹⁷⁵ For idea of a lost cycle of frescoes as inspiration for the *Canzone*, see Erbach de Fuerstenau (1911), pp. 111-112. He attributed the illuminations to Nicolo di Giacomo.

¹⁷⁶ Bonsanti (2002), p. 206.

¹⁷⁷ For the work of Andrea de' Bartoli as an illuminator, chiefly Ms. Lat. 8500 at the Bibliothèque Nationale du France and the Officium Sanctae Mariae Virginis at the Kremsmünster Benedictine Library, Austria, see Filippini (1911), p. 62, and Gerhard Schmidt, "Andreas me pinsit": Frühe Miniaturen von Niccolò di Giacomo und Andrea de' Bartoli in dem Bologneser Offiziolo der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXVI (1973), pp. 57-73, at pp. 60, 64. Cf. Count Adalberto Erbach de Fuerstenau (1911), p. 117; Volpe (1979), p. 51 and Elly Cassee, 'Illustratori bolognesi del Trecento', in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica. Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana. Cortona, 26-28 Maggio 1978*, ed. Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Wadenburg (Florence: Olschki, 1979), pp. 395-418, at pp. 415-418; Cassee (1980), pp. 30-32. Cf. Gibbs (1989), p. 46, fn. 112 and pp. 202, 221.

¹⁷⁸ Gibbs (1989), pp. 26, 34, 35 for Tommaso as illuminator.

¹⁷⁹ Bonsanti (2002) p. 206, pointed out that this influenced his style, in the landscape, framing and the layout of some scenes such as the Dispute with the Philosophers and the Martyrdom of Faustina.

Cardinal Stefaneschi and executed the frescoes in the Assisi chapels of St. Martin and St. Louis of Toulouse for Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore between 1322 and 1326.¹⁸⁰

The Bartoli brothers worked for the Visconti family, producing the 1349 Canzone della Virtù, and the 1365 frescoes in Pavia. Andrea also found employment with Androin de la Roche, although he chiefly worked for Albornoz.¹⁸¹ The painter would have been at the mercy of his patrons, and he was sent to the Visconti palace by Androin de la Roche. In the Summer of 1365 Andrea is documented working at the palace of Galeazzo Visconti in Pavia, together with Jacopino de' Papazzoni and his son Pietro: 'Master Andrea de Bartoli, Bolognese painter, sent by our lord [the] Cluniac papal legate to lord Galeazzo Visconti in order to paint in his palace in Pavia, for his salary of two months and ten days, began last 12 July when he arrived and finished 22 September when he finished the painting, at a ratio of 20 florins per month for him and for one apprentice, 46 florins, 21 sold. and 4 den. Item, for master Jacopino de Papazonibus and his son Pietro, painters, for their salaries of the said months and days which they worked, at a rate of 13,5 between them in a month, 30 florins and 3 Bolognese soldi.'¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Adrian S. Hoch, 'A New Document for Simone Martini's Chapel of St. Martin at Assisi', *Gesta* 24, No. 2 (1985), pp. 141-146.

¹⁸¹ Gibbs (1989), p. 202, referred to him as 'Albornoz's court artist'; at p. 27 he stated that Andrea was 'lent' to Galeazzo Visconti.

¹⁸² 'Magistro Andree de Bartolis pictori Bononiensi missum per dominum nostrum dum cluniacensem legatum Papiam ad dominum Galeatim Vicecomitem pro pingendo in eius palatio papiensi, pro suo salario mensium duorum et dierum X, inceptorum die XII mensis Iulii proximi preteriti, qua die iter arripuit, et finitorum die XXII septembris, qua die pingere cessavit, ad rationem florenorum viginti in mense pro se et uno eius discipulo, flor. quadraginta sex, sol. viginti unum et den .quatuor. Item pro magistro Iacobino de papazonibus et Petro eius filio, pictoribus, pro eorum salario dictorum mensium et dierum quo tempore serviverunt ut supra, ad rationem flor. tredecim cum dimidio inter ambos in mense, flor. triginta unum et s. tres bononienses...' 24 December 1365, Archivio di Stato, Bologna, Tesoreria (Introiti vari), 1365, fol. 241r, quoted by Francesco Filippini, 'Jacobino de' Papazzoni pittore bolognese del'300', *Bollettino d'Arte* IX (June 1915), pp. 179-180. For Jacopino and his son Pietro, see Filippini and Zucchini (1947), pp. 95-197, 120-125; Volpe (1970), p. 46; Francesco Arcangeli in *Natura ed espressione nell'arte Bolognese-Emiliana* (exhibition catalogue, Bologna, Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 12 September 1970- 22 November 1970), ed. Francesco Arcangeli (Bologna: Alfa, 1970), pp. 125-137.

Unfortunately, these paintings, the subject of which is not known, are lost without trace.¹⁸³ It can be ascertained that they were frescoes since Androin sent the painter there in person, whereas a book or an altarpiece could have been executed in Bologna and sent to Pavia. The only surviving fresco work by Andrea outside Assisi is found in the chapel of the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna, on a much smaller scale than the cycle at Assisi, and which is discussed below.¹⁸⁴ The frescoes in Assisi, an important pilgrimage focus, were accessible to a much wider audience than the work in Bologna.

3.2.5. The Infirmary

Albornoz left 1,000 florins to the Convent in his will: ‘Item I donate to the same convent 1,000 florins toward building in the church and in the convent.’¹⁸⁵ He did not specify the exact manner in which to spend the donation, which his testamentary executors allotted to the Infirmary in 1368. At the meeting held at Bologna, they decided to use 500 florins to cover the expenses of transporting wood from Massa Trabaria to Ponte S. Giovanni in Perugia, for the building of the Infirmary.¹⁸⁶ The large amount of money spent on wood indicates that it was destined for the

¹⁸³ *Natura ed espressione* (1970), p. 142; Volpe (1979), p. 46.

¹⁸⁴ Volpe (1979). Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 133, stated that Albornoz had called Andrea de’ Bartoli to paint the Collegio and the chapel, although there is no documentary evidence to support such statement.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix I, line 39; Sepúlveda (1780), XXVI. For payment of the sum, Filippini (1910), p. 59, AA, Vol. IX, n. 9 for procurator, and n. 14.

¹⁸⁶ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 79r-v: ‘fratres et Conventus monasterij Sancti Francisci de Asisio debeant recipere et habere mille florenos auri de quibus mille florenis debent habere quingentos florenos pro expensis necesarijs fiendis ad conducendum lignamiam de montibus Massetrabarie usque ad pontem sancti Johanis de perusio ad opus et fabricam infirmarie dicti monasterij sancti francisci de Asissio prout hoc dictus dominus Egidius Cardinalis in vita sua et ipso umanis agente disposuerat.’

roofing of the building.¹⁸⁷ The remaining 500 florins were to cover the building expenses to complete the Infirmary.¹⁸⁸

The *Infermeria Nuova* is a three-floor structure rising in the southwest of the convent, an area which was extended during the fourteenth century (Fig. 100).¹⁸⁹ The earliest documentation dates from 1337.¹⁹⁰ In 1343 a patch of land was donated and added to the complex, and it was here that, according to Thode, Cardinal Albornoz wished to erect the new infirmary.¹⁹¹ Albornoz's coat of arms is reportedly on one of the walls of the internal courtyard.¹⁹² It has been suggested that Albornoz was responsible for its building, or at least its completion, since 1,000 florins would not have covered the whole building expenses.¹⁹³ The building had been commenced ten years before Albornoz arrived in Italy; the same Dialta di Gualterio who in 1343 had bequeathed 100 pounds toward a chapel in Assisi, donated her bed and 10 pounds 'for the work of the new infirmary in San Francesco in Assisi.'¹⁹⁴ In 1355, Puciarello Garuglioli and Cece Vannole were mentioned in a document as having worked in the '*infirmarie nove*',

¹⁸⁷ Roof timbers from Massa Trabaria in Duecento and Trecento were employed as rafters, this was the only place where the trees grew tall enough. Gamurrini, 'Documenti dal Cod. dell' Angelica 18 D7', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 10 (1887), pp. 173-202, docs. XVIII-XX.

¹⁸⁸ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 79v: 'residuos quoque quingentos florenos recipere et habere debeant predicti fratres et conventus pro subsidio ad complendum construturam et fabricam infirmarie predictae'. Filippini (1922-23), p. 79 stated that Albornoz planned a tower on the south-west side of the Infirmary.

¹⁸⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 50, 155.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 155; see Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. I, pp. 43-44.

¹⁹¹ Thode (1926), pp. 209, 299.

¹⁹² Reported by Thode (1926), p. 209; Filippini (1910), p. 55, and Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 156. I could not gain access to this area to confirm this and have not located an illustration of it.

¹⁹³ Scarpellini in Pietralunga (1982), p. 89, fn. 411; Filippini (1910), p. 55. Cf. Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 155-56.

¹⁹⁴ Filippini (1910), p. 55, fn. 2: 'Item reliquid de bonis suis pro opera infirmarie nove Sancti Francisci de Assisio decem libras denariorum. Item reliquid pro sustentatione infirmorum fratrum in dicta infirmaria lectum suum.' Cf. Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. III, 80a, Cenci (1974), p. 93. Nesi (1991), pp. 116-117, no. 387. In 1347, Puciarello Tomassetti Guarnierio left a donation to the Infirmary, see Cenci (1974), p. 99.

although it was a short spate of work (fourteen and ten days each, respectively).¹⁹⁵ Building work was ongoing in 1361.¹⁹⁶

Although Filippini attributed the building to Gattapone, his name does not appear in any surviving documentation related to this work.¹⁹⁷ Niccolò da Bettona is the only documented *magister* working here, with his son, between 1357 and 1362.¹⁹⁸ The works extended over 40 years, making the attribution to one architect difficult; Gattapone may have supervised the project whilst he was in charge of the chapel of St. Catherine.¹⁹⁹ The posthumous contribution of Albornoz to this project was decisive for its completion.²⁰⁰ Fratini's dating for the Infirmary as 1353-1360 was, with the help of documentary evidence, changed to 1343-1377.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Cenci (1974), p. 118, 4 May 1355; 'Puciarellò Garugloli pro xiiii diebus in opera infirmarie nove. Item, Cecce Vannole pro x diebus in dicto opere.' See also *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 141.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁹⁷ Filippini (1910), p. 62. Filippini (1922-23), p. 79. Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 50-51.

¹⁹⁸ Niccolò also worked in the cloister in 1360. Cenci (1974), pp. 129-133.

¹⁹⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 156.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50; the first references to Albornoz and the Infirmary were made by Pietralunga (1982), pp. 88-89; see also Cristofani (1959), pp. 187-88; Thode (1926), pp. 209-210; Kleinschmidt (1915-28), Vol. I, pp. 43-44. Cenci (1974), p. 157, for donation in July 1368 to the ongoing work at the infirmary: 'fabrica infirmarie nove perficienda iuxta infirmariam veterem conventus [s. Francisci].'

²⁰¹ Thode (1926), p. 209.

3.3. Bologna: The Collegio di Spagna

Gil Albornoz, who described himself as ‘Spanish cardinal’, established in his will the foundation of a residential college for students in Bologna.²⁰² Reflecting on the decaying cultural standards in his native land, which had been ravaged by war, famine and social instability, the cardinal wished to contribute to the better education of twenty-four students reading their degrees in Bologna.²⁰³

The colleges established in France from the thirteenth century provided the model for the educational foundations which sought to assist students and ensure the survival of academic knowledge.²⁰⁴ The Collegio di Spagna’s main function was to provide a safe environment conducive to study.²⁰⁵ The college would provide free lodging to law students who struggled to meet the inflated costs of accommodation.²⁰⁶ It was self-contained and self-sufficient.²⁰⁷

²⁰² Glénisson and Mollat (1964), doc. 183: ‘Devota creatura vestra Egidio, cardinali Hispano.’

²⁰³ ‘Et quia principalis intencio predicti domini nostri post sue salute anime fuit in huiusmodi domus costruzione providere ignorantie Yspanorum inter quos propter guerrarum discrimina et alias infinitas calamitates que temporibus suis illis provincie obvenerunt, litterarum sciencia sive peritorum copia multum est diminuta, propter quod voluit in ea tantum Yspanos / esse et pro tanto in suo testament eam mandavit Domum Yspanicam nominari.’ Statute III of the Collegio di Spagna, dated 1377, Marti (1966), p. 132. Peter Linehan, ‘Ecclesie Non Mittentes: The Thirteenth-Century Background’ in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 261-274, at p. 263. Hastings Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* Vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1936, 2nd edition, first published 1895), pp. 74-90, p. 82.

²⁰⁴ Cf. M E Rabat, ‘Les Cholets: Étude historique et topographique d’un college parisien.’ *Ecole National des Chartes, Position des Theses*, 1971, pp. 149-55. Paravicini Bagliani (1980), pp. 250-267. Astrik L. Gabriel, ‘The College System in the Fourteenth Century’ in *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Francis Lee Utley (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1967), pp. 79-124, at pp. 82-85, 110-112. Whilst some colleges were founded by kings (Navarre, 1304) or members of the nobility, the leading force in the flourishing of colleges in the 14th century were prelates.

²⁰⁵ For definition of college, see Gabriel (1967), p. 89. The English colleges were completely autonomous, unlike the French, see pp. 94-95. In this, the Collegio di Spagna is closer to the English model than the French. See Marti (1966), p. 25. In the 14th century most of the University teaching took place outside the colleges, which held disputations, and eventually held more teaching in the following century.

²⁰⁶ In 1344, Bertrand des Déaux threatened to transfer the Studium of Montpellier due to the high rents charged to students. Paolo Nardi, ‘Relations with authority’, in *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 77-107, at p. 99. For student life in Bologna, see Rainer Christoph Schwinges, ‘Student education, student life’, in *A History of the*

Albornoz thus became a benefactor of scholars; his charitable foundation would ensure earthly recognition and a spiritual compensation, since the fortunate students remembered the Cardinal in their prayers.²⁰⁸ Albornoz ordered the construction of what he wished to be known as *Domus Hispanica*, and made this foundation his universal heir: ‘I also request that using my remaining possessions, a college for scholars be made in the city of Bologna, in a suitable location, that is, near the University, and an appropriate lodging be built, with a garden, inner court and rooms, and there be built an appropriate and good chapel to the honour of the blessed Saint Clement martyr, and it is to acquire sufficient rents to provide for twenty-four students and two chaplains, for their funds and livelihood ... this house or College I want to name Spanish House and the aforesaid College or house I make universal heir to all my money, household goods, books of Canon and Civil Law, and all other possessions of mine, and also anything that is owed to me by my administrators in the diocese of Toledo and Segovia, and their successors, and what is owed to me by the King of Castille, and by others who have appropriated my assets, and the revenue from all the benefices I hold in the kingdoms of Castille and Leon.’²⁰⁹

The Statutes established that the scholarships were to be granted exclusively to Spanish candidates from the dioceses where Albornoz had held benefices.²¹⁰

University in Europe. Vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 195-243, at p. 239.

²⁰⁷ Gabriel (1967), p. 104: the oldest colleges in Oxford were a combination of separate buildings. He attributed the merit of the quadrangle plan to bishop William Wykeham of Oxford, ‘who conceived this ideal plan for a college building.’ New College dates are 1380-86.

²⁰⁸ See Schwinges (1992), p. 216.

²⁰⁹ Appendix I, lines 58-61; Sepúlveda (1780), LIV.

²¹⁰ The Statutes of 1377 specified that the places were linked to those where he had held benefices. See Marti (1966), pp. 132-139; 4 from Toledo, from his family 2, Seville 2, Cuenca 4, Compostela 1, Zaragoza 3, Avila 2, Salamanca 2, Burgos 2, Leon 6 or 5?, Cordoba 1. In total, the Statutes mentioned 30 scholars, including the rector .Branda Castiglione founded a college for 24 students of different nationalities in Pavia, see Kane (2000), p. 38. The average duration of the scholarship was 8 years, see Statute VII, 1377, Marti (1966), pp. 156-164. By 1375, the Collegio had a financial surplus and was able to offer funding to 6 more students from the original 24, Marti (1966), p. 23; 129, Statute II: total of 30 students, 8 in Theology, 18 in Canon Law and 4 in Medicine. The possibility of adding 6 more fellowships ten years after Albornoz’s death is a credit to efficient administration and the wealth of

The college would cover students' material and spiritual needs. The Statutes regulated the rights and duties of the students and governing body of the College, and although the earliest surviving copy dates from 1375-1377, it is likely that Albornoz composed the first version.²¹¹ Albornoz was an experienced legislator, although he delegated the care of the institution to his nephew, and in 1368 the testamentary executors had been given powers to establish its regulations. In 1369, Cardinal Anglic Grimoard was appointed to supervise the Statutes, and was nominated protector of the Collegio in the 1377 Statutes.²¹² It was decided that, after Anglic's death, the College would be under the protection of the incumbent Castilian cardinal; if this was not feasible, its guardian would be the cardinal of Sabina at the time.²¹³

The college provided necessary clothing (including the sheepskin gown customary for those attending Bologna university), and full boarding in individual, furnished rooms. Its facilities included a chapel, kitchen, and an infirmary.²¹⁴ Students were firmly encouraged to care for the College property.²¹⁵ The two resident chaplains looked after the spiritual welfare of the students, who had to attend one of the two daily Masses celebrated in the chapel.

Why did Albornoz choose to set his educational foundation in the city of Bologna? Albornoz had studied Canon Law, and Bologna was the leading centre for legal studies; he had been himself a foreigner in Italy and perhaps wished to encourage his fellow nationals to share his experience of the country. Given that they were compelled to travel abroad to acquire their

the endowment, see J. M. Fletcher, 'The Spanish College - Some observations on its foundation and early statutes', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 73-91, at p. 81.

²¹¹ Antonio García y García, 'El legado de libros del cardenal Gil de Albornoz al Colegio de España de Bolonia' *Studi Senesi* III serie, XXI (1972), pp. 7-43 (hereafter referred to as García y García, 1972b), p. 14, after Marti (1966), p. 196. See *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹² Marti (1966), pp. 27, 69.

²¹³ Statute LIX, Marti (1966), pp. 344-347.

²¹⁴ Statutes XVIII (clothing and furnishings), XIX (infirmary), Marti (1966), pp. 216-233.

²¹⁵ Statute XVIII, Marti (1966), pp. 222-225.

education, he wanted to assist them in their experience. Apart from being a renowned centre of learning, with the oldest university of Italy, Bologna was the burial place of St. Dominic, a fellow Castillian saint and founder of a learned Order. In 1360, Albornoz endorsed the university of Bologna's request to open a Theology faculty, which was granted in 1364.²¹⁶ He reserved eight positions in his College for students of Theology.²¹⁷ In doing so, Fletcher argued, Albornoz ensured the predominantly Spanish presence in the new faculty, and promoted the study of Theology by secular students.²¹⁸ In 1362, Capocci had sponsored six secular candidates to read Theology in Perugia.²¹⁹ In Bologna, where the Mother Church of the Dominican Order was located, Dominican scholars taught at the Faculty of Theology and at the Collegio di Spagna.²²⁰

At the time of foundation of the College, Albornoz's nephew Gomez de Albornoz was governor of Bologna.²²¹ His other nephew, Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz, who had first arrived in the city in 1353 to study Law, had recently completed his studies, in 1361.²²² Albornoz left the execution of the project of his foundation in the competent hands of the latter and of Alfonso

²¹⁶ Marti (1966), p. 17. Canon Etienne Delaruelle, 'La politique universitaire des papes d'Avignon –spécialement d'Urbain V- et la fondation du Collège Espagnol de Bologne', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 7-39, at pp. 28-33. In 1360, Innocent VI had granted Theology degrees in Toulouse, see Rashdall (1936), Vol. II, p. 167.

²¹⁷ Statute II, Marti (1966), pp. 128-129.

²¹⁸ Fletcher (1972), pp. 83-89, at p. 86: 'No Italian secular could obtain a college place at Bologna for the study of theology in the later medieval period.'

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85; cf. Rashdall (1936), Vol. II, p. 41.

²²⁰ Alfonso D'Amato, *I Domenicani e l'Università di Bologna* (Bologna: Edizioni Studio domenicano, 1988), pp. 212-218.

²²¹ Filippini (1933), p. 246.

²²² ACT, Ms 4-2, fol. 1v: 'Anno domini MCCCLIII in die Mercurii XXV mensis Septembris intravi Bononiam causa studiorum. Die veneris XI Octobris incepti audire Decretales sub domino Paulo de Lyazariis decretorum excellentissimo professore. Anno LXI die 28 mensis Julii intravi examen sub domino Johanne Andrea Decretorum et Domino Ioanne de Lignano utriusque iuris et domino Andrea de Sancto Petronio nepote domini Ioannis Andree decretorum doctoribus pro quo fui publice approbatus. Anno eodem in die dominica XVII Octobris recepi insignia doctoratus Bononie publice in ecclesia sancti Petri sub eiusdem dominis doctoribus.' Published by García y García (1972a), p. 160. For documents regarding Fernando and his career, see pp. 138-141. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 52v, and Russell (1959), p. 324.

Fernandez, treasurer of Toledo Cathedral. They were required to stay in Bologna for at least two years after Albornoz's death to ensure the completion of their task, purchasing the necessary lands and supervising the building progress, for which they would receive a payment of 600 florins each:²²³ 'Item I wish and order that the aforesaid Fernando Alvarez, abbot of Valladolid, and Alfonso Fernandez, *camerarius*, are to be in full charge of the administration and management of the building of the aforesaid house, that is, the College and the chapel, and to secure [the necessary] properties and income for the livelihood of the aforesaid twenty-four students and two chaplains. I request of them, and order them in as much as I am able to, that after my death they remain in Bologna for at least two continuous years afterward, in order to fulfill the aforesaid request, and I bequeath them six hundred florins each for their expenses and for their work in executing the aforesaid matters.'²²⁴

In November 1364 Fernando Alvarez and Alfonso Fernandez made the first purchase of a property on the site where the college was to rise, near the Zaragoza gate.²²⁵ Despite claims that the area is associated to Zaragoza after Albornoz's foundation, the name was being used for a street and, by association, a whole quarter, since 1250.²²⁶ The parish of S. Caterina of Zaragoza in the Porta S. Procolo quarter is documented in 1322.²²⁷ The Law faculty schools were

²²³ Documents referring to the purchase of lands and properties for the College are preserved in Toledo, see ACT, Ms. 43-1. See González (1972).

²²⁴ Appendix I, lines 62-63; Sepúlveda (1780), LV.

²²⁵ Mario Fanti, 'Intorno al nome della 'Via Saragozza' in Bologna', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 363- 377. Also in Marti (1966), p. 60.

²²⁶ Fanti (1979), p. 366, fn. 4; p. 369 for 12th-century mention of Zaragoza. Sepúlveda (1780), IV, fol. 78r stated that Albornoz had renamed the area to honour his beloved city: 'quam Aegidius mutato vocabulo Caesaraugustae a nomine amatae urbis appellavit.' Sepúlveda, *Brevis Collegii Descriptio, et quorundam quae ad ipsum pertinent comemoratio*, 1520, published by Enio Cortese ed., 'Descripciones del Colegio (Siglos XVI-XIX)', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 549- 594, at pp. 553-559; p. 554.

²²⁷ Pini (1981), p. 363.

concentrated on this quarter, which is near S. Domenico.²²⁸ Although the name of Zaragoza may have reflected a trading point for Spanish merchants, it is more likely that the name is connected to the local concentration of Spanish students and academics, most likely from Aragon (Zaragoza being the main city in the region) or Catalonia.²²⁹ Students sharing national origin associated in Nations, and other streets in Bologna attest to the areas where they settled together.²³⁰

A number of houses were demolished in the area designated, and further acquisitions followed throughout 1368.²³¹ The contract for the building, which was composed on 5 April 1365, has survived.²³² The Bolognese master builders Andrea di Pietro, Giovanni de Francesco di Montechiari, Mino di Panfilo and Zenano di Tura agreed to complete the building by the feast of All Saints of 1366.²³³ The commissioners were Fernando Alvarez and Alfonso Fernandez, acting as procurators of Cardinal Gil de Albornoz.²³⁴ The masters who set up the foundations and main structure of the building were to follow the directions of the cardinal, his executors or 'his engineer.' The architect, who is not named in this contract, was Matteo di Gattapone, whose

²²⁸ James F. O’Gorman, *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy, 1300-1600* (New York: New York University Press, 1972), p. 7; L’Engle (2001), p. 233.

²²⁹ Fanti (1979), p. 375. Candido Mesini OFM, ‘Gli spagnoli a Bologna prima della fondazione del collegio di Egidio d’Albornoz (1364-1369)’, in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 41-71, at pp. 52, 55-60. Marti (1966), pp. 17, 58.

²³⁰ Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), p. 9: in 1265, the Spanish and Catalonians each had a nation in Bologna. Mesini (1972), p. 60.

²³¹ Filippini (1922-23), p. 80. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 88. For documents related to these purchases, see Archivo del Colegio, Instrumenta praediorum urbanorum, box 1, docs. 1-8, 9-10, 11-14, 15, 16, 20-22, 24-25, 28-A.

²³² Bologna, Archivo del Colegio di Spagna, Instrumenta praediorum urbanorum, box 1, doc. 35. First published by Filippini (1922-1923), doc. 2, without acknowledging source. I have used the transcription by Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 197-203. Most recent publication in González-Varas Ibáñez (1998), pp. 177-179.

²³³ ‘Magister Andreas quondam Petri, murator de capella sancte Marie de Muradellis, magister Johannes quondam Francisci de Monteclaro de capella sancti Christofori de Saragocia, magister Minus quondam Panfili, murator de capella Santi Proculi, et magister Zenanes quondam magistri Ture, murator de capella S.Thome de Mercato, omnes cives bononienses suis propriis nominibus et vice et nomine sotiorum ipsorum et aliorum magistrorum quos secum habere voluerint.’ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 197; Filippini (1922-23), p. 80, fn. 17.

²³⁴ ‘Fernando Alvari de Albornotio Abbati Vallisoletani, diocesis palentine et decretorum doctori, bononiae commoranti, et Alfonso Fernandi thexaurario tolletano ... camerario ipsius domini Sabinensis procuratoribus specialiter deputatis et pro ipso domino Egidio stipulantibus et recipientibus.’ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 197.

role in the construction is documented elsewhere; he must have had a separate contract, which has not survived.²³⁵

The 1365 contract specified that it was to be a building with four sections organised around a central courtyard, which should also include a chapel. Precise measurements were given for each wing (Fig. 101).²³⁶ The contract stipulated the employment of the octagonal pilasters that support the arcades of the ground floor, as well as the use of stone vaulting throughout, as the cardinal or his delegated officers saw fit.²³⁷ The chapel was to be 20 feet wide with a projecting, polygonal apse, and good quality carving on its external pilasters.²³⁸ The external walls had to be 35 feet high, and the foundations of the building were to be 4 feet deep.²³⁹ The master builders were to execute the wall openings such as doors, wardrobes or cupboards, windows and fireplaces as specified ‘by Cardinal Albornoz and his architect.’²⁴⁰ The courtyard was to be articulated in two storeys covered with cross vaulting, and with octagonal pillars with carved sandstone mensules or capitals (Fig. 102).²⁴¹ Two stairs were planned, to be

²³⁵ Bologna, Archivio del Collegio di Spagna, Instrumenta praediorum urbanorum, box 1, doc. 37, ff. 2r, 3r: ‘magistri Mathei Guataponi de Eugubio factoris et ingegnerii, ac supstantis prefati domini Sabinensis ipsi laborerio, ac palliorum predictis constructioni et heredificationi per prefatum dominum Sabinensem specialiter deputati..’, quoted by Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 48, fn. 41, 3 April 1366 and 25 May 1367.

²³⁶ ‘In primis debet esse primum palatium in longitudine duodecim perticarum comunis pro qualibet duarum spondarum totius dicti laborerii a latere exteriori. Et in latitudine decem perticarum comunis in aliis duabus spondis exterioribus dicti laborerii.’ Serra Desfilis (1992), p.198.

²³⁷ ‘pilastris ad octo cantones et totum laborerium in voltis et croceriis et clavibus necessariis in dicto laborerio, pro ut dicto domino Sabinensi vel eius officialibus ad hoc deputatis videbitur expedire.’ Ibid.

²³⁸ ‘unam capellam per viginti pedes comunis extra finem palatii, que sit collecta in formam octo faciarum sive cantonum et si lata viginti pedum comunis, et debeant facere pillastros exteriores de lapidibus novis tagliatis et complicatis bene et sufficienter.’ Ibid.

²³⁹ The Bolognese foot measured 38 cm. Filippini (1922-23), p. 81. ‘Item facere fundamenta dicti laborerii pallaciorum et capelle subtus terram cavos per quatuor pedes comunis et duos pedes comunis cum dimidio in grossitudine et ab inde supra facere muros grossitudine a terra supra duorum pedum comunis et plus vel minus ut supra ... teneantur in altitudine usque ad quantitatem trigintaquinque pedum comunis.’ Ibid., p. 199.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.: ‘Item pacere in dictis muris hostia fenestras portas et armaria et caminos necessarios et necessaria in dictis palaciis ad voluntatem dicti domini Sabinensis et sui ingegnerii et necessaria privata seu secreta in eisdem et conducta eorum.’

²⁴¹ Ibid.: ‘Item debent facere, supra et infra, curitoria seu andavana circum circa de vacuo octo pedum communis et posita in pilastris factis ut dictum est ad octo cantones cum mexulis seu capitellis laboratis et taiatis cum archis et banchalibus et cum voltis infra et supra ut dictum est.’

located ‘wherever either Albornoz or his engineer choose.’²⁴² The building had to be vaulted throughout on its two levels, with round arches, except in the chapel.²⁴³ The materials had to be seen and approved by ‘the engineer of the cardinal.’²⁴⁴ The contract does not mention the exact number of rooms or window openings, the well, or the drainage system; it is mainly concerned with the measurements and the employment of good-quality materials. Only a limited number of recycled materials sourced from the buildings that were demolished for the construction of the College could be used.²⁴⁵ The contract requested six stone panels carved with heraldry, and ornamental sculpture, to be decided by Albornoz or his ‘engineer’, to be placed above the main doorway.²⁴⁶ The master builders undertook to work continuously on the project, although the contract did not contemplate the imposition of a fine if the set deadline was not met.²⁴⁷ There

²⁴² Ibid., p. 199: ‘Item facere duas scalas in loco ubi declaratum fuerit per dictum dominum Sabinensem vel eius ingignerium, unam a dextris et alteram a sinistris in laborerio supradicto et modo et forma et de his lapidibus secundum quod declarabit dictus ingignerius.’

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 198: ‘in duabus voltis ex croceriis una supra alteram positis, que croxerie debeant habere rotundinos et subarchos et posite in pilastris et archis ipsarum voltarum tam prime quam secunde, salvo quod capella non habeat nisi unam voltam pro tecto cum rotundinis et subarchis intaiatis et de lapidibus novis.’

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 200: ‘Item ponere in laborerio supradicto bonam et sufficientem calcinam, vixam et laudatam et similiter lapides laudatas per ingignerios dicti domini Sabinensis.’

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 201: ‘Liceat tamen ipsis magistris ponere in dictis muris interioribus lapides veteres existentes in dicto caxamento et de domibus ibidem existentibus et ipsos lapides habere et recipere pro pretio pro quolibet miliare quinquaginta novem solidum bononie, quos lapides et calzaturas debent habere pro dictis pretiis descalcinatas ibidem. Et nulli alii lapides veteres quam predicti in dicto caxamento existentes et reperti possint vel debeant ponere vel laborare aut poni vel laborari facere nullo modo.’ Cf. Sienese contract of 1340, see Franklin Toker, ‘Gothic Architecture by Remote Control: An Illustrated Building Contract of 1340’, *Art Bulletin* LXVII (1985), pp. 67-95, at pp. 90-93. There is no documentary evidence to support that the Collegio employed stones from Forlimpopoli, see Filippini (1922-23), p. 82.

²⁴⁶ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 200: ‘Item ponere supra portam anteriorem dicti primi palatii sex lapides vivos scultos et intaiatos ad armaturas et sculturas designandas et deliberandas per dictum dominum Sabinensem vel eius ingignerium, quas laborare et sculpire teneantur dicti magistri dumodo dicti lapides sibi tradantur ad laborerium per dominum supradictum vel eius ingignerium.’ For Siena, see Toker (1985), p. 90.

²⁴⁷ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 200: ‘Item debent perserverare in dicto laborerio continue et solícite per se et alios asumendos, ita quod prime volte perfecte sint usque ad festum omnium sanctorum proxime venturum et complementum dicti laborerii et reliqua fienda in eo perfecta sint ex parte eorum deinde ad alium festum omnium sanctorum anni millesimi trecentissimi sexagesimi sexti.’ Cf. Siena contract, which had to be fulfilled by January 1341, see Toker (1985), p. 94.

was also a compromise for the upkeep of the building, a kind of guarantee, for four years, in case of defects or foundation problems.²⁴⁸

The Archive of the Collegio holds documents relating to the payments for the building campaign between 1365 and 1370.²⁴⁹ In the Spring of 1365, the building plot was about to incorporate part of Via Landronella, something which Androin de la Roche sanctioned.²⁵⁰ The framework of the building must have been in place by 1366, when wooden beams for the roof were paid for.²⁵¹ Between 1366 and 1367, Jacopo and Simone di Filippo coloured the pilasters, arches and cornices of the courtyard.²⁵² In January 1369 Matteo Gattapone received 175 florins as payment for his work between June 1368 and January 1369, at a rate of 25 ducats per month.²⁵³ The contract of 5 April 1365 did not name the *ingegnerius* mentioned throughout the text, but Matteo appears at the end as a witness.²⁵⁴ The day after, Matteo acted as witness to the receipt of Albornoz's books in S. Domenico, Bologna; his name is not preceded by any title such as *magister, ser, or ingegnerius*.²⁵⁵ This raises the issue of documentary practice in the Trecento, when it seems that the professional title was mostly used in books of expenses to denote the

²⁴⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 200: 'Item debent manuntenere laborerium supradictum per quatuor annos continuos a die expleti laborerii, si aliquis deffectus acciderit in dicto laborerio.'

²⁴⁹ Filippini (1922-23), fn. 26 listed them as Parte II, Armadio III, n.I e 2. ms.cart. aprile 1365-giugno 1367, e 1368-1369.

²⁵⁰ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 88, fn. 5, 18 febr.1365; Androin had granted permission on 21 March 1365 to incorporate the street. See Marti (1966), p. 60.

²⁵¹ Filippini (1922-23), p. 82.

²⁵² Bologna, Archivio del Collegio di Spagna, parte II, armadio III, vacchetta di spese n. I, quoted by Filippini (1922-23), n. 34. Filippini and Zucchini (1947), pp. 130, 210. Gibbs (1989), p. 13.

²⁵³ 24 January 1369. Filippini (1922-23), doc. 5. Magister Matheus Gataponi de eugubio, , ducatus centum septuaginta quinque boni auri, iusti et legatis ponderis, et hoc pro servitiis et salario per dictum magistrum Matheum cum persona sua a die XXVI mensis iunii MCCCLXVIII citra usque in diem presentem dicto palatio prestitis, ad rationem vigintiquinque ducatorum pro mense.' Cf. different transcription by Filippini (1910), p. 61, fn. 5. 'pro servitiis per eum prestitis dicto palatio'.

²⁵⁴ 'Acta fuerunt predicta Bononie in domibus monasterii Sanctorum Victoris et Johannis in Monte, presentibus discretis viris Petro de Monte Ughi, canonico Bononiensi, magistro Cichino quondam Melli de Imolla, magistro Matheo Guataputi de Eugubio, Johannes quondam Bombologni de Maximillis de capella sancte Marie predictae, qui dixerunt se ipsos cognoscere contrahentes.' Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 89.

²⁵⁵ 'Mateo de Chatepognis de Egubio'. 6 April 1365. Marti (1966), pp. 77-82, p. 81.

category and varying salaries. The name of the architect was not necessarily written in the contract for the builders or masons. Matteo appears as director of the works from 1 May 1365 until 25 February 1367, with a salary of 20 lire per month, but no *magister* title precedes his name.²⁵⁶ He was receiving 50 gold florins per month at the same time for his work in Spoleto.²⁵⁷ The Collegio was finished on 24 May 1367, and the following day Matteo de Gattapone and the notary Francesco Aspetati distributed the final payments due to the builders.²⁵⁸ The grand total spent on the College amounted to 3,864 lire, 15 soldi and 9 denari.²⁵⁹ The building had been swiftly erected: it began in May 1365, and was finished by February 1367; in 1368 it opened its doors to the first group of students.²⁶⁰ Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz was ordained priest in the chapel of the collegio in September 1369.²⁶¹ Fernando was a lecturer of Law in Bologna, where Anglic Grimoard ordained him bishop of Lisbon, at S. Domenico, in September 1369. In 1371, Gregory XI transferred Fernando to the archbishopric of Sevilla, and he left Bologna in 1372.²⁶²

²⁵⁶ Filippini (1922-23), p. 81. Yet Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 47, fn. 38 stated that the first document referring to Matteo as directing the works is April 1365, Libros de Contabilidad I, 1365-1367, fol. 9r. For further payments to Gattapone, 21 April 1365 to 10 June 1367, Filippini (1922), doc. 3.

²⁵⁷ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 48, fn. 41; see above, *Chapter 2*, p. 121.

²⁵⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 48; p. 89 for another payment dated 8 May 1367.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49, dated 25 May 1367.

²⁶⁰ Kiene (1983), p. 235. White (1993), p. 534 dated its construction and substantial completion between 1365 and 1370. Antonio Pérez Martín, 'El colegio Vives', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. VI, pp. 111-214, at p. 121 stated that the college was functioning in 1368. Volpe (1979), p. 53 stated that students arrived 1369; cf. Marti (1966), p. 63 for date of December 1368. Sepúlveda in 1520 stated that the Collegio was built in 1365; see Cortese (1979), p. 555.

²⁶¹ García y García (1972a), p. 165. ACT, Ms. 4-2, fol. 1v; BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 55v: 'Anno eodem M.CCC.LXIX.... Eodem anno in die sabbati quatuor temporum die XXII. dicti mensis Septembris fui in presbyterum ordinatus Bononie in capella Collegij bone memorie Domini mei Domini Sabinensis per Dominum Petrum de Toletum Episcopum Oxomensem.'

²⁶² García y García (1972a), p. 165.

In 1369, the chapter of the Collegio held a meeting in the ground floor of the courtyard to discuss the execution of Albornoz's will regarding the local monasteries of S. Giovanni in Monte and S. Vittorio, where he had funded building repairs.²⁶³

The college building, which Sepúlveda described in the sixteenth century, has undergone numerous restorations.²⁶⁴ The use of cross vaulting throughout the building rendered it more resistant to fire, although it forced Gattapone to resort to iron rods to strengthen the structure (Fig. 103).²⁶⁵ The upper part of the facade had three windows that lit the Sala Magna, covered with cross-vaulting.²⁶⁶ A cornice decorated with trilobed arches runs throughout the upper wall, throughout the length of the building. The courtyard has twenty octagonal brick pilasters, with sandstone base and capitals.²⁶⁷ The capitals, carved with scrolls and oak leaves by the Bolognese master Domenico di m. Masino Donducci, were originally coloured red by masters Jacobo and Simone (Fig. 104).²⁶⁸ The red tonality, which is one of the defining features of Bolognese architecture, is used here to emphasize the capitals, arches and cornices. The well, in the south-west corner, shows the carved coat of arms of Albornoz.

The Collegio has 24 student rooms distributed over the two floors of the square courtyard. Each room has a vaulted ceiling and is furnished with a fireplace and a cupboard for storage of books. The entrance to the rooms in the ground floor is through a pointed archway

²⁶³ Transcribed in Marti (1966), pp. 83-88, p. 84: 'domini Sabinensis, olim administratoris et gubernatoris dictorum monasteriorum ... in tempore vite sue ... faciendo reparari domos possessionum dictorum monasterium ... in quibus reparationibus et cultivationibus de eius propria pecunia nonnullas quantitates pecunie expendi fecit.'

²⁶⁴ Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Brevis Collegii Descriptio, et quorundam quae ad ipsum pertinent comemoratio*, 1520, published by Cortese (1979), pp. 553-559. Marchini (1979), pp. 23-26 for 1415 restorations. Pierfranco Agrestini, 'Gli interventi edilizi nel Collegio di Spagna negli ultimi 100 anni', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España* ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 349-361.

²⁶⁵ Marchini (1979), p. 15.

²⁶⁶ Filippini (1922-23), p. 83.

²⁶⁷ For use of brick pillars in Bologna, see Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 104, fn. 38.

²⁶⁸ Filippini (1922-23), p. 83, refers to Archivio del Collegio, parte II, Armadio III, n. 1, c. 9' and c. 48-50. The providers of carved stones for the collegio were mainly the Dalle Masegne di Varignana, Giovanni di Pietro, Pietro di Giovanni, his son, Jacobo de Boldino and Giovanni di Riguzzo. For the red colouring, see *ibid.*, c. 5 and 7, they were painted in 1366 and 1367.

whereas those on the upper floor use round arches. Two types of rather simple capitals alternate in the two storeys of the courtyard. To the east of the courtyard is the chapel, with the rooms of the rector and chaplains opening on its sides. The organisation of the spaces around a central courtyard has been linked to a monastic cloister, with the particularity that the church here opens directly onto it, not on the side, and that each room has independent access to the courtyard.²⁶⁹ The Rector's room has a balcony that opens directly onto the chapel.²⁷⁰

The chapel, dedicated to St. Clement, is a single-nave with a polygonal apse (Fig. 105). In 1914, some painted scenes on the walls of the chapel came to light, which were desperately damaged by 1979, when Volpe identified them as the Visitation, the Annunciation, the Circumcision and the Adoration of the Magi, with the Ascension on the opposite wall; he attributed them to Andrea de' Bartoli.²⁷¹ These scenes have since disappeared.²⁷² The remaining frescoes are in the north wall of the west bay, and represent *St. George, St. Catherine, Urban V and donors* (Fig. 106). Volpe described Andrea de' Bartoli as a trusted artist at the service of Alborno, together with Gattapone.²⁷³ As the Collegio opened in 1368, it is very likely that the paintings had been completed before that time. Andrea had recently completed the cycle in Assisi when he probably joined the household of Fernando Alvarez in Bologna, who was in charge of the project. The dating in the 1380s proposed by Volpe for the work in the Collegio is, in my view, too late.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Marchini (1979), p. 13.

²⁷⁰ Kiene (1983), p. 236.

²⁷¹ Filippini (1933); Volpe (1979), p. 45; at the time he wrote, one of the walls featured the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi, with the Ascension on the opposite wall. Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 133, stated that Alborno had called Andrea de' Bartoli to paint the Collegio and the chapel, although there is no documentary evidence to support such statement.

²⁷² Innamorati (1992), p. 26 stated that they had disappeared.

²⁷³ Volpe (1979), p. 46: 'Andrea de' Bartoli, che non meno dell'architetto Matteo Gattapone dovette essere artista di fiducia di Egidio Alborno, ubbidiente ai suoi dettati e, verosimilmente, congeniale al suo gusto.'

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

The Great Hall spans across the entire west upper wall, like in Spoleto. The location and proportions of this space had been clearly prescribed in the contract.²⁷⁵ The library is located on the north east corner of the upper floor, close to the chapel. On the other end are the chambers of the Rector. The earliest preserved statutes of the Collegio mention an *armarium librorum*, and the *librariam*; the Theology master was allocated the room next to the Library.²⁷⁶

The architecture reflects the nature of the life dictated by the Statutes: a combination of communal and individual spaces, with the chapel at the centre of the building and of everyday life. Despite the differences in geographical setting and purpose, there are striking similarities between the Collegio and the fortress in Spoleto. Both buildings share a number of features such as the entrance through a central door flanked by guard rooms, the location of the kitchen in the south-east corner and the location of the apartments for the signore of the rocca and for the rector of the collegio, respectively.²⁷⁷ In Bologna, there is a single courtyard, and the dining hall and the study areas replace the Great Hall.²⁷⁸ The pillars in Spoleto are taller than the ones in the Collegio, and the vaults are wider. Like in Spoleto, the southwest corner of the upper storey of the courtyard presents a segmented arch which breaks the regularity of the composition (Fig. 69).²⁷⁹ The function of this particular device has not been satisfactorily explained; it has been suggested that it offers protection from the weather (which is redundant in a porticoed courtyard), that it derives from the Spanish tradition to mark the spot where the teacher would be

²⁷⁵ 'Item unam spondam muri longitudinis y viginti pedum communis usque as sumitatem palatii, ubi debet esse sala', quoted by Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 104, fn. 38.

²⁷⁶ Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, 'Primeros estatutos del colegio español de San Clemente en Bolonia', *Hispania Sacra* XI (1958), pp. 187-224, 409-426, at pp. 215-216, 410-11. O'Gorman (1972), pp. 15-17, 38-41, 59-60 for libraries in S. Francesco Assisi and S. Domenico, Bologna.

²⁷⁷ Kiene (1983), p. 237.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 238, pointed out that the Collegio was originally a boarding house, but lessons were eventually held here.

²⁷⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 97; Kiene (1983), p. 237, fn. 40; Filippini (1922-23), p. 85.

available to students for questioning, or that it shelters the well below, which it does not do. Even if its function is unclear, it is an important formal link between Albornoz's major architectural projects in Spoleto and Bologna.

The austerity of the College's exterior is in consonance with Bolognese palaces such as the Pepoli (c.1343) or the lost Galliera fortress (c.1330).²⁸⁰ The College fits in with its environment, the pillars and capitals are similar to those found in the porticoes in Bologna streets.²⁸¹ The influence of the Palais des Papes or the *livrées* in Avignon should not be underestimated.²⁸² Winkelmann dismissed White's suggestion that the Collegio reflects Umbrian architecture on the basis of Matteo's origin.²⁸³ Monastic and civic buildings, as well as the Vitruvian model for a Roman house, have been proposed as the source of inspiration for the architecture of the Collegio.²⁸⁴

The suggestion that the Vitruvian principles of architecture played a role in the design of the Collegio is purely speculative. None of the books donated by the cardinal to the Collegio are connected to Vitruvius, and the detailed contract does not mention the classical author.²⁸⁵ Any coincidence between the layout of the College and *De Architectura* by Vitruvius is too superficial to be taken seriously.²⁸⁶ Crucially, those authors who insist that Vitruvian design and

²⁸⁰ Filippini (1922-23), p. 87 interpreted the appearance as deliberate choice of austerity on the part of Albornoz. Kiene (1983), p. 236 suggested links with castle architecture.

²⁸¹ Jürgen Winkelmann, 'Universitá e Collegi. Sviluppo e modelli architettonici. Nota su un recente libro', in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdera y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1979), Vol. V, pp. 30-42, at p. 39, fn. 13.

²⁸² Kerscher (1991), p. 14.

²⁸³ Winkelmann (1979), p. 40.

²⁸⁴ Harvey (1972), p. 128. A secular cloister of two storeys was begun at St. Paul's, London, in 1332. Winkelmann (1979), pp. 37, 42 and Kiene (1983), p. 237 refused to see any monastic influence, and suggested a Vitruvian inspiration; see Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 114, and Ignacio González-Varas Ibáñez, *Dietro il muro del Collegio di Spagna* (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1998), pp. 59-63. For inspiration on the Roman house, see Winkelmann (1979), pp. 30-42, p. 42, and Kiene (1983), p. 238.

²⁸⁵ Theory of Vitruvian design proposed by Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 114, 186-7, 190-191.

²⁸⁶ Jürgen Winkelmann was the first author to suggest a Vitruvian link, see Winkelmann (1979), p. 42; Kiene (1983), pp. 237-8, and Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 107-109, 190-191.

proportions are at the core of the Collegio, do not include the contemporary building of Spoleto in their discussion. Why would Gattapone follow classical principles in one building and not in the other? Although the Bolognese lecturer of Law Giovanni Calderini, who had taught Fernando Alvarez, and was a avid book collector, owned a copy of the Vitruvius treatise before 1352, we must be cautious regarding appreciation and influence of antique texts in the Trecento.²⁸⁷ The eastern location of the library and kitchen is the only feature that coincides with the recommendation of the classical text, but this would not necessarily derive from Vitruvius.²⁸⁸ The use of loggias cannot be related to Vitruvian advice (as adequate for the meeting of scholars), but to the vernacular architecture of Bologna, where porticoed streets and loggias predate the Collegio.²⁸⁹ Whether the symmetry of the building is achieved through the employment of a square module (*ad quadratum*) is debatable.²⁹⁰

It is undoubtable that Albornoz had an input on the design of the Collegio, although his precise involvement in practical matters has been exaggerated.²⁹¹ Most authors agree that Matteo's work was following direct instructions from Albornoz himself, and it is true that the terms of the contract were very precise, but it is far-fetched to say that Albornoz was the actual 'architect'.²⁹² Between 1364 and 1367, Albornoz was in Ancona, with a brief legation in Naples

²⁸⁷ Maria Cochetti, 'La biblioteca di Giovanni Calderini', *Studi Medievali* (serie III) XIX (1978), pp. 951-1032, at p. 998: 'De architectura libri X Vitruvii'. Calderini was a diplomat in Avignon, and counsellor of Albornoz in Italy. García y García (1972a), pp. 135-6 for their relationship. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 108, fn. 51.

²⁸⁸ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture* (ed. Morris Hicky Morgan, New York: Dover, 1960), pp. 181, 183; Book VI, Chapter IV: 'Bedrooms and libraries ought to have an eastern exposure, because their purposes require the morning light, and also because books in such libraries will not decay'; Chapter VI: 'Let the kitchen be placed on the warmest side of the courtyard ... facing ... the eastern quarter of the sky.'

²⁸⁹ Kiene (1983) p. 238.

²⁹⁰ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 95. González-Varas Ibáñez (1998), p. 57 stated that the module *ad quadratum* is the Bolognese twelve-feet square, which is the area of a single room.

²⁹¹ Ignacio González-Varas Ibáñez, *Dietro il muro del Collegio di Spagna* (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1998), p. 19. Marchini (1979), p. 17.

²⁹² Filippini (1933), p. 451; (1922-23), p. 81; *ibid.*, p. 87 attributed the 'severity' of the building to the austere lifestyle of the Cardinal. Serra Desfilis (1992), stated that Gattapone gave architectonic expression to the idea conceived by Albornoz, p. 48.

(1365-1366).²⁹³ He is not documented in Bologna while the construction of the College took place, but he trusted his nephew and Gattapone to produce something according to his expectations and taste.

3.3.1. Books donated to the Collegio di Spagna

In 1520, Sepúlveda stated that most of the books in the library of the Collegio were very old and had belonged to Albornoz.²⁹⁴ In effect, Albornoz donated his books to the college whilst alive. The Statutes of the Collegio regulated the access and running of the library, ‘since books are the students’ most precious possessions.’²⁹⁵ Book damage would entail expulsion from the College, and the books were catalogued and chained to the shelves.²⁹⁶ Strict measures to protect the book collection in a Library were not unusual.²⁹⁷ Book owners donated them in their wills to relatives –usually nephews who were studying-, members of their entourage, or to ecclesiastical foundations, and established the return of those books they had borrowed to their legitimate

²⁹³ Claramunt and Trenchs (1972), pp. 422-430.

²⁹⁴ Cortese (1979), p. 555: ‘Communis bibliotheca, quae ab oriente sacellum parte superiore contingit, referta est libris non tam pulchris, quam emendatis. Sunt enim vetustissimi magna ex parte, et manu scripti, et quorum nonnullis ipsum Aegidium dum in humanis ageret, usum fuisse constat.’

²⁹⁵ Statute XXXII, Marti (1966), pp. 282-283.

²⁹⁶ Statute XXXII, Marti (1966), pp. 283-287. When Matteo Orsini donated in 1340 a Breviary to S. Maria sopra Minerva, he requested that it be bound with thick leather and chained to the Infirmary of the convent. Stefano L Forte (1967), p. 232: ‘Item relinquo eidem conventui breviarium meum magnum, quod volo cooperiri de uno corio grosso, et ligetur cum una cathena ferrea ad perpetuum usum infirmarie dicti conventus Minerve.’

²⁹⁷ See Cenci (1974), pp. 132, 137 for 1361 library in Assisi. See also Marie Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, ‘Les livres dans les dépouilles des prélats méridionaux’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 31 (1996): *Livres et bibliothèques (XIIIe – XVe siècle)*, pp. 285-314 (hereafter referred to as Jullien de Pommerol, 1996a), p. 291. When Cardinal Guy de Boulogne borrowed a book from the library of the monastery of Corbie, he stated in writing his promise to return it, underneath the anathema: ‘Ego Guido de Bolonia episcopus Portuensis Sancte Rufine, Sancte Romane Ecclesie card[dinalis], abui hunc librum precario ab abbate monas[terii] Corbiensis, et promisi reddere et in testimonium presentem scripturam manu propria scripsi’ on fol. 1r of BAV, Borghese no. 30; see Jugie (1986), Vol. II, pp. 69-71, and figure 23.

owner.²⁹⁸ The will of Albornoz specified that the books which contained an inscription identifying them as belonging to the church of Toledo were to be returned; Ms. 6-26 contains one such inscription: ‘It belongs to the library of the Holy Church of Toledo.’²⁹⁹ In the late fourteenth century, Archbishop Tenorio commissioned the building of a library for the Cathedra and the re-binding of the books with his heraldic device, which sometimes entailed the destruction of the frontispiece. Thus, some of the books with Tenorio heraldry on their covers had belonged to Albornoz, but it is difficult to identify their original owner.³⁰⁰

Albornoz’s interest in books is documented before he became Archbishop of Toledo.³⁰¹ One of the books in the Collegio di Spagna, MS. 279, has an inscription stating that it was purchased in Avignon (?) by Albornoz when he was archdeacon of Toledo.³⁰² In 1339, as was customary following the appointment of a new Archbishop, Albornoz acknowledged receipt of a number of items borrowed from the Treasury of the Cathedral.³⁰³ This inventory included precious objects and books donated by Gil de Albornoz, some of which he had donated before becoming Archbishop of Toledo. There is also another inventory of objects that Albornoz took from the Cathedral when Gonzalo Ruiz was treasurer, in two lists, dated 1349 by García y

²⁹⁸ Mollat (1933), pp. 335-336.

²⁹⁹ ACT, Ms. 6-26, fol. 1r: ‘Es de la libreria de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo.’ It shows the Albornoz coat of arms; it was in the 1369 inventory in Bologna, item 22. García y García (1972b), p. 31, fn. 22.

³⁰⁰ Janini and González (1977), p. 15. Lop Otín (2003), pp. 393-402. ACT, A.8.H.1.4 for building of the library.

³⁰¹ García y García (1972b), p. 9.

³⁰² Maffei (1992), pp. 741-744, at p. 744: In fol. Iir: ‘vj. Liber quem emi in curia archidiacon. toletan. Nos Egidius archiepiscopus Toletanus.’ Ibid., pp. 808-810 for illuminations.

³⁰³ ACT, X.12.B.1.18: [11] Item un evangelisterio muy fermoso estoriado en derredor con oro y que [12] comienza in nomine dni iesu xpi escrito con bermeio. Et acaba In iudicio non veniet, set transiet a morte in vitam. Que es cubierto de un pano de seda yndio con [13] labores de oro et cerraduras de plata. Item un quaderno para desir missa en que estan pintadas las glorias et los prefacios et el pater noster. Et comienza de tinta prieta [14] quisquis preclare cupias et acaba clementer inoscere. Que en medio esta pintado armas de don Gutierre, castiellos et veneras. ... [36] Item una biblia muy fermosa de letra boloñesa. Item un lezionario [36] que comienza de tinta prieta nemo cum prophetas versibus et acaba iesu xpi effici mereamur. ... En testimonio desto vos mandamos con esta nuestra carta sellada con nuestro sello pendiente...’ La Guardia, 1339. Copy of X.12.B.1.2. ff. 24r-25v.

García, which I transcribed as 1343.³⁰⁴ Many books belonging to Toledo Cathedral ended up in Avignon, some of which had been taken there by Albornoz.³⁰⁵ An inventory of the goods in the possession of Gonzalo de Aguilar in 1353 includes a Missal and a book of *Decretales* that once belonged to Archbishop Ximeno de Luna.³⁰⁶

Albornoz commissioned books, some of them illuminated, during his legation in Italy.³⁰⁷ He purchased six books in 1366, including a Bible which cost 50 florins, and was most likely illuminated.³⁰⁸ In 1368, Stefano di Alberto Azzi illuminated two Missals for the Collegio.³⁰⁹ Albornoz was keen on setting the College in motion: seven months after he had established the terms in his will, his collection of books was in Bologna. In April 1365, Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz and Alfonso Fernandez de Toledo contracted an agreement with the friars of S. Domenico in Bologna regarding the temporary safe-keeping of the books in a locked cupboard in their sacristy, until the college was ready to house them.³¹⁰ An inventory was drawn up, listing

³⁰⁴ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, 2a, ff.1-21r. See Garcia y Garcia, (1972b) p. 10.

³⁰⁵ Janini and González (1977), pp. 14-15.

³⁰⁶ Transcribed by Burriel (BNE, Ms. 13018); cf. ACT, A.8.1.1. García y García (1972b), p. 10, fn. 6 suggested a date of 1338-1350, which cannot be accepted since Gonzalo de Aguilar was archbishop between 1350 and 1353. Among the objects were numerous pontifical rings with cameos, liturgical vestments, a Missal, and ‘un decreto bueno que fue del Arzobispo Don Ximeno.’

³⁰⁷ AA, Vol. II, no. 40, pp. 4, 5, 9: ‘pro libris que fecit pro domino’, ‘pro libris’, ‘pro emendis coloribus’, and payment to miniaturist, quoted by Trenchs Odena (1974-1979), p. 477; he did not state the date.

³⁰⁸ Iohannes Gil Fernández, *De codicibus albornotianis ad graecas latinasque litteras pertinentibus commentarius* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1964), pp. 7-8. García y García (1972b), p. 12 stated that these books were for the Collegio, including those transcribed and illuminated by the Bartoli brothers in 1359, i.e., 5 years before he funded the Collegio. For purchase in 1366, see Filippini (1933), p. 380, AA, Vol. V, n. 60: ‘Biblia magna et pulcra per flor. 50.’

³⁰⁹ AA, Libro di spese 1368, ff. 1, 29: ‘Item solvi de mandato domini magistro Stephano scriptori por illuminanum duobus missalibus Collegii pro quo debet habere ex pacto l.xvii’, quoted by Filippini and Zucchini (1947), p. 221.

³¹⁰ ‘consignerunt, deposuerunt et dimisserunt in sacristia dictorum fratrum in armario sito in ipsa sacristia dictorum fratrum in armario, que habet tres clavaturas... promisserunt... ipsos libros et volumina librorum dare, reddere et restituere eisdem procuratoribus.’ Marti (1966), p. 78. The inventory is in Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Memoriali 1365 of Felice Alberghi, ff. 22v-23r. First published by Emilio Orioli, *Elenco dei libri dal Card. Albornoz donati al Collegio di Spagna in Bologna. Nozze del dottor Umberto Dallari colla signorina Pia Dallari* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1893), then Marti (1966), pp. 77-82.

thirty-six books, mostly legal texts, for the use of prospective students.³¹¹ Among the witnesses was Matteo Gattapone.³¹² The inventory described the books' covers (mainly green or blue leather), and sometimes the incipit and the last words, but failed to register if any of them was illuminated. Since they were destined to be heavily used by students and staff of the college (the devotional books would have been used by the chaplains), Albornoz probably chose not to donate his best books- but they were safeguarded in the sacristy nonetheless, because they were an expensive commodity. The covers of two of the volumes were decorated with silver coat of arms of Albornoz (*domini Yspani*).³¹³ The books listed include classical authors such as Seneca and Aristotle, but there is no mention of Vitruvius. The liturgical and devotional books consisted of one Bible, a Missal, a Breviary and a copy of the *Legenda Aurea* (or another book of lives of saints).³¹⁴ Only two items included in this inventory seem to have survived: one in the Collegio di Spagna (Ms. 163), and one in Toledo Cathedral (ACT Ms. 32-12).³¹⁵

Ramón González Ruiz brought to light an inventory of 58 manuscripts in the Archive of Toledo Cathedral, composed in Bologna in 1369, and which Antonio García y García published in 1972.³¹⁶ This, like the previous document of 1365, is an itemised list of the books that

³¹¹ 'recipientibus in depositum et ex causa depositi, custodiendi et salvandi causa, omnes et singulos infrascriptos libros et volumina librorum quos et que prefatus reverendissimus pater et dominus deputare intendit ad usum et pro usu pauperum scholarium quos memoratus reverendissimus pater et dominus deputare intendit in Studio Bononiae.' Marti (1966), pp. 77-78. Astrik L. Gabriel, 'The College System in the Fourteenth Century' in *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Francis Lee Utley (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1967), pp. 79-124, pp. 105-106 for other college libraries, and the requirement of a yearly inventory.

³¹² 'Acta fuerunt predicta omnia Bononie in sacristia dictorum fratrum Predicatorum, presentibus ... et Mateo de Chatepognis de Eugubio, testibus ad predicta vocatis adhibitis et rogatis.' Marti (1966), p. 81.

³¹³ 'Unus Spechullum copertum corio viridi ab una parte et corio viridi ab allia parte cum quatuor scudis parvis argenteis cum insignis domini Yspani. Unus liber qui appellatur 'Summa Azonis' in corio azurino cum quatuor scutis et flubis argenteis ad arma domini Yspani.' Marti (1966), p. 78, items 2, 3.

³¹⁴ 'Item Biblia in corio zallo. Item unum Misalle in drapo sirico vergato. Item unum Breviarium in assidibus, copertum pano lino albo. Item Legende Sanctorum in corio rubeo.' Marti (1966), p. 81, items 33-36.

³¹⁵ García y García (1972b), pp. 21, 27, items 8 and 19 of 1365 inventory. Cf. Marti (1966), pp. 79-80.

³¹⁶ García y García (1972b), p. 8, and pp. 26-39 for transcription. ACT, V.2.A.1.6. Bologna, 2 June 1369.

Cardinal Albornoz had donated to the Collegio di Spagna, but the lists do not tally.³¹⁷ The document in Toledo is a legal valuation of the books, with their estimated value, dated June 1369. Nine of the books have been identified in Toledo Cathedral, including two which had belonged to Tenorio.³¹⁸ One of these, ACT MS. 9-22, contains an inscription identifying it as being owned by Albornoz in 1362.³¹⁹ Another book in Toledo Cathedral, MS. 6-26, is decorated with the coat of arms of Albornoz.³²⁰ The inventory includes books on a variety of subjects: history, theology, warfare, philosophy and religious manuals.³²¹ Three law books in Toledo Cathedral are documented as having once belonged to Cardinal Albornoz, but they do not originate from the Bologna endowment.³²²

³¹⁷ Only four items (nos. 2, 7, 8 and 12) from the 1365 inventory match the list of 1369 (nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5). García y García (1972b), p. 27.

³¹⁸ Items no. 11 (ACT Ms. 12-2 bis), 12 (ACT Ms. 12-13), 17 (ACT Ms. 8-15), 22 (ACT Ms. 6-26), 24 (ACT Ms. 15-7), 27 (ACT Ms. 14-10), 30 (ACT Ms. 14-9), 36 (ACT Ms. 19-13) and 38 (ACT Ms. 9-22). Of these, ACT Ms. 12-2bis and Ms. 9-22 belonged to Tenorio, and Ms. 6-26 has the heraldry of Albornoz on fol. 1r. Not so certain is the identification of nos. 5 (ACT Ms. 32-12), 34 (ACT Ms. 19-4) and 41 (ACT Ms. 1-9). See García y García (1972b), pp. 26-39. Cf. Antonio García y García and Ramón González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos jurídicos medievales de la Catedral de Toledo* (Rome: CSIC, 1970), pp. 33-34 and García y García (1972b), p. 11, he suggested that ACT Ms. 32-12, 19-4 and 1-9 could match nos. 5, 34 and 41 of the list. Reinhardt and González restricted the connections to Albornoz to MS. 9-22, Klaus Reinhardt and Ramón González, *Catálogo de Códices Bíblicos de la Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990), cat. nos. 103, 135.

³¹⁹ ACT, Ms. 9-22, fol. 322v: 'Anno Domini MCCCCLIII die Jovis decimal Januarii reservavit dominus noster Innocentius papa sextus magisterium de Montesa dispositioni sue et mandavit mihi Egidio tituli sancti Clementis presbitero cardinali quod deberem scriber et hoc precepit oraculo vive vocis.' Cf. Reinhardt and González (1990), cat. no. 135, pp. 256-257.

³²⁰ ACT, Ms. 6-26, fol. 1r. *Expositio super librum beati Iob* by Pierre de Blois; cf. García y García (1972b), p. 31, item 22, 1369.

³²¹ Items 18 (librum Vegetii de re military), 20 (librum Tullii officiorum), 21 (ordinarium officiorum ecclesie), 23 (sermons de defunctis), 25 (cronicam Martinianam), 28 (unum missale pulchrum, valued at 40 ducats), 31 (breviarium, cum tabulis, copertum panno aureo, cum ymaginibus sancti Pauli et sancti Johannis evangeliste et clavaturis de argento deaurato et duobus botonibus de perlis et uno scudeto, in quo sunt ligata signa, cuius secunda carta incipit 'celos' et finit in penultima carta 'Johanne', quod breviarium extimaverunt quadragintaquinque ducat. aur.), and a Missal which Albornoz had used to celebrate Mass, item no. 33: 'unum missale parvum ordinarium, cum quo dominus celebrabat, copertum pergameno et panno aureo cum litteris saracenorum, cuius secunda carta incipit 'minens (?) perire' et finit in penultima carta 'volebam', quem librum extimaverunt unum ducat.aur.' Item 51 (librum de vita et moribus philosophorum). García y García (1972b), p. 33. Cf. Jullien de Pommerol (1996a), pp. 294-5 for subjects represented in ecclesiastical libraries.

³²² Toledo ACT, Ms. 4-2 (Decretum Gratianis), Ms. 24-4 (Speculum), and Ms. 28-7 (Novella super Liber VI). Cf. García y García and González (1970), pp. 2, 92, 111, 210.

The 1369 inventory illustrates that books could be an expensive commodity, with prices reaching near 100 gold ducats.³²³ There are two Missals, one of which is described as ‘beautiful, with slats and red leather, with silver clasps’ and is valued as 40 gold ducats; the other is worth just 1 gold ducat, and was a small ordinary Missal, which Albornoz used to celebrate Mass, with a parchment cover and golden cloth decorated with Arabic writing.³²⁴ A Breviary, valued at 35 ducats, had silver clasps decorated with the heraldry of Albornoz.³²⁵ None of the books in the 1369 inventory can be traced in Bologna, apart from perhaps nos.1 or 6 of the list, which could be linked to MS.280.³²⁶ Both those volumes are the most expensive ones. The presence of the coat of arms of Albornoz and Luna on two books in the Collegio di Spagna, MS. 217 and 221 (dated to first half of the fourteenth century), suggests that they may have been owned by Gil de Albornoz.³²⁷ A book of Decretals in the Collegio, Ms. 222, once belonged to Androin de la Roche before his promotion to abbot of Cluny in 1351.³²⁸

Antonio García y García suggested that the books missing from the two inventories disappeared under the directorship of Albornoz’s nephew, Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz. In 1364, Fernando had been ordered by Albornoz to remain in Bologna for two years to supervise the building of the Collegio; he became its director until 1372, when he returned to Spain,

³²³ Items no. 1, 6, valued at 95 and 90 ducats. Garcia y Garcia (1972b), pp. 26, 28, suggested one may be Ms. 280 in the Collegio di Spagna.

³²⁴ Item 28: ‘pulchrum, cum tabulis et corio rubeo, cum clavaturis de argento’ Item 33: ‘unum missale parvum ordinarium, cum quo dominus celebrabat, copertum pergameno et panno aureo cum litteris saracenorum.’ García y García (1972b), pp. 32-33.

³²⁵ ‘cum tabulis copertum de çotonino, cum seraturis fulcitis de argento deaurato, ad arma domini Sabinensis.’ García y García (1972b), p. 38, no. 58.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

³²⁷ Maffei (1992), pp. 621-623, 627-628.

³²⁸ Ibid., p. 628, dated 14th century: Inscription on lower margin inside of the cover, a fragment from Decretals of Gregory IX: ‘Is ... fratris Andruyni de Rocha quem emit antequam esset abbas clun.’ In fol. 141v, a 14th-century inscription: ‘Iste liber est fratris Andruyni de Rocha quem emit antequam esset abbas clun.’ A different hand adds that it was purchased from the testamentary executors of the cardinal: ‘nun vero Iohannis de Abbatibus quem emit e executoribus bone memorie domini mei cardinalis Clun.’

escorting the body of his uncle to Toledo.³²⁹ Although in his memories, Fernando merely mentioned that he left Bologna in September 1372, not making any reference to the College or to the burial of Albornoz.³³⁰ The Statutes of the College prescribed the hegemony of male relatives of the cardinal over any other members of the College; this turned out to be a recipe for disaster regarding the books.³³¹ In 1372 the Rector and the students accused Fernando of selling some of the objects, books included, donated by his uncle to the College.³³² There had been frictions regarding the financial running of the College, and Fernando prepared to defend his actions with an itemised account of the lands and houses he had purchased in and around Bologna during his tenure as head of the College, between 1364 and 1371.³³³ The rector of the Collegio, Antonio Martinez, and the students challenged Fernando, and an arbitrating panel of legal experts met to discuss the matter outside court.³³⁴ Fernando agreed to compensate the College for the missing funds and both parties were forbidden from ever mention this embarrassing matter.³³⁵ After all, the reputation of the testamentary executors of Albornoz was at risk for their failure to control Fernando- and one of these executors was none other than the Pope Gregory XI. Fernando probably sold part of the books, and sent some volumes to Toledo Cathedral, where he hoped to

³²⁹ García y García (1972b), pp. 14-16.

³³⁰ ‘Eodem anno, supradictus dominus Gregorius transtulit me de episcopate Ulixbonensi ad archiepiscopatum Yspalensem, in die Lune, IX mensis Iunii. Anno MCCCLXXII in die Veneris, hora versperorum, X mensis Septembris recessi de Bononia.’ ACT, Ms. 4-2, fol. 1r, published by García y García (1972a), p. 165.

³³¹ García y García (1972b), pp. 14-15; see Martí (1966), Statutes XXI, XXXIII, pp. 238-249, 286-295.

³³² García y García (1972b), p. 19: ‘Item cum dominus plures libros dimiserit, et de quorum numero aliqui fuerunt extimati et venditi, quorum extimationis pretium fuit assignatum Collegio, et tamen Collegium antea vellet libros quam pretium, super hoc arbitretur.’

³³³ Ramón González, ‘El Ms. 43-1 de la Catedral de Toledo. Un registro de documentos de Fernando Álvarez de Albornoz (1360-1371)’, in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 167-207. Also Martí (1966), p. 23.

³³⁴ García y García (1972a), p. 142; Berthe M. Martí, ‘1372: The Spanish College versus the Executors of Cardinal Albornoz’s Testament’, in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. Evelio Verdura y Tuells (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 93-129, at pp. 100-101.

³³⁵ Martí (1972), at p. 120: ‘perpetuum silentium imponimus et mandamus.’

keep them on his return (he was archdeacon of Toledo).³³⁶ Fernando paid a large amount, close to 9,000 ducats, and left Bologna in September 1372.³³⁷ In September 1373, Urban V asked Pedro of Toledo, bishop of Cuenca, to enforce the discipline of the college, whose reputation had been shaken by the recent scandal and by a series of internal incidents.³³⁸ The Statutes of the Collegio were thus revised, and detailed regulation was drawn up regarding the solving of disputes.³³⁹

Three volumes of theological writings at the Collegio di Spagna carry inscriptions stating that Albornoz himself had acquired them in Paris whilst he was archbishop of Toledo: Ms. 6, 7, and 57.³⁴⁰ Paris was the leading centre of book production together with Bologna, and, on a smaller scale, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon and Orleans.³⁴¹

Some prelates had large collections of books.³⁴² Cardinal Pierre d'Estaing (d.1377), who was a legate in Italy, owned a Missal which was written by Bartolomeo de' Bartoli and

³³⁶ García y García (1972b), p. 22.

³³⁷ García y García (1972a), p. 143.

³³⁸ Marti (1966), pp. 23, 66.

³³⁹ Ibid., cf. Statutes XL-LI, pp. 324-337, which listed disciplinary regulations and fines. See in Perugia, 1365, Angeletti and Bertini (1993), Constitutions 65-72, pp. 378-381.

³⁴⁰ Domenico Maffei, ed., *I Codici del Collegio di Spagna di Bologna* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1992), pp. 5- 6, 778 for Ms. 6, fol. 1v: 'Primum volumen moralium beati Gregorii emimus Parisius existens archiepiscopus toletanus nos Egidius.' Ibid., pp. 67, 76 for Ms.7, fol. IIr: 'Tertium volumen moralium beati Gregorii emimus Parisius existens archiepiscopus toletanus Nos Egi (dius).' Ibid., pp. 785-6 for Ms. 57, fol. Ir: 'Parisius dedit michi quidam frater predicator. Nos Egidius archiepiscopus toletanus.' Jacques Verger, 'Les étudiants méridionaux à Paris au Moyen Age: quelques remarques', *Annales du Midi* 102 (1990), pp. 359-366, argued that the University of Paris was no longer attractive to southern students with the development of Universities in Montpellier, Avignon, Orleans.

³⁴¹ L'Engle (2001), p. 41. Richard H Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca.1350' in *La Production du livre universitaire au moyen âge. Exemplar et pecia. Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, eds Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot and Richard H. House (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988), pp. 41-114 analysed book production and sale or hire of books, sometimes in parts (pecia), which would have been common procedure for legal texts, so students could afford to rent them. Matteo Orsini acquired books in Bologna, see Forte (1967), p. 237.

³⁴² Jullien de Pommerol (1996a), pp. 298-303. The bishop of Fréjus Barthélemy Gras (d.1340), owned 147 books, part of which were allocated by Innocent VI to the Chartreuse of Villeneuve. The archbishop of Aix and brother of the architect of the Palais des Papes, Jean Poisson (d.1368), owned 200 books, and the bishop of Maguelone Gaucelme de Déaux (d.1373), had 408 volumes. Cardinal Pierre des Pres (d.1321) had merely 6 books, whilst

illuminated by Niccolò di Giacomo in 1374.³⁴³ Niccolò directed a successful workshop of liturgical and choir books and his works were purchased by the Olivetani monastery and the Collegio di Spagna, as well as the Santo in Padua.³⁴⁴ The library at the Collegio was endowed by Urban V between 1363 and 1365.³⁴⁵

3.3.2. Precedents. The Sapienza Vecchia in Perugia

Although the Collegio di Spagna proudly purports to be the oldest University college still functioning, its foundation was by no means a novelty. Private patrons had provided accommodation for students in French Universities throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³⁴⁶ In Bologna, the bishop of Avignon Zoen Tencarius set up a residence for students in 1267; the archdeacon Guglielmo Corvi founded the Collegio Bresciano in 1326, and, in 1362, the Collegio Reggiano was established in 1362 by a doctor from Reggio Emilia to accommodate students from his region.³⁴⁷ In 1348, Cardinal Annibale da Ceccano founded a College in Trastevere, Rome.³⁴⁸ Setting an important precedent for Albornoz's testamentary dispositions,

Bertrand du Poujet (d.1352) owned 19. Cardinal Luca Fieschi owned over 100 books at his death in 1336, whereas Cardinal Andrea Ghini Malpighi (d.1343) had 7; Guidi (1948), no. 134, p. 47; see Hoberg (1944), p. 162.

³⁴³ Missale Romanum in Munich, Royal Library, Ms. Lat. 10072. Paul Durrieu, 'La provenance d'un des plus beaux manuscrits peints au XIV siècle par Niccolò di Giacomo di Bologna', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 77 (1916), pp. 111-136, see pp. 122-125.

³⁴⁴ P M de Winter, 'Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum of Art', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70 (1983), pp. 314-351, at pp. 332-33.

³⁴⁵ Marie Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, 'Les papes d'Avignon et leurs manuscrits', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 31 (1996): *Livres et bibliothèques (XIIIe –XVe siècle)* pp. 133-156 (hereafter referred to as Jullien de Pommerol, 1996b), p. 143; see Francisco Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum pontificum: tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis* Vol. I (Rome, 1890), pp. 140, 168-9.

³⁴⁶ Aleksander Gieysztor, 'Management and resources', in *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 108-143, at p. 116.

³⁴⁷ Marti (1966), p. 19.

³⁴⁸ Marcel Dykmans, 'Le cardinal Annibal de Ceccano (vers 1282-1350), étude biographique et testament du 17 juin 1348', *Bulletin du Istitute Historique Belge* (1973), pp. 145-344, at pp. 234-240.

Ceccano made his foundation his universal heir, which was to house 24 students in Arts, Civil Law and Canon Law.³⁴⁹ Ceccano donated most of his books to the foundation, requesting that the students look after them. He endowed the chapel of the College with painted and sculpted altarpieces, and a tapestry representing the Coronation of the Virgin:

‘Item, [the] books and [ecclesiastical]vestments, chalice, small candlestick, flasks, incense-burner and silver navicula, which our clerics use in the communal chapel, as well as [the] cross, painted and sculpted panels, [the] cloth which has a depiction of the Coronation of Our Lady, and [the] communal tapestries which are used in the same chapel.’³⁵⁰

One of the executors of Albornoz’s will was Cardinal Niccolò Capocci (d.1368). He founded a college in Perugia in 1360 dedicated to St. Gregory, known as the Sapienza Vecchia. Capocci wished to provide lodging for 40 students from the various dioceses where he had held offices during his lifetime; this included two students from Urgell, where he had been bishop, and two from Valencia, where Capocci had held a provost.³⁵¹ The Sapienza Vecchia is the earliest residential University College in Italy, and is now used to lodge female orphans of medical staff studying at Perugia University.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Pierre Pansier, ‘Les livrées de la Vergne et de Venise (Lycée actuel)’, *Annuaire de la société des amis du palais des papes et des monuments d’Avignon* X (1921), pp. 43-49, at pp. 44-45.

³⁵⁰ ‘Item, libros et paramenta, calicem, candelabra parva, ampullas, incensarium et naviculam de argento, quibus utuntur clerici nostri in capella communi, necnon crucem, tabulas pictas et sculptas, pannum depictum cum coronatione Domine nostre, ac tapeta communia quibus utuntur in eadem capella.’ Dykmans (1973), p. 297, line 173.

³⁵¹ BAV, Vat. lat. 6974, fol. 23: ‘Primo eps, decanus et capitulu Ugellensis presentent duos scholares ubi fui eps. Item eps, decanus, et capitulum Valentin. in regno Valentie ubi ex dispositione Apostol. prepositura obtineo presentent duos.’ Cf. Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 344-346, Constitutions I, II, IV. Included bursaries for 6 students of Theology and 6 of Canon Law.

³⁵² Maria Pecugi Fop, p. 9 in Angeletti and Bertini (1993).

Capocci established his foundation on 21 January 1360, and ordered the purchase of a building to temporarily house students until the college was erected.³⁵³ In 1362 the site where the College stands, in Via Cuppa, was bought (Fig. 107).³⁵⁴ Less than a month after this purchase, in June, Capocci obtained his *licentia testandi*, and he referred in his will to his *domus mea*.³⁵⁵ In September 1362, Capocci dictated in Avignon the Statutes of the College, which were to be kept in the college he had built.³⁵⁶ Capocci commissioned the building of a library in the Collegio, with cupboards and chains for the books.³⁵⁷ None of the books he donated to his foundation has survived.³⁵⁸ The College opened its doors in 1369, the same year as the Collegio di Spagna, and appeared in the reviewed Constitutions as *Domus Sclolarium Sancti Gregorii Confessoris*.³⁵⁹ The Collegio di Spagna was on a much smaller scale, offering housing for 24 students, but it can be placed in comparison regarding its foundation and regulation; it has been suggested that its Statutes were inspired by the Collegio in Perugia.³⁶⁰

³⁵³ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 63-64.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 66-67, 103-114. For the houses and lands purchased for the Collegio from 1361, see pp. 531-537.

³⁵⁵ Alphonso Ciacconius, O.P., *Vitae, et res gesta pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium, ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX ... M. Alphonso Ciaconio ... & aliorum opera descriptae: cum uberrimis notis. Ad Augustino Oldoino ... recognitae, & ad quatuor tomos ingenti ubique rerum accessione productae. Historiae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium* (Rome: cura, et sumptib. Philippi et Ant. De Rubeis, 1677), Vol. II, cols. 511-516, at col. 514.

³⁵⁶ Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1239, ff. 5rf-14v; Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 335-339; p. 343: 'in collegio sclolarium pauperum de Perusio per ipsum dominum cardinalem edificato.' Further Statutes were added in 1369, increasing the original number from 45 to 95, pp. 369-387. BAV, Vat. Lat. 7934, *Iohannis Vincentii Capocci Patricii Romani de Gente Capoccina Historia*, ff. 68v-80r.

³⁵⁷ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 83. Statute XXIX, p. 362.

³⁵⁸ Statute XXXIX, Ibid., p. 362: 'Ponantur libri testatoris in repositorium seu librariam vel bibliothecam. ... certos libros meos in diversis facultatibus ad usum dictorum sclolarium ad dictam domum iam miserim et alios destinare intendam, volo et statuo quod in domo predicta fiat locus, qui armarium sive libraria appelletur, et in eo omnes predicti libri cum eos dedero, vel dari fecero ponantur per ordinem secundum sciencias eorundem ac incatenentur in banchis secundum quod fit in armariis seu librariis religiosorum ut nullus eorum librorum extra domum predictam alicui commodetur... sub pena eciam exclusionis del domo et collegio.'

³⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 91; Statute XLVI, p. 371.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 13. Michael Kiene, 'Die Bautätigkeit in den italienischen Universitäten von der Mitte des Trecento bis zur Mitte der Quattrocento', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXX (1986), pp. 433-492, at pp. 447-51.

The attribution to Matteo Gattapone has no documentary basis, since the only medieval documentation that survives for the College is the Statutes.³⁶¹

Capocci had also founded a monastery of the order of the Olivetani in Perugia, and named it his universal heir, with a yearly rent of 10,000 florins, together with the College.³⁶² To fund the college, he ordered the sale of the castle of Ripa in Jesi.³⁶³ Capocci instructed the building of a chapel dedicated to St. Gregory, which had to be 'decent'.³⁶⁴ The chapel has a Crucifixion on the east wall, with two kneeling donors. The figure to the left has been identified as Cappocci (Figs 108, 109).³⁶⁵

Marti suggested that Albornoz adopted the college of St. Martial as model for his Bolognese foundation, although this has been debated.³⁶⁶ Innocent VI, a doctor in Law, established a college in Toulouse in 1359 to support 20 students of Civil and Canon Law and four chaplains.³⁶⁷ The 1377 Statutes of Bologna referred to the kitchen of St. Martial College as an example to be followed in the Collegio.³⁶⁸ The college of Saint-Martial inspired many cardinals to establish their own foundations, and Urban V donated his books to this college.³⁶⁹ In 1364, Anglic Grimoard founded the college of Saint-Ruf in Montpellier for 12 Augustinian canons. He drew the statutes of his foundation in his palace in Bologna in 1368, with Pedro

³⁶¹ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 95-97, 105, 329, 487.

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 117, 126.

³⁶³ Ibid., pp. 126, 454, 701.

³⁶⁴ Statute XLVI. Ibid., p. 343: 'In primus in ipso loco seu domibus fiat ecclesia seu capella competens ac decens sub vocabulo sancti Gregorii confessoris.' See also Constitution LVI, p. 375.

³⁶⁵ For the frescoes in the chapel, see Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 307-314, and Francesca Abozzo, 'La casa di Nicolò. Note storico artistiche', pp. 315-324. in p. 319 she identifies this figure as Capocci. Also Angeletti in p. 464.

³⁶⁶ Marti (1966), p. 13 stated that Albornoz had studied canon law in Toulouse. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 113 disagreed because Albornoz attended the University of Montpellier, see Sáez, Trenchs and Bañares (1979), p. 20.

³⁶⁷ Kiene (1983), p. 235. Déprez (1900), p. 240, fn. 4. See Marti (1966), pp. 35-36. Fournier (1890), Vol. I, nos. 617, 631. Rashdall (1936), Vol. II, p. 172 gave foundation date of 1358.

³⁶⁸ Statute LIII, Marti (1966), pp. 338-339, provision is made for the setting up of stoves in the manner of monasteries and the college of the Pope: 'debeat facere fieri fornellos et murari caldareas sive lebetes et furnellu, sicut factum est in collegio domini nostri et monasteriis religiosorum.'

³⁶⁹ Delaruelle (1972), p. 21.

Alfonso de Toledo, abbot of Valladolid, present.³⁷⁰ Anglic had been designated protector of the Collegio di Spagna.³⁷¹ Marti suggested that the Statutes of the Gregorian College, founded in 1372 by Gregory XI, were inspired directly by the pre-revised statutes of the Collegio di Spagna.³⁷² Gregory XI donated over 200 volumes to the college he founded in Bologna.³⁷³ Other cardinals had founded colleges: Pierre Bertrand in 1339 in Paris; Audoin Aubert in 1363 that of Maguelonne in Toulouse, and Talleryrand du Perigord founded a college, also in Toulouse, in 1363.³⁷⁴ In 1339, Bertrand des Déaux had drawn up the Statutes of the University of Law in Montpellier, based on those of Bologna University.³⁷⁵

The Old Court of Corpus Christi in Cambridge, c. 1352, is an example of the secluded housing, without galleries, which would develop in the Collegio di Spagna.³⁷⁶ The College type of a quadrangle, with a courtyard with cloister galleries on two floors, would become a model for European college architecture from the fifteenth century.³⁷⁷ The Collegio di Spagna had a strong influence in similar Spanish institutions. The first University College in Spain, San Bartolomé in Salamanca, was founded in 1401 and modeled on its architecture and statutes; later colleges had courtyards with double loggiae.³⁷⁸ Architectural ideas were easily transmitted by prominent students of the Collegio on their return to Spain. Outside Spain, its influence was limited to the double-tiered arcaded courtyard in the fifteenth-century Collegium Maius at Cracow (founded in

³⁷⁰ Fournier (1890), Vol. II, doc. 992. It was to sustain eight Canon Law and four Theology students.

³⁷¹ Marti (1966), p. 36-39, cf. Statute LIX Collegio, and Fournier (1890), Vol. II, no. 1006. García y García (1972a), pp. 131-165.

³⁷² Marti (1966), pp. 39-, the text of the 1375-1377 stated that it was following the earlier statutes (lost).

³⁷³ Jullien de Pommerol (1996b), pp. 144-5; see Ehrle (1890), Vol. I, p. 143.

³⁷⁴ Delaruelle (1972), pp. 19-21, Fournier (1890), Vol. I, nos. 659, 642, 660, 694. Cf. Rashdall (1936), Vol. II, p. 172 dated Talleyrand's foundation to 1360.

³⁷⁵ Rashdall (1936), Vol. II, p. 31ff. Fournier (1890), Vol. II, no. 946, 947.

³⁷⁶ Pevsner (1957), p. 236.

³⁷⁷ Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 99, 114; see Kiene (1983), p. 239; Kiene (1986), pp. 480-1.

³⁷⁸ For this, Martin Fernandez, 'Influencia del Collegio de San Clemente de Bolonia en los Colegios Mayores españoles' *Studia Albortiana* 12 (1972), pp. 239-60. *Los arzobispos de Toledo y la Universidad Espanola* p. 50 says it was S. Bartolomé which offered the prototype for Spanish Colleges.

1364), the Collegio Pratense in Padua (founded in 1394), and in the Archiginnasio and the palazzo del Bò in Bologna.³⁷⁹ New College in Oxford (1380-1400) also bears witness to the influence of the model.³⁸⁰

Without taking into account that Albornoz never resided in Bologna, and that the building was only completed in 1368, Kerscher suggested that the Collegio had been the cardinal's palace in Bologna, and that it was only donated for students' use after his death.³⁸¹ Whilst Kerscher correctly pointed out the influence of the Palais des Papes in Avignon in the layout of the rooms and the location of the staircase for the College and the Rocca in Spoleto, he suggested that the plan of the Collegio derives from those of the fortress of Gerona and the palace in Perpignan.³⁸² This must be refuted by the lack of documentary evidence, and on the basis that any similarities between these buildings and the Collegio are too general.³⁸³ Both the Petit Palais and the Papal Palace in Avignon, residential buildings articulated around a central cloister, may have inspired the design of the Collegio di Spagna. The similarities between the courtyards of the Rocca in Spoleto and the Collegio illustrate the ease with which the type works in different settings; the fortress in Umbria is a defensive and residential outpost, isolated on a hill whereas the Collegio in Emilia Romagna is a city residence.

³⁷⁹ Kiene (1983), pp. 238-241. The Collegio Pratense was founded by Cardinal Pileo da Prato. The Collegium Maius was a royal foundation of king Kasimiro.

³⁸⁰ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 115. Cf. Harvey (1972), p. 128 suggested that although it was not built until 1380-86, it may have been designed some years earlier.

³⁸¹ Kerscher (1991), p. 19.

³⁸² Ibid. p. 21. According to Kerscher, the influence of the Gerona fortress reached Castile (Arenas de San Pedro) and France (royal castle in Perpignan).

³⁸³ Ibid., p. 21 and fn. 29, mentioned the Almudaina and the Bellver in Palma de Mallorca.

Conclusion

Albornoz chose a Franciscan site for his burial in Italy, and a Dominican setting for his University College. The prayers of the friars in Assisi and the students in Bologna would ease the final rest of the soul of their Spanish benefactor and patron. Those prayers would also benefit the soul of the deceased cardinal. Albornoz chose to be buried in a Franciscan church because he appreciated their pious effectiveness as intercessors for one's soul after death. As a legal expert and a well-travelled man, he chose to fund his college in the University city of Bologna, a centre of international learning. His college and his collection of books would be put to good use in Bologna, as the fact that the college still functions as such proves. Yet, Albornoz also allocated in his will a large sum to the Augustinian convent he had founded in Villaviciosa, in his native Castile. The distribution of favours and bequests amongst a number of different Orders was common practice.³⁸⁴

The personal devotion of Gil de Albornoz to Saints Blaise, Clement, Ildefonso and Eugenius is patent in his foundations and artistic patronage. Statute XI of the Collegio di Spagna included the celebration of the feasts of those saints.³⁸⁵ Not to leave any doubt of its Spanish character and the national origin of the founder, the College was to celebrate the feast of St. James, patron of the Spaniards.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ The Benedictine Simon de Langham (d.1376) was also a cardinal-legate and Archbishop of Canterbury. Langham favoured the Dominican Order, but he was buried in the Carthusian monastery of Bonpas in Avignon until his body was interred in St. Benet's Chapel at Westminster. Williams (1868), p. 408.

³⁸⁵ Marti (1966), pp. 176-179. Also included the feasts of Sts. Catherine and Nicholas, patrons of students.

³⁸⁶ 'beati Iachobi patroni Yspanorum', quoted by Marti (1966), p. 178.

Chapter 4

Art after Death: testamentary donations

The study of wills contributes to our understanding of medieval religiosity and attitudes about death.¹ The arrangements made by the testator for the distribution of his personal belongings allow us to glimpse the value or appreciation attached to those possessions. The testamentary donation of reliquaries, vestments, books and liturgical objects, which is discussed in this chapter, offers an insight into the wealth, artistic interests and personal tastes of Cardinal Albornoz. A comparative study of the wills of other cardinals should provide some parameters within which we can judge the range of Albornoz's importance as an artistic patron. It is often the case that the tantalizing documentary evidence is difficult to match with specific surviving works of art. Much has been destroyed or lost without trace, and very few objects can be undoubtedly associated to a particular cardinal. The presence of heraldry and a detailed description in documents such as wills and inventories are the main tools for identification. Often, donated objects turn up in locations different from that chosen by the testator and survival in the original destination is rare. One such example is the two statuettes of St. Ildefonso and St. Eugenius, donated by Albornoz in his will to the Cathedral of Toledo, and still there; they are easily identifiable through the patron's heraldry.

The artistic patronage typically exercised by Avignonese cardinals of the fourteenth century embraced fields as diverse as architecture (ecclesiastical foundations, decoration of their

¹ This field of research calls for more scholarly attention in Spanish bibliography; recent contributions include Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Derecho y sociedad en la Rioja bajomedieval a través de los testamentos (Siglos XIII-XV)', *Hispania*, XLVII (1987), pp. 33-82; José Ignacio Moreno Núñez, 'Poder económico e influencia social de un clérigo castellano del siglo XIV: Sancho Sánchez, arcediano de Olmedo', *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001), pp. 395-419.

residential palaces), liturgical art (such as vestments and reliquaries), manuscript illumination, painting, and sculpture. The rare appearance of paintings in the wills studied is perhaps due to the limited monetary value attached to small, devotional wooden panels. The testator specified the recipient for each book, reliquary and set of vestments, which generally matched the ecclesiastical posts he had held; the largesse of each donation was in proportion to the benefice perceived from the office.²

The process of drawing up a will followed certain guidelines, which in the secular sphere were regulated by law.³ Cardinals had to receive papal permission to dictate their wills, the *licentia testandi*. A prelate needed to obtain it in order to bequeath property. Occasionally there were disagreements over inheritances, of course, and this could lead to protracted legal action; sometimes the execution of a will was delayed due to a number of factors such as the scale of the state, the number of debtors, or the death of the appointed executors. An example is the dispute over the possessions of the archbishop of Toledo Gonzalo de Aguilar; in 1358 Innocent VI intervened to demand the devolution of some money.⁴ In the case of Cardinal Albornoz, it took five years to collect all debts and to settle his large estate.⁵

Clement VI granted permission to Albornoz to draw up his testament in January 1351, upon his promotion to the title of cardinal, as was customary.⁶ Innocent VI issued another licence in 1358.⁷ The only surviving will dates from 29 September 1364, when Albornoz dictated it in Ancona (see Appendix I). On 23 August 1367, in Belriposo, Albornoz ratified his will,

² Mollat (1933), p. 333.

³ Alfonso XI issued legislation on the subject in the Ordenamiento de Alcalá of 1348, Título XIX. Asso y del Rio and Manuel y Rodriguez (1960), p. 32.

⁴ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 197.

⁵ Marti (1972), p. 99.

⁶ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), doc. 1. Avignon, 4 January 1351.

⁷ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995) doc. 236.

allowing for modifications by the executors.⁸ In this codicil, Albornoz noted that a large number of his testamentary dispositions had already been met.⁹ This included the Collegio di Spagna, which had been completed by then. Among his testamentary executors were the cardinals Anglic Grimoard, Niccolo Cappoci and Pierre Roger (future Gregory XI). The execution of Albornoz's will was delayed by over a year. In January 1368, the provost of Lyon was paid 50 florins for drawing the inventory of Albornoz's possessions.¹⁰ In September 1368, Urban V urged the bishops of Avignon, Comacchio and Urgel to act against debtors who were precluding the execution of Albornoz's will.¹¹

After six years as cardinal priest of S. Clemente, Albornoz was promoted in 1356 to titular of one of the six suburbicarian diocese, Sabina.¹² His predecessors in the title had been the Roman Matteo Orsini (d.1340), Pedro Gomez from Toledo (d.1348) and Bertrand de Déaux, from the Gard (d.1355). All three cardinals traveled extensively: Matteo was familiar with Paris, Pedro was sent on papal embassies to France and traveled to England, and Bertrand was a papal legate in Italy who paved the way for Albornoz. The study of this heterogeneous group raises questions regarding the input of national origins, preferences and customs. Matteo Orsini belonged to a powerful Roman family and was a learned member of the Dominican Order, who attended the University of Paris. Pedro Gomez, born within a wealthy family of Toledo, is documented in Bologna in 1316 as canon of Toledo.¹³ His artistic patronage has hitherto not

⁸ AA, Vol. IX, n. 3, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 323.

⁹ Marti (1966), p. 21, cf. AA, Vol. IX, n. 3.

¹⁰ AA, Vol. IX, n. 12; 18 January 1368, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 325.

¹¹ AA, Vol. IX, n. 8; 30 September 1368, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 324.

¹² Eubel (1913), p. 38.

¹³ Archivio di Stato, Bologna, Memoralia Comunalis, tomo 132, fol. 280r, no. 3. Pedro was a witness of the payment of 40 florins made by Tomasso Bencio to Antonio de Rota de Murcia, Bologna, 5 August 1316: 'dominus anthonius de rota de murcia ...coram infrascripto not. et testibus infrascriptus habuit et recepit d. a thomaxio bency ... petrus gometius canonico toletano q. die per se cognoscere dom. anthonium Alfonso roderici canonico cartagenense...'

been discussed, despite its extent and importance. In 1327, he became bishop of Cartagena and cardinal priest of S. Prassede; he was promoted to the title of Sabina in 1341.¹⁴ His successor in the title of Sabina was the French Bertrand de Déaux, cardinal priest of S. Marco since 1338.¹⁵ The important artistic patronage of these cardinals matched the high status of a cardinal bishop, and Albornoz was surely aware of the legacy of his predecessors in Avignon, Toledo and Rome. When he reached the position of cardinal of Sabina, he could, in theory, match the expenditure and the lifestyle of Orsini, Gomez and de Déaux, but he was engaged in the Italian legations and his financial resources were more limited. The testamentary dispositions of Albornoz's contemporaries, such as Talleyrand de Perigord (d.1364), Nicolò Capocci (d.1368) and Guy de Boulogne (d.1373), further illustrate the artistic patronage typically exercised by cardinals. The immense wealth of Talleyrand de Perigord is patent in the generous donations he arranged in his will, dictated in 1364.¹⁶ Talleyrand was cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli (1331) and cardinal bishop of Albano in 1348.¹⁷ His wealth was partly inherited, but the ecclesiastical benefices he accumulated provided the greatest part of his fortune.¹⁸ As a native of Perigord, Talleyrand held a particular devotion to St. Front, to whom he commended his soul in his will, and he chose burial in the church dedicated to this saint.¹⁹ Talleyrand favoured his homeland with very significant donations.

Nicolò Capocci (d.1368) belonged to the Roman nobility, and his uncle Pietro Colonna had been a cardinal. Nicolò studied Law at Perugia and became Chancellor of King Jean of

¹⁴ Eubel (1913), pp. 38, 45.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 38, 44.

¹⁶ Edmond Martène and Ursine Durand, *Thesaurus novum anecdotorum. I* (Paris: Delaulne, 1717), cols. 1468-1477.

¹⁷ Eubel (1913), pp. 35, 45.

¹⁸ François Duchesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance* (Paris: François Duchesne, 1660), Vol. II, p. 315: 'Quia justum est ut beneficia nostra a quibus multa bona recognoscimus habuisse, fructum aliquem debeant reportare, legamus..' His will was published by Martène and Durand (1717), cols. 1468-1477.

¹⁹ Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1469: 'Sancti Frontonis de Petragoriis, ad quam gerimus specialis devotionis affectum.'

France.²⁰ His career included the positions of bishop of Utrecht (1340), bishop of Urgell (1348), cardinal priest of S. Vitale (1350), and cardinal bishop of Tusculum (1361).²¹ In 1356, Capocci travelled with Talleyrand de Perigord to Paris and London on a diplomatic mission which lasted two years.²² In 1362, Capocci founded the College of St. Gregory in Perugia, where he had studied Law.²³

Guy de Boulogne (d.1373) was one of the longest-serving cardinals, with 30 years in the rank; since 1342, when he became cardinal priest of S. Cecilia in 1342, and later, cardinal bishop of Porto and S. Rufina in 1350.²⁴ He was an important patron in Italy, and took part on numerous legations, in Hungary, France and Spain. He was in Spain between 1358 and 1361, and returned in 1372, where he died (Caspe, November 1373).²⁵ He dictated his will in his *livrée* in Avignon in 1372.²⁶ Animosity and rivalry between cardinals was not uncommon, and the tense relationship between Talleyrand de Perigord and Guy de Boulogne is well documented.²⁷

4.1. Place of burial

The testator's choice of burial place is normally the first and foremost component in a will. The place of burial was the recipient of the largest and more important donations.

²⁰ Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa* (Rome: stamperia Pagliarini, 1793), Vol. II, pp. 182-3.

²¹ Eubel (1913), pp. 39, 48.

²² Rymer (1727), Vol. III, pp. 130, 133, 140, 162.

²³ For the statutes of foundation, see BAV, ms. lat.7934, *Iohannis Vincentii Capocci Patricii Romani de Gente Capoccina Historia*, ff. 68v-80r. Cf. Cardella (1793), Vol. II, p. 184.

²⁴ Eubel (1913), pp. 37, 40.

²⁵ See Jugie (1986), Vol. I, pp. 229-250, 300-308.

²⁶ For his will, see Jugie (1986), Vol. III, Appendix no. 9, pp. 182-199; at p. 194, lines 333-335: 'Acta fuerunt hec Avinioni, in hospitio habitationis supradicti reverendissimi patris domini cardinalis testatoris.' Ibid, p. 206, fn. 7 identified this as the *livrée* de Saluces or Beaufort.

²⁷ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 320.

Although most cardinals remembered their native land in their wills, and chose to be buried in their place of birth, their artistic patronage in their homeland is not always as generous as that they directed to the place where they held their most prominent position or where they had held it for longest period. For example, Albornoiz preferred to be buried in Toledo, where he had been Archbishop, although he was from Cuenca. The choice of burial place was accompanied of donations to the church, and the testators often detailed instructions regarding the tomb, often referring to custom and to appropriateness to their ecclesiastical status. Talleyrand de Perigord wanted to be buried in St. Front du Perigueux, in his native land, whilst Anglic Grimoard was buried in St. Ruf in Valence, where he had been canon.²⁸ Many cardinals, particularly those who were foreigners in Avignon, listed in their wills more than one possible burial places, depending on where they died, and provided an alternative location to their favoured choice. Pedro Gomez requested burial in his monastic foundation of St. Praxedis if he died in Avignon, and the alternative options, depending on whether he died in Italy or in Spain, were either his titular church of S. Prassede in Rome or the cathedral of Toledo, respectively.²⁹ Annibale de Ceccano (d.1350), cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (1327) and bishop of Tusculum in 1333, wanted to be buried in Nôtre-Dame des Doms if he died in Avignon; otherwise, in St. Peter's in Rome.³⁰ Gil de Albornoiz clearly stated in his will that the burial at Assisi, should it take place due to the circumstances, was a temporary arrangement. He allocated his most precious belongings to Cuenca and Toledo, and established some relatively minor material bequests for Assisi.

²⁸ M H Laurent (OP), 'Per la storia dei cardinali-vescovi di Albano (1199-1388)', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 2 (1948) 215-225, p. 221.

²⁹ Pansier (1916), pp. 76-77: 'corpus vero nostrum si in civitate Avinion. vel extra Ytaliam et Ispaniam nos diem claudere contingat extremum sepeliatur in ecclesia monasterii nostri Sancte Praxedis, Avinion. diocesis, ante ipsius ecclesie majus altare, in quibus ecclesia et loco eligimus sepulturam ... Et si forte nos in partibus Ytalie ubicumque diem claudere contingat extremum, in ecclesia S.Praxedis de Urbe que noster estitit titulis principalis; si vero in Yspanie partibus, in catedrali ecclesia Tholetan., nostram eligimus [sepulturam].' Will preserved in Archives de Vaucluse, ADV, H, Ste. Praxede leg. 50.

³⁰ Eubel (1913), pp. 39, 43. Dykmans (1973), p. 231.

Albornoz funded six chantries in the cathedral of Toledo; he had previously funded four and wished to add two more, leaving 30,000 maravedis.³¹ To the Chapter of the cathedral of Cuenca he left his flour mill in the Júcar river, as well as the properties he had bought in La dehesa del Hendido, and requested the institution of two chantries.³² These were near his family funerary chapel.³³ The Roman Cardinal Capocci wished to be buried in his home town, in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, next to his ancestor Pietro Capocci.³⁴

To the abbey of Boschet, his chosen burial place, Guy de Boulogne left his set of black vestments and the exorbitant sum of 10,000 florins.³⁵ Guy de Boulogne endowed a chantry in the crypt of St. Jean in Vic-le-Comte and ordered his executors to provide a chalice, missal and other ornaments, and ensure the chaplain was a resident ordained priest.³⁶ Like Albornoz, Guy held devotion for St. Blaise; he invoked him in his will and founded a chantry in St. Blaise in Ennezat.³⁷ He also endowed chantries with the provision of chalices, missals and vestments, in the Carmelites of Paris, in St. Bernard Paris, in Carmelites in Clermont d'Auvergne and in Maringues.³⁸

³¹ Appendix I, lines 20-21; Sepúlveda (1780), XII.

³² Appendix I, lines 21-22; Sepúlveda (1780), XIII.

³³ Appendix I, lines 22-23; Sepúlveda (1780), XIV.

³⁴ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. 1, col. 512.

³⁵ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, pp. 187-188, lines 146-154: 'Item lego supradicto monasterio Vallis Lucide sive de Boscheto, in quo ... eligi sepulturam meam, ultra illa que habebunt ratione sepulture mee, decem milia florenorum, vel quingentas libras in redditibus-si haberi possint in vita mea-, ut rogent Deum pro anima mea et parentum meorum.'

³⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 188, lines 155-188: infra ecclesiam seu capellam Sancti Johannis de Vico... executors mei unam capellam fundent ipsamque capellam muniant sufficienter de calice, misasli et aliis ornamentis sacerdotalibus.'

³⁷ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 189, lines 189-202.

³⁸ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, pp. 189-190, lines 203-220.

4.2. Liturgical furnishings and regalia.

Gil de Albornoz donated to this family chapel a gilt silver chalice weighing 3 marks, and a small cross which was at the time part of his personal set of furnishings.³⁹

Bertrand de Déaux left his largest and most valuable cross, decorated with precious stones, to the altar of the Virgin (the high altar) of Embrun Cathedral, as well as two of his largest silver candlesticks, two sets of vestments, and his best gilt silver pitchers.⁴⁰ He established that these donations should not leave the cathedral.⁴¹ Talleyrand de Perigord left instructions to make fifty silver chalices weighing 2 silver marks each, for fifty churches in his native Perigord.⁴² Similarly, Guy de Boulogne left a sum to make a chalice, but it was a much more valuable item than those donated by Talleyrand: he donated sixty florins to S. Crisogono de Urbe (in Trastevere) to make one chalice.⁴³

In his testamentary instructions, Albornoz included the return to the cathedral of Toledo, for use by the archbishop, of the mitre known as ‘the cameos mitre’ (*mitra vocata de camaffeis*). He indicated that he had added pearls and precious stones to it.⁴⁴ In 1790, a mitre decorated with cameos was included in the inventory of the Cathedral.⁴⁵

³⁹ Appendix I, line 23; Sepúlveda (1780), XV.

⁴⁰ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: ‘[15-16] Item lego predictae Ecclesie Ebruden. et ornamento altaris maioris eiusdem et in honore beate marie cui honorabili titulo ipsum altare et ecclesia decorantur Crucem meam maiorem et meliorem lapidibus pretiosis [16] ornata. Item lego eidem ecclesie Ebredunen. et pro eadem causa duo candelabra mea argentea maiora. Item lego predictae Ecclesie et pro eadem causa Capellam meam coloris viridis sic completam quod in ea sunt Octo petie ... [18] meliores urceolos meos argenteos et deauratos.’

⁴¹ Ibid., lines 18-22.

⁴² Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1471: ‘Item, volumus & ordinamus fieri quinquaginta calices, quorum singuli ponderent duas marchas argenti, quos dari volumus quinquaginta ecclesiis terrae comitatus & diocesis Petragoricensis, in illis ecclesiis perpetuo ad Dei servitium deputandos.’

⁴³ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, p. 187, lines 142-145: ‘sexaginta florenos auri ad faciendum unum calicem perpetuo in ipsa ecclesia duraturum.’

⁴⁴ Appendix I, line 29; Sepúlveda (1780), XX.

⁴⁵ ACT, *Inventario de las Reliquias y alhajas del Sagrario de esta Santa Primada Iglesia hecho por el Emmo. Sor. Don Francisco Lorenzana Cardenal y Arzobispo de ella en la Visita que principio el dia 20 de Junio de 1790,*

Mitres were valuable items, and some were sold in 1358 by Innocent VI to raise funds for the wars waged in Italy.⁴⁶ A mitre decorated with precious stones and valued at 1,800 florins was among the possessions of Albornoz at the time of his death; it ended up in the hands of Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz in 1370.⁴⁷ Guy de Boulogne in his will of May 1372 stipulated the donation of a mitre to Lyon cathedral, where he had been Archbishop (1340-1342).⁴⁸ In his codicil of November 1373 in Caspe, he left his valuable mitre, which he had recently embellished, to the papal treasury in Avignon. Its worth was 2,000 gold florins. Guy also donated the jewels he had received in Spain, valued at 3,000 florins.⁴⁹ In 1397 a mitre decorated with sapphires was offered as payment for the rescue of the fortress in Spoleto; this mitre was offered by the Pope to the Cardinal of S. Marcello Stefan de Tours, as a warranty for the total payment of 4,200 gold florins that was requested.⁵⁰

Albornoz bequeathed to the Archbishop of Toledo, for his private use, two pairs of basins. One of these sets, in gilt silver, had been given to him by the Archbishop of Milan Giovanni Visconti, perhaps when he first entered Italy on his first legation and was lavishly

(hereafter referred to as ACT, Lorenzana 1790), fol. 103v, ítem no.2: ‘Otra mitra labrada de oro muy Antigua, que resulta de los anteriores inventarios estar muy maltratada, y haberse hecho de otras viejas, y sus senas principales son, dos camafeos grandes con hombres a caballo, y por el otro lado otros dos tambien grandes y con cabezas de Emperadores coronadas, y forrada en verde. Que se haga nueva esta para que no se acaben de perder las joyas que tiene, procurando adornarla con la possible semejanza, a lo que consta en las anteriores visitas’.

⁴⁶ Müntz and Faucon (1882), p. 220.

⁴⁷ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 130v: ‘in Roma de prima Februarij anni MCCLXX recepit a Reverendo in Christo Patre et domino domino Petro Cardinali Bellefortensi mitram pretiosam que fuit dicti bone memorie Domini Egidii quam idem dominus Bellefortensis receperat ab executore bone memorie Domini Guillelmi Cardinalis Cesaraugustani cum omnibus lapidibus, perlis et fulcimentis cum quibus idem bone memorie dictus Egidius ipsam tenebat, que est extimata in mille et in octogensis florenis.’ It was given in 1370 to Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz; *ibid.*, fol. 134v: ‘Item posuit dictus dominicus fernandi assignasse manualiter et realiter dedisse die xvij Mensis aprilis anni MCCCLXX in Roma dicto domino Fernando Episcopo Ulixbonensi supradictam mitram pretiosam extimatam in mille octogentos florenis quam ipse Dominicus receperat a dicto domino Cardinali Bellefortensi cum omnibus lapidibus, perlis et fulcimentis cum quibus ipsam a predicto domino Cardinali receperat.’

⁴⁸ Jugie (1986), Vol. III, p. 186, lines 114-123. It had previously belonged to the bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 196, lines 386-395: ‘pulcra mitra mea noviter reparata, pretii duorum milium francorum auri ... portentur ad civitate Avinionensem, et cum ipsis...item jocalia que mihi data fuerunt in partibus Ispaniarum, pretii trium milium francorum auri, et in manibus sanctissimi domini mei domini Gregorii XI pontificis deponantur.’

⁵⁰ ‘mitram preciosam ...ornatam zafirís grossis et prius’, ASV, Armadio 29, t.1. fol. 298r; quoted by Guerrini (1983), pp. 167-168.

received.⁵¹ One of the pieces of the Visconti set had been stolen in Castile when he was Archbishop of Toledo, and the other remained his property. Albornoz also offered another pair, silver gilt with enamels in the centre and a gold border, weighing 12 marks, to replace the silver gilt pair he had taken from Toledo.⁵² The original pair, of white silver, which had been acquired by the archbishop of Toledo don Gutierre (1310-1319), had been lost. Albornoz acknowledged that the basins were not among his possessions, perhaps because they had been melted.⁵³ The replacement pieces that Albornoz offered were later included in the will of Archbishop Pedro Tenorio of 1398, which mentioned two silver basins with enamels, weighing over 11 marks 6 ounces and sporting the heraldry of Albornoz.⁵⁴ Matteo Orsini assigned two small silver basins for use in the liturgical services in his burial chapel of St. Catherine in S. Maria sopra Minerva, although these were not enamelled.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Filippini (1933), p. 19.

⁵² The 1347 inventory of the *vaiselle* of the dauphin Humbert de Viennoise listed ‘Duos magnos bacinos argenteos per manibus esmalthatos et deauratos intus est in parte superiore ... signatos ab extra signo Montis Pessulani’; see Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, ‘L’Émaillerie translucide à Montpellier et Avignon au XIV^e siècle’, in *Oreficeria e smalti in Europa fra XIII e XV secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 7-8 Novembre 1996* (Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, ed., *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Normale Classe di Lettere e Filosofia Serie IV, Quaderni 2*, 1997), pp. 47-62, at p. 48. Silver basins with enamelled decoration appear in the 1378 inventory of plate inherited by Richard II from Edward II, see Marian Campbell, ‘English basse taille enamels’, in *Oreficeria e smalti in Europa fra XIII e XV secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 7-8 Novembre 1996* (Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, ed., *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Normale Classe di Lettere e Filosofia Serie IV, Quaderni 2*, 1997), pp. 37-46, at p. 40.

⁵³ Appendix I, lines 31-33; Sepúlveda (1780), XXIII.

⁵⁴ ACT, E.6.A.1.4, fol. 7r: ‘Un par de bazines de plata de aguar manos e el uno tiene un pico con una cabeza de leon e tiene los cercos de dentro dorados et en medio sendos esmaltes a figures de arboles et en los cercos senalados con ferrete alas armas del Card. Don gil, los quales pesan honze marcos et seys onzas e dos ochavas de plata.’

⁵⁵ Forte (1967), p. 231: ‘duo bacilia argentea parva pro capella, ponderis quatuor marcharum et quinque unciarum et medie.’

4. 3. Textile Art: Liturgical Vestments and *Opus Anglicanum*

As far as textile production is concerned, the second half of the fourteenth century was marked by a sharp increase in the percentage spent on vestments in the Papal court. Clement VI raised the percentage to 12%, from 3.35% of his predecessor, Benedict XII.⁵⁶ The interest in textile materials and lavish vestments is reflected in the rich collections that some cardinals owned, and bequeathed at their death. The place of production of the textiles was often specified; thus we find in the will of Matteo Orsini a range of *Opus Florentinum*, *Opus Romanum*, *Opus Tholosanum*, *Opus Lucano* and the much valued *Opus Anglicanum*.⁵⁷

Opus Anglicanum is an embroidery technique characterised by the employment of coloured silk, silver and gold threads, which can use a textile support of linen, silk or velvet. These lavish embroideries, produced in England on an industrial scale during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were often enriched with pearls or coloured beads.⁵⁸ Embroidery and manuscripts were the main artistic production in England in the fourteenth century, although the technique and quality declined during the second half of the fourteenth century, coinciding with the reigns of Edward III (1327-1377) and Richard II (1377-1399).⁵⁹ The vast majority of the surviving examples are ecclesiastical vestments, which were sought after by the Popes since the thirteenth century; these valuable embroideries, which could also embellish secular garments, were an appreciated diplomatic gift.⁶⁰ The delegation which arrived in Castile in 1345, to

⁵⁶ Castelnuovo (1962), p. 28.

⁵⁷ Forte (1967), pp. 228-262. For *Opus Anglicanum*, see Christie (1938).

⁵⁸ For materials and technique, see Christie (1938), pp. 19-27.

⁵⁹ Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain. The Middle Ages* (London: Penguin Books, 1965, 2nd edition, first published 1954), pp. 122, 136-39. Brel-Bordaz (1982), p. 118.

⁶⁰ Neil Morgan, 'L'Opus Anglicanum nel tesoro pontificio', in *Il Gotico Europeo in Italia*, Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli eds (Naples: Electa, 1994), pp. 299-309; Laura Martini ed., *Il Piviale di Pio II* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2001), p. 18; Donal King, 'Embroidery and Textiles', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 6 November 1987-6 March 1988) eds Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 157-161, at pp. 159-160.

negotiate the marriage of Prince Pedro to Mary of Normandy or to Joan Plantagenet, probably brought diplomatic gifts for Alfonso XI.⁶¹ It is not improbable that English textiles were presented to the king, and this would have brought Albornoz in contact with these productions at a time when he was Archbishop of Toledo and royal chancellor.

Cardinal Matteo Orsini might have acquired or commissioned English textiles during his visit to London in 1314.⁶² He bequeathed in his will a large number of vestments of varying technique and value to Italian, mostly Dominican, churches.⁶³ His donations included an embroidered altar frontal of *Opus Florentinum*, a dossal with figures of *Opus Anglicanum* and a stole and maniple of *Opus Tholosanum*.⁶⁴ Matteo equipped his burial chapel of St. Catherine with seven chasubles, his three best orphreys of *Opus Anglicanum*, *Opus Romanum* and *Opus Tholosanum* for the altar frontal, and three altar dossals.⁶⁵ Orsini requested that the annual rent of eight florins was kept in the sacristy of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, in a large wooden box with good locks together with the vestments.⁶⁶ Valuable and delicate liturgical vestments were stored safely in boxes often specially shaped to accommodate them, as we see in the semicircular wooden chest preserved in Gloucester cathedral, a rare survival of this type of container (Fig. 110). The fact that some of these vestments had been imported from distant lands added to their value. Cardinal Annibale da Ceccano in his will of 1350 donated vestments of *Opus Cyprensi* to St.

⁶¹ José Zunzunegui Aramburu, 'La misión del obispo de Senes al reino de Castilla (1354-1355)', *Anthologica Annua* VIII (1960), pp. 11-31, at pp. 22-23. Rymer (1727), Vol. VI, pp. 642-644.

⁶² He represented the Order in the General Chapter held in London in 1314, when he was *lettore generale* of the Florentine Studio, Forte (1967), p. 184.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-242. They included S. Caterina in Pisa (p. 238), S. Maria sopra Minerva (p. 232), S. Maria de Grottapinta (p. 240).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232, to S. Maria sopra Minerva: 'Item dimitto ei unum frontale meum pro altari de opere florentino cum multis figuris.', p. 240, to S. Maria de Grottapinta: 'unum dossale sive pannum celestini coloris cum figuris de opere anglicano, quod habet additiones ... Item unam stolam et manipulum operis tholosani forratam de syndone azurino.'

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230: 'tria aurifrigia pro frontalibus altaris, scilicet anglicanum, romanum et tholosanum meliora.'

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 231: 'una capsula de forti ligno grossa et bene ferrata, in qua capsula reponantur omnia supradicta paramenta et ornamenta argentea, et omnia spectantia ad dictam capellam....'

Peter's in Rome and to Notre-Dame in Paris, and of *Opus Anglicanum* to the cathedrals of Naples and Rheims.⁶⁷ Pedro Gomez donated to his Dominican foundation of St. Praxède in Avignon his beautiful set of vestments of gold *ultramarino*, which probably means that it was imported.⁶⁸

Pedro Gomez also remembered the churches where he had held office or benefices, and established that a *cappella de diaspro* was to be sent to each of those churches, as well as to S. Prassede in Rome, Toledo Cathedral, and Santiago in Compostela, and stated that the chasuble had to have a Roman orphrey.⁶⁹ He bequeathed a set of vestments to churches in Rome, and to the Dominican church in Toledo.⁷⁰ He was very generous in his will towards his native city of Toledo, and he donated his most precious vestment to the Cathedral: 'Item we donate to the church of Toledo our beautiful cope and the altar dossal of *Opus Anglicanum* and the altar frontal with gold images on red velvet of *Opus Florentinum*; the aforesaid cope has beautiful orphreys of *Opus Anglicanum* with images.'⁷¹

⁶⁷ Dykmans (1973), p. 300, line 200: 'paramenta nostra alba de opere cyprensi, videlicet planetam, dalmaticam cum perlis et aurifresijs rubeis, et tunicellam et pluviale eiusdem operis'; p. 303, line 225: legamus eidem ecclesie Parisiensi pluviale album de opere cyprensi. Item, dalmaticam et tunicellam eiusdem operis, minus sollempnes; line 227: 'ecclesie Neapolitane, pluviale rubeum de opere anglicano, et planetam et dalmaticam et tunicellam eiusdem operis'; line 229: 'legamus ... ecclesie Remensi, ubi fuimus canonici ... pluviale nostrum album ad ymagines, de opere anglicano.'

⁶⁸ Pansier (1916), p. 77: 'Item legamus dicto monasterio S. Praxedis quedam paramenta nostri corporis pulcra de pannis de auro ultramarino'. 'Ultramarino' was used to describe a blue colour, but also for items 'from beyond the sea', i.e. imported.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 82: 'detur et tradatur una cappella de diaspro, que habeat casulam, dalmaticam, amictus, albas, cingulos, stolas et manipulos condecetes; casula vero habeat romanum aurifrisium cum frangis'.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 82: 'Item dari volumus et legamus singulis ecclesiis infrascriptis: videlicet S. Petri, S. Pauli, S. Johannis de Latrano et S. Laurentii de Urbe, necnon ecclesie Predicatorum civitatis Toletan. singulas cappellas ejusdem condicionis et valoris de quibus supra proxime est dictum.'

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 81: 'Item dicte ecclesie Toletan. legamus quoddam pluviale nostrum pulcrum et dorsale de opera anglicano ac quoddam frontale ad ymagines factas de auro in velluto rubeo de opera florentino; pluviale vero predictum est cum aurifrisis anglicanis pulcris ad ymagines.'

Gomez established that these vestments could not be lent, sold, or taken out of the Cathedral of Toledo.⁷² The ruling of strict conditions for the donation of precious objects was also clearly laid out by Albornoz regarding two items he allocated to Cuenca Cathedral in 1364: the reliquary head of St. Blaise and his cope of *Opus Anglicanum* ('my precious cope of *Opus Anglicanum*').⁷³ He left very precise instructions as to when they could be displayed, detailing the feasts when the head was to be taken in procession. He was so concerned with the conservation of these two objects that he threatened with repossession on the part of his family if it was found that the Church was not looking after them properly. He prescribed that these items could not be sold, lent or taken out of the Sacristy, where they should be kept.⁷⁴ The feasts were: the Nativity of the Lord, Circumcision, Epiphany, feast day of St. Blaise martyr, Purification of the Virgin, Annunciation, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecostes, Trinity, Corpus Christi, feast day of St. John the Baptist, Sts. Peter and Paul, the Magdalen, the Assumption of the Virgin, Birth of the Virgin, All Saints, feast day of St. Clement martyr, and the Annunciation to Jesus.⁷⁵

The cope of *Opus Anglicanum* which is attributed to Albornoz's patronage in Toledo Cathedral, is one of the most valuable medieval textiles preserved in Spain, and its current

⁷² Ibid., p. 81: 'Volumus autem et ordinamus quod hujusmodi paramenta que dicte ecclesie Toletan. legamus ponantur et custodiantur perpetuo in ecclesia ipsa Toletan. seu sacrario ipsius, et extra ipsam ecclesiam nullatenus deportentur, nec archiepiscopo Toletan. qui est pro tempore, vel alicui alteri tradantur, nisi quatenus ipsum archiepiscopum vel aliquem alium in ipsa ecclesia Toletan. contingat divina officia celebrare.'

⁷³ Appendix I, line 24; Sepúlveda (1780), XVII: 'Item pluviale meum pretiosum de opere Anglicano.'

⁷⁴ Matteo Orsini had prescribed that should the friars in S. Maria sopra Minerva fail to comply with his requirement that the objects he donated to their convent were not to be lent or sold they should be offered to the other Dominican convent, S. Sabina. Annibale da Ceccano established that the reliquary of St. Peter which he donated to his burial chapel in St. Peter's in Rome could not be sold or lent, Dykmans (1973), pp. 300-301: 'Item, legamus capelle Sanctorum Lurentij et Georgij supradicte, in dicta ecclesia Sancti Petri fundate, reliquarium beati Petri cum reliquijs ibidem existentibus, ad usum ipsius capelle, qui vendi aut alienari non possint.' Guy de Boulogne dictated that the reliquary of the True Cross and a reliquary-statuettes of St. Louis which he donated to his brother, were never to be lent, otherwise they would become the possession of the churches of Lyon and Clermont d'Auvergne, see Jugie (1986) Vol. III, p. 191, lines 248-258.

⁷⁵ Appendix I, lines 25-28; Sepúlveda (1780), XVII.

display does not do it justice (Fig. 111).⁷⁶ The surprisingly scant bibliography on this exceptional survival furnishes a variety of possible dates. The acknowledged authority on the subject of *Opus Anglicanum*, Christie, dated the cope to the early fourteenth century, but alternative chronologies range from c.1300-1320 by Wallis to c.1340-1350 by Brel-Bordaz.⁷⁷ Most recently, Martini suggested two dates, 1315-1320 and 1320-1340.⁷⁸

An elaborate architectural framework houses twenty-four figures of saints and apostles in individual arcades and seven scenes in double arcades, separated by pillars and colonnettes with human heads as capitals. The radiating framework is arranged in three semicircular registers, divided by six vertical piers (Figs 112, 113). Seven scenes fill double niches, with the Virgin and Child, Trinity, Coronation of the Virgin, Assumption of the Virgin, the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin, Nativity and Annunciation.

The saints are identified by scrolls, except the mitred figure on the outermost left niche. From left to right, the lowest register represents mostly male saints: unidentified mitred cleric saint with a crozier (bishop or abbot), John the Evangelist, Edward the Confessor (offering his ring to John), Lawrence, Mary Magdalen, king Ethelbert, Dunstan, Margaret, Catherine, Thomas of Canterbury, Olaf, Stephen, Helen, Denis, Edmund and John the Baptist. These saints stand on male figures which represent their executioners, a formula which perhaps recalls the

⁷⁶ Two surviving examples of the technique in Spain are the Daroca cope, in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, c.1300, see Christie (1938), cat. 71, pp. 135-138, pls. LXXXVII-XC; and the mutilated velvet cope in the Museu Episcopal in Vich, which was donated by Bishop Ramón de Bellera (1352-1377), see Christie (1938), cat. 89, pp. 165-167, pls. CXXII-CXXIV, which she dated to the first quarter of the 14th century. Cf. *Opus Anglicanum. English Medieval Embroidery* (exhibition catalogue, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 26 September 1963-24 November 1963), ed. Donal King (London: The Arts Council, 1963), cat. 91, where it was dated 1340-1370.

⁷⁷ Christie (1938), cat. 85, pp. 156-158. Penelope Earle Wallis, 'The Iconography of English Embroidered Vestments, c.1250-c.1500.' Ph.D. thesis (Birbeck College, University of London 1988), p. 72. Brel-Bordaz (1982), p. 22, fn. 83.

⁷⁸ Martini (2001), pp. 29, 54. Dates appear on captions for figures 29 and 72.

representation of Virtues trampling over Vices.⁷⁹ King Olaf pierces the head of the figure on which he stands with the halberd, symbol of his martyrdom, whilst holding in his hand a scroll with this name (SCS. OLAWS) and a sceptre (Fig. 114). St. Olaf was the Scandinavian king who was converted by the English, whilst Sts. Dunstan, Ethelbert, Edward the Confessor, Thomas of Canterbury and Edmund of Bury are English saints.⁸⁰ Both the manufacturing technique and the presence of a majority of English figures leave no doubt as to the place of production of this cope. The eventual destination of these vestments is alleatory to their iconography, which drew on local and Northern European saints. The Toledo cope contains no references to any Italian or Spanish saint. Perhaps in origin, the patron and his ecclesiastical office were reflected on the vestment. The orphrey of the Toledo cope represents three royal saints; perhaps the cope was destined for a royal chaplain in the English court. Sts. Olaf and Dunstan are not represented with certainty in any other surviving embroidery.⁸¹ Sts. Ethelbert and Dunstan are engaged in conversation (Fig. 115). St. Catherine is represented piercing the head of a king (emperor Maxentius) and holding the wheel of her martyrdom; next to her, St. Thomas tramples on his assassin, Reginald Fitzurse, identified by his shield and armour (Fig. 116).⁸² The Archbishop of Canterbury gestures towards St. Olaf, whilst St. Denis holds his decapitated head next to St. Edmund, who bears two arrows and stands on a Dane holding a bow.

The middle section, from left to right, contains the figures of eight Apostles: Paul, Simon, Philip, James the Great, Andrew (holding his saltire cross), Thomas, Bartholomew, and Peter. The Apostles Luke, Mark and Matthew do not appear in the cope.

⁷⁹ This iconography featured on the wall paintings at Westminster Abbey; see Wallis (1988), pp. 19-20.

⁸⁰ Christie (1938), p. 156.

⁸¹ Christie (1938), p. 158. Cf. Felipa Niño y Mas, 'La Capa de Daroca', *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos* III (1936), pp. 65-74, at p. 72, where she identified one of the saints on the orphrey of the Daroca cope as St. Oswald.

⁸² Christie (1938), p. 158.

In the central section, the Nativity scene shows the Virgin Mary with an attendant female holding the Child (Fig. 117). In the middle and top belts, the figures stand on the leafy ends of the pillars dividing the arches of the section below, flanked by pairs of confronted birds filling the spandrels, including peacocks. Birds also feature prominently in the copes in S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (c. 1300) and Pienza (second quarter of the fourteenth century).⁸³ Naturalistic birds also feature in the Passion cope of St-Bertrand de Comminges, which was a gift of Clement V in 1309.⁸⁴ The use of Bestiaries and model books from East Anglia as sources for embroideries has been suggested.⁸⁵

The top section of the cope represents the Virgin and Child, the Trinity, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Assumption, and the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin. The Trinity is a subject rarely found in embroidery.⁸⁶ The orphrey of the cope (a rare survival amongst medieval copes) is decorated with six standing saints in niches, alternated with angels.

The figures in the Toledo cope interact graciously with each other; St. John the Evangelist offers a ring to Edward the Confessor, and they gesture to each other. In my opinion, the statement by Wallis that they are ‘rather stiff figures which contrast with the delicate arcading which frames them’ is not justified.⁸⁷

⁸³ For the Lateran cope, see Christie (1938), cat. 78, pls. CII-CV; cf. *Opus Anglicanum. English Medieval Embroidery* (1963), cat. 66, dated 1340-1360. For Pienza cope, see Christie (1938), cat. 95, dated second quarter 14th century; cf. *Opus Anglicanum* (1966) cat. 54, dated 1315-1335. See also Christie (1938), cat. 77, pp. 148-149, pl. CI, early 14th century, which *Opus Anglicanum. English Medieval Embroidery* (1963), cat. 84, dates 1340-1360.

⁸⁴ Dated c. 1300, it has 33 birds and 66 mammals. Christie (1938), pp. 124-127, cat. 66, plates LXXVI-LXXIX. Brel-Bordaz (1982), pp. 99, 148-152, 178-180. Clement V also donated to Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges the cope of the Virgin; see *Ibid.*, pp. 153-156, 179 and Christie (1938), cat. 67.

⁸⁵ M R James, ‘An English medieval sketch-book, no.1916 in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge’, *The Thirteenth Volume of the Walpole Society* (1925), pp. 1-17; Christie (1938), pp. 11-13, 127; William Brunson Yapp, ‘The birds of English medieval manuscripts’, *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), pp. 315-348; William Brunson Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 1981); Brel-Bordaz (1982), p. 99; Martini (2001), pp. 63-65.

⁸⁶ Christie (1938), p. 157.

⁸⁷ Wallis (1988), p. 72.

The Nativity scene is very similar to the one in the cope of *Opus Anglicanum* preserved in the Duomo at Pienza (Figs 117, 118). The Virgin Mary lies on a couch with Joseph sitting at the end of the couch, an attendant lady holds the Child, and star on the apex. In the scene below, Gabriel appears to the Virgin, who lifts her hands in acceptance of her role in Salvation. The figure of the Virgin is very similar to St. Catherine standing to the right, although the colours of their vestments are inverted (pink robe and green mantle for the Virgin, green robe and pink mantle for St. Catherine). Their mantles are fur-lined. Whilst the orphrey of Toledo cope resembles that of the Lateran cope, the three central scenes are remarkably close to those in the Pienza cope (Fig. 119).⁸⁸ The latter is decorated with twenty-seven scenes of the life of the Virgin, the Infancy of Christ, and the lives of Sts. Margaret and Catherine. It has over 180 birds and animals. The scenes represented include St. Catherine before Maxentius, Catherine disputing with the philosophers, the martyrdom of the latter, Catherine in prison with Faustina and her servant outside, Catherine brought before Maxentius, the martyrdom of the wheel and finally, the beheading of St. Catherine, with her soul taken by angels. Human heads as capitals appear in the fantastic architectural framework. Saints Margaret and Catherine are often paired in medieval art, as they are in fact on the Toledo cope.⁸⁹ The lost Bebington cope, featuring scenes from the Old Testament, was related to Toledo and Pienza, through a watercolour drawing, dated 1315-1335.⁹⁰

Could the *Opus Anglicanum* cope currently preserved in Toledo Cathedral be identified with Cardinal Pedro Gomez's donation in his will? Albornoz donated his cope of *Opus Anglicanum* to Cuenca cathedral, not to Toledo. Christie assumed that it was the same cope,

⁸⁸ Measurements of Pienza cope: 11 feet 6 inches width; height, 5 feet 4 ½ inches.

⁸⁹ Martini (2001), p. 43.

⁹⁰ *Opus Anglicanum. English Medieval Embroidery* (1963), cat. no. 55, p. 32. Cf. Christie (1938), cat. 96, pp. 183-186, pl. CXLIII, dated second quarter 14th century.

which did not reach Cuenca.⁹¹ The current identification as ‘Albornoz’s cope’ is only supported by the 1792 inventory of the Ochavo chapel: ‘1-An embroidered cope, with applied parakeets and other birds made of pearls, and small gold, black and red beads; the orphrey of the cope is embroidered, and the crowns of the figures are made with applied pearls; the hood has a coat of arms consisting of a gold castle on a red field, with a cardinal hat above it, and is supported by two angels. The cope is lined with red cloth, and on the morse it has the heraldry of Don Gil de Albornoz, Cardinal and Archbishop of this church, who donated it. Many pearls have disappeared since the previous visit.’⁹²

The attribution to Albornoz is perpetuated in all bibliographical references to this cope.⁹³ In 1938, Christie illustrated it without the hood mentioned by Lorenzana. The photograph shows what looks like Albornoz’s coat of arms in the textile morse, and which Christie described as a heraldic shield (blazoned or, bend sable) flanked by birds, without identifying it as Albornoz (Fig. 120).⁹⁴ Whilst she had the opportunity to examine and photograph the vestment, the current display of this cope makes proper study of it impossible: it is not only encased in a wooden frame which covers the borders and clasp of the vestment, but also placed up high inside a display cabinet, with very poor lighting. Christie stated that the morse was of a later date, and

⁹¹ Christie (1938), p. 156.

⁹² ACT, Lorenzana (1790), visit of 1792, fol. 214v: ‘No.1: Una capa bordada de aguja con Ymagenes Papagayos y otras aves sobrepuestas de aljofar, y unas cuentas de oro chiquitas, y otras negras y coloradas, bordada la zanefa de dha.obra, y en las coronas de las Ymagenes es el bordado d alxofar, con un escudo de armas en el capillo con Capelo rojo sobre el, cuyas armas son un Castillo de oro, y dos Angeles a los lados que sostiene el dho.escudo: la qual esta forrada en lienzo colorado, y en el pectoral tiene las armas del Sor. Don Gil de Albornoz Cardenal y Arzobispo que fue de esta Santa Yglesia, quien la dio; advirtiendole faltar aora mucha alxofar mas de lo que se noto en la visita antecedente’.

⁹³ Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. I, p. 369: ‘manto o capa que perteneció al cardenal Albornoz ... Bordado inglés del siglo XI.’ and Fig. 194 ‘siglo XIII.’ Francisco Rivera Recio, *Guía de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: Editorial Católica Toledana, 1949), p. 87: ‘parece que perteneció al cardenal Carrillo de Albornoz’. Andrés Cabrera y Delgado, *Catedral de Toledo* (Barcelona: Escudo de Oro, 1993), p. 100.

⁹⁴ Christie (1938), p. 158. Measurements of the cope: height 5 feet 6 inches, width 10 feet 9 inches. Morse 10 ½ x 6 inches.

a technique different from the cope.⁹⁵ The coat of arms described in the Inventory of Lorenzana as being on the now lost hood consisted of a gold castle on a red field. This suggests that it was the heraldry of Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña (archbishop of Toledo 1446-1482), represented in the Sala Capitular of the Cathedral by Juan de Borgoña. Perhaps it was added then, and later associated to the patronage of Gil de Albornoz.

In 1337, Pedro Gomez endowed the feast to St. Praxedis, a saint who was not particularly popular in Spain, establishing in Toledo a major liturgical feast in her honour, which included the use of six copes, worn by the officiating prelates.⁹⁶ The document stated that Pedro was a native of Toledo, and that he had favoured the Cathedral. Pedro Gomez had a great interest in textiles. Two inventories dated 1338-1350 preserved at the Archivo Capitular of Toledo Cathedral list numerous vestments donated by '*el cardenal Pedro*', whom we can identify as Pedro Gomez.⁹⁷ The next Castilian cardinal with this name was his grand-nephew Pedro Gomez Barroso (d.1374), but he is not documented as a donor in Toledo Cathedral.⁹⁸ The coincidence of position and forename in the Cathedral of Toledo does not take place until the late fifteenth century, with the Archbishop of Toledo and later Cardinal Pedro Mendoza (d.1495), and he cannot be considered a possible donor of objects in an inventory dated mid-fourteenth century. The donations listed in the inventories aforementioned seem to have taken place during Pedro Gomez's lifetime, and the unusual largesse indicates both his wealth and his taste for rich

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

⁹⁶ ACT, I.12.B.1.8, I.12.B.1.8.a. 13 February 1337, 'fiesta de seis capas'. For the feast of six copes, see Lop Otín (2003), pp. 110-111.

⁹⁷ ACT, X 12 B.1.2, ff. 5r-6r; ff.16r-21r contain a large array of vestments, of varied colours and materials: fol.16r: 'tres capas amarillas, otras seys blancas, otras seys bermejas de diaspro que dio el cardenal don Pedro... dos capas cardenas enlevadas del dicho cardenal'; fol. 16v: 'una casulla tunica dalmatica de diaspro bermejoes del cardenal ... dos estolas et tres manipulos amarellos del cardenal ... tres alvas de redrojes de tartari cardeno, tres amyto delas del cardenal'; fol. 17r: 'una capa violada de un pano enlevado que dio el cardenal, esta en su arca ... una savana grande orillada con orellas cardenas, bermejas, esta en el arca del cardenal'; fol. 19v: 'dos antefrontales ... fasalejos que dio el cardenal don pedro.'

⁹⁸ Eubel (1913), pp. 21,45, 196, 278, 444. A. Orive, 'Pedro Gómez-Álvarez de Barroso', *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1972), Vol. II, p. 1026.

vestments. In August 1340, Pedro is documented purchasing English wool. He was allowed to buy 60 sacks of wool per year, and his custom must have been important enough since his attorneys were specially protected.⁹⁹ The king of England safeguarded Pedro's licence to acquire English wool to make vestments for members of his household in 1343, during a period of conflict between Castilian and English ships.¹⁰⁰ The commercial trade between England and Castile was intense, particularly concerning the high quality wool produced in England.¹⁰¹ Pedro Gomez was sent on a diplomatic legation to the English court in 1340 together with the French cardinal Bertrand de Monfavet; and he would have had ample occasion to acquire *Opus Anglicanum* vestments during his sojourn.¹⁰² Cardinals would establish and develop international commercial links and important friendships, such as that between the English lawyer Richard of Widmunderwold and the French cardinal Bertrand de Montfavet. Richard was buried next to his good friend when he died in 1356.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Rymer (1727), Vol. V, p. 201, 2 August 1340: 'De Lanis cariandis pro Petro Sanctae Praxedis Cardinali: 'Rex Collectoribus Custumarum suarum in Portu Londoniae... Petrum Tituli Sanctae Praxedis Presbiterum, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem, praetextu Laudabilis Gestus fui erga nos, in Expeditione Negotiorum nostrorum, in partibus Transmarinis, favore prosequi gratioso, Concessimus ei quod Ipse Sexaginta Saccos Lanae in Portu praedicto carcare, & usque Bruges in Flandria, pro Liberatione sua inde ibidem facienda.'; Ibid., p. 204, 13 September 1340: 'De Protectione pro Attornatis Sancte Praxedis Cardinalis'; Ibid., p. 215: 15 November 1340, 'Pro Petro (nuper Sanctae Praxedis Presbytero) nunc Episcopo Sabinensi: 'Concessimus, & Licentiam Dedimus pro Nobis, & Haeredibus nostris, quod idem Episcopus, vel Attornati fui in hac parte, singulis Annis, Sexaginta Saccos Lanae, pro Vesturis Familiarum suorum faciendis, infra Regnum nostrum Angliae.'

¹⁰⁰ For 1343 conflict, see Zunzunegui Aramburu (1960), p. 22. Rymer (1727), Vol. V, pp. 383-384, 398-399, 410-411, 414-415. Ibid., p. 361: 'Pro Episcopo Sabinensi Cardinali, super Lanis pro Vestura ad Vitam, concessis...singulis Annis Sexaginta Saccos Lanorum pro Vestura Familiarum suorum faciendis, infra Regnum nostrum Angliae'. See also Ibid., Vol. II, part II, cols. 1222, 1227 for Annibale Ceccano; earlier purchases of wool by Cardinals are made in 1338, Ibid. p. 44. Mollat (1951), p. 57.

¹⁰¹ Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978).

¹⁰² Orive (1972), p. 1027. Rymer (1727), Vol. V, p. 123, September 1339: 'Litterae de Protectione pro Cardinalibus'; p. 145, December 1339: 'Litterae de Conductu pro Cardinalibus'; see also Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁰³ Raphael Méridol, *Montfavet* (Marguerittes: Equinoxe, 1993), p. 4. Robert Bailly, *Avignon hors les murs* (Avignon: F. Orta, 1967), p. 115. Both tombs are lost.

The 1361 inventory of the Treasury of the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome lists a number of liturgical vestments donated by the cardinal of Sabina Pietro Hispanus.¹⁰⁴ Muntz and Frothingham identified this cardinal as Pedro Gomez.¹⁰⁵ Pedro Gomez was indeed known as ‘cardinal of Toledo’ and ‘Hispanus.’¹⁰⁶ The homonym cardinal of Sabina, known as Petrus Roderici Hispanus, had died in 1310. He had been bishop of Burgos (1300-1303) before his promotion to cardinal in 1302; he was sent to England on diplomatic missions and died in Avignon.¹⁰⁷ Whilst there is a possibility that he may have been responsible for the donations to St. Peter’s, the fact that Petrus Hispanus did not hold a position in Toledo cathedral would confirm our attribution to Pedro Gomez of the important textile donations to the Castilian church.

When Niccolò Capocci dictated his will in 1350, the first bequest he listed was the donation to Valencia Cathedral of his cope and a reliquary. It is noteworthy that Capocci donated his best cope of *Opus Anglicanum* to the church of Valencia in Spain, although it has been identified as Valence.¹⁰⁸ The vestment, which has been lost, and no documentary trace has survived of it, was decorated with golden figures on a blue background: ‘Item, I leave to the

¹⁰⁴ ‘Item alia planeta de dyaspero viridi cum pavvonibus, cum capitibus pedibus et summitatibus alarum de auro, et cervis cum capitibus et pedibus de auro et alibus (sic) floribus de auro, cum aurifrisio de opere Romano cum figuris diversorum sanctorum, et diversorum colorum in tabernaculis ante et retro. In cujus pectore est ymago Salvatoris coronantis dominam nostram, et ab utraque parte duo angeli magni. Item dalmatica et tunicella de eodem dyaspero, cum fimbriis de serico rubeo cum arboribus de auro et serico viridi, cum aurifrisiis ad collum et ad spatulas. Signat. per B. Relicta per dominum Petrum Yspanum Cardinalem, Episcopum Sabinensem.’ Inventarium omnium et singulorum dossalium, paramentorum, pluvialium sacristie Basillice Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, 1361, fol. 47r, quoted by Ernst Muntz and A L Frothingham, ‘Il Tesoro della Basilica di S.Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo con una scelta d’inventarii inediti’, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* VI (1883), pp. 1-137, this inventory is pp. 13-51, p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Muntz and Frothingham (1883), p. 30, fn. 2: ‘Sembra essere il medesimo onde parla l’Ughelli (op. cit., t. I, pag.174): Petrus Gomesii de Barroso Hispanus, ex Episcopo Carthaginensi factus est Presb.Card. tit. S.Praxedis a Joanne XXII, anno 1327, a Benedicto vero XII Card. Episcopus Sabinensis. Avenione decessit anno 1348, 14 Julii.’

¹⁰⁶ A. Orive, ‘Pedro Gomez Barroso’, in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiastica de España* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1972), Vol. II, pp. 1026-1027.

¹⁰⁷ Eubel (1913), pp. 13, 38, 151.

¹⁰⁸ Christie (1938), p. 3. It is Valencia in Spain, as specified in BAV, ms. lat. 7934, *Iohannis Vincentii Capocci Patricii Romani de Gente Capoccina Historia*, fol. 69v: ‘Item episcopus et decanus et capitulum Valentium in regno Valentie ubi ego dispensatione apostolica prepositura obtineo.’

church of Valencia, where I obtained a provost position, my best cope of [the best] *Opus Anglicanum*, with various figures in gold [thread] on a blue field, to be used in perpetuity in the sacristy of the said church, and [which] neither the bishop, nor anybody else is to remove from the church. I also leave to the same church my small, rather beautiful cross, which contains a piece of the Holy Cross, which I brought from England.’¹⁰⁹

What could have prompted Capocci to donate his best cope, and a relic of the True Cross that he had obtained in England, to Valencia? His trusted chaplain was a Spaniard, Juan Fernandez.¹¹⁰ Perhaps he influenced the cardinal’s decision. Capocci also left another English reliquary to the church of Autun: ‘Item, I leave to the church of Autun, where I was archdeacon, my cope of violet colour with a golden orphrey without figures, and my reliquary, which I brought from England.’¹¹¹ In his native Rome, Capocci left a set of vestments and an embroidered frontal for the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore, where he had asked to be buried.¹¹² Cardinal Albornoz donated to his family chapel in Cuenca two sets of liturgical vestments, one white and one red.¹¹³

In 1355, Bertrand de Déaux left his most precious cope, with pearls and a valuable silver clasp, to the church of Liège.¹¹⁴ Bertrand remembered his cardinal titular church of S. Marco in

¹⁰⁹ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. I, cols. 511-516, col. 512: ‘Item lego Ecclesiae Valentinae, in qua Praeposituram obtineo Pluviale meum melius operis Anglicani in campo azzurrino cum diversis figuris de auro, servandum perpetuo in dictae Ecclesiae sacristia, nec Episcopo, nec alteri extra Ecclesiam commodetur. Item lego eidem Ecclesiae Crucem meam parvulam satis pulchram, in qua est de ligno Crucis, quam portavi de Anglia.’

¹¹⁰ Ibid., col. 512: ‘Dominus Ioannes Fernandi Canonicus Burgensis Capellanus, & Camerarius meus, qui magno tempore stesit mecum, & de meis negocijs habet pleniorum notitiam.’

¹¹¹ Ibid., col. 512: ‘Item, lego Ecclesiae Educensi, ubi habui Archidiaconatum Pluviale meum violacei coloris cum frixio aureo sine figuris, & Reliquiarum meum, quod portavi de Anglia.’

¹¹² Ibid., col. 512: ‘Item lego Ecclesiae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe, si me in ea sepelire contingant, sive non in ea Pluviale, Planetam cum aurifrigijs figuratis, atque Dalmaticam, & Tuniculam de panno albo aureo. Item lego eidem Ecclesiae unum Dorsale de aureo, seu aurifrigium pro eius Altari maiore, si illud habuero tempore mortis meae, alioquin decens ematur de bonis meis, & detur dictae Ecclesiae.’

¹¹³ Appendix I, line 23; Sepúlveda (1780), XVI.

¹¹⁴ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liaise n.1: ‘[26-27] pluviale meum magis pretiosum in quo sunt diverse perle et quoddam argenti cum lapidibus et perlis ad pectus.’

Rome with a set of four vestments of white diasper, but reserved his best white set for the Cathedral of Uzés.¹¹⁵ He left his cope of red velvet with golden figures of *Opus Anglicanum* and pearls to St. Martin de Tours.¹¹⁶

Talleyrand de Perigord bequeathed to the church of St. Front in Perigueux the *Opus Anglicanum* vestments that he commissioned and the two copes, also of *Opus Anglicanum*, that he received from the executors of the will of his predecessor as cardinal of Albano, the also French Gaucelme de Jean: ‘Item, the white vestments which we had made, of precious ultramarine with orphreys of England, and two copes of opus Anglicanum, which we acquired from the executors of the will of lord Gaucelme cardinal bishop of Albano, we donate to the cathedral church of Perigord, in honour of the protomartyr Stephen.’¹¹⁷

The Toledo cope, which was perhaps the donation of Pedro Gomez, is one of the best preserved examples of *Opus Anglicanum* of the fourteenth century, and deserves greater scholarly attention than previously awarded.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.: ‘[34] Item lego Ecclesie ... sancti Marci de urbe Capellam Albam tantum Quatuor petias de dyaspro continetem scilicet planetam pluviatile melius et dalmaticam et tunicam [35] pro dyacon. et subdyacon. Item lego Ecclesie maiori Civitatis Uticen. Capellam meam albam meliorem in qua sunt sex petie videlicet Planeta duo Pluvalia Tunica et Dalmatica et Copertura Cathedre de panno Tartareno seu Damasci et Tunica et Dalmatica de Camocato.’

¹¹⁶ Ibid.: ‘[41] Item lego Ecclesie sancti Martini Turonen. Pluviatile meum de veluto rubeo cum ymaginibus deauratis opus Anglican. [42] et botonibus de perlis.’

¹¹⁷ Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1472: ‘Item, vestimenta alba quae fecimus fieri de pannis pretiosis Ultramarinis cum aurificiis de Anglia, & duo pluvalia de opere Anglicano, quae emimus ab executoribus bonae memoriae domini GAUCELINI episcopi Albanensis cardinalis, ad honorem beati Stephani protomartyris legamus dictae ecclesiae Petragoricensi cathedrali.’

4.4. Reliquaries and *Ymagine*s

4.4.1. Head reliquaries

Gil de Albornoz left to the cathedral of Cuenca a ‘silver head containing the relics of St. Blaise, which weighed 48 marks.’¹¹⁸ The reliquary would have been a considerable size, for it weighed over 11 kg.¹¹⁹ Such a reliquary has not survived in Cuenca or in Toledo Cathedral. The devotion of Albornoz to St. Blaise was already patent in his monastic foundation of Villaviciosa, dedicated to this saint, although he elected Cuenca cathedral as repository of this relic.¹²⁰ Albornoz ordered supports for the head: be it plain, be it two angels in gilt silver, weighing 20 marks: ‘I wish, that for the said head be made a base, which may be flat or composed of two angels, to support it properly and fitting to its propriety, weighing twenty marks of gilt silver.’¹²¹ The instruction to ensure the completion or embellishment of reliquaries is often found in wills. Annibale da Ceccano left two ‘images’ of the Coronation of the Virgin to S. Maria a Fiume in Ceccano, and established that they were completed if necessary.¹²²

It is reasonable to assume that the reliquary donated by Albornoz would have resembled surviving anthropomorphic reliquaries. In Montefiascone, where Albornoz endured the siege in 1353, the Cathedral of Santa Margherita holds the reliquary busts of S. Flaviano and S. Felicità, signed by the Sienese Giacomo di Guerrino di Tondo (Fig. 121).¹²³ The bust of S. Felicità has

¹¹⁸ This is considerably heavy, the chalice above weighed 3 marks, the image of the Virgin and Child to Assisi weighed 30. See Appendix I, lines 24-28; Sepúlveda (1780), XVII.

¹¹⁹ According to Schäfer (1911), pp. 278-80, the ratio between marks and grams is 1 mark = 234grams.

¹²⁰ See above, *Chapter 1*, pp. 79-88.

¹²¹ Appendix I, line 27; Sepúlveda (1780), XVII.

¹²² Dykmans (1973), p. 299: ‘duas ymagine coronationis nostre Domine, et si non fuerint complete, compleantur.’

¹²³ Elisabetta Cioni, *Scultura e Smalto nell’Oreficeria Senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte S.P.E.S., 1998), pp. 625, 648-671.

the earliest known stamp of a Sienese silversmith: 'IA' (Iacobus, Giacomo di Guerrino).¹²⁴ This stamp also appears under the base of the reliquary of St. Lucy in Toledo, which was signed by Giacomo di Tondino, and which will be discussed later.

Italian, and particularly Sienese, goldsmiths had been employed in the papal court from at least the 1330s; the gold rose preserved in the Cluny Museum was commissioned by John XXII to Minucchio Jacopi da Siena in 1330.¹²⁵ In 1345, Clement VI commissioned a reliquary of the True Cross which weighed 168 marks, the equivalent to 40kg from the Sienese goldsmith Marco di Lando.¹²⁶ Marco di Lando was active in Avignon from 1333 to 1367 and was trusted with very prestigious papal commissions.¹²⁷ Giovanni di Bartolo, another Sienese, was responsible for the lost silver busts of the Apostles commissioned by Urban V in 1364 for San Giovanni in Laterano.¹²⁸ They were described in 1370 as weighing 1,200 silver marks, probably 600 each (although it is not specified), and the head of St. Peter contained a relic of the True Cross.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Cioni (1998), pp. 656-57, fig. 43 (blurred).

¹²⁵ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 11.

¹²⁶ Robert Lentsch, 'Une commande d'orfèverie du pape Clément VI', in *Avignon au Moyen Âge. Textes et documents*, ed. Institut de Recherches et d'Études du Bas Moyen Âge avignonnais (Avignon: Aubanel, 1988), Vol. I, pp. 93-95; Vol. II, p. 55.

¹²⁷ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 12. For a list of payments documented to Marco see p. 20, fn. 6. He produced a reliquary head of the Virgin and of St. Victor of Marseille in 1365 weighing 410 marks, and a reliquary head of St. Blaise for the Benedictines of Montpellier in 1367, see Schäfer (1914), pp. 50, 278-280, 314, 349-50, 409, (1937) pp. 125-126, 201.

¹²⁸ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 12; Taburet-Delahaye (1997), p. 60 fn. 48. Giovanni di Bartolo is documented in Avignon from 1363, see *Avignon 1360-1410. Art et Histoire* (1978), cat. 39, p. 46.

¹²⁹ 'Cum itaque nos ad reverenciam dei, et beatissimorum apostolorum suorum Petri et Pauli duas eorundem apostolorum suorum Petri et Pauli duas eorundem apostolorum ymagines argenteas deauratas, ac margaritis et lapidibus preciosis ornatas, ponderis mille ducentarum marcharum argenti, super quarum alteram videlicet verticem b. Petri est una crux aurea parva, gemmis preciosis ornata, in qua est de ligno crucis domini nostri Iesu Christi, decore sumptuosoque opere fecerimus fabricari, ac in ecclesia Lateranensi supra altare maius venerabiliter collocari, in eis que sacratissima capita dictorum apostolorum, et alias reliquias sanctorum ibidem ad maiorem venerationem ipsorum apostolorum'. Reg. Ann. VIII. Secret. fol. 155: 'Episcopo Aretino vicario Urbis super promulgatione processus facti contra praesumentes auferre vel dantes auxilium, consilium, etc. auferentibus imagines argenteas beatorum apostolorum in ecclesia Lateranensi existentis', Montefiascone, 8 August 1370; quoted by Theiner (1862), doc. CCCCLXXXIII, pp. 475-6, p. 475. They were melted in the 18th century; see *Avignon 1360-1410* (1978), p. 36.

Matteo Orsini donated in his will two reliquary heads to the Dominicans in Orvieto and in Siena.¹³⁰ Cardinal Guy de Boulogne commissioned the reliquary for the jaw and arm of St. Antony of Padua, which is preserved in the Santo Treasury (Fig. 122).¹³¹ The heraldry of the patron appears on two coats of arms on the bust, which was re-worked in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³² His counterseal of 1352 shows his heraldry inside a barbed quatrefoil and surrounded by three winged figures (Fig. 123). Guy had been spared from the plague during his Italian legation in 1349, and credited St. Antony's intercession with his survival. The grateful prelate ordered a reliquary to be made in Padua when he passed through the city on his way to a legation in Hungary in 1349.¹³³ The unidentified Italian goldsmith completed the piece in August 1349, as the inscription near the base states.¹³⁴ Upon his return to Padua in February 1350 (a Jubilee Year), Guy oversaw the translation of the body of St. Antony and placed the relic in the silver repository he had commissioned.¹³⁵ The General Chapter held in 1351, acknowledging the patronage of the French prelate, instituted a feast on 15 February to

¹³⁰ Forte (1967), pp. 234-235: 'unum capud' for Orvieto; for Siena: 'aliud capud simile de argento deaurato, in quibus recondita sunt capita duo undecim milia virginum.' Supino suggested that Matteo wished to offer a reliquary for the head of St. Dominic in Bologna, which was only executed in 1383, see Iginio Benvenuto Supino, *L'arte nelle Chiese di Bologna. Secoli XIII-XIV* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1932), pp. 205-208.

¹³¹ Padua, Santo Treasury, Inv. G. 2. See Jugie (1986), Vol. I, pp. 161-167.

¹³² The basement with the lions dates from the sixteenth century, and the enamel plaques with heraldry are 1860 replacements of the originals. The halo is original. Marco Collareta, 'Reliquiario del mento di Sant' Antonio', in Marco Collareta, Giordana Mariani Canova and Anna Maria Spiazzi, *Basilica del Santo: le oreficerie* (Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 1995), pp. 89-90. Heraldry of Guy de Boulogne: 'd'or au gonfanon de gueules frangé de sinople'. Jugie (1986) Vol. II, p. 313.

¹³³ Pierre Jugie, 'La légation en Hongrie et en Italie du cardinal Gui de Boulogne (1348-1350)', *Il Santo* XXIX (1989), pp. 29-69. Jugie (1986) Vol. I, pp. 161-167.

¹³⁴ Jugie (1986), Vol. I, p. 167: 'M.CCC. XXXX.VIII. DIE. PRIMO. D. AGUSTO. FO. TATO. STO. LAVORIERO.' Measurements by Jugie Vol. I, p. 165: 65 cm. high. Measurements by Collareta (1995), p. 89, are 72,5 x 44,5 x 30 cm. He transcribed the inscription as FATO instead of TATO, which seems more probable. See also Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 94-96.

¹³⁵ 'Apostolicus in Italia legatus, ipsius translationem peregit et caput in pulcherrimo tabernaculo de argento suis sumptibus facto locavit.' Bartholomaeus Pisanus, *Liber de conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Jesu*, *Analecta Franciscana*, Vol. IV (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1908), p. 270, quoted by Luciano Bertazzo in *Basilica del Santo: le oreficerie* (Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 1995), p. 11.

commemorate the translation of the relic.¹³⁶ It contained the jaw and an arm bone until the arm was placed in a separate reliquary in 1672.¹³⁷ Originally, it had a gilt silver removable mask configuring the face, but this was replaced in 1521, and was later replaced with modern glass.¹³⁸ Cardinal Guy certainly held the power of St. Antony in high regard, and he owned a private image of the saint which was purportedly a portrait of the saint; he donated this object to his sister Mathilde: ‘*ymaginem meam quam habebo ad similitudinem sancti Antonii.*’¹³⁹

In Spain, three reliquary heads survive in Zaragoza Cathedral: the silver busts of Sts. Valero, Vincent and Lawrence, produced in an Avignonese workshop and donated by Pope Benedict XIII between 1397 and 1405, decorated with the heraldry of the Luna family (Fig. 124).¹⁴⁰

Bertrand de Déaux left to the high altar of the Cathedral of Nîmes his large reliquary with silver angels, which also contained relics.¹⁴¹ Among the objects Talleyrand deposited in perpetuity in his burial chapel of St. Front was a golden cross, containing relics of the True Cross and of the Crown of Thorns, held by two angels.¹⁴² Ceccano left to the Franciscan monastery in

¹³⁶ *Chronica XXIV generalium*, in *Analecta Franciscana* Vol. III, p. 545, quoted by Marco Collareta, Giordana Mariani Canova and Anna Maria Spiazzi, *Basilica del Santo: le oreficerie* (Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 1995), p. 11, fn. 36.

¹³⁷ Collareta (1995), p. 90.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, p. 191, lines 261-262.

¹⁴⁰ *Avignon 1360-1410 Art et Histoire* (exhibition catalogue, Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, 25 September-25 November 1978), eds Marie-Claude Léonelli, Michel Hayez and Anne-Marie Hayez (Avignon: Centre International de Documentation et de Recherche du Petit Palais d’Avignon, 1978), cat. 20-22, pp. 38-39. Taburet-Delahaye (1997), p. 61, fn. 48. For St. Valero, see catalogue entries by Federico Torralba Soriano, ‘San Valero Obispo’ and Juan Francisco Esteban, ‘Busto de San Vicente’, in *El espejo de nuestra historia. La Diócesis de Zaragoza a través de los siglos* (exhibition catalogue, San Juan de los Panetes, Lonja, Palacio Arzobispal, Zaragoza, 5 October 1991-6 January 1992) ed. Mar Agudo Romeo (Zaragoza: Edelvives, 1991), pp. 120, 344; Ángela Franco Mata, ‘España y el Arte Europeo en el siglo XIV’, in *Canciller Ayala* (exhibition catalogue, Catedral Nueva María Inmaculada, Vitoria, 18 April 2007- 26 July 2007) (Vitoria: Diputación Foral de Álava, 2007), pp. 104-229, at pp. 210-213.

¹⁴¹ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: ‘[35] Item lego Ecclesie Nemausen. [36] pro ornando Altari maiori Reliquiaruum meum maius cum Angelis de Argento cum reliquijs pretiosis repositis in eodem.’

¹⁴² Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1472: ‘*crux aurea cum ligno crucis, & cum spina coronae Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI, quae a duobus angelis sustinetur. Item, aliea duae cruces, quarum, una cristallina, alia est argenti. Item, omnes imagines argenti cum quibus altare capellae nostrae in diebus solemnibus parari & honorari consuevit.*

Ceccano a gilt silver cross, purchased in Paris and decorated with enamels, containing relics, and two large angels of gilt silver which also contained relics.¹⁴³

4.4.2. Reliquary-statuettes, *Ymagines* and Marian reliquaries

Small statuettes of silver, often gilt, representing saints, the Virgin, or, less frequently, groups such as the Coronation of the Virgin, appear in documents as *ymago* or *ymaginem*. These devotional figures sometimes contained relics of the saint or holy figure they represented. Reliquary-statuettes appear frequently in inventories, and were produced in large quantities in Avignon. One of the earliest references dates from 1320, under John XXII.¹⁴⁴ The 1338 inventory of the sacristy of S. Francesco in Assisi included a tabernacle holding inside a statuette of St. Francis, holding a crystal tabernacle in his hand.¹⁴⁵ Matteo Orsini allocated a silver statuette to a number of Dominican convents in Italy, representing a variety of saints.¹⁴⁶ He honoured his first cardinal title with the donation of silver statuettes of St. John and St. Paul, worth over 150 florins, to their church in Rome.¹⁴⁷ To his funerary chapel of St. Catherine in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Orsini left a gilt silver statuette of the titular saint.¹⁴⁸

Item, omnia candelabra & thuribulum argenti. Item, omnes libri ecclesiastici sive fuerint missalia, sive alii libri deputati ad dicendum officium Domini nostri ... quod anno quolibet in capitulo generali recenseantur omnia ornamenta & jocalia capellae supradictae’.

¹⁴³ Dykmans (1973), p. 300: ‘Item, legamus unam crucem de argento deauratam, emptam Parisius et 200 smaltatam, dum reliquijs in ea existentibus.’

¹⁴⁴ Hoberg (1944), p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), Inventory of 1338, no. 51.

¹⁴⁶ Forte (1967), p. 234.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 235: ‘Item ecclesie sanctorum Johannis et Pauli ymagines sanctorum Johannis et Pauli de argento valoris centum et quinquaginta florenorum et ultra.’

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 230: ‘Item ymaginem beate Catherine de argento deauratam per totum, cum duabus imaginibus angelorum similiter deauratis, ad ponendum in ipsa capella in festivitibus supradictis.’

Pedro Gomez endowed his foundation of St. Praxède in Avignon two silver figures of St. Lawrence and St. Praxedis, and a small, silver cross containing a relic of the True Cross. The statuette of St. Lawrence was also a reliquary: ‘Item we donate to the aforesaid monastery of St. Praxedis our two silver images, that is, one of St. Lawrence which contains [some of] his relics, and another of the blessed Praxedis, and a small silver cross which contains a fragment of the True Cross. Item we donate and relinquish to the same monastery of St. Praxedis our silver reliquary with its tabernacle, which contains many relics of various saints, and the weight of the said reliquary with its tabernacle is 31 marks and 6 ounces.’¹⁴⁹

An inventory of the relics and silverworks preserved at St. Praxède in 1587 included the statuettes of St. Lawrence and St. Praxedis, as well as a gilt silver and crystal cross containing a relic of the True Cross. The cross weighed 6 marks, and it is likely that this was the *crucem argentam parvam* donated by Pedro. A large reliquary which weighed around 27 marks and 8 ounces could perhaps be the reliquary that he had donated, allowing for a difference in its weight due to faulty calculation or to loss of a section of it.¹⁵⁰ Ten days later the objects are listed again in a more detailed manner, and we read that the statuette of St. Lawrence, adorned with a velvet cardinal’s hat, was holding a silver object, and St. Praxedis a crown with pearls and two red

¹⁴⁹ Pansier (1916), p. 77: ‘Item legamus dicto monasterio S. Praxedis duas ymagines nostras argenti, una videlicet S. Laurencii in qua est de reliquiis ipsius, et aliam beate Praxedis, et unam crucem argenti parvam in qua est de ligno domini Item legamus et relinquimus dicto monasterio S. Praxedis quoddam reliquarium nostrum argenti factum cum suo tabernaculo in quo sunt plures reliquie diversorum sanctorum, quod reliquarium cum suo tabernaculo est ponderis triginta unius marcharum et sex unciarum.’

¹⁵⁰ Pansier (1916), pp. 122-23: ‘une image de S. Laurens argent surdoré, a pezé huit marcs deux onces, une image de Ste. Praxede, argent surdoré, pezant six marcs sept onces et demie, Ung subassement desdictes images, argent surdoré, soustenu sur cinq lyons argent surdoré, pezant cinq marcz demy once.. Une autre croix argent surdoré pointes (?) de cristal, et au milieu deux cristalz en carrure prins et entre le cristal du bas de ladicte croix et ledict cristal carré du milieu il y a ung cristal rond dans lequel y a des reliques; le tout garni argent surdoré avec sa pomme et subassement, á laquelle pomme y a quatre petitz cristals carrés; le tout peze six marcz et six onces ... Un grand reliquaire argent surdoré duquel le subassement avec une petite vis a pezé huict marcz deux onces et demye; le reste dudict grand reliquaire a pezé dix neuf marcz cinq onces et demye.’

stones.¹⁵¹ Both statuettes had bases which rested on five small silver lions, which was the standard support for this type of object.

Gil de Albornoz donated to the Cathedral of Toledo the reliquary-statuettes of Sts. Eugenius and Ildefonso to be used in the altar of the Saviour and the Virgin, inside the choir.¹⁵² Both statuettes have survived, and are preserved in the Ochavo chapel (Figs 125, 126). In 1549, Blas Ortiz included the statuettes in his description of the Cathedral, but did not associate them to a particular donor.¹⁵³ Ramírez de Arellano in 1915 dated the statuettes to the fifteenth-century, and identified the heraldry as that of Pedro de Luna.¹⁵⁴ The reliquaries do show the heraldry of the Luna family enamelled on their hexagonal bases, but also that of Albornoz. The fact that the coats of arms of Albornoz do not show the cardinal hat, which would have been present after his promotion in 1350, dates the reliquaries to before that date. The statuettes are marked with the *poinçon* of Avignon, AUIV, according to Taburet-Delahaye.¹⁵⁵ Lüdke's suggestion that the reliquary of St. Eugenius could be a Spanish work from the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, may be disregarded.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 124: 'Plus ung S. Laurens d'argens surdoré avec un chapeau de velours rouge ayant deux pans et quelque chose davantage de haulteur, et au bas y avoit ung mampol d'argent; Plus une saincte Praxède d'argent avec une corone garnie de six perles, á l'endroit du front deux pierres rouges.'

¹⁵² Appendix I, lines 28-29: 'Item lego ecclesie Toletanae imagines beatorum Eugenii et Ildefonsi ad usum altarium sancti Salvatoris et beatae Mariae intra chorum.' Sepúlveda (1780), XIX.

¹⁵³ González and Pereda (1999), p. 198: 'Sunt etiam duae statucae argenteae, quaedam divi Alphonsi, dextra quidem baculum, sinistra vero unum ex ossibus eiusdem Alphonsi crystalino vase sustinens inclusum, altera divi Eugenii, quae parvulam thecam manibus tenet, sancti Dionisii aliorumque divorum reliquias habentem.' 'Ay tambien dos estatuas de plata; una de san Ylefonso con un báculo en la diestra, y en la siniestra uno de sus huesos, incluso en un vaso de christal; y otra de san Eugenio, con un pequeño vaso en las manos en que ay una reliquia de san Dyonisio y otros santos.'

¹⁵⁴ Ramón Ramírez de Arellano, *Estudio sobre la historia de la orfebrería toledana*. Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, Serie V, Clásicos Toledanos, 10 (Toledo: C.S.I.C. Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2002, 2nd edition, first published 1915), p. 164. Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *Guía de la Catedral de Toledo* (1949), p. 32 identified the statues as St. Denis and St. Ildefonso.

¹⁵⁵ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 18. Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ It appears that he did not have access to the objects and dated it on the basis of photographic evidence only; he did not provide measurements unlike the other objects he studied. Dietmar Lüdke, *Die Statuetten der gotischen Goldschmiede. Studien zu den 'autonomen' und vollrunden Bildwerken der Goldschmiedeplastik und den*

The statuette of St. Eugenius stands holding a coffer with both hands (Fig. 127). The short ends of the casket contain the enamelled busts of Sts. Peter and Paul, while the inscription on its front reads: 'DE OSSE CAPITIS BEATI EUGENIUS MARTIRIS ARCHIEPI/TOLETANI FUIT (?) RECEPTE DE SEPULCRO EIUS QUOD/ EST IN SANCTO DIONISIO/PROPE PARISIIS.'¹⁵⁷ The 1790 inventory of the relics preserved in Toledo Cathedral stated that tradition says that it was donated by Cardinal Albornoz, but that the base can be taken apart: 'No. 28. An image of St. Eugenius of gilt silver, which is on a base with lions, and from the lions to the mitre measures 2 thirds and 2 fingers in height, and holds a white silver plated reliquary in his hands, with some letters, containing some relics of the aforesaid saint, and on each side it has a small paten with an enamel, and a silver base which can be taken off, which has two enamelled friezes with the heraldry of cardinal Albornoz, the saint has a silver maniple on the left arm and it is said that the cardinal aforementioned donated it to this Church.'¹⁵⁸

It is possible that the base was re-assembled and that would perhaps account for the fact that the plaque with the legend 'SANCTUS/EUGENIUS' appears with the lettering in reverse, so the letters face to the left instead of to the right, offering a mirrored view of the inscription (Fig.

Statuetten-reliquiaren in Europa zwischen 1230 und 1530. Tuduv Studien: Reihe Kunstgeschichte, Band 4 (Munich: tuduv, 1983), cat.189, pp. 547-548.

¹⁵⁷ I was not able to examine the piece closely, and could only photograph it from a distance. The only transcription is by Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. I, p. 267. The catalogue is riddled with chronological mistakes and contradictions, and Revuelta labels these two pieces as Italian art. Measurements provided in p. 267: 47,5 x 21cm.

¹⁵⁸ ACT, Lorenzana (1790), ff. 22r-22v: 'No. 28. Una imagen de S. Eugenio de plata sobredorada, que carga sobre una peana y leoncillos, y desde ellos a la mitra hay dos tercias y dos dedos de alto, tiene en las dos manos un relicario cubierto de plata blanca con algunas letras en el, en el qual hay reliquias del dicho Santo, tiene de cada parte una patena pequeña con un esmalte en cada una, y un pie de plata encajado, que se puede quitar y poner, y en el dos faxas esmaltadas con las armas del señor Cardenal Albornoz, tiene el Santo un manipulo de plata en el brazo izquierdo, y se dice que dicho señor Cardenal le dio a esta Santa Yglesia.'

128). It could have also been the result of a mistake on the part of the artist who executed the statuette.¹⁵⁹ The upper band of the base contains enamelled busts of Apostles on two sides.

Pedro Gomez had donated a reliquary of St. Eugenius to Toledo cathedral, which has not survived: 'our reliquary in which there are the relics of blessed Eugenius, once archbishop of Toledo, which we obtained from the monastery of St. Denis outside Paris.'¹⁶⁰ The Ochavo chapel contains a fifteenth-century reliquary of the arm of St. Eugenius, and the precious *arca de S. Eugenio*, executed in 1569.¹⁶¹ Perhaps the relics donated by Pedro were incorporated in these later works? Would the Abbey of St. Denis have offered two relics of the saint in less than 30 years, between the cardinalate of Gomez (1327-1348) and that of Albornoz (1350-1367)? Thus far, archival research has not yielded the answer to these questions. It is worth noting that Albornoz did not mention in his will the origin of his reliquary statuette of St. Eugenius, which is only stated on the coffer.

The reliquary-statuettes of St. Ildefonso is very similar to the St. Eugenius. The mitred archbishop carries a processional staff with his right hand and holds a phylatory on his left hand (Fig. 129).¹⁶² The base was remade in the sixteenth century, imitating the original but without the enamels. The inscription is not in Gothic script, and reads 'S. ILDEFONSUS.'¹⁶³ It was described in 1790 as follows: 'No. 41. A figure of St. Ildefonso, of gilt silver with its base, placed on three small lions, and the base has the coats of arms of cardinal Gil de Albornoz,

¹⁵⁹ Illiterate craftsmen would make mistakes when reproducing lettering. For example the inverted letters on the scrolls in the lost Vatican cope, drawing in Christie (1938), cat. 96, pl. CXLII, see p. 186.

¹⁶⁰ Pansier (1916), p. 81: 'Reliquarum verum nostrum in quo sunt reliquie beati Eugenii condam archiepiscopi Toletan., quas nos habuerimus de monasterio S. Dionisii ultra Parisius.'

¹⁶¹ Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. I, p. 308; II, p. 290. For the arca, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 303.

¹⁶² A similar reliquary statuette is described in the 1338 Inventory of S. Francesco in Assisi, Alessandri and Pennacchi (1914), Inventory of 1338, no. 51: 'Item aliud tabernaculum de argento inauratum, cum pede magno et amplo smaltato, cum armis Regis Francie et Navarre; in quo est ymago beati Francisci, habente in manu dextera tabernaculum parvum de cristallo, cum ymagine unius Monialis; quam portavit idem Generalis.' Inventory of 1370, no. 9. Inventory of 1473, no. 9.

¹⁶³ Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. I, p. 267. Measurements provided in p. 267: 56 x 21cm.

which is said he donated it: from the base to the mitre it measures two thirds and one inch in height, it has crozier, mitre and maniple, and holds in his hand a crystal reliquary with a gilt silver frame which contains a bone of the aforesaid saint.’¹⁶⁴

The crystal reliquary or philatory he holds is very similar to that preserved in the Treasury of *il Santo*, known as Aleardinos’ cup, a Paduan work of the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Fig. 130).¹⁶⁵ Both have a multilobed base, which contains enamels in the Paduan piece. Guy de Boulogne left to his older brother an *ymaginem* of St. Louis holding a crystal reliquary with a thorn from the crown of thorns.¹⁶⁶ This could have been similar to the reliquary-statuettes of St. Ildefonso. There are typological analogies with the gilt silver statuette of St. James holding a monstrance with a relic of his body, in Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 131).¹⁶⁷ Produced in Paris c.1321, it was donated by the Frenchman Geoffroy Coquatrix.¹⁶⁸ The figure of a pilgrim, representing St. James, stands holding a monstrance and pointing at it with the other hand, holding a staff with a placard which identifies the relic and describes the object as an *imago*. The base is decorated with the enamelled heraldry of the patron.¹⁶⁹ An Italian

¹⁶⁴ ACT, Lorenzana (1790), ff. 25r-25v: ‘No. 41. Un cuerpo de S. Yldefonso de plata sobredorado con su peana, que carga sobre tres leoncillos, y en la dha peana estan las armas del Senor Cardenal D. Gil de Albornoz, que se dice lo dio: tiene desde la peana a la mitra dos tercias y una pulgada de alto, tiene baculo, mitra y manipulo, y en la mano un relicario de cristal guarnecido de plata dorada en que esta un hueso del dicho santo’. In 1802, the reliquary was described in fol.352v as a donation of the Señor de Aragon: ‘Una efigie de plata de cuerpo entero con reliquias de San Yldefonso, la dio el Sr. Aragon.’

¹⁶⁵ Padua, Basilica del Santo, Treasury, Inv. G. 33. Giordana Mariani Canova, ‘Reliquiario del bicchiere di Aleardino’ in *Basilica del Santo: le oreficerie*, cat. 4, pp. 85-87. It has enamels on the base.

¹⁶⁶ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, p. 191, lines 250-253: ‘ymaginem santi Ludovici regis Francie, in manu tenentis quendam circulum crystallinum infra quem est inclusa una spina de Corona Domini.’

¹⁶⁷ Lüdke (1983), no. 173, pp. 526-529. *Platería europea en España (1300-1700)* (exhibition catalogue, Fundación Central Hispano, Madrid, 15 October-14 December 1997), ed. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos (Madrid: Fundación Central Hispano, 1997), cat. 1, pp. 38-40. Measurements given by Gauthier (1983), fig. 96, p. 165: overall height 53cm, the statuette is 46cm. high, the monstrance is 18cm.

¹⁶⁸ Gauthier (1983), p. 166. The placard reads: ‘In the gold vase held by this image is the tooth of the blessed Apostle James that Geoffroy Coquatrix, a citizen of Paris, donated to this church: pray for him.’

¹⁶⁹ Transcription by Lüdke (1983): ‘IN HOC VASE AVRI QU/OD TENET ISTE IMAGO/EST DENS B[eat]I IACOBI/AP[osto]LIQUE GAVFRI/DVS COQVATRIZ CI/VIS PAR[isiensis] DEDIT HVIC/ECC[lesi]E ORATE PRO EO.’ Lüdke (1983), no. 173, pp. 526-529. He dated it to the first quarter of the 14th century.

comparable example is provided by the reliquary of the finger of St. Antony in the Treasury of il Santo, Padua. The statuette holds a book and an ostensory, and dates from before 1396.¹⁷⁰

Albornoz must have commissioned the two reliquaries of St. Eugenius and St. Ildefonso between 1338 and 1350, as the absence of cardinal hat indicates. The fact that he commanded the production in Avignon of reliquaries of two patron saints of Toledo highlights the extent of his artistic patronage in Spain. Albornoz was in Avignon after his promotion to archbishop in 1338 and then in 1342-43, as ambassador of Alfonso XI to Clement VI.¹⁷¹

Taburet-Delahaye underlined the similarities in the enamelled band on the base of the statuette of St. Eugenius in Toledo and the style of the cross in Trogir Cathedral, which seem to indicate a Sienese formation of the goldsmith.¹⁷² The facial features of the statuettes, with long faces, pronounced chins, clearly delineated eyes and arched eyebrows recall southern French sculpture of the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁷³ The combination of Italian and French styles in the same piece is represented by the reliquary bust of St. Agatha in Catania Cathedral, which was commissioned by the local bishop and produced in Avignon by the Sienese Giovanni di Bartolo in 1376 (Fig. 132).¹⁷⁴ Two angels support the bust, perhaps in a manner similar to that which Albornoz had requested for the reliquary of St. Blaise.

The inventories in Assisi registered a silver statuette of the Virgin and Child (*ymago*), now lost, which had been donated by Albornoz.¹⁷⁵ Marian statuettes and reliquaries are often found in documentation, but very few match surviving objects. An important example of

¹⁷⁰ Padua, Basilica del Santo, Inv. G. 83. 52 cm. height. Mario Collareta, 'Reliquiario del ditto di Sant'Antonio' in *Basilica del Santo: le oreficerie* (1995), pp. 98-99.

¹⁷¹ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 18.

¹⁷² See Taburet-Delahaye (1997), pp. 53, 56-57.

¹⁷³ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 18.

¹⁷⁴ It is signed and dated. Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 11; Taburet-Delahaye (1997), p. 53. Lüdke (1983), no. 229, pp. 602-604. See *Avignon 1360-1410. Art et Histoire* (1978) cat. 17, p. 36.

¹⁷⁵ See above, *Chapter 3*, pp. 161-162.

portable Marian reliquary is the gilt silver *Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux*, a Parisian work now in the Louvre, dated 1324-39, and which contains relics of the Virgin's hair (Fig. 133). It was donated in 1339 to the Abbey of St. Denis by Queen Jeanne.¹⁷⁶ The enamel decoration on its base constitutes one of the earliest examples of translucent enamels in a Parisian work, a technique which had emerged at the end of the thirteenth century in Italy.¹⁷⁷ In Spain, a Marian reliquary survives which includes some enameled decoration. Crucially, this piece can be associated with the patronage of Pedro Gomez without a doubt. The cardinal bequeathed a silver reliquary to his sister Sancha Fernandez: 'Item, we leave and relinquish to Sancia Fernandez our sister the silver image of the blessed Virgin with its tabernacle, inside which there is a hair of the blessed Virgin.'¹⁷⁸ The reliquary is kept in the Dominican convent of San Juan Bautista in Quejana, Álava, which was founded by the Cardinal's nephew, Fernán Perez de Ayala, in 1375. In the letter of donation to the convent, Fernán requested that prayers be said for the soul of his uncle: 'the Cardinal of Spain don Pedro, my uncle, brother of my mother, from whom I inherited many goods.'¹⁷⁹ Fernán may have been inspired to endow a Dominican female convent after his uncle's foundation of St. Praxède in Avignon. The reliquary, in the shape of a tabernacle, contains a figure of the Virgin offering her breast to the Child (Fig. 134).¹⁸⁰ It contains a relic of

¹⁷⁶ Musée du Louvre, Inv. MR 342. The reliquary is 68cm. tall, and contained relics of the Virgin's hair, milk and veil. Jannic Durand, *The Louvre: Objets d'art* (Paris: Scala, 1995), p. 40. It has translucent enamel decoration on the base. Lüdke (1983), no. 165, pp. 517-520. *Les Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (exhibition catalogue, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 9 octobre 1981 - 1er février 1982) (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1981), cat. 186.

¹⁷⁷ Musée du Louvre, Inv. MR 342. The reliquary, 68cm. tall, contains relics of the Virgin's hair, milk and veil. Durand (1995), p. 40. Lüdke (1983), no. 165, pp. 517-520.

¹⁷⁸ Pansier (1916), p. 83: 'Item legamus et relinquimus Sancxie Fernandi sorori nostre quondam ymaginem beate virginis de argento cum suo tabernaculo in qua est capillus ipsius beate verginis.' Will preserved in ADV, H, St. Praxede leg. 50.

¹⁷⁹ 'Cardenal de España Don Pedro mi tio, hermano de mi madre de quien heredé yo mucho bien.' Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala (Marqués de Lozoya), *Introducción a la biografía del Canciller Ayala* (Bilbao: Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya, 1972, 2nd edition, first published 1950), p. 99.

¹⁸⁰ The original reliquary is zealously guarded and venerated by the community, and is not accessible to visitors. A replica, executed in 1957, is exhibited in the Museum of the Monastery. Sor Maria de la Paz very kindly allowed

the hair of the Virgin on the top of the head. The inside panels of the folding shutters are decorated with reliefs of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Epiphany and the Presentation in the Temple, with half-figures of angels filling the gables. Beneath these panels, the shutters hold thirty-two relics in quatrefoils with the name of the saint inscribed around them, which can be displayed by sliding the panels upwards. A canopy is attached to the upper section of the reliquary when the doors are closed.¹⁸¹ The reliquary rests on four lions placed at the corners. On the front and back of the base are the enamelled coats of arms of Castile and León, and the personal heraldry of Pedro Gomez on the side panels: five silver lions, on gules field (Fig. 135).¹⁸² Since the cardinal hat is absent from the coat of arms, the reliquary must date from before 1327, when Pedro received his first cardinal title of S. Prassede.¹⁸³ Near the Gomez heraldry, featured on the right side of the reliquary, a poinçon is clearly visible (Fig. 136). The transcription of the poinçon differs amongst the authors who have dealt with this precious object. In 1961, Portilla first published the mark, and transcribed it as MM, identifying it with Montpellier.¹⁸⁴ However, in 1995, Taburet-Delahaye acknowledged that she had not been able to see the reliquary, and that Portilla had informed her that the poinçon read AUIN. In my opinion, and having had the privilege of examining the piece closely, the poinçon clearly reads MM. Although, according to Taburet-Delahaye, the registered poinçon for the city of Montpellier is MOP, this mark perhaps refers to the goldsmith, or is an undocumented mark of

me to examine the original piece. Florencio Janer, 'Relicario de Nuestra Señora del Cabello, perteneciente en el siglo XIII a la familia del Canciller de Castilla Don Pero Lopez de Ayala', *Museo Español de Antigüedades VIII* (1877), pp. 175-194, at p. 193.

¹⁸¹ Micaela Josefa Portilla, *Quejana, solar de los Ayala* (Vitoria: Diputación Foral de Álava, 1988), p. 22.

Measurements provided: The total height, from base to pinnacle, is 40cm; the Virgin is 9,5cm.

¹⁸² Portilla (1988), p. 22.

¹⁸³ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 17.

¹⁸⁴ Micaela Josefa Portilla, *El Relicario de la Virgen del Cabello en el Monasterio de Quejana* (Vitoria: Montepío Diocesano, 1961), p. 7.

Montpellier.¹⁸⁵ Most authors assert that the mark reads AUIN and have therefore identified it as a work produced in Avignon.¹⁸⁶ Most recently, Cruz Valdovinos read the mark as AUIG.¹⁸⁷ The use of the goldsmith's stamp developed under Innocent VI; the mark of the city of Avignon was combined with that of the Curia after the purchase of the city by Clement VI in 1348, although pieces produced during the second half of the fourteenth century alternate poinçons of the Curia or Avignon, or combine both.¹⁸⁸ In my opinion, the reading of Portilla in 1961 is valid, and visual examination confirms it.

The Cloisters collection of the Metropolitan Museum holds a Parisian reliquary which bears a close resemblance to the Quejana piece (Fig. 137). This reliquary shrine is catalogued as a French work c.1320-40.¹⁸⁹ Made of silver gilt and translucent enamels, it was probably donated by queen Elizabeth of Hungary to the convent of the Poor Clares she founded in 1344 in Budapest.¹⁹⁰ Like in the Quejana piece, the enthroned Virgin offers her breast to the Child (here represented standing). The figures of the Virgin and Child and the two angels standing at the sides have painted carnations, as the reliquary in Quejana. The angels hold crystal boxes which contain unidentified relics. The enamel plaques lining the inside of the wings represent Marian scenes.¹⁹¹ The reliquary shrine in Quejana is an important survival of a documented object which can be associated to the patronage of a Spanish cardinal in France. The production of

¹⁸⁵ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), p. 11.

¹⁸⁶ Taburet-Delahaye (1997), p. 49. M^a Luisa Martín Ansón, 'El cardenal D. Pedro Gómez Barroso y el relicario de la Virgen del Cabello', *Goya* 282 (2001), pp. 145-155, at p. 149.

¹⁸⁷ José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, 'Relicario de la Virgen del Cabello', in *Canciller Ayala* (exhibition catalogue, Catedral Nueva María Inmaculada, Vitoria, 18 April 2007- 26 July 2007) (Vitoria: Diputación Foral, 2007), p. 318.

¹⁸⁸ Taburet-Delahaye (1995), pp. 12, 16, 18.

¹⁸⁹ New York, Metropolitan Museum, cat. 62.96. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, 'The reliquary of Elisabeth of Hungary at the Cloisters' in Elizabeth C Parker and Mary B. Shepard eds, *The Cloisters. Studies in Honour of the Fiftieth Anniversary* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 327-353.

¹⁹⁰ Charles T. Little and Timothy B. Husband eds, *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), p. 116. See also Lüdke (1983), cat. no. 282a, pp. 655-656. He catalogued it as Parisian?, c. 1340-1350. Cf. Gaborit-Chopin (1992), p. 337.

¹⁹¹ Gaborit-Chopin (1992), p. 329.

portable devotional objects with rich materials and accomplished techniques such as semi-translucent enamels found a lively market in Avignon and Paris.¹⁹²

Devotional triptychs in gold, ivory or enamel, articulated around the central figure of the Virgin, abound. Most reliquaries and portable statuettes and tabernacles rest on lions *couchant*, like the elaborate cross-reliquary altarpiece known as the ‘Floreffe Triptych’ in the Louvre.¹⁹³ In 1340, Matteo Orsini donated a large gilt silver tabernacle, with the Virgin and Child, to be displayed in the high altar on Marian feasts and in the chapel of St. Catherine on the feast of the saint.¹⁹⁴ It is likely that it was similar to the pieces discussed above.

4.4.3. The reliquary of St. Lucy

The reliquary of the arm of St. Lucy, in the Sacristy of Toledo Cathedral, does not appear in Gil de Albornoz’s will, but it is certainly connected to his artistic patronage, as the presence of his coat of arms, enamelled on the base, attests (Fig. 138). In 1549, Blas Ortiz included it among the treasure kept in the Sagrario: ‘a hand of St. Lucy, in a silver arm’, without mentioning that it had enamels.¹⁹⁵ It appeared in the inventory ordered by cardinal Lorenzana in 1790, where it was recognised as a donation of Albornoz.¹⁹⁶ Ramírez de Arellano stated in 1915 that this was

¹⁹² For example, the Marian tabernacle, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, perhaps a Parisian work, from the first or second quarter of the 14th century. Lüdke (1983), cat. 282b, pp. 656-657. Gaborit-Chopin (1992), p. 337 dated it second quarter of the 14th century.

¹⁹³ Musée du Louvre, Inv. OA 5552, cat. MV 207, dated after 1254. Gauthier (1983), fig. 88, p. 150. Lüdke (1983), cat. 253, pp. 623-626.

¹⁹⁴ Forte (1967), p. 232: ‘Item lego eidem conventui tabernaculum magnum argenteum deauratum, in quo est sancta Maria cum filio, ad ponendum super altare conventus in festivitibus beate virginis Marie et in capella mea in festo beate Catherine virginis.’

¹⁹⁵ González and Pereda (1999), p. 198: ‘Manus sanctae Luciae argenteo brachio munita.’ Alcocer (1554), fol. CV: ‘una mano de santa Lucía virgen’.

¹⁹⁶ ACT, Lorenzana (1790), fol. 21r: ‘No. 24: Otro relicario (de plata dorado) digo, en que esta una mano de santa Lucia engastada en plata sobredorada, que dio a esta Santa Iglesia el señor cardinal Don Gil de Albornoz su Prelado, y el pie de este relicario es seisavado con seis esmaltes grandes guarnecidos de plata dorada, y en medio la manzana

the most remarkable piece of the Ochavo chapel, although he did not relate it to Albornoz.¹⁹⁷ In 1996, Taburet-Delahaye stressed the high quality of this piece, which had hitherto not received scholarly attention.¹⁹⁸ A composite reliquary, it consists of three parts that were joined together at an unknown date: the hand, the box and the main body and base.¹⁹⁹ The junction between the box and body is masked by two bands. The box has twelve enamel plaques which represent scenes from the life of St. Lucy, one of which, St. Lucy at the pyre, is represented two more times in the plaques placed on the top of the box. Taburet-Delahaye suggested a date of 1380-1390 for this section of the reliquary, which in her opinion, showed a reliance on Sienese models.²⁰⁰

The base is decorated with six large six-lobed compartments with scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist: Annunciation to Zaccharia, Birth of St. John the Baptist, Annunciation to St. John the Baptist (or St. John being guided to the desert by an angel), Baptism of Christ, St. John the Baptist preaching by the river Jordan, and the Beheading of St. John.²⁰¹ The scenes of the life of St. John the Baptist are barely 3x3cm, and in such a limited area, the artists skilfully represented a convincing spatial setting.²⁰² This is the only example of a cycle of scenes

con esmaltes, y quatro chapiteles a lo mosayco, sobre esta manzana esta una arquita quadrada con ocho historias esmaltadas de reporte, que contienen la vida y martirio de santa Lucia y en lo alto de esta arquita hay otros quatro quadros de la misma hystoria, y el remate de este relicario es una mano derecha de plata dorada, que es senal de la que esta en la arquita de la santa, que se vio y volvio a cerrar en ella y esta entera: pesa treinta y ocho marcos.' The manuscript includes a later inventory of 1802, in fol. 333v, where the description is limited to: 'Un brazo de Sta. Lucia le dio el Senor Cardenal Alvornoz.'

¹⁹⁷ Ramírez de Arellano (2002), p. 22, realised the diachronism of the object and that it was composed of two different parts.

¹⁹⁸ Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 124. Revuelta Tubino (1989), pp. 290-1; Ramírez de Arellano (2002), p. 22.

¹⁹⁹ Measurements by Taburet-Delahaye (1996), pp. 124-25: 64,5cm. total height, upper section (hand and square box) 24,5cm height. The height of the stem is 40cm. The polylobed base has a diameter of 37cm.

²⁰⁰ Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 124, for similarities to the Throne of Guadalupe, dated c.1374, or the cross of St .Coloma de Queralt, dated 1414. See *ibid.* fn. 8 for Sienese influence.

²⁰¹ Cioni (1998), p. 676.

²⁰² Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 129.

produced in Siena in enamel of the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁰³ The cycle here can be compared to that painted in Avignon by Matteo Giovanetti in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Palais des Papes (1346-1348), particularly the Annunciation to St. Zaccharia, and in the Chartreuse at Villeneuve (1354-1355).²⁰⁴ Taburet-Delahaye suggested that the piece was in origin a reliquary of St. John the Baptist, and that at a later stage the relics were placed in another reliquary: the reliquary of the head of the saint in the Treasury, donated by Pedro de Luna.²⁰⁵

The presence of the cardinal hat over the three coats of arms on the base dates the piece to 1350-1367 (Fig. 139). Upon his promotion to cardinal, Albornoz dropped the Luna heraldry, as seen in the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi, the coats of arms on the fortress of Spoleto, or the *Regestum recognitionum et iuramentorum fidelitatis* at the Vatican Archive.

As noted above, the reliquary in Toledo is signed by Jacopo di Tondino and Andrea de Petruccio, whose names appear in the *Libro delle capitadini dell'Arte*, the first set of regulations for the Sienese goldsmiths' guild.²⁰⁶ The inscription at the junction of base and body reads: '+HOC OPUS FECIT ANDREAS PETRUCI IACOBUS TONDINI DE SENIS'.²⁰⁷ The name of Andrea de Petruccio is the first one in the signature. It is not known if this reflected the relevance of the role played by each artist in the manufacture of the object, although perhaps each of them was responsible for either the enamel or the metalwork.²⁰⁸ Andrea di Petruccio's signature also appears on the chalice of San Segundo in Ávila Cathedral and on the chalice in the

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 130.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.127.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 124, 126. Cioni (1998), p. 672, refers to them as Jacopo de Tondino and Andrea di Petruccio.

²⁰⁷ Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 125.

²⁰⁸ Cioni (1998), p. 664. Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 132.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²⁰⁹ Cioni dated the Ávila chalice to the first half of the fourteenth century.²¹⁰ The base of the chalice is decorated with figures of the Apostles and the Virgin and Child in six-lobed compartments (Fig. 140). The chalice, with a matching paten, was recorded in 1519 as found inside the tomb of a cleric in the cathedral, who was then identified as the first bishop of Ávila.²¹¹ Martín Ansón suggested that the chalice was brought to Ávila from Italy by Cardinal Cervantes (d.1453), whereas Rodríguez Almeida suggested that the chalice may have once been in the tomb of Bishop Sancho Dávila (d.1355).²¹² The import and, later, the local production, of translucent enamels was a phenomenon which was more frequent in Aragon than in Castille.²¹³ The chalice is similar to the one in Assisi, by Guccio di Manaia, and to that in the British Museum signed by Tondino di Guerrino and Andrea Riguardi.²¹⁴ An anonymous chalice in the Victoria & Albert Museum is so close to the item in Ávila that it is likely the work of the same artist, Andrea de Petruccio.²¹⁵ The elongated oak leaves that decorate the base of the Ávila chalice are also present on the bases of the Fitzwilliam chalice and reliquary of St. Lucy in Toledo. The mixtilinear profile of the base of the reliquary of St. Lucy would be the predecessor for the similar base of the chalice at Palazzo Venezia in Rome, signed by the Carthusian Fra

²⁰⁹ Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 126: 'ANDREA PETRUCI ORAFO DA SIENA FECE QUESTO CA [lice].' It has a matching paten whose enameled central medallion features the Resurrection of Christ. The Fitzwilliam chalice reads: ANDREA PETRUCI DE SENIS ME FECI [T]. See Cioni (1998), p. 678: 'Andreas olim Petrucii Campagnini, aurifex populi santi Johannis.' Cf. M^a Luisa Martín Ansón, 'La importación de obras de esmaltes italianos y su influencia en la Castilla bajomedieval: el llamado 'Caliz de San Segundo', *Archivo español de Arte* LXVIII (1995) 269, pp. 45-60, at p. 56 for transcription. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *El Cáliz de San Segundo de la Catedral de Ávila* (Ávila: Diputación Provincial, 1997), p. 22: 'ANDREA./ PETRU(c)I/ ORAFO. D/A SIENA/ FECE: C/HESTO:CA (lice).' For the Fitzwilliam chalice, see reproduction in Taburet-Delahaye (1996), fig. 4.

²¹⁰ Cioni (1998), p. 688.

²¹¹ Martín Ansón (1995), pp. 45-46. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *El Cáliz de San Segundo de la Catedral de Ávila* (Ávila: Diputación Provincial, 1997), pp. 11-14. The first bishop of Ávila lived in the 1st century, which would be incompatible chronologically with the medieval chalice and paten.

²¹² Martín Ansón (1995), pp. 58-60. She based her theory on the fact that the metal cover of Cervantes' Bible reflects the Christ on the paten; at p. 48 she suggested that the chalice and paten were never in the tomb. Rodríguez Almeida (1997), pp. 81-86.

²¹³ Martín Ansón (1995), p. 58.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²¹⁵ Rodríguez Almeida (1997), p. 73; Inv. No. 137/1874.

Giacomo di Tondino.²¹⁶ The long leaves decorating the turret part appear in the Louvre cross (c.1325-1330) and in the Corporali reliquary in Orvieto, dated 1338.²¹⁷

The second artist who signed the reliquary of St. Lucy, Jacopo de Tondino, was probably the son of the renowned Siense goldsmith Tondino di Guerrino, and nephew of Giacomo di Guerrino.²¹⁸ The enamelled scene on the paten matching the Ávila chalice, depicting the Resurrected Christ, is very similar to that found in two other patens in Perugia. These came from the sacristy of S. Domenico and were once accompanying chalices by Andrea Riguardi and Tondino di Guerrino, the possible father of Jacopo de Tondino who worked on the Toledo reliquary.²¹⁹

The technique of translucent enamels was developed in Siena towards the end of the thirteenth century, and its earliest preserved example is the chalice of Nicholas IV by Guccio da Manaia in Assisi.²²⁰ Translucent enamels were soon produced throughout Europe in the fourteenth century, with centres such as Paris, Catalonia, England and Avignon.²²¹ The *Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux*, a Parisian work dated 1324-1339, is decorated with plaques of translucent enamel (Fig. 133). The colour red, which features prominently in the reliquary of St. Lucy, was the most difficult of colours to obtain in the enamel technique, and it could only be achieved on a

²¹⁶ Pointed out by Cioni (1998), p. 674, fn. 95.

²¹⁷ Noted by Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 128. For the Louvre cross see Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, 'Une croix siennoise au Musee du Louvre. Acquisitions. Musee du Louvre, departement des Objets d'art', *Revue du Louvre* 33 (1983), pp. 189-198, at p. 196.

²¹⁸ Cioni (1998), pp. 642, 693.

²¹⁹ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria, inv. 1014, 1015. Rodríguez Almeida (1997), p. 68. Martín Ansón (1995), p. 52. See Leone de Castris 'Tondino di Guerrino e Andrea Riguardi orafi e smaltisti a Siena (1308-1338)', *Prospettiva* 21 (1980), pp. 24-44, at pp. 33-34.

²²⁰ Marie Madeleine Gauthier, *Emaux du Moyen-Age occidental* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1972), and Cioni (1998), pp. 8-57. Gauthier (1983), p. 158 stated that the Mannaia chalice is the first example of basse-taille translucent enamels. Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 123. In p. 124 she pointed out that between 1340 and 1370 over 30 goldsmiths are registered in Siena.

²²¹ Nuria de Dalmases, *Orfebreria Catalana Medieval: Barcelona 1300-1500 (Aproximació a l'estudi)* 2 vols. Institut d'estudis catalans. Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, I/1 (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 1992), Vol. I, no. 55, pp. 303-305. Campbell (1997), pp. 37-46. Taburet-Delahaye (1997), pp. 47-62.

support of gold, not silver.²²² Albornoz was in Siena in October 1353, and Taburet-Delahaye believes that he commissioned the reliquary of St. Lucy while he was in Italy, between 1353 and 1363.²²³ Cioni narrowed the possible chronology to 1350-1357, when Albornoz's first legation ended; she proposed that he commissioned the reliquary very soon after his promotion, to honour Toledo, where he had been Archbishop for 12 years.²²⁴ Cioni suggested that Albornoz was familiar with the reliquary heads in the cathedral of Montefiascone, signed by Giacomo di Guerrino (Fig. 121), although this is unlikely, considering that he was under siege at the fortress.²²⁵ In any case, the reliquary heads in Montefiascone and the reliquary of St. Lucy bear the same mark, 'IA', and could come from the same workshop. It is plausible that the stamp was inherited by Giacomo di Tondino, the nephew of Giacomo di Guerrino.²²⁶

The arrival of this Sieneese reliquary to Toledo has not hitherto been accounted for. This valuable object is not mentioned in Albornoz's will amongst the testamentary donations to Toledo Cathedral, which suggests that he had already given it a destination elsewhere. In fact, it was the decision taken by his testamentary executors in 1368 that explain its presence in Toledo. In his will, Albornoz had allocated his cope of *Opus Anglicanum* and the reliquary of St. Blas to Cuenca cathedral, but neither has survived there. The reliquary of St. Blas had been given away at some stage after the will was drawn in 1364, and the executors replaced it with the reliquary of St. Lucy, which they intended to donate to Cuenca.²²⁷ The executors refer to the reliquary as 'the

²²² Campbell (1997), p. 40.

²²³ Taburet-Delahaye (1996), p. 127. For the 10-day sojourn of Albornoz in Siena, from 9th to 20th October 1353, see Glénisson and Mollat (1964), pp. 17, 159 and Claramunt and Trenchs (1972), p. 389.

²²⁴ Cioni (1998), p. 661.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 662.

²²⁶ Ibid., pp. 664, 666. The *Breve dell'Arte* of Sieneese goldsmiths does not mention hallmarks for authorship of guarantee, but that the silver must be of a certain concentration; whilst the Guild in Florence requested the goldsmith to register their personal mark at a Notary in the 1330s. The appearance of the poinçon indicates that this was the case in Siena too, but that it is not documented. .

²²⁷ Flores (1967), p. 25 suggested that this was the case, but did not provide any documentary evidence.

hand of St. Lucy with a box, with a gilt silver and enamelled base.²²⁸ It was described as weighing 36 marks and 6 ounces, and it had been sent by Cardinal Anglic Grimoard in compensation for the silver head with relics of St. Blaise, weighing 48 marks, which Albornoz had left in his will to Cuenca cathedral. Cuenca did not receive it because Albornoz himself had given it to the Queen of Sicily, Joanna of Naples, between dictating his will in 1364 and his death in 1367.²²⁹ In September 1371, the reliquary was documented in Toledo Cathedral. A Papal Bull offered a generous indulgence to visitors to the chapel of St. Lucy, ‘to which the Cardinal of Sabina Gil [de Albornoz] had donated a reliquary with relics of the said saint, out of his great devotion [to this saint].’²³⁰

In 1372, the chapter of the Collegio di Spagna protested that the reliquary of St. Lucy (‘the silver arm of St. Lucy in a silver casing’) and a cope and some pearls had been given away without their permission.²³¹ Thus, the reliquary and the cope had been in the Collegio di Spagna until 1371. The Chapter did not specify where these pieces had been taken, but it is highly

²²⁸ BNE Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 70r: ‘Item simili modo ordinamus et declaramus quod ecclesie Toletane prefate dentur et assignentur per dominos supradictos manus sancte Lucie cum capseta et pede de argento de aurato et smaltato secundum quod predictus dominus sabinensis habebat.’

²²⁹ Ibid., ff. 71v-72r: ‘Item simili modo ordenamus et declaramus quod Ecclesie Conchensi prefate dentur et assignentur per dominos supradictos una Capseta de aurata cum uno reliquiario deaurato ponderis triginta sex marcarum et sex unciarum et pars quam reverendissimus in christo pater et dominus dominus Anglicus miseratione divina eps. Albanensis ac terrarum Ecclesie in Italia consistentium vicarius generalis dimiserit de brachio sancte Lucie quod executione predicti domini sabinensis accepit in recompensatione capitis argenti cum reliquiis beati Blasii ponderis quadraginta octo marcharum quod predictus dominus eidem ecclesie in suo testamento legabat et pedis seu angelorum quos pro sustentatione predicti capitis fieri mandaba ponderis viginti marcharum argenti quos quidem caput et angelos ecclesia predicta non habuit quia predictus dominus sabinensis in vita sua dederat caput domine regine sicilie sed isto modo voluit predite ecclesie satisfieri volumus tamen quod predicta omnia dentur predite Ecclesie cum pactis et conditionibus per dictum dominum factis in suo testamento circa legationem predicti Capitis.’

²³⁰ Anne-Marie Hayez ed., *Grégoire XI (1370-1378): lettres communes analysées d’après les registres dits d’Avignon et du Vatican* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1992-1996), no. 10695: ‘Omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui capellam s. Lucie sitam in eccl. Toletan., ad quam b. m. Egidius, episc. Sabinen., singularem habebat devotionem et ob devotionem eidem capelle unum reliquiarium cum reliquiis ejusdem b. Lucie donavit, in consuetis et b. Lucie ad dicte capelle dedicationis festivitatibus visitaverint, conceditur indulgentia de uno anno et 40 diebus, octavis vero et diebus, de 100 diebus, presentibus post 20 an. minime valituris.’

²³¹ Marti (1972), p. 107: ‘Item quare fuit datum unum pluviale et certe perle et brachium Sancte Lucie de argento.’

probable they had ended in Toledo through Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz, who left Bologna in 1372 and had previously sent part of the books from the Collegio to Toledo.

Another Italian enamelled reliquary associated with a Spanish patron is the anthropomorphic reliquary of the arm of St. Luke, decorated with the enamelled heraldry of Queen Sancia, and now in the Louvre. It is catalogued as a Neapolitan work, c.1337-1338.²³²

4.5. Books

Albornoz requested in his will that the Bible manual and a book by Thomas on Luke and John, which he had borrowed for life, were to be returned to the cathedral of Cuenca.²³³ He also requested the return of other books he had borrowed from the cathedrals of Toledo, Tarragona and Zaragoza.²³⁴

Bertrand de Déaux acknowledged that he had a book which belonged to the cathedral of Embrun, the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent de Beauvais, and requested that they be returned to the church, together with any other books found in his possession.²³⁵ The donation of learning materials to the closest young male relatives of the cardinals was standard; whilst they often left provision to cover the dowries for the marriages of their nieces, they ensured their nephews would have the means to improve their careers through education. It was not unusual for their nephews to pursue an ecclesiastical career. Guy de Boulogne bequeathed his books to his

²³² Durand (1995), p. 30.

²³³ Appendix I, line 28; Sepúlveda (1780), XVII.

²³⁴ Appendix I, lines 33-34; Sepúlveda (1780), XIX. The archives in Cuenca, Zaragoza and Tarragona have suffered important losses and it is not possible to match a single volume with Albornoz's donations. García y García (1972b), p. 21.

²³⁵ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liaase n.1, '[24-25] Item recognosco me habere ab Ecclesia Ebredunen. Speculum Istoriale vicenty in duobus voluminibus et quosdam alios libros in Inventario librorum meorum expresse designatos ad Archiepm. Ebredunen. pertinentes quos nisi in vita mia reddidero volo ei et Ecclesie Ebredunen. per Executores meos reddi libere et realiter assignari.'

nephew, the cardinal Robert de Geneve, as well as the best ring he had at the time of death.²³⁶

Matteo Orsini left his manual of sermons to his nephew Teobaldo, and 300 florins as a student grant to his nephews Benedetto and Poncello.²³⁷ Bertrand de Déaux distributed his collection of legal books among his numerous nephews.²³⁸

During his academic career in Paris, Bologna, Florence and Rome, Matteo Orsini acquired an important collection of books, which he donated to S. Maria sopra Minerva.²³⁹ Only one book has been located, in the Vatican Library, *Barb. Lat. 713*, which contains an inscription stating that it belonged to Cardinal Matteo Orsini.²⁴⁰ He donated a large and beautiful Missal to his burial chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva.²⁴¹

As we gather from his will, Bertrand de Déaux owned a considerable number of books, mostly of a legal character. Among the liturgical and devotional books mentioned in his will there was a Missal he donated to the cathedral of Avignon: 'I leave my beautiful Missal to the main church of Avignon.'²⁴² This may be identified as the richly illuminated Missal in the Vatican Library, Cod. Cap. B63, where his heraldry appears.²⁴³ The Missal, written in

²³⁶ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, pp. 191-192, lines 263-269: Item domino Roberto de Gebennis carissimo nepoti meo, basilice XXIIcim Apostolorum presbytero cardinali, pulcriorem anulum quem habebō tempore mortis mee. Et si qui libri mei doctor nepoti meo placuerint, volo quod habeatusum suum quandiu Deo placuerit ipsum existere in humanis; et postea vendantur et distribuuntur pauperibus pro anima mea et parentum meorum.' Titles of books are not specified.

²³⁷ Forte (1967), p. 246, see fn. 23.

²³⁸ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liaise n.1: '[65] Item Lego uni de filijs Johanis de Blauidaco Nepotis mei natis ut nascituris quem ipse Johanes elegerit Decretales meas ultimo acquisitas.'

²³⁹ Forte (1967), pp. 204-205. It was a requirement that members of the Dominican Order, upon promotion to bishop or cardinal, should donate their books to the Order.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 206: in fol. 490 reads: 'Iste liber est domini Mathei cardinalis de Ursinis Romani et in perpetuum cardinalis.'

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 231: 'missale meum pulcrum et magnum.'

²⁴² ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liaise n.1: '[58] Item lego Ecclesie maiori Avinionen. Missale meum pulcrum.'

²⁴³ It belongs to the collection of the Capitulary Archives of St. Peter, which was incorporated in the Vatican Library. The manuscripts in this Archive come directly from the chapter, not from Avignon, so it has been suggested that Bertrand left it in Italy. Elly Cassee, *The missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deaux -A study in 14th-century Bolognese miniature painting* (Florence: Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, 1980), p. 21, fn. 53, and p. 396.

Bolognese lettering (*littera bononiense*) contains 316 miniatures, of which 3 are full-page.²⁴⁴

Their authorship has been attributed to Niccolò di Giacomo, to Pseudo-Niccolò, and to Andrea de' Bartoli.²⁴⁵ The style recalls that of the illuminations in Padua A24 and A25.²⁴⁶

Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux was in Bologna in 1334; he became cardinal priest of S. Marco in 1338, left Italy in 1348 and died in Avignon in 1355.²⁴⁷ Since the coats of arms have the cardinal hat and the donor himself is represented wearing full cardinal garb, like the fur-lined cape and hat, the Missal must be 1338-1355. As Cassee pointed out, the fact that the Missal is preserved in the Vatican indicates that Bertrand left it in Italy, and therefore it must date from before 1348.²⁴⁸

The Cardinal is represented seven times in the Missal.²⁴⁹ A Franciscan friar, probably Bertrand's confessor, accompanies him in folios 1r, 188v and 307v (Fig. 141).²⁵⁰ The full-page illumination on fol. 188v shows Christ in Majesty, with Bertrand at his feet, on the left of the scene, wearing a fur-lined red cope and removing his cardinal hat; behind him we see his Franciscan confessor, genuflecting.²⁵¹ The coat of arms of Bertrand de Déaux, surmounted by the cardinal hat, is in the centre of the lower border of the page, which is filled with abstracted kufic writing. The blonde figure of Christ sits on a throne, surrounded by angels of the nine

²⁴⁴ Elly Cassee, 'Illustratori bolognesi del Trecento', in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica. Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana. Cortona, 26-28 Maggio 1978*, ed. Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Wadenburg (Florence: Olschki, 1979), pp. 395-418, p. 395.

²⁴⁵ For the attributions and discussion of style, see Cassee (1979), p. 395; Lisetta Ciaccio, 'Appunti intorno alla miniatura Bolognese del secolo XIV: Pseudo Nicolò e Nicolò di Giacomo', *L'Arte* X (1907) fasc.II, pp. 105-115, p. 105; Count Adalberto Erbach de Fuerstenau, 'La miniatura bolognese nel Trecento (studi su Nicolò di Giacomo)', *L'Arte* XIV (1911), pp. 1-12, 107-117, pp. 12, 107. Alessandro Conti, 'Problemi di Miniatura Bolognese' *Bollettino d'Arte* LXIV, n.2, (1979), pp. 1-28, p. 5. Gibbs (1996), p. 18.

²⁴⁶ Cassee (1980), pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁷ Cassee (1979), p. 396.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* The Avignonese books are in Fondo Borghese, whilst this one is in Fondo Capitolare S. Pietro.

²⁴⁹ Cassee (1980), pp. 41-43. In ff. 1r, 15r, 188v, 194v, 227v, 306v and 307v.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵¹ Cassee (1979), p. 399. Cassee (1980), pp. 36-38; at p. 38 she mistakenly stated that Bertrand was also kneeling, but he is clearly standing.

different orders. The earth is opening at his feet as He sits in Majesty. The scene represents the Last Judgement, and is emphasized with the placement of the resurrection of the dead on the left side, directly above the heads of Bertrand and his companion. The representation of the concept of individual judgment was not unique- precedents are found in the donor scene of the Cappella Scrovegni, where Enrico stands in the centre as the Last Judgement takes place. Although Elly Cassee claimed that Bertrand was a Franciscan, this is not documented.²⁵² Bertrand's confessor may have influenced the iconography, which here is linked to the Franciscan *Dies Irae*.²⁵³

Stylistic links have been drawn between the illuminations and the frescos in the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi.²⁵⁴ However, such similarities are perhaps too general, and the strong characterisation of the cardinal and the friar in folio 188r has no paragon in the frescoes, even if we make allowances for the different media and scale.

Bertrand donated his large Missal to the Poor Clares in a convent in Sisteron (Provence).²⁵⁵ Talleyrand donated his liturgical books to the chapel he had founded in St. Front in Périgueux.²⁵⁶ Pedro Gomez did not mention any books in his will.

²⁵² Cassee (1979), p. 401: 'Il motivo del cosiddetto Giudizio Particolare, molto raro nel Trecento, si spiega col fatto che Bertrand de Déaux era un francescano.'

²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 395-418, at pp. 401, 405-8 she linked aspects of the iconography to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. Ibid., p. 38 for *Dies Irae*.

²⁵⁴ Filippini (1911), pp. 60-61.

²⁵⁵ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liaise n.1, lines 49, 52-53: [53] 'Item lego Sororibus sancte Clare de Manoasta dioc. Sistaricen. decem flor. Et Missale meum magnum quo Capellani mei utuntur.'

²⁵⁶ Marténe and Durand (1717), col. 1472: 'Item, omnes libri ecclesiastici sive fuerint missalia, sive alii libri deputati ad dicendum officium Domini nostri.'

4.6. Real estate, residential and ecclesiastical architecture

By 1364, Albornoz had numerous landed possessions, which he donated to his nephews Gomez Garcia and Alvaro; the properties included Cañizares, Una, and others which he had inherited from his parents, and other which he had acquired and added to the family patrimony, such as Valera de Suso, Mezquitas, Valsalobre, and the salt mines of Palomera. To his nephew Alvaro he left Naharros, Juarros, Buruanos and Huete.²⁵⁷

Albornoz left the village of Paracuellos, which he had purchased for 120,000 maravedies, to the dean and chapter of the Cathedral of Toledo, but the ownership of the village was a source of disagreements between Albornoz, Pedro I and the Order of Santiago, as we have seen before.²⁵⁸

In his will, Matteo Orsini ordered to auction his palace in Montfavet, which he erected and which was later expanded by Cardinal Bertrand de Montfavet.²⁵⁹ Matteo wished to donate the revenue from real state investments to the Augustinian convent of S. Agnese in Bologna.²⁶⁰

In 1341 the testamentary executors of Matteo sold the palace to Raymond de Cornac, camerier of Bertrand, for 2,000 gold florins.²⁶¹ The building now houses the Bibliothèque Paul et Alice Cluchet. Bertrand de Montfavet died in 1343 and was buried in the collegiate church he

²⁵⁷ Appendix I, lines 52-57; Sepúlveda (1780), XLVII-XL.

²⁵⁸ Appendix I, lines 34-38. Sepúlveda (1780), XXIV. See above, *Chapter 1*, pp. 90-91.

²⁵⁹ Aliquot (1993), pp. 56-57.

²⁶⁰ Forte (1967), p. 258: 'Item relinquit bastitam suam, quam habet prope Avinionem, cum vineis, terris, pratis, ortis et iuribus suis, monasterio monialium sancte Agnetis Bononiensium ordinis sancti Augustini secundum instituta et sub cura fratrum dicti ordinis predicatorum viventium, hoc modo, quod dicta bastita cum vineis, terris, ortis, pratis ac iuribus supradictis, vendantur plus offerenti, et ex pecunia que inde recipietur emantur possessiones Bononie sive in territorio vel districtu ipsius, ac de fructibus dictarum possessionum conventus dicti monasterii sancte Agnetis persolvere teneatur annuatim dictos XX florenos eidem conventui Parisiensi...'

²⁶¹ Aliquot (1993), p. 56.

had founded and endowed in his will with provision for 24 Augustinian canons and a prior.²⁶² The church, adjoining the palace, was built in five years; his tomb no longer survives.²⁶³ The battlements of the towers were added at the end of the fourteenth century, when the building was used as a military outpost to defend Avignon from the Great Companies; further modifications took place 400 years later.²⁶⁴ Notwithstanding its ongoing restoration, this is the best preserved cardinal palace outside Avignon.²⁶⁵ The frescoed coats of arms of Bertrand de Montfauvet and Clement VI have survived in one of the rooms.²⁶⁶ The palace was later used by Anglic Grimoard.²⁶⁷

Annibale da Ceccano had a palace in Sorgues, with a chapel dedicated to St. Martial. The palace had been very recently finished when Clement VI visited it in 1343.²⁶⁸ The dedication to this French apostle was perhaps influenced by the recently-decorated papal chapel in the Palais des Papes, under this advocacy.²⁶⁹ The palace of Pedro Gomez in Montfauvet was also the site of a sumptuous reception to Clement VI in 1343.²⁷⁰ The contemporary description at the time indicates that the palace had two floors, and a courtyard, with balconies or perhaps a gallery. Pedro purchased the first patch of land and a house in 1340, and in 1342 the cardinal

²⁶² It seems that he was sent to England with Pedro Gomez but they were not allowed entry in the country; see Cardella (1793), pp. 108-109; Méridol (1993), p. 10. The costs of building the church amounted to 7,484 florins, Merindol p. 10. The canons were finally installed in the church in 1347.

²⁶³ Bailly (1967), p. 114.

²⁶⁴ Aliquot (1993), p. 58. The towers are 20 m. high, the facade is 48 metres long.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. The similarities with the bastide in Fargues are pointed out in pp. 62-64.

²⁶⁶ Since the cardinal died a few months before Clement's nomination in 1342, Aliquot has suggested that the papal heraldry was added on the occasion of the spring visit of the newly elected pontiff to the palaces of Talleyrand, Ceccano and Pedro Gomez, when six cardinals stayed in Montfauvet. See Aliquot (1993), pp. 60-61. Casanova (1899), p. 380 mentions 'la bastita che fu di messer Monfavese'. I could not access this room in September 2003.

²⁶⁷ Aliquot (1993), p.58.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁶⁹ Aliquot (1993), p. 66 pointed it out.

²⁷⁰ See above, *Introduction*, pp. 32-33. See Georges de Loye, 'Réceptions du Pape Clément VI par les cardinaux Annibal Ceccano et Pedro Gomez a Gentilly et Montfauvet (30 avril-1^{er} mai 1343) d'après une relation anonyme contemporaine', in *Avignon au Moyen Âge. Textes et documents*, ed. Institut de Recherches et d'Études du Bas Moyen Âge avignonnais (Avignon: Aubanel, 1988), Vol. I, pp. 81-92, Vol. II, pp. 45-51. Aliquot (1993), p. 70.

lived in the palace.²⁷¹ He founded a Dominican convent here in 1346, which he appointed as his universal heir in 1348. Pedro Gomez died in Avignon in 1348 and was buried in the Dominican convent of St. Praxède, which he had founded in 1346.²⁷² In 1398, the threat of the rampaging mercenaries in the Comtat Venaissin drove the nuns of S. Praxède to abandon their convent and flee to the safety of the fortified city of Avignon. Ten years later, the nuns were allowed to take materials from St. Praxède for their new convent. Whatever remained from the church and palace, apart from the tower, was sold as demolition material for 1,100 écus in 1597.²⁷³

A tower is the sole surviving structure of the monastery, in the outskirts of Montfavet (Fig. 142). This tower is now privately owned, and has not received the scholarly attention it deserves.²⁷⁴ Its current condition is far from ideal: graffiti covers the walls, and dense cobwebs obscure the corbels. It is unfortunate that the present owner cannot afford the high costs of cleaning and restoration of the building, and to prevent further damage from vandals, he has installed a grilled door. The rectangular window above was opened before he acquired the property.

The tower, 26 metres high, has two vaulted floors (approximately 10 x 5 metres) and an octagonal turret which would have housed a bell to call for prayers in a conventual building. The church would have stood adjacent to the south wall of the tower.²⁷⁵ Aliquot suggested that this tower would have served as sacristy of the church, opening on the north side of the apse, and

²⁷¹ Aliquot (1993), p. 71.

²⁷² Casanova (1899), p. 373. Aliquot (1993), p. 71.

²⁷³ See Mérindol (1993), pp. 24-25; Pansier (1916), p. 33; Aliquot (1993), pp. 71-74. The document of sale states that the buildings were ruined and frequented by criminals: 'et ruine expositum, undique apertum ac brutis et latronibus prostitutum.' A superficial survey of the masonry of the privately-owned house near the tower shows that it incorporated some building materials from the monastery; some ashlar stones present mason marks. A study in-depth of this building, beyond the limited scope of this thesis, is highly desirable.

²⁷⁴ See Aliquot (1993), pp. 70-74.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74. The Avignonese tradition was to have bell towers adjacent to the apse. The one in St. Didier is located to the right, and the tower in Montfavet to the left; see Bailly (1967), p. 118, Girard (1988), Vol. 1, p. 124.

points out the similarities with St. Didier in Avignon, where the sacristy, on the south, has two floors.²⁷⁶ The west wall of the tower, marked by the outline of a pointed arch, was part of the left aisle of the church. Two corbels, one with leaves, and one with a winged bull (St. Luke), remain attached to this wall. There would have been a chapel on the left aisle of the church, perhaps dedicated to the Evangelists. The church would have followed the Avignonese plan of single nave with side chapels, as exemplified by the Collégiale in Villeneuve, and which was also used in the later building of St. Didier.²⁷⁷ The curvilinear profile of the moulded capitals in St. Praxède is strikingly similar to that found in the nearby church of Bon-Repos. This type of moulding is found in the Gascoigne region.²⁷⁸

Inside the tower, four figured corbels, carved with fantastic creatures, support the springing of the vaults in each of the two floors. Similar figured corbels can be found locally, in the Tour Philippe le Bel, erected between 1293 and 1307, the Papal Palace, the Collégiale at Villeneuve and in the church of the Chartreuse.²⁷⁹ Figured corbels appear in the tower of the livrère Albano, now part of the Town Hall.²⁸⁰ The keystone of both vaults shows the carved coat of arms of Pedro Gomez, adorned with the cardinal hat. The coat of arms on the ground floor has been repainted, and the double red band which crosses each of the five lions is not original

²⁷⁶ Aliquot (1993), p. 74.

²⁷⁷ During my research sojourn in Avignon, the church of St. Didier was too dark to be able to take photographs of the nave; the church of Montfavet opens only one day a year for the Journées de Patrimoine, and I could not access the interior; the only comparable example is the Collégiale. Bailly (1967), p. 116 described the damaged wall paintings surviving in Montfavet, representing the Crucifixion, although he dated them 1340 which is highly improbable since the foundation is 1342. Girard (1958), p. 358 dated the church 1343-1347.

²⁷⁸ Girard (1988), p. 125.

²⁷⁹ Françoise Baron, 'Le décor sculpté du Palais des Papes sous Clément VI et Innocent VI' in *Monument de l'Histoire. Construire, Reconstruire. Le Palais des Papes XIVe-XXe siècle* (exhibition catalogue, Palais des Papes, Avignon, 29 juin - 29 septembre 2002) (Avignon: RMG, 2002), pp. 81-89, at p. 81: under Clement VI the Palace received 150 corbels and 60 keyvaults.

²⁸⁰ See Aliquot (1993), pp. 31-35. Dated 1353-1361, it was erected by Cardinal Audoin Aubert, the nephew of Innocent VI.

(d'azur à cinq lions d'or posses en sautoir à la jumelle de gueules) (Figs 143, 144).²⁸¹ The presence of figured and heraldic decoration in the tower suggests that the rest of the building would have been richly decorated. In 1993, Aliquot linked the traces of paint on the south wall to the 1741 description of the tower, which had mentioned wall paintings on the south wall, representing a Virgin and Child, but they have since disappeared.²⁸² The site was known circa 1580 as 'Espagne'.²⁸³

Pedro Gomez's preference for the Dominican Order is epitomised in his only recorded foundation, which he made his universal heir of all his possessions in Avignon and in the Comtat Venaissin, including Pernes and Montelieu.²⁸⁴ He left a huge sum to the monastery: 10,000 gold florins, as well as two silver figures of St. Lawrence and St. Praxedis, and a small silver cross containing a relic of the True Cross. Pedro Gomez felt attached to his native land, and established that the monastery in Avignon should remain under the protection of a Spanish cardinal. In the absence of a Spanish cardinal, the protection should fall to the cardinal of Sabina.²⁸⁵ Yet his request seems to have been unfulfilled, for the next Spanish cardinals, Gil de Albornoz and Nicolas Rossell (cardinal of S. Sisto in 1356) failed to mention St. Praxède in their wills or in any other surviving document. As cardinal bishop of Sabina, Gomez was followed by the French Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355) and by Gil de Albornoz from 1356 to 1367.

²⁸¹ Aliquot (1983), Vol. 1, p. 85.

²⁸² I could not locate any painting remains in September 2003. See Aliquot (1993), pp. 72-73. See Bailly (1967), p. 118 for transcription of the text which he dates 1742.

²⁸³ In the engraving by Ghebellino illustrating Venuxini Comitatus Nova Descriptio; see Mérindol (1993), p. 3. In 1690 it was known as Tour d'Espagne.

²⁸⁴ Pansier (1916), doc. II, p. 84: 'monasterio Sancte Praxedis per nos in territorio Avinion. cum ecclesia, cimiterio, hospiciis, domibus, ortis et necessariis officinis pia intentione fundato, in quo jam certe moniales cum priorissa et subpriorissa secundum instituta et sub cura statum ordinis Predicatorum recluse [vivere] ... tam in ambitu dicti monasterii et domibus quas prope ipsum monasterium edificare fecimus, ...dentur et remaneant monasterio antedicto.'

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 38.

Bertrand de Déaux allocated in his will 1,000 florins towards the building and endowment of a collegiate church, either in Villeneuve or in Avignon. Any necessary books and ornaments should be purchased with this fund, and he allocated it a yearly revenue of 900 florins.²⁸⁶ In August 1355, Bertrand had been granted permission by Innocent VI to build a collegiate or a monastic church in Villeneuve or elsewhere; three months later, the Pope authorized the rebuilding of St. Didier.²⁸⁷ Bertrand's testamentary executors probably chose to re-build the existing church of St. Didier on account of its proximity to Bertrand's livrée (Ceccano) and the fact that Villeneuve already had the Collegiale Notre-Dame.²⁸⁸ A contract dated 4 May 1356 was accompanied by a drawing which has not survived; the text has been published by Girard.²⁸⁹ The contract established the dimensions of the building, from its foundations to the measurement of the nave, but neither the sculptured decoration of the church nor the tomb of the founder, who was buried here, are mentioned. The contract was exclusively

²⁸⁶ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: [L.67] Item volo ordino et mando quod de bonis meis per infrascriptos meos Executores hui. mei testamenti ordinetur constituat seu fundetur unu Collegium aut Religiosorum aut clericorum secularium aut in domibus meis de villanova Avinionense diocese aut in civitate Avinionense prout eisdem meis Executoribus [L.68] magis videbitur expedire. Pro quo Collegio volo fieri et construi Ecclesiam decentem ac Campanile domos et officinas oportunas secundum arbitrium eorundem Executorum meorum de bonis meis. Pro ornamentis autem dicte Ecclesie ac libris et utensilibus oportunis dicti Collegii volo expendi de dictis bonis meis Mille [L.69] florenos in quibus volo computari quicquid de libris ornamentis utensilibus et rebus alyis meis daretur Collegio supradicto.'

²⁸⁷ Document of August 1355 indicated by Joseph Girard, 'La construction de l'église Saint-Didier d'Avignon', *Bulletin Archeologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (1936-37), pp. 631-49, at p. 633, ADV, G X, 2, piece 3. Ibid., p. 636 for November 1355 doc., ADV, G X 2, pieces nos. 4, 5.

²⁸⁸ 'executoresque sue ultime voluntatis volentes et cupientes ... unanimiter et concorditer inter se convenerunt et concordarunt quod ipsa ecclesia construhatur et edificata est ecclesia parrochialis Sancti Desiderii civivatis Avinionensis supradicte', quoted by Girard (1936-37), p. 644. See pp. 632, 636 for livrée. Pansier (1926-131), I, p. 130; Bertrand moved to this livrée, known as Livrée de la Vergne, now Mediathèque Ceccano, after the death of Ceccano in 1350. Arnaud had founded the Collegiale adjacent to his livrée. Girard (1936-37), p. 636 suggested that a reason for this was that Villeneuve had St. André, and the Chartreuse was being built. Sylvain Gagnière, 'Le tombeau du cardinal de Déaux à l'église Saint-Didier d'Avignon', *Etudes vauclusiennes* 17 (1977), pp. 1-10, at p. 3 suggested that another reason could be that the church was very old and in need of repairs.

²⁸⁹ For the construction of the church, see Girard (1936-37), pp. 631-49, esp. pp. 636-7 for drawing, 644-49 for transcribed document, preserved in ADV, G X 2, 1er liasse, nos. 9, X. The church was consecrated in September 1359, Ibid., p. 642. See also Alain Girard, 'La construction de l'église Saint-Didier d'Avignon', in *Avignon au Moyen Âge. Textes et documents*, ed. Institut de Recherches et d'Études du Bas Moyen Âge avignonnois (Avignon: Aubanel, 1988), Vol. I, pp. 119-126; Vol. II, pp. 73-76. For use of drawings by medieval architects see Harvey (1972), pp. 101-119.

concerned with the erection of the building; the tomb was executed later, but no further documentation, which would have perhaps shed light on its authorship, has survived. Four local *lapicides* or stonecutters were employed, supervised by Jacques Alasaud, ‘an expert in such matters’.²⁹⁰ The contract established the payments to be received by the masters, but Alasaud is not included, probably because he had a separate contract, which has not survived. The church, which has survived without major alterations, is a groin-vaulted single nave with side chapels and a pentagonal apse. Its architecture is similar to the Collegiales in Villeneuve and Notre-Dame du Bon Repos in Montfavet, built some 20 years earlier, and which were also the burial places of their founders, the cardinals Arnaud de Via and Bertrand de Montfavet respectively.²⁹¹

Cardinals often divided their funds amongst a number of religious Orders. Cardinal Talleyrand endowed the Carthusian monastery of Val-Claire in Perigord with a splendid bequest of 10,000 gold *Iohaneti*, but he appointed the Augustinian convent of La Chancelade in Perigord (which still stands), as his universal heir.²⁹² He provided for necessary building alterations. To the chapel he founded in St. Front, Talleyrand left 2,000 gold florins, plus 400 gold florins for the construction of a house for its chaplain. Although Talleyrand was cardinal protector of the

²⁹⁰ ‘...ipse magistri lapicide facere et construere ad voluntatem ipsorum dominorum coexecutorum et magistri Jacobi Alasaudi seu alterius cujuscunque in talibus experti...’ Girard (1936-37), p. 645. Jacques Alasaud or Alazaut worked in the Audience of the Lettres contredites in 1330, and built the Papal palace of Pont-de-Sorgues. Schäfer (1911), p. 313. See Girard (1936-37), pp. 638-639, fns. 2,3 for further references to this architect, who worked in the Papal Palace and in the ramparts. Girard (1936-37) 631-49, p. 638. I disagree with Alain Girard’s statement at p. 639 regarding Alasaud: ‘Il faut donc voir en lui un maitre d’oeuvre particulièrement qualifié, un expert comme le dit le prix-fait, non un véritable architecte. Il serait par conséquent téméraire de lui attribuer la maquette qui avait été remise aux lapicides placés sous sa surveillance’. Girard (1988), Vol. I, p. 123 defended the role of Alasaud as architect.

²⁹¹ Villeneuve was built by Arnaud de Via in 1333; Montfavet by Bertrand de Montfavet in 1342. Girard (1936-37), p. 633, and Girard (1988), Vol. I, p. 119.

²⁹² Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1471: ‘legamus conventui Vallis-clarae ordinis Cartusienis Petragoricensis diocesis decem millia feudatorum Johannis auri’; cols. 1473-1475: ‘in monastero de Cancellata ordinis sancti Augustini Petragoricensis diocesis ... in quo est numerus viginti duorum canonicorum, augeatur numerus scilicet quod ultra illum numerum ponantur sexaginta canonici, & si forte non sufficient aedificia pro omnibus canonicis, quod abbas & conventus dicti monasterii illa aedificare, seu aedificare facere, juxta statum & conditionem aliorum canonicorum ... col. 1475: ‘abbatem & conventum praedictos universals facimus & constituimus nostros heredes.’ For *Iohanneti*, see Spufford (1986), p. 122.

Franciscan Order since 1343, he left a meagre 10 gold florins to the Franciscan convent of Avignon and to the Clarisan convent in Périgueux, and 50 florins to the Franciscans in his native city.²⁹³

The Roman cardinal Niccolò Capocci established that his universal heirs were the College of S. Gregorio and the monastery of Monteoliveto, both in Perugia.²⁹⁴ Guy appointed his two lay brothers Jean and Godefroy his universal heirs, and he established a number of bequests to monasteries in France.²⁹⁵ The beneficiaries of Guy's donations included Cluny (100 florins), the Dominicans in Paris (50 florins), and, in Clermont, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Hermits of St. Augustine.²⁹⁶

4.7. Cardinal Titles

Albornoz's patronage of his titular church as cardinal bishop of Sabina, S. Maria in Vescovio, was limited to a monetary, albeit considerable, donation. He left in his will 500 florins: 'Item I leave to the church of Sabina 500 florins, to be employed in the manner judged and accorded most useful and necessary by my testamentary executors.'²⁹⁷ The church, in Sabina, was described as practically abandoned in 1341.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Martène and Durand (1717), cols. 1469, 1472.

²⁹⁴ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 460, 704: 'dictam Domum et Collegium dictorum scholarium quod fieri feci in civitate perusina, et Monasterium ac Conventum Sancte Marie quod et quem in districta Perusii fieri feci, michi heredes universales instituo et reliquo.'

²⁹⁵ Jugie (1986), Vol. III, p. 185, lines 85-86.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 190, lines 221-233.

²⁹⁷ Appendix I, line 39, Sepúlveda (1780), XXVII. The sum was given in 1370 to the Cardinal bishop of Sabina: BNE Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 132r: 'solvit et assignavit Reverendo domino domino Ierosolimitano episcopo Sabiniensi quingentos florenos de cambio quod dictus bone memorie legavit in suo testamento dicte ecclesie sabinensi cui preerat.'

²⁹⁸ B Apolloni-Ghetti, 'La chiesa di Santa Maria in Vescovio Antica Cattedrale di Sabina', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* XXIII-XXIV (1947-48), pp. 253-303, at p. 258.

Albornoz also remembered in his will his titular church of S. Clemente in Rome, his first cardinal title. He left an unspecified donation, which should be spent in general repairs: ‘Item I command and order that the rent and profits received and owed for six years to the church of saint Clement in Rome, my titular church, are to be spent in repairs of the aforesaid church on a par with my executors’ arrangements.’²⁹⁹ Albornoz’s testamentary executors only made 250 florins available to the church in October 1370.³⁰⁰ By 1395 the church was in such a ruinous state that it threatened collapse, and the Confraternity of the Image of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ at the Sancta Sanctorum took charge of its repairs and upkeep (as well as its revenue).³⁰¹ The cardinal of S. Clemente between 1378 and 1395, Pincello Orsini, had neglected his titular church, but it is likely that previous cardinals, including Albornoz, had limited their interest to the church to the statutory testamentary donation.³⁰² The basilicas and churches of Rome fell into a state of disrepair and neglect during the Avignonese papacy.³⁰³ Urban V and Gregory XI vigorously encouraged cardinals to repair their titular churches in Rome, neglected during the Avignonese papacy.³⁰⁴ The income of a cardinal would be drastically cut until the church of his Roman title had been repaired.³⁰⁵

Albornoz remembered his first cardinal title not only with the statutory donation to cover repairs of the Roman basilica, but also with the instructions in his will to erect a chapel in the

²⁹⁹ Appendix I, line 40; Sepúlveda (1780), XXVIII.

³⁰⁰ Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 331.

³⁰¹ Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1927), p. 33. For the state of the churches of Rome in 1378, see Ciacconius (1677), Vol. II, col. 615: ‘Ecclesiasque Romanas neglectas, et incultas, situ, et squallore iam magna ex parte prolabi...titula Cardinalium, et monasteria, ac sacratissima Martyrum loca, sine tecto, corruentibus iam parietibus, pecoribus et brutis animalibus patere’. See Kane (2000), p. 44. Boniface IX blamed the incompetent administration of its ministers for the decline of the building, see Eileen Kane, ‘Rome after Avignon: more on the frescoed angels in San Clemente’, *Arte Cristiana* LXXX, fasc.750 (May-June 1992), pp. 165-174, at p. 169, fn. 18.

³⁰² For Pincello Orsini, see Kane (1992), p. 170.

³⁰³ Colliva (1977), pp. 108-110.

³⁰⁴ Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Grégoire XI intéressant les pays autres que la France* (Paris, 1962), nos. 2428, 2497, 2589.

³⁰⁵ Zacour (1975), p. 446.

Cathedral of Ancona and to dedicate his University college in Bologna to St. Clement.

Albornoz had intended to arrive in Rome, since he requested papal permission to visit the tombs of the Apostles and other sanctuaries in Rome and to celebrate Holy Mass at the high altars of S. Giovanni in Laterano, St. Pietro and S. Paolo in 1353.³⁰⁶ In 1358, Innocent VI re-issued the dispensations to celebrate services in Roman churches to Albornoz.³⁰⁷

Pedro Gomez left to S. Prassede in Rome 50 gold florins for repairs and works, and 20 gold florins to the clergy there.³⁰⁸ The *Registrum Iurisdictionis Episcopatus Sabinensis* was composed in 1343 for 'Petrum Hyspanum episcopum Sabinensem', while Pedro was resident in Avignon. His appointed officer(s) listed all the ecclesiastical institutions under his care, providing details of number of clerics, state of the building, lands appertaining to each institution, the income derived from them and their jurisdictional boundaries. Pedro's titular church as cardinal of Sabina, S. Maria in Vescovio was undergoing important structural renovations at this time.³⁰⁹ Matteo Orsini only remembered his titular church of Sabina, S. Maria in Vescovio, in his codicil, with a donation of 200 gold florins for repairs.³¹⁰ In 1355, Bertrand des Deaux left 300 florins to be spent on decoration or rebuilding works of the same church, leaving to his testamentary executors the decision on how to use the money best.³¹¹ Talleyrand remembered his cardinal title of S. Pietro in Vincoli with a donation of 100 gold florins, although, instead of allocating it to the upkeep and repair of the building, he specified that it was

³⁰⁶ Sáez and Trenchs Odena (1976), docs. 418, 428- 430. The privilege to celebrate Mass at the main altars of Roman basilicas was granted to Guy de Boulogne, at his request, coinciding with the Jubilee of 1350. Jugie (1986), Vol. I, p. 160. For Pierre Bertrand, see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 219-242.

³⁰⁷ Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), docs. 180, 181.

³⁰⁸ Pansier (1916), p. 77.

³⁰⁹ AS Rome, Archivio Orsini, scaff.1, busta IV, n.51, published by Giuseppe Tomassetti and Giovanni Biasiotti, *La Diocesi di Sabina (con documenti inediti)* (Rome: Oficina Poligrafica Editrice, 1909), pp. 63-95. For S. Maria in Vescovio, see p. 63: 'et ecclesiam ipsam renovari in muris et tectis sicut est.'

³¹⁰ Forte (1967), p. 256.

³¹¹ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: '[26] Item lego Ecclesie seu Epstn. Sabinen. Trecentos flor. in ornamenta Ecclesia seu refectione edificior. ut alia ecclesia opera oportuna iuxta Executorum meorum arbitrium convertendos.'

to fund the celebration of his anniversary.³¹² Cardinal Guy de Bolougne left 300 florins to S. Cecilia, his first cardinal title, and 200 florins to his second titular church of Porto, but these were also destined to fund anniversaries for his soul.³¹³ To his titular church of S. Vitale, Niccolò Capocci bequeathed vestments and a gilt silver vase, and left instructions to cover expenses incurred in its building repairs. He did not wish the vase to be kept inside the church, given its state of disrepair: ‘Item, I leave to the church of S. Vitale of Rome, which was my cardinal title, a cope, *planeta* and an outer tunic which I keep in my house. Item, a gilt silver vase weighing three marks, which is not to be kept in the church, because of its bad state, but elsewhere. My testamentary executors will order the canons of the said church of S. Vitale to bring it with care into the church only in the feast days considered appropriate. Item, I wish that the executors of my will may take from my assets the sum of money that they see necessary for the repairs of the said church of S. Vitale and its adjacent house.’³¹⁴

Matteo Orsini’s allocation of monetary funds towards architectural repairs and building works was concentrated on Italian churches, chiefly S. Maria sopra Minerva (600 florins towards building works or redemption of debts, and 1,400 florins in his codicil for the completion of the *speronis* next to the tower) and S. Giovanni al Monte in Bologna (100 florins for the completion of the choir).³¹⁵ Matteo arranged that 8 florins be given to S. Maria sopra Minerva every year to

³¹² Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1470: ‘Item ecclesie collegiatae sancti Petri ad vincula de Urbe, centum florenos auri, pro emtione immobilium rerum pro anniversario nostro annis singulis faciendo ibidem’.

³¹³ Jugie (1986), Vol. III, p. 187, lines 131-133.

³¹⁴ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 452-53: ‘Item lego Ecclesiae sancti Vitalis de Urbe, quae fuit Titulus mei Cardinalatus Pluviale, Planetam, & Tunicellam de Catasanto, quae habeo in domo. Item unum Vas argenti deauratum ponderis trium marcharum conservandum, non in ipsa Ecclesia propter malum statum ipsius, sed alibi, prout huius mei Testamenti Executores duxerint ordinandum, & tradendum cum bona cautela Canonicis dictae Ecclesie S. Vitalis in festivitibus in quibus fuerint opportuna. Item volo, quod Executores huius mei Testamenti possint expendere de bonis meis pro reparatione dictae Ecclesiae sancti Vitalis, & domorum circa eam, illam pecuniae quantitatem, quae eis videbitur expedire.’

³¹⁵ Forte (1967), p. 232: ‘Item lego conventui fratrum predicatorum super Minervam de Urbe sexcentos florenos, et rogo eos humiliter ut convertant eos in opere ecclesie, taliter quod appareat esse in devotam memoriam meam. Si autem dicto conventui tenerer in aliquo, volo quod dictum legatum cedat in solutionem debiti; rogo tamen quod opus

cover repairs of the walls in the chapel of St. Catherine.³¹⁶ Should there be any spare funds left from the distributions ordered in his will, he offered 50 florins to S.Sabina in Rome for repairs of the dormitory, and the rest for *perfectionem* of the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.³¹⁷

The architectural patronage of Pedro Gomez in Avignon involved donations of 10 gold florins to the cathedral and bridge of Avignon, and 100 gold florins for the fabric of the Augustinian monastery in Pernes-Les-Fontaines.³¹⁸

Bertrand de Déaux left numerous bequests to French cathedrals and churches, ranging from 50 to 150 florins.³¹⁹ He left 100 florins to the cathedral of Var in Hungary, to be used for embellishments.³²⁰ In Italy, Bertrand made a large donation (100 florins) to the hospital of S. Maria della Scala in Siena.³²¹ The hospital, run by Augustinian Tertiaries, had been decorated by leading Siennese artists, and was the repository of large bequests after the Black Death of 1348.³²² Bertrand also left 50 florins to the cathedral of Perugia for building expenses.³²³

Talleyrand de Perigord left 250 florins for architectural repairs in St. Benedict de Saltu in Beziers, and 30 sterling pounds to the churches of Lincoln and York, where he had held

adimpleant quod predixi.’ Ibid., p. 258: ‘pro complemento speronis iuxta turrin jordanescam, incepti ad sustentandum parietes ecclesie dicti loci florenos MIIIIc.’ Ibid, pp. 235, 239. Donations include 50 florins for S. Giovanni in Lamis, 100 florins for S. Lorenzo in Trento and S. Giorgio in Lucca and 200 florins for Ss. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 243: ‘pro reparatione paramentorum fiendorum in dicta capella mea sancte Catherine’.

³¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 250-251.

³¹⁸ Pansier (1916), p. 83.

³¹⁹ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1, lines 36-41. To Narbonne Cathedral: ‘[36] Item pro opere predictae Ecclesie Narbonen. Centumquinquaginta flor.’, to St. Victoire in Uzés: [37] Ecclesie sancti Victoris Uticen. dioc. pro [L.38] domibus reparandis Centum flor.’; Perpignan: [39] Ecclesie de Perinhano dioc. Narbonen.[40] pro reparatione et melioratione domorum ipsius Ecclesie Quinquaginta flor.’

³²⁰ Ibid.: ‘[43] ‘Item Lego Ecclesie Varadien. in Ungaria Centum flor. in ornamentis Cathedralis ecclesie convertendos.’

³²¹ Ibid.: ‘[43] Item Lego hospitali pauper. sancte Marie de Scala de Senis Centum flor.’

³²² Dale (1992), pp. 265-66. The hospital had commissioned a cycle of frescoes from Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti in 1335. In 1359 the Hospital was so wealthy that it purchased important relics from Constantinople.

³²³ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: ‘[45-46] ‘Item Lego Ecclesie Perusin. ...Quinquaginta flor. pro edificijs.’

prebends.³²⁴ Matteo Orsini made considerable bequests to English monasteries, including 400 florins to Westminster.³²⁵

4.8. Dowries and social bequests

Gil de Albornoz established a dowry contribution for 100 young girls to marry in Toledo and Cuenca, leaving 300 maravedis each.³²⁶ He also left 30,000 maravedis to rescue captive Christians from the Arabs, a common gesture among Spanish prelates during the *Reconquista*.³²⁷ Despite the long absences at the Curia or in diplomatic legations in Italy or France, most cardinals recognised their attachment to their homeland and endowed it generously. Toledo Cathedral benefitted from Pedro Gomez's generous donations, and his name is included in the Obituary of the cathedral.³²⁸ A third of the 1,000 gold florins that Pedro Gomez allocated in his will to dowry for poor girls were reserved to his native city of Toledo.³²⁹ Pedro extended his charitable donations to all the hospitals in Toledo, and favoured the hospital of St. James with 50

³²⁴ Martène and Durand (1717), cols. 1469-1470: 'Item, legamus praepositatui sancti Benedicti de Saltu, Bituricensis diocesis, ducentos quinquaginta florenos auri, expendendos in reparationem & refectionem aedificiorum ... Item, legamus pro reparatione domorum praebenda nostrae Lincolniensis in Anglia triginta librarum sterlingorum, si reparatione tanta indigeat; alias id quod superfuerit ultra refectionem, in emtione reddituum convertantur pro nostro anniversario faciendo, prout superius expressum est. Item, pro reparatione domorum decanatus Eboracensis alias triginta libras sterlingorum legamus, prout superius de praebenda Lincolniensi est dictum.'

³²⁵ Forte (1967), p. 258, he left 400 gold florins to Westminster monastery and 210 florins to the Augustinian monastery of *Bonastre* in the diocese of Lichfield. Bonastre has not been identified.

³²⁶ Appendix I, line 19; Sepúlveda (1780), X. Talleyrand had left 2,000 gold florins as dowry for poor girls in Perigueaux, see Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1472.

³²⁷ Appendix I, line 20; Sepúlveda (1780), XI.

³²⁸ ACT, B.42-30, fol. 32r: 'marzo vi. Comoro. dni Petri cardenalis ispanie.'

³²⁹ Pansier (1916), p. 79: 'Item pro puellis orphanis maritandis et pauperibus mille florenos auri; quorum omnium terciam partem in civitate Toletan. reliquas vero duas partes ubi dictis meis executoribus videbitur, distribui volumus atque dari.'

gold florins.³³⁰ Capocci donated 200 florins to each of the mendicant monasteries of his native Rome, just like Gomez had favoured the religious houses in Toledo.³³¹

Albornoz distributed varying amounts amongst his accompanying clergy, officers and servants in Italy. He bequeathed 100 florins to each of the chaplains and associates, and 60 florins to each servant, that were with him in Italy at the time of his death and who attended his burial. To Fernando de Moya he granted the choice of a horse from the cardinal's stalls, plus the donation of 800 florins if he should marry in Italy, but if he should marry in Spain, he would receive a mere 40 florins and Albornoz's family assets in Taracena, Huete.³³² Garci Fernandez de Belviso was to inherit the Albornoz estate in Belmonte, plus 60 florins, whereas the dowries established for Albornoz's nieces ranged from 5,000 to 6,000 florins, and indicate that he favoured Caterina, the daughter of his brother Fernan Gomez.³³³ The testamentary executors increased by 2,000 florins each of the dowries of his four nieces, daughters of Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz, and for Teresa, the other daughter of Fernando Gomez de Albornoz.³³⁴ Overall, Caterina seems to have received a favourable treatment, receiving a total of 7,500 florins.³³⁵ In 1368, his testamentary executors agreed to give various amounts to members of the household,

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 80: 'Item hospitali S. Jacobi quod in dicta civitate Toleti optinuerimus.' He left 10 gold florins to every other hospital in Toledo, and 20 gold florins to the hospital in Compostela.

³³¹ Ciacconius (1677), col. 511: 'Item lego ducentos florenos auri locis, & Monasterijs Religiosorum Mendicantium, & Monialium de Urbe distribuendis plus, & minus, & illis, de quibus eisdem Exequutoribus videbitur expedire.'

³³² Appendix I, lines 44-49; Sepúlveda (1780), XL, XLI.

³³³ Appendix I, line 51; Sepúlveda (1780), XLV, XLVI. The daughters of Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz would obtain 5,000 florins, whilst Caterina's dowry was fixed at 6,000 florins.

³³⁴ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 76r-v: 'Item quia intentio dicti domini Egidij Cardinalis erat pro maritandis tribus filiabus dicti domini Alvari Garsie de Albornocio eius nepotibus expendere sufficienter de suo ... et habere debeant ultra alias eis dimissa per eundem dominum Egidium pro qualibet earum duomillia florenos auri'; ff. 77r-v: 'dicti domini Egidij intentionis extitit quod nobilis mulier doña Teresia Gometij filia magnifici militis domini fernandi Gometij de Albornocio neppotis dicti domini Egidij Cardinalis habeat ... de bonis dicti domini Egidij duomillia florenorum auri pro dote.'

³³⁵ By 1368, Caterina had collected 7,500 florins. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 76v.

including the horse keeper, the falconer, and the head cook, who had not been present at Albornoz's obit.³³⁶

4.9. The execution of Albornoz's will

Since Albornoz had borrowed a great deal of objects from Toledo cathedral, he wished to return those which were still in his power. Gonzalo de Aguilar had only received part of these objects in 1353, and Albornoz arranged in his will the return to Toledo cathedral of a white *ximeto* cope and chasuble, which had very beautiful orphreys with pearls and gold.³³⁷ He also wished to give back a pair of gloves which were decorated with pearls and 'antique enamels', two pontifical rings, one of which is described in detail as a rather beautiful cameo surrounded by small emeralds, and another ring with a sapphire in the centre, and a carved image (probably a cameo) surrounded by other stones and pearls, and which Albornoz had on loan from his predecessor Gonzalo. This could refer to either Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque (1299-1310) or Gonzalo Gudiel (1280-1299).³³⁸

In May 1368, the testamentary executors of Albornoz met in Bologna, in the palace of cardinal Anglic Grimoard, to discuss the fulfilment of Albornoz's testamentary bequests.³³⁹ It is

³³⁶ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 74v-75r: 'Et etiam volumus et mandamus quod familiaribus dicti domini Egidij infrascriptos qui tempore ipsius obitus absentes erant detur legatum prout alijs similibus familiaribus datum fuit ... Item Fernando Garsie marescali dentur floreni sexaginta. Item Magistro Nicolao magistro equorum dentur floreni quadraginta. Item Johani de sancto vincentio dentur floreni quinquaginta. Item Jacobo falconario dentur floreni quadraginta. Item Magistro Arnaldo magistro cochine dentur floreni sexaginta...'

³³⁷ Appendix I, lines 29-30; Sepúlveda (1780), XXI.

³³⁸ Appendix I, lines 30-31; Sepúlveda (1780), XXII: 'chirothecae cum perlis et smaltis antiquis... cum una sapphire in medio, ubi est quaedam imago sculpta.' Ramírez de Arellano (2002), p. 22, suggested it referred to Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque. Enamel plaques from episcopal gloves were recovered from the choir of Albi Cathedral, probably from the tomb of Bernard de Camiat (1337). Illustrated by Taburet-Delahaye (1997), see p. 54 and fig.108.

³³⁹ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 65r-81r, at fol. 67r: 'que fuerunt acta in Civitate Bononie in palacio habitationis Reverendissimi in christo patris et domini domini Anglici miseracione divina episcopi Albanensis Terrarum Ecclesie vicarii generalis.' Marti (1966), p. 21.

in this document that we learn the fate of the reliquary of St. Blaise: Albornoiz had given it to Joanna, Queen of Naples. The document does not mention the *Opus Anglicanum* cope, in Cuenca or Toledo, but it includes the reliquary of St. Lucy and a large number of vestments donated by Albornoiz, taking in consideration the many relics, ornaments and vestments he had borrowed from the Cathedral of Toledo during his lifetime.³⁴⁰ There was a large, enamelled silver cross, which had belonged to Albornoiz.³⁴¹ The executors arranged to return these items to Toledo, and the assignation of other objects that had been Albornoiz's personal possessions, specifying that some of them were to be used exclusively in the chapel of St. Ildefonso on feast days, including a tunic and a dalmatic with golden peacocks, an old cope of white silk with old orphreys in red, and a set of black silk vestments decorated with birds 'with every embellishment.'³⁴² There were also a holy water stoup and aspersion, a silver incense container (*naveta*) enamelled with the coat of arms of Albornoiz, and an incense-burner; all with their leather containers.³⁴³ Among the numerous textiles listed there are two curtains of gold cloth

³⁴⁰ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 70r-v: 'Item simili modo ordinamus et declaramus quod ecclesie Toletane prefate dentur et assignentur per dominos supradictos manus sancte Lucie cum capseta et pede de argento de aurato et smaltato secundum quod predictus dominus sabinensis habebat et dorsale predicti domini et capella Alba ac capella India, capella nigra, capella viridis cum omnibus fulcimentis earum et crux magna quondam dicti domini Egidii Cardinalis de argento deaurata et smaltata cum suo pede, eo quod sit erat intentionis predicti domini quod ipse multas reliquias et capellas et similia jocalia a predicta Ecclesie habuerat et de eis sibi servivit longissimo tempore et multe res ex ipsis in eius manibus perierunt propter quod motus constientia predicta omnia ecclesie supradicte voluit assignari et dari prout certissime nobis constat.'

³⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 70r: 'et crux magna quondam dicti domini Egidii Cardinalis de argento deaurata et smaltata cum suo pede.'

³⁴² Ibid., fol. 70v: 'volumus tamen quod in festivitatibus predicta Capella sancti Ildefonsi predictorum omnium possit habere usum et etiam pro usu dicte Capelle volumus dari et assignari eidem Capelle sancti Ildefonsi. In primis una tunica et una almática [sic.] de diaspero alio cum figuris pavorum deauratis. Item unum diaspor album in petia antiqua eiusdem operis. Item una Cortina eiusdem pani coloris fulcita de sindone rubeo et alio fulcita tella cardena. Item unum pluviale panni siricis albi antiqui cum uauri frisiis antiquis fulcitis sindone rubeo... Item una Capella panni sericus nigri de diaspero laborata ad aves cum omni fulcimento.'

³⁴³ Ibid., fol. 70v: 'Item unum acetre et unus isopus argenti positus in una bursa corii. Item unum incensarium et una Naveta de argento supra deaurata que naveta est etiam smaltata ad arma dicti domini cum copertorio sive vursa de corio.'

with a white field and surrounded by ‘indian’ velvet with the heraldry of Albornoz.³⁴⁴ The donation included a chasuble of Venetian gold cloth, with wide orphreys, and lined in red velvet, and liturgical objects such as a gilt silver chalice and paten, a cross of gilt silver with a long foot and decorated with enamels, and a portable altar consisting of a black stone set within a silver frame.³⁴⁵

The will of Albornoz had not been executed by 1370, when the executors met in Bologna.³⁴⁶ By then, Nicolò Capocci had died.³⁴⁷ In October 1370, the archdeacon of Toledo Alfonso Fernando appointed the canon Domingo Fernando de Alcaraz as the procurator in Spain in charge of collecting the debts owed to Albornoz in Castilla, Aragon, Portugal and Navarra.³⁴⁸ A few days later, another document listed the financial state of affairs regarding Italy, also listing the debts to be settled.³⁴⁹

As we have seen, documents attest to the large number of items associated with Gil de Albornoz and which were once in Toledo cathedral. Survival is limited to the three reliquaries and some books, but there are numerous references to the patronage of Albornoz. An altar frontal was recorded in the cathedral of Toledo in 1398 as having the coat of arms of Albornoz.³⁵⁰ In 1792 an altar frontal representing the Three Wise Men was being used for the

³⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. 71r: ‘Item due cortine pani auri ad campum album fulcite circumcinca veluto indio ad arma dicti domini.’ There are more vestments and altar cloths but they cannot be listed here due to space constraints.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., ff. 71r-v: ‘Item unus calix purus argenti supra de aurati cum patena posita in una capsula de corio. Item un crux cum pede alto de argento supradaurata et smaltata et cum capsula de corio. Item una planeta panni auri de venetijs in campo indio cum auro frisiis amplis escoriatis foderata tella rubea et cum una stolla et manipulo. Item una cortina de sirico albo et rubeo. Item una ara altaris unius lapidis nigri fulcita circumcirca argento.’

³⁴⁶ ACT, A.8.D.1.5, BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 128r-137r.

³⁴⁷ ACT, A.8.D.1.5, BNE Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 128v.

³⁴⁸ ACT, A.8.D.1.5: ‘[19] civitates et terras tam in Regnis Castelle, Aragone, Portugallos et Navarre dum obtinebat...’, this line was not transcribed by Burriel in BNE Ms. 13023, ff. 127r-136v.

³⁴⁹ ACT, V.4.A.1.18. Transcribed by Burriel, BNE Ms. 13023, ff. 128r-137r. 12 October 1370. Burriel gave as signature A.8.1.3, but it does not exist as such in Toledo.

³⁵⁰ ACT, E.6.A.1.4, Will of Pedro Tenorio, 1398, fol. 7r: ‘Item un sobrefrontal de oro estofado et las fasalejas de oro alas armas del cardenal don gil que conste frontal et sobrefrontal trayamos y alas entrego e dio al sagrario dela dicha nuestra iglesia por nuestro mandado, Miguel Garcia nuestro capellan’.

main altar, and the heraldry of cardinal Albornoz seems to have been added later, to lengthen the cloth.³⁵¹ At this time, the Cathedral still preserved the funeral pall which had purportedly covered the coffin where Albornoz's remains had travelled from Italy to Spain. The pall was described as a yellow cloth with red velvet border, where skulls and bones were represented.³⁵²

A reliquary was listed in 1790 as a donation of Albornoz, which, it said, contained the relics which used to be in the chapel of St. Ildefonso. This is perhaps the collective reliquary which is shaped as a panel with 42 roundels containing relics.³⁵³ Blas Ortiz stated in 1549 that many of the relics in the Sagrario had been donated by Albornoz, who had been able to send all those relics from his legations in Italy, but the only one he identified was the knife of Nero in the convent of S. Pablo.³⁵⁴ The Obituary book of Toledo Cathedral recognised the role of the Bishop of Ávila don Alonso, who had procured ornaments and jewels from the execution of the will of Cardinal Albornoz.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ ACT, Lorenzana (1790), ff. 221v-222r: 'No.1: Un Frontal de la historia de los Reyes con tres divisiones; en la una quando se apearon, en la otra quando adoraron a N. Sor. y en la tercera quando se partieron. Es todo el campo de oro y en algunas partes argenteria, el qual es del Altar mayor, que por ser corto se le anadieron dos caidas con las armas del Sor. Cardenal Dn. Gil de Albornoz, y enmedio de cada una hay un Angel; forado todo en lienzo blanco, y se refiere al numero quinto del inventario anterior. Que se aderece.'

³⁵² ACT, Lorenzana (1790), ff. 217r-v: 'No.18: Un pano de lama amarilla con zanefa al rededor de terciopelo carmesi con sobrepuestos de oro y plata, y entre ellos calaberas y huesos, franjocillo de oro, y forro amarillo de espumillon. Este pano se llama de la Yndulgencia por ser el que vino sobre el cuerpo del Sor. Cardenal Don Gil de Albornoz quando le trageron de Roma, y por estar muy maltratado el brocade, se cubrio con dha lama y forro amarillos, el qual sirve para ponerle sobre la caja de los Sres. Canonigos y Racioneros difuntos.' I am inclined to dismiss this attribution, for skulls and bones are a later decorative motif.

³⁵³ ACT, Lorenzana (1790), fol. 30r: 'No. 58. Un relicario en que estan las reliquias que habia en la Capilla de S. Yldefonso, que dio el Senor Albornoz, que es de hoxa de plata blanca estampada sobre Madera tiene forma de retablo, y tiene quarenta y dos divisiones redondas con sus viriles, y en cada una hay reliquias con su letrero: el pie de este relicario es de media cana lisa, y unas listas estampadas, y a los dos lados piramides de plata, cada una con tres figuras, y el remate es una cruz con un Crucifixo y a los lados estan N. Senora y S. Juan, y entre las divisiones tiene unas florecitas esmaltadas. Que se limpie en la mejor forma que sea posible.' Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. II, pp. 301-302 stated that the relics were donated by Albornoz, but the frame is later, produced in Toledo in the 15th century; see *ibid.*, fig. 336.

³⁵⁴ González and Pereda (1999), p. 199: 'Bonam omnium reliquiarum partem ecclesia nostra debet D. Egidio de Albornoz.'

³⁵⁵ ACT, Ms. 42-31, fol. 49v, June: 'Missa de sancta M. por don alfonso Obispo de Avila que ordeno el Cabillo.por los ornamentos et joyas et reliquias que procuro et traxo para esta eglesia dela execucion del Cardenal don Gil. et salen con Responso sobre la sepultura del dicho Cardenal.'

Much has been lost through melting in order to produce the gold necessary for Enrique de Arfe's *Custodia*.³⁵⁶ French troops sacked the treasury in 1808, and the Cathedral sold in 1811 a number of objects.³⁵⁷

None of the objects that Albornoz allocated to Cuenca Cathedral seem to have reached their destination. Albornoz was still archdeacon of Cuenca at the time of his death.³⁵⁸ Sanz Serrano reported that there used to be a relic of pope Clement in the family chapel.³⁵⁹ Perhaps Albornoz had donated it when he was promoted to the title of S. Clemente, but there is no surviving documentation. A fourteenth-century Byzantine dyptych, known as the 'Epiro despots' reliquary, preserved in the Cathedral Treasury, has been suggested as a donation of Albornoz, without any documentary evidence.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Ramírez de Arellano (2002), p. 162.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154. In 1811, seven brocaded copes were burnt in order to extract the silver from them.

³⁵⁸ In the 1377 Statutes of the College, the third Statute reads: 'De civitate et diocesi Conchensi, ubi primum habuit ecclesiasticum beneficium et tunc obtenuit <archidiaconatum et moriens> archidiaconus existebat.' Albornoz reserved 4 places in his college to students from Cuenca. See Marti (1966), p. 134.

³⁵⁹ Sanz Serrano (1959), p. 140: 'Antiguamente había en la 'Capilla de los Caballeros' reliquias del Papa San Clemente.' Sanz y Diaz (1965) listed documents referring to Albornoz, although the mistakes he incurred regarding dates make this an unreliable reference; p. 31, doc. 222, dated 1299: 'Memoria simple de varios bienes, que dejó a esta Santa Iglesia, don Gil Alvarez, arzobispo de Toledo, para ciertos aniversarios y fiestas'; p. 40, doc. 318, dated 1324 'Carta de pago de Gil Alvarez de Albornoz al obispo don Esteban por 15.000 mrs que habia prestado en dos veces al dicho obispo. Su fecha, 15 de abril.'

³⁶⁰ Sanz Serrano (1959), pp. 170-2.

Conclusion

It is worth noting that Albornoz did not make any donations of chalices and liturgical furnishings to his favoured burial chapel of St. Ildefonso, which is unusual. Although the political circumstances meant that there was no certainty regarding his definitive burial in Toledo, he did not assign any particular items to his funerary location. Albornoz wanted to ensure that his most precious belongings reached Castile, and that his donations were fairly distributed amongst a variety of religious Orders in Italy and Spain. He dictated his will in Ancona, and resided there for long periods; he established the foundation of a chapel to St. Clement in the Cathedral, and two chapels in the fortress he had built. He also left 200 florins to the Franciscans in Ancona, and 100 florins to the Dominicans and to the Augustinians. The largest monetary dotation outside Castile (1,000 florins) was reserved for Assisi, where he donated valuable objects to San Francesco (a silver statuette of the Virgin and Child and three tapestries), and requested temporary burial, at an unspecified chapel. Albornoz allocated 500 florins to his titular church of S. Maria in Vescovio, whilst leaving the revenue from six years to S. Clemente in Rome to fund necessary repairs, which would be administered by his testamentary executors. Albornoz did not leave any bequests in Avignon, and concentrated his largesse in Italy and Spain. Overall, he favoured the Franciscan Order, although he was careful to balance his donations amongst the Augustinian and Dominican Orders.

Matteo Orsini certainly favoured the Dominican Order, to which he belonged. He founded his burial chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva and favoured his native land, particularly Rome. He owned the palace in Montfavet, but his donations outside Italy were limited to a few Dominican convents in Paris. Despite his interest in learning, he did not establish a college, or a

collegiate church. His donations were mostly monetary or textile, and a large collection of silver statuettes, but they included also a painted altarpiece. Paintings appear in wills very rarely, given their low monetary value compared to silver objects or cash donations. Matteo's private altarpiece was a Sienese painting, the subject or authorship of which is not mentioned, albeit the fact that he arranged its destination indicates that he appreciated this work. He established that if he died in Avignon, it should be given to the Dominican convent of that city; if he died in Italy it would be given to S. Maria sopra Minerva: 'Item, if I should die in Avignon or in the surrounding area, I send to the Dominican convent my large painted panel with images painted in Siena, which is usually on my altar.'³⁶¹ Brink suggested that the four panels by Simone Martini in the Koninklijk Museum in Antwerp, together with the Road to Calvary in the Louvre and the Entombment in Berlin-Dahlem, formed part of a folding portable altarpiece, commissioned by Napoleone Orsini.³⁶²

Bertrand de Déaux left in his will of 1355, to the chapel of St. James the Great in the church of his native town of Blanzac, which he had erected, he left a diasper chasuble and some painted panels, whose subject or appearance is not detailed, to decorate the altar.³⁶³

Bertrand de Montfavet founded a Collegiate church in Montfavet for 24 Augustinian canons and their prior. Bertrand de Déaux wanted to build a Collegiate church, but his testamentary executors decided instead to rebuild the parish church of St. Didier. Pedro Gomez

³⁶¹ Forte (1967), p. 242: 'Item si contingat me mori in Avinione vel in provincia Provincie vel prope dimicto conventui Avinionensi ordinis predicatorum tabulam meam magnam cum ymaginibus pictam in civitate Senarum, que consuevit esse continue in altari meo.'

³⁶² Joel Brink, 'Simone Martini's 'Orsini Polyptych'', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* 10 (1976), pp. 7-23, at p. 8: the Orsini coat of arms decorated the back of the Louvre panel, see fig. 5.

³⁶³ ADV, Serie X, G. 2. 10G-2/liasse n.1: '[30-31] Item lego Capelle sancti Jacobi site in Ecclesia de Blandiaco dioc. Uticen. quam feci edificari Casulam rubeam de dyaspro qua utuntur Capellani mei una cum alys paramentis que emi volo prout de altari beati Martini Ebredunen. supra pxime. est expressum. Item eidem Capelle sancti Jacobi de Blandiaco lego Tabulas meas pictas de corbus. pro ornamento altaris'

founded a female Dominican monastery in Avignon whilst Albornoz founded the Augustinian monastery in Villaviciosa.

As noted previously, Cardinal Gil de Albornoz left the reliquary of St. Blaise to the Cathedral of Cuenca, although his foundation in Villaviciosa was dedicated to this saint. Cardinal Guy de Boulogne commissioned the important reliquary of St. Antony in Padua although he was not a Franciscan, and also donated to his sister another reliquary of this saint. It is interesting to note that Albornoz (a Spaniard) and Talleyrand (a Frenchman) commissioned or donated important pieces to the most important Franciscan sites in Italy, and that neither was a member of the Franciscan Order. They were motivated by private devotion and by a desire to figure prominently in prestigious sites which were the focus of pilgrimage. Yet, in general, the cardinals studied in this thesis show a strong connection to their native countries, regardless of their extensive travelling and foreign sojourns. The attachment to their homeland is patent in their testamentary dispositions.

Chapter 5

Albornoz's Place of Rest in Assisi and Toledo

Gil de Albornoz died in Italy in 1367. The Chronicle of Pedro I for that year contains a notice of his death and translation of his body to Toledo for burial in the chapel of St. Ildefonso: ‘That year, Pope Urban V moved the court to Rome, and all the cardinals went with him, [although] against their will. Also on this year Cardinal Gil, who was a legate of the Pope, died in Italy, and he had conquered much of the land that was raised against the Church. This Cardinal Gil was from Castile, from Cuenca, of the lineage of Albornoz, and he was first Archbishop of Toledo, and was a very noble and valiant man. And he ordered that his body be brought to Castile and be buried in the [catedral] church of the Virgin Mary in Toledo, where he had been first archdeacon of Calatrava, and later Archbishop: there he lies in the chapel they call St. Ildefonso.’¹ This chapter discusses the funerary requests and the arrangements that were involved in the provision of a resting place for the body of Gil de Albornoz in Italy and Spain, within the context of his contemporary high-ranking prelates.

Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz mentioned the passing of his uncle in his autobiographical notes, written on a volume of Decretals now in Toledo Cathedral.² Fernando noted that Gil de Albornoz fell ill and died in the residence of Belriposo, in the outskirts of Viterbo, during the

¹ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1367, xxxviii, p. 579: ‘En este año el Papa Urbano V levó la Corte á Roma, é fueron todos los Cardenales con él mucho contra su voluntad. Otrosí en este año morió en Italia el Cardenal Don Gil, que era Legado del Papa, é avia conquistado mucha tierra de la que estaba rebelde contra la Iglesia. E fué este Cardenal Don Gil natural de Castilla, del Obispado de Cuenca, de los de Albornoz, é fuera primero Arzobispo de Toledo, é fué muy noble ome, é de muy grand valor. E mandóse traer á Castilla, é que le enterrasen en la Iglesia de Sancta Maria de Toledo, do fuera primero Arcediano de Calatrava, é despues Arzobispo: é yace allí en la capilla que dicen de Sant Alifonso.’

² ACT, Ms 4.2.

night of the 23 of August, 1367.³ The Book of Anniversaries in Toledo Cathedral, which dates from the archbishopric of Blas Fernandez de Toledo, corroborates this date.⁴

5.1. Albornoz's funeral and burial in Italy

As noted in chapter 3, Albornoz ordered in his will that his body be buried in the local Franciscan or, alternatively, in the most important local church of the area where he was to die. If he happened to die in Italy, Albornoz demanded burial in S. Francesco in Assisi. This was nonetheless a temporary measure since his final intention was to have a sepulchre in the chapel of St. Ildefonso in Toledo Cathedral.⁵

By the time Albornoz dictated his will in 1364, the aged prelate had been serving the Pope in Italy for eleven years, and he must have felt that there was a strong possibility that he may die on Italian soil. While Pedro I reigned in Castile, the return of Albornoz to his native country was unlikely. Despite this, the Spanish cardinal failed to specify important details such as the exact location, budget and appearance of his tomb and surroundings in Assisi, his preferred choice. This stands in contrast with the very precise instructions that Daniele Francesco Ciccoli left in his will for his interment in the same church in 1362.⁶

³ ACT, Ms. 4-2, and BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 53r-56v, at fol. 54v: 'Eodem anno videlicet M.CCC.LXVII. et XXIII. die mensis Augusti in die lune vigilia sancti Bartholomei apostoli.IIIII. hora noctis Dominus meus Dominus Sabinensis Aegidii Albornocis Cardinalis mors migravit ad dominum in bastita bel repausi prope biterbium.' Cf. Marti (1966), pp. 15, 54-55; Statute XI. Published by Russell (1959), pp. 324-329. Flores (1967), pp. 28-29, stated that Albornoz died from the plague. Cf. Filippini (1933), p. 404, fn. 3, based on Collegio di Spagna documents, it was the 30 August 1367. Ugorri Casado (1972), p. 169.

⁴ Ugorri Casado (1972), p. 170. ACT, Ms. 42-, fol. 97v: 'Augusto xxvi. Commemoratio bone memorie dns. Egidio cardinalis yspanie quondam archiepis toletanus.'

⁵ Appendix I, line 12; Sepúlveda (1780), VII. See above, *Chapter 3*, pp. 178-179.

⁶ Cenci (1974), I, p. 145, 3 July 1362: 'ser Daniel d. Francisci Ciccoli de Assisio sepulturam elegit apud ecclesiam s. Francisci de Assisio, videlicet in pilo ipsius testatoris quod est prope hostium dicte ecclesie s. Francisci. Mandavit quod in dicto pilo depingantur ymagines infrascripte, videlicet ymago d. n. Iesu Christi in cruce, et a parte dextra ymago virg. Marie, et a parte sinistra ymago s. Iohannis evangeliste, ad pedem vero crucis ymago b. Francisci et

When Albornoz died, three years after dictating his will, his body would have to remain in Italy, given that the family's enmity with Pedro I had not subsided. In fact, Albornoz's brother, supporting Enrique de Trastámara's claim to the throne of Castile, had been captured by the victorious troops of Pedro I at the battle of Nájera, in April 1367. The body of Albornoz could only be brought to Spain after Enrique defeated and killed his half-brother Pedro, and was crowned King of Castile in 1372. From 1367 to 1372, Albornoz's body had to remain in Italy, and his testamentary executors arranged the decoration of the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi.

Albornoz established the distribution of monetary donations to members of his entourage who attended his burial. The amounts ranged between 15 and 100 florins, according to the status of the beneficiary.⁷ Albornoz requested that the priests, chaplains and *familiares* who were at his deathbed, and accompanied his body to its grave, held a customary *novena*, and covered its costs in the appropriate manner that was the practice in his household. However, Albornoz specified that he did not wish for an excessive expense on robes, wax and golden draperies, even if, as he pointed out, such was the usage among other cardinals in Avignon.⁸ In this, he wished to detach himself from the lavish displays often seen in the Papal court. Albornoz had been in Avignon in 1352 and had attended the funeral of Pope Clement VI and, probably, that of Cardinal Bertrand de Pouget, both deceased in the same year. The Pontiff was buried in a freestanding sarcophagus in the Chaise-Dieu while Bertrand was buried in the Clarissan church of St. Marcel, which he

ymago s. Marie Madalene. Et voluit et mandavit quod supra dictum pilum fiat quedam trasanda. Pro quibus omnibus faciendis, de bonis ipsius testatoris expendi mandavit et iussit centum libras den. et plus.'

⁷ Appendix I, lines 44-45; Sepúlveda (1780), XXXV.

⁸ Appendix I, lines 45-46; Sepúlveda (1780), XXXVII-XXXVIII: 'per novem dies, fiant expensae decentes, sicut est consuetum in tinello meo. Item volo, quod in vestibus familiae, cera, drapes aureis et aliis non fiat excessus, nisi sicut est consuetum aliis Cardinalibus in Avinione.' For the *novena*, see Déprez (1900) for Innocent VI's in 1362, whose funerals were even more pompous than that of Clement VI according to p. 241.

had founded at his native Poujet.⁹ When Innocent VI died ten years later, in 1362, he was buried in a free-standing, monumental tomb in the Chartreuse de Villeneuve.¹⁰ On the occasion of Albornoz's funeral, two-thousand paupers would receive linen or cloth vestments, following his last wishes.¹¹ This charitable gesture, which is commonly found in wills of high-ranking prelates, is particularly generous in the case of Albornoz. Whilst Albornoz may have had a civic conscience, he may have also been motivated by the spiritual reward in the shape of prayers from the grateful poor.

In 1898, Brizi transcribed a document in Assisi which has not been thus far placed into its wider context. The text provides valuable information on the translation of the body of Albornoz from Viterbo to Assisi, listing the expenses incurred on sending emissaries with news of Albornoz's passing, and the provision of the necessary wax for candles, vestments, and refreshments on honour of the cardinal.¹² The cortège had to cover a distance of approximately 86 miles, and stopped in Foligno for two days before arriving in Assisi.¹³ Painted and gilded scutcheons displaying the heraldry of the Church and of the dead cardinal decorated the city of Assisi to receive the funeral procession. The artists who executed the heraldic decorations, Pace di Bartolo and Giovanni di Nicola, received the final payments for their work five days after Albornoz had passed away: '28 August. Item to pay Pace di Bartolo and Giovanni master of

⁹ Guillaume Mollat, 'Bertrand du Poujet', in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzay et Ané, 1934), Vol. VIII, cols. 1068-1074, at col. 1074. Monastery founded in 1321, the tomb was later destroyed.

¹⁰ For the burial of Innocent VI, see Déprez (1900), pp. 241-242.

¹¹ Appendix I, line 47; Sepúlveda (1780), XXXIX.

¹² Assisi, Archivio Comunale, Bollettario, P. 3, published by Brizi (1898), doc. 45, pp. 72-74. Dated 1365, Brizi corrected it to 1367. Cf. Filippini (1933), p. 408: 'Die ultima mensis augusti. Item retineas tibi quos solvisti Domenico Peri numptio misso per nos ad civitatem Viterbi die XXVIII mensis augusti cum responsione licterarum missarum communi per camerarium dni pape continentes mortem dni. Egidio Cardinalis et quod fiat in civitate nostra buona custodia, secundum deliberationem predictam in summa-tres libr. den.'

¹³ Brizi (1898), doc. 45, p. 72: 'Idem des et solvas Ciccho Pauli numptio per nos misso die XXVIII dicti mensis ad civitatem Fulginei ad explorandum quando Corpus dni Egidii cardinalis debebat intrare civitatem Fulginei pro duobus diebus quibus servivit secundum deliberationem predictam in summa-Viginti sold.' Cf. Cenci (1974), I, p. 156.

Nicola painters, for the remaining of their pay for their work of painting the heraldry of the Church, our Lord legate and other lords painted on the gates, palaces and other places of the said city, and for the pigments needed for this purpose, and for their other labour and proficiency regarding the aforesaid work and paintings, minus 10 gold florins which they already received ... Item to pay Jacopo Petrucci Cicoli master of Angelo Speziario for gold and silver provided by him for the aforesaid works and paintings ...'¹⁴

Pace di Bartolo is possibly the same painter who is documented receiving a payment for his work on Albornoz's tomb in S. Francesco a few months later, in December.¹⁵ As we have seen in Chapter 3, the tomb was painted by Andrea de' Bartoli and Pace di Bartolo. In 1368, Andrea de' Bartoli received 450 florins for the frescoes in the chapel, and 10 for painting of the tomb, whilst Pace di Bartolo added the inscription.¹⁶

The amount spent in candles during the funeral services in Assisi reached 88 florins, and the vestments provided for attending members of the local government cost 145 ½ florins.¹⁷

¹⁴ Assisi, Archivio Comunale, Bollettario P.3, published by Brizi (1898), doc. 44, pp. 71-72: 'Die XXVIII mensis augusti. Item dies at solvas Paci Bartuli et Johanni magistri Nicole pictoribus pro residuo et complemento salari eorum laboris pro pictura armorum Ecclesie, dni legati et aliorum dominorum pictorum in portis, palatiis et aliis locis dicte Civitatis, et pro coloribus oportunis dicta causa, et pro aliis laboribus et magisteriis eorum circa dicta laboreria et picturas: excomutatis eisdem decem florenis auri quos habuerunt dictis causis, habita rellatione Angeli Ciccoli magistri Angeli et Jacobi Belli Benamici bonorum hominum ad hec ecc.. in summa pro residuo ecc ... Viginti libr. et quinque Sold. den. Item dies et solvas Jacobo Petrutii Ciccoli magistri Angeli Spetiario pro auro et argento per eum datum pro dictis operibus et picturis secundum relationem predictorum ecc ... in summa: Sex libr. duos sold. den.' For the practice of displaying heraldic devices on gates and palaces to mark the visit of important dignataries, cf. Cenci (1974) I, p. 164, document of January 1372: 'Giovanni mag. Nichole de Assisio pictori, pro septem schutis ad arma d. card. ierosilimilitani et abbatis Monasteri Maioris, pictis per ipsum Iohannem ad portas et palatia dicte civitatis Assisii, IIII flor. auri.'

¹⁵ Cf. Filippini (1911), p. 53.

¹⁶ 'Item habuit magister Andreas pictor de Bononia causa pingendi cappellam flo.ccccl ... item habuit pro pictura tombe sita supra sepulturam fl.x'; 'Item habuit magister Andreas predictus pro pictura tombe site supra sepulturam flor.X; item habuit magister Pace, pictor, pro pictura designationis facte super sepulturam bo.me. episcopi Sabinensis, flor.V.' AA, Vol. IX, 7, quoted by Filippini (1911), pp. 50-52, fn. 5; he only gave a partial transcription of these in Filippini and Zucchini (1947), p. 8, and dated 1368.

¹⁷ Assisi, Archivio Comunale, Bollettario, P. 3, quoted by Brizi (1898), doc. 45, p. 73: 'Item retineas tibi quos solvisti infrascriptis personis pro infrascriptis rebus datis per eos et pro infrascriptis servitiis factis causa honorandi corpus reverendissimi patris olim dni Sabiniensis cardinalis portatum ad sePELLIENDUM ad sacrum locum Sancti Francisci de Assisio, et etiam causa honorandi, et qui conversi fuerunt in honorando multos prelatos dominos et amicos dicti communis qui venerunt ad civitatem Assisii tempore portationis dicti corporis ... in summa, -

Carpenters assembled what must have been a rather elaborate wooden catafalque to display the body surrounded by candles, although the document does not specify where this was set up.¹⁸

5.2. A temporary measure: the translation from Assisi to Toledo

As Albornoiz clearly requested in his will, should his body be buried in Assisi, it would be only temporarily. There are no instructions regarding a particular chapel, location, material, and decoration of his sepulchre. Since his burial in Toledo was, at the time, unlikely to take place within the near future, he simply requested that the tomb should match his status, and be placed in the centre of the chapel of St. Ildefonso. The last wishes of a dying person regarding his chosen place of burial were not always immediately met. This could be due to political or geographical reasons. When Alfonso XI died in 1350 near Gibraltar, he was buried in the *Capilla de Reyes* in Sevilla Cathedral, although he had chosen the Cathedral of Córdoba as his last resting place. His body was finally buried in the latter in 1371, and then moved in the eighteenth century to the Collegiate of S. Hipólito, in the same city, where it now rests in a modern tomb.¹⁹ The season during which the obit occurred might delay the translation of a

Octoginta octo flor. auri et duodecim sold. den. Item retineas tibi quos solvisti pro pannis emptis et habitis causa induendi ... in summa, -Centum quadraginta quinque florenos et dimidium flor. auri.' The amount spent on the provision of candles, which reflected social position, could be considerable. For French examples, see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age, vers 1320-vers 1480*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 47 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980), pp. 139-140.

¹⁸ Brizi (1898), pp. 73-74: 'Item retineas tibi quos solvisti pro quibusdam laboreriis castellorum de lignamine ad ponendum ibi cereos et candelas, et pro agutis et salario magistrorum qui laboraverunt ad dicta opera, vigore et secundum formam ditorum ordinamentorum et reformationum et deliberationum predictorum, in summa, - Quatordecim libr. tredecim sold. et decem den.' For a comparative example of catafalque and candles, at the funerals of Clement VI, see Déprez (1900), Piece Justificative I, pp. 245-248.

¹⁹ *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cccxxxix, p. 392: 'Et fué enterrado el cuerpo del Rey Don Alfonso en la capilla de los Reyes, en la Iglesia de Sancta Maria de Sevilla, como en depósito, por quanto, como diximos, él se mandára enterrar en la ciubdat de Córdoba en la Iglesia mayor de Sancta Maria, en la capilla donde yace enterrado el Rey D. Fernando su padre. Et despues desto fué llevado el cuerpo del Rey Don Alfonso de Castiella et de Leon á la dicha ciubdat de Córdoba: et llevólo el Rey Don Enrique su fijo, et fizolo enterrar en la dicha capilla con el dicho Rey Don

corpse, as was the case when Clement VI died in Avignon in the winter of 1352. His body lay in Nôtre-Dame des Doms for three months until it was transported to La Chaise-Dieu in the spring of 1353.²⁰

The funeral cortege transporting the body of Cardinal Albornoz from Assisi to Toledo began its journey in the autumn of 1372, headed by his nephew Fernando Alvarez de Albornoz (just appointed bishop of Lisbon). Pedro de Alcoçer in 1554, and later authors like Ginés de Sepúlveda, stated that the bier was carried on the shoulders of the numerous people who wished to pay their respects to Albornoz, and that this included the new King of Castile, Enrique II.²¹ The King of France was also credited with paying such homage to the dead Cardinal.²²

As a Castilian, Albornoz was preceded in the rank by Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel (d.1299) and Petrus Hispanus (d.1310), both cardinals of Boniface VIII, and by Pedro Gomez (d.1348).

Fernando su padre, en el año de la era de Cesar de mill et quatrocientos et nueve años, et andaba el año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de mill et trecientos et setenta et un años.’ Also in *Crónica de Pedro I*, v, p. 406. For the moving of the body, see Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla* (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1954), pp. 42, 280, 290. When Fernando IV el Emplazado died in Jaén in 1310, he was buried in nearby Córdoba because the heat precluded its translation to Sevilla or Toledo; see *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, i, p. 173.

²⁰ Déprez (1900), p. 238; Anne McGee Morganstern, ‘Art and Ceremony in Papal Avignon: A Prescription for the Tomb of Clement VI’, *Gesta*, 40/1 (2001), pp. 61-77, at p. 61.

²¹ Alcoçer (1554), fol. C: ‘el qual fue traydo a esta cibdad en hombros de hombres, desde la cibdad de Assisio, donde murió.’ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Historia de los hechos del Illmo. señor cardenal Don Gil de Albornoz, Arzobispo de Toledo. Traduzida en castellano por el maestro Antonio Vela, con el testamento de dicho señor Cardenal, y la instruccion delo que han de hazer los que pretendieren colergiar en su colegio en Bologna* (Toledo, 1566), fol. 54r: ‘Su cuerpo fue llevado a Asis (como el lo mando) y depositado en el monesterio de san francisco. De alli fue trasladado en ombros y a muy poca costa ala ciudad de Toledo (donde al presente estan sus huesos) porque el sumo pontifice concedio por sus merecimientos, indulgencia plenaria de todos los pecados (como si visitase la yglesia de san Pedro y de san Pablo en Roma el año del jubileo) a qualquiera que por poco espacio fuese, llevase la litera donde su cuerpo yva. Esto consta que hizo el Rey Don Enrique, hermano del Rey Don Pedro (a quien El mato y sucedio en el Reyno) dando muy grande testimonio de lo que Don Gil merecio. Y lo mismo hizieron todos los privados del Rey.’ Pérez (1579), fol. 18r: ‘Fue depositado en Assis, llevado en hombros a Toledo por indulgencia del Papa’. Baños de Velasco (1679), fol. 65r: ‘a muy poca costa fue trasladado á la santa Iglesia de Toledo en ombros de la gente, que salia de todos los Pueblos por los caminos ... por aver el Pontifice Urbano concedido indulgencia plenaria ... a cualquiera, que por poco espacio que fuese, llevasse sobre sus hombros la litera donde su cuerpo venia..’ Ibid., at fol. 66v quotes from *Historia de Toledo* by Dr. Pisa the following tract: ‘De esta misma suerte fue traído en ombros de Fieles Christianos, que por ganas de ganar la santa indulgencia, salian a recibir el cuerpo, y llevarle por los caminos. Esto mismo consta, que hizo el Rey Don Enrique hermano del Rey Don Pedro ya difunto, tomando la litera en sus ombros, dando muy grande testimonio de lo que don Gil mereció, y otro tanto hizieron todos los Privados del Rey.’ Filippini (1933), pp. 418-419. García y García (1972a), p. 143, corrected Filippini.

²² Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 17v.

All three died away from Castile. Coincidentally, both Gonzalo and Petrus were buried in Italy, although the body of the former was later translated to Toledo Cathedral, setting a precedent for Alborno. Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel, who belonged to a mozarabic family of Toledo, was bishop of Cuenca (1272), archbishop of Toledo (1280) and cardinal bishop of Albano (1299).²³ Having received legal training at Padua, he became rector of the University and drew up its first Statutes; in this aspect he set a precedent for Alborno and his educational foundation in Bologna.²⁴ Gudiel's closeness to king Sancho IV perhaps influenced the royal support of his artistic enterprises; it was under the archbishopric of Gudiel that the royal tombs were moved from the chapel of Espiritu Santo to the Salvador chapel of Toledo Cathedral in November 1289.²⁵ An inventory of his possessions in 1273 included 55 books of classical subjects and Law, and a vase decorated with the Liberal Arts, which was perhaps acquired during his sojourn in Padua.²⁶ Boniface VIII called Gonzalo to Rome in 1298 to clarify some matters on the episcopal elections in Castile; his arguments must have been convincing, since Boniface promoted him to the title of cardinal bishop of Albano.²⁷ When he died in Rome in 1299, his body was laid to rest in a magnificent wall tomb in S. Maria Maggiore. The tomb, which was originally closer to the apse, was later moved to its current position, in the right aisle.²⁸ The richly decorated tomb, signed by

²³ Traditionally known as Gonzalo Garcia Gudiel, Ramón González made a good case for him being Pérez, see González Ruiz (1997), pp. 299-303. Lop Otín (2003), pp. 71, 74. Cf. Linehan and Hernández (2004), pp. X-XI, who argued that his name was indeed Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel.

²⁴ Gonzalo founded in 1293 the Studium of Alcalá de Henares; see Francisco J Hernández, 'La fundación del Estudio de Alcalá de Henares', *En la España Medieval*, 18 (1995), pp. 61-83, at pp. 74, 76. Gonzalo probably studied in Paris and also studied Theology in Italy. Although the Statutes have not survived, there is documentary evidence of their existence in 1331. González Ruiz (1997), pp. 309-310.

²⁵ Pérez Higuera (1982), p. 746.

²⁶ Hernández (1995), p. 76: 'un vaso todo dorado en que son figuradas las vi artes [liberales]: [con un peso de] dos marcos menos j onça.' Also, *ibid.*, p. 77, a vase with the heraldry of King Charles of Sicily enamelled in the centre 'uaso todo dorado, con esmalt en medio a la sennal del rey Carlos, e todo enleuado' weighing just less than 2 marks. González Ruiz (1997), p. 423.

²⁷ Hernández (1995), p. 81.

²⁸ Emilio Lavagnino dated the move to 1705, see *Santa Maria Maggiore. Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate* (Rome: Casa Ed. Roma, 1924) Vol. 7, p. 73. González Ruiz (1997), p. 414, dated the move 1746-1747.

Giovanni di Cosma, has an effigy of the prelate and a mosaic lunette (Fig. 145). However, Gudiel intended to be buried in Toledo Cathedral, and his body was eventually transferred to Spain, in a journey which was narrated in the Prologue to the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*.²⁹ It is perhaps surprising that a burial intended as temporary was so magnificent, and mosaics came at no little expense. Yet, the epitaph leaves no doubt as to the transitory nature of the burial: ‘Hic depositus fuit quondam dominus Consalvus Epus Albanensis anno Dni MCCLXXXVIII’.³⁰ The monument follows the Italian formula of a wall tomb: a stone effigy laid on a funeral bier covered with drapery, and, above it, a representation of the deceased being presented to the Virgin and Child by sponsoring saints in painting or mosaic. The quality of the effigy matches that of the rest of the monument (Fig. 146). The tombs of Guillaume Durand in S. Maria sopra Minerva and of Cardinal de Braye in Orvieto are examples of the type. The combination of media and the employment of mosaics are not part of the Castilian tradition of tomb sculpture; local custom and artists were employed. The burial of another Castilian prelate who died in Rome, the Dominican Master General Munio de Zamora (d.1300), was marked by a mosaic floor slab in Santa Sabina.³¹

It is slightly ironic that the temporary tomb of Gudiel stands in Rome while his permanent burial in Toledo has not survived. There is no trace of the tomb, which we know stood in the choir of the Cathedral; all there is now is a seventeenth-century inscribed slab on the

²⁹ *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (ed. Joaquín González Muela, Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 2000, first published 1982), pp. 12-22 for date and authorship of book. The body of Gudiel was brought by 1301, p. 22. The Prologue, at pp. 51-58, described Gudiel’s instructions to be buried in Toledo. See Francisco José Hernández, ‘Ferrand Martínez, ‘Escrivano del Rey’, canónigo de Toledo y autor del ‘Libro del Caballero Zifar’, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, LXXXI, (1978), pp. 289-325.

³⁰ Gardner (1992), p. 12, Gudiel’s burial in Toledo is recorded by Pérez (1579), fol. 15r: ‘Estar enterrado dentro de la yglesia de Toledo y que fundo quatro capellanias en las capillas de sto spiritus y s. Gil y despues fue Cardenal. Todo esto se dize en las constituciones de don Blas cap. de capellanys.’; fol. 15v: ‘Don Gonzalo Cardenal esta sepultado dentro de el choro ita in annivers. Septem. et Novemb.’ See López (1949), p. 213. M H Laurent (OP), ‘Per la storia dei cardinali-vescovi di Albano (1199-1388)’, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 2 (1948), pp. 215-225, at p. 218.

³¹ Gardner (1992), pp. 88-89.

floor of the choir.³² It had been Gudiel's wish to be buried in the choir, in front of the *altar de prima*. This tomb survived until 1539, when the remodelling of the choir stalls entailed the removal of this and other sculptured tombs. It seems that the bodily remains were translated to the *antesacristia* (Fig. 147).³³ Burial in the choir, an area visible to a considerably large audience in the centre of the church, was an honour granted to a chosen few. Lay burials were exceptionally granted in this area, but on the other side of the altar of the Virgin Mary, according to a document of 1337.³⁴ In 1361, Archbishop Blas Fernandez left very specific instructions regarding his burial: 'we choose to be buried in front of the altar of the Virgin Mary, near the tomb of lord Gonzalo, once cardinal bishop of Albano of the Holy Roman Church, facing the choir of the deans. In this place we were granted ecclesiastical burial.'³⁵ To be interred in the close proximity of a cardinal was associated with prestige, given their status and the paucity of Castilian cardinals in the fourteenth century. The privilege of being buried near a Pope befell to Petrus Hispanus, bishop of Burgos and cardinal of Sabina (1302), when he died in Avignon in 1310.³⁶ Following his testamentary request, his body was translated to Rome to be buried at the feet of Boniface VIII in Old St. Peter's, and his damaged tomb slab survives in the Vatican

³² López (1949), p. 213. Pérez (1579), fol. 65v: 'Que don Goncalo Cardenal este dentro del coro de Toledo sepultado delante sancta Maria la Blanca se dize en una dotacion que haze a don Vasco Arcobispo su sobrino don Suero Arcobispo de Santiago era 1403'; fol. 66r: 'Y don Blas, o Vasco en su testamento en Coimbra era 1399 xpi 1361 dize, eligimus sepulturam in choro ecclae Toletane prope sepulturam dni Gundisalvus'. There are three slabs on the floor adjacent to the altar; the central one is Gonzalo's. The inscription reads: GUNDISAL/VUS B(?)AROS/ARH TOL/HISP. PRI.

³³ González Ruiz (1997), p. 414. For body in *antesacristia*, see Sixto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano. Descripción histórica, crítica y artística de la magnífica Catedral y de los demás célebres monumentos que encierra esta ciudad* (Toledo: Imprenta y Librería de Severiano Lopez Fando, 1857, facsimile edition Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1978), Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

³⁴ ACT, Z.1.A.14. Lope Pérez, knight of Toledo, expresses his gratitude to Archbishop Ximeno de Luna, for allowing his burial in the church, in front of the image of the Virgin Mary which is behind the choir: 'ante la ymagen de Santa María que es a las espaldas del coro'.

³⁵ ACT, A.8.F.1.5: '[2] et eligimus sepulturam ante altare beate Marie in choro ecclesie Toletane prope sepulturam bone memorie dni Gundissalvi quondam episcopo [3] Albanensis et sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis versus chorum decani. In quo loco per decanum et capitulum dicte nostre ecclesie fuit nobis ecclesiastica sepultura concessa/ Et inibemus quod planctus aliquis pro nobis omnino non fiat nec vestes lugubres induantur.' Coimbra, 20 January 1361.

³⁶ González Ruiz (1997), pp. 407-8, refers to him as Pedro Rodriguez.

grottoes (Fig. 148).³⁷ It was more common practice to request burial in one's native land, as did in 1317 the canon of Cuenca Alvar Sanchez before he died in Avignon.³⁸ When Matteo Orsini died in Avignon in 1340, his body was translated to his native Rome; he provided in his will 200 florins to cover the expenses of the translation.³⁹

The Cistercian abbey of Bouchet was the chosen burial place of Cardinal Guy de Boulogne (d.1373), where his family chapel was located on the left aisle.⁴⁰ Unlike Alborno, Guy chose burial next to his relatives, and it seems that he had his tomb executed during his lifetime. Although Alborno requested prayers for the souls of his parents, he preferred to be buried elsewhere. In his will, Guy stipulated that, in the event of his passing away from the Curia, the funeral rites should be held at the local Dominican church (if there was one, otherwise in the most important local church), and then the executors should enact a pretend burial while the body was translated in secret to Bouchet.⁴¹ Perhaps surprisingly for an Avignonese cardinal, Guy insisted on the discrete handling of his mortal remains by requesting a secret translation. He died in Caspe, near Valencia, and, in compliance with his last wishes, the body was transported and interred in Bouchet. In his will, he instructed that the expenses for those accompanying his

³⁷ Gardner (1992), pp. 21, 112, 143 fn. 54 for burial in Old Saint Peter's in 1311. For Boniface VIII tomb, see *ibid.*, pp. 107-109, figg. 106, 107. Demetrio Mansilla, 'El cardenal 'Petrus Hispanus' Obispo de Burgos (1300-1303)', *Hispania Sacra* 9 (1956), pp. 243-280, at p. 9; Eubel (1913), p. 38. González Dávila (1647), Vol. 3, fol. 73, after Ciacconius (1677), Vol. I 'Bonae memoriae Dominus Petrus Sabinensis Episcopus Avenione mortuus ad Basilicam istam delatus, sepultus ad pedis Domini sui in hac Basilica, Anno Domini 1311.' Cardella (1793), p. 68.

³⁸ Alvar Sanchez, in Avignon in August 1317, asked for his body to be translated and buried in the cathedral of Cuenca, and left 200 maravedis for the building of the church and 900 for the celebration of 3anniversaries in perpetuity. Sanz y Díaz (1965), doc. 279, pp. 36-7.

³⁹ Forte (1967), p. 258.

⁴⁰ Jugie (1986) Vol. III, p. 184, lines 50-57: 'Et ubicumque me mori contigerit, sive in Curia sive extra, eligo sepeliri in monasterio Vallis Lucide sive de Boscheto, Cisterciensis ordinis Claromontesis diocesis, in capella que est a parte sinistra ecclesie- unde ibidem intratur versus caput ecclesie-, ubi pater et alii progenitors mei quiescent, nisi antequam moriar fecerim ibi fieri capellam vel tumulum alium, in qua vel quo volo tunc sepeliri.'

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 311; Vol. III, p. 184, lines 57-70: 'Quibus exequiis factis, fingetur quod corpus meum ponatur in deposito in loco mortis mee, et portabitur secreta per familiares meos et executors meos ... usque ad introitum diocesis Claromontesis, et ab inde publice portetur usque ad dictum monasterium per familiars et executors qui essent presents. Si vero me mori contingerit in Curia et Curiam esse longe a diocese Claromontesi ultra decem dietas, volo per omnia fieri sicut supra.' If he died in Avignon, or nearby, he still requested funeral rites in the Dominican church, see *Ibid.*, lines 70-74.

body would be met, and endowed the abbey with the vast amount of 10,000 florins.⁴² The enfeu or wall tomb, decorated with his heraldry, was in the chapel of St. Bernard until it was destroyed.⁴³ A seventeenth-century engraving is the only graphic evidence of the monument (Fig. 149). It showed the mitred effigy, surmounted by a canopy, hands crossed over his body, with stole, and what looks like a lion at his feet. Below the effigy we can see nine niches which would have perhaps held figures of mourners. On the left corner there was a large scutcheon with his heraldry, featuring the cardinal hat. On the archivolt there were ten aedicules, with nine figures, some of which hold scrolls and probably represented prophets. Gardner suggested that it was a double-sided tomb, a simplified version of the ambulatory tomb of Cardinal Pierre de la Jugie in Narbonne.⁴⁴

Soon after Albornoz's death, his testamentary executors set out to decide how best to proceed with his burial requests. In 1368, they decided to distribute the 10,000 ducats allocated for the transferral and burial in St. Ildefonso into payments.⁴⁵ The cost of the translation of the body was calculated to be 2,500 florins, but, if it turned out to be less, the excess amount was to be used to fund two chapter meetings in Toledo.⁴⁶ The executors at first assigned 2,000 florins

⁴² Ibid., Vol. III, p. 192, lines 287-293; p. 311 and will in chapter 4.

⁴³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 313.

⁴⁴ Gardner (1992), p. 165.

⁴⁵ BNE, Ms 13023 [Burriel], ff. 67v-68r, 12 May 1368: 'quod illa decem millia ducatorum que domini cardinales executores predicti domini Ecclesie Toletane deputarunt propter expensas quas in capella sancti Ildefonsi ad quam predictus dominus sabinensis corpus suum mandat transferri ipsa Ecclesia fecit et ipsius domini mandato ad quas solvendas se eis obligavit et propter res ipsius ecclesie que in predicti domini manibus perierunt et propter beneficia que ipse ab ecclesia ipsa recepit et propter expensas sui corporis translatione fiendas, et pro sepultura sua in dicta capella fienda expendantur et distribuuntur in hac forma.' Volpe referred to a copy of the document in the Collegio di Spagna, Vol. IX, n.5, dated 12 May 1368; Volpe (2002), p. 311.

⁴⁶ BNE, Ms 13023 [Burriel], fol. 68r: 'Et primo, pro expensis fiendis in translatione dicti domini Egidij cardinalis corporis quam translationem ipse in eius testamento ordinavit de ecclesia sancti francisci de Asisio ad ecclesiam Toletanam duo millia quingentorum florenorum auri dentur et si de ipsis duobus milibus quingentis florenis auri aliquid supersit, ordibamus et volumus ac declaramus quod illud residuum convertatur in expensis et operibus duorum Capitulum immediate sequentium secundum arbitrium et ordinationem dominorum fernandi alvari archidiaconi Toletani et Alfonso fernandi de Toletto archidiaconi valentini.'

to pay for the tomb in the chapel of St. Ildefonso.⁴⁷ However, in view of the political situation in Castile, it was decided that if the body could not be taken to Toledo, then the 2,000 florins would be used towards a tomb in Assisi which fitted Alborno's status: 'if the body has to remain in Assisi, according to his dispositions, the aforesaid two thousand florins are to be used for the construction of his sepulchre in Assisi, according to his status and propriety.'⁴⁸ We know now that they did not spend 2,000 florins in Assisi, where the costs for the tomb reached a mere 500 florins.

The canons of Toledo were to celebrate in perpetuity, on the 23rd and 24th day of each month, a Mass for the soul of Alborno in the chapel of St. Ildefonso, as well as a yearly anniversary Mass, and another to commemorate the day of the actual burial of the body in the chapel. All clerics of Toledo were expected to attend, and to receive 6 florins each.⁴⁹ Even if Alborno's remains were not buried in Toledo, the Chapter was to celebrate an anniversary Mass on the 23rd and 24th August.⁵⁰ The executors allocated 2,000 florins to pay for vestments and to purchase silk and gold textiles to decorate altars according to the needs of the church.⁵¹ The

⁴⁷ Ibid., fol. 68v: 'Item simili modo declaramus et ordinamus pro sepultura dicti domini Egidij Cardinalis, secundum ipsius statum cum decentia fienda in Ecclesia Toletana prefata expendi debere de bonis supradictis duomillia florenorum auri.'

⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. 68v: 'si infra tempus per ipsum dominum Egidium in suo testamento ordinatum suum corpus non transferatur ad ecclesiam Toletanam et sic corpus debeat remanere in Assisio secundum suam ordinationem dicta duomillia florenorum sint pro fabricanda sua sepultura in assisio secundum sui status con decentiam.'

⁴⁹ Ibid., ff. 68v-69r: 'prefata pro anima dicti domini Egidij cardinalis expendantur quatuor millia florenorum auri de bonis predictis, videlicet duomilia in possessionibus emendis pro capitulo dicte Ecclesie Toletane de quarum posesionum fructibus capitulum ipsum ac omnes de Capitulo dicte Toletane Ecclesie teneantur et debeant perpetuis temporibus facere omni die vicesima tertia in vesperis et vicesima quarta cuiuslibet mensis in missa in dicti domini Egidii Cardinalis capella sita infradicta, Ecclesia Toletanam sub vocabullo sancti illefonso et pro eius anima unum solempne aniversarium et omni anno in die videlicet qua corpus dicti domini Egidij Cardinalis fuerit in dicta ecclesia sepultum etiam teneantur et debeat facere et celebrare aliud solempne aniversarium in dicta Capella et in huiusmodi anniversario teneantur et debeat convocare totum clerum Civitatis Toletane et dare eis sex florenos auri.'

⁵⁰ Ibid., ff. 69r-v: 'et si casus contingeret quod corpus prefatum non sepeliretur in ecclesia Toletana tunc et eo casu teneantur et debeant facere dictum anniversarium solempne anno quolibet in capella supradicta die vicesima tertia in vesperis et die vicesima quarta mensis augusti in missa modo et forma supradictis.'

⁵¹ Ibid., fol. 69v: 'alia vero duomilia florenorum auri expendantur in pluvialibus planetiis et aliis pannis de serico et auro pro paramenti altaris et aliis paramentis ecclesie predictae magis necessariis.'

chapel of St. Ildefonso was to have two chaplains, at a cost of 1,200 florins.⁵² In 1549, Blas Ortiz stated that the body of Albornoz arrived from Italy on the feast day of St. Bartholomew, and this is when the anniversary Mass is celebrated yearly. Ortiz stated that this was a special consideration towards the cardinal, since no other anniversaries are celebrated on a feast day.⁵³ There is no other record of the arrival of the body and burial in Toledo.

Francesco da Montemarte in 1400 mentioned that the entrails of the cardinal had remained in Assisi when the body was translated to Toledo.⁵⁴ Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga seems to have implied that the remains of Gil de Albornoz were still in the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi when he wrote his description of the Basilica in the 1580s.⁵⁵

The evisceration and division of the corpse was commonly practiced to facilitate the transportation of the bones for burial in the chosen destination, usually the homeland. The heart of Alfonso X was buried in Murcia, and the rest of his body in Seville.⁵⁶ Boniface VIII condemned such practice in his Bull *Detestande feritatis*, issued in 1299. Nonetheless, it was not completely eradicated, and during the fourteenth century many dignitaries and prelates obtained papal dispensation.⁵⁷ In 1308, when Bishop Pascual of Cuenca assigned the space available for burial of canons in Cuenca cathedral, he specified that the bodies had to be intact, in compliance

⁵² Ibid., ff. 69v-70r: 'Item simili modo declaramus et ordinamus pro duabus Cappellaniis dotandis et constituendis in dicta Ecclesia Toletana intra Capellam dicti domini Egidii Cardinalis in quibus celebrabatur continue, pro ipsius et suorum parentum animabus milleducentus florines auri expendendos per dominos supradictos.'

⁵³ González and Pereda (1999), p. 217.

⁵⁴ Montemarte (1842), p. 36: 'morì messer di Spagna, e fu portato il suo corpo ad Assisi, et tutti fatto una honorevole sepoltura e cappella, dove sta sepolto l'intiore sue, et il corpo portato in Spagna.'

⁵⁵ Pietralunga (1982), p. 34, fn. 133: on the margin of fol. 96v, Pietralunga wrote and later crossed out the following statement: 'il ditto cardinale ... il quale sta presso la ferrata.' (the said cardinal ... is near the iron grill).

⁵⁶ Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla* (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1954), pp. 267-269 for his instructions in the will, he wanted his heart buried in Holy Land, but it ended up in Murcia.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'Death and the human body in the later Middle Ages: the legislation of Boniface VIII on the division of the corpse', *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 221-70. For dispensation granted to Cardinal Berenguer Frédo (d.1323) and members of French royalty and nobility, see pp. 253-4.

with *Detestande*.⁵⁸ As Gardner pointed out, it was not rare to have two sepulchres: such was the case for Urban V (Nôtre-Dame des Doms and St. Victoire in Marseille) and for Cardinal Jean de la Grange, who had one in Avignon and one in Amiens, where he had been bishop.⁵⁹

5.3. Burial in Toledo

5.3.1 Funerary function of the Cathedral of Toledo

The Cathedral of Toledo was the head of the Church in Spain. Burial within its walls was a privilege granted mainly to royalty and clergy associated with the Cathedral. Albornoz chose a very prominent location for his sepulchre: the chapel of St. Ildefonso is the central chapel of the ambulatory, and the position of his tomb in the middle is aligned with the direction of the nave (Fig. 150). His funerary monument is the culminating point of the axis of the cathedral. This extraordinarily relevant location for a tomb was unparalleled in Spain at the time, as was the presence of a freestanding sarcophagus in the centre of a chapel inside the church. Albornoz set out to be remembered by posterity with an unprecedented choice which exalted his status. The reasons which may have guided his choice have hitherto been overlooked.

The Cathedral of Toledo was associated with the Kings of Castile since its foundation, and royal tombs are found on the sides of the high altar and in the large fifteenth-century chapel on the north aisle of the nave, the *Capilla de Reyes Nuevos*. The royal bodies endured a number

⁵⁸ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, doc. 20: ‘considerato nichilominus tenore canonicis dicentis quod prelati tanquam caput et sua membra unum corpus efficiunt et membra a capite non debent aliquatenus separari, ac rationis instinctus exigit it quos Deus coniunxit maxime federe spirituali localis distancia in morte nimis non debeat segregare ut sic dicatur de nobis quod in evangelio continetur...’

⁵⁹ Ángela Franco Mata, ‘Relaciones Hispano-Italianas de la Escultura Funeraria del siglo XIV’, in *La Idea y el Sentimiento de la Muerte en la Historia y en el Arte de la Edad Media (I)*, Ciclo de conferencias celebrado del 1 al 5 de Diciembre de 1986, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela (Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico da Universidade, 1988), pp. 99-125, at p. 122; Gardner (1992), p. 170.

of translations until they were placed in their current location by the late fifteenth century.⁶⁰ Alfonso VII and Sancho II of Portugal had been buried in Toledo Cathedral when in 1285 Sancho IV announced his intention to be buried in the same church, where he had been crowned king the year before. Sancho IV (d. 1295) moved the royal bodies from their original location in the south chapel of Espiritu Santo to the back of the high altar, in 1289.⁶¹ This was called the chapel of Santa Cruz, and it was here that Sancho IV was buried.⁶² In 1497, the cult was transferred to the nearby chapel of Espiritu Santo (which had hitherto been the burial chapel of Archbishop Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque and his family, and from then on was known as *Capilla de Reyes Viejos*), and the royal tombs were relocated around the high altar.⁶³ The tombs of the Diaz Palomeque family were translated to the chapel of St. Lucy.⁶⁴

According to Blas Ortiz, the small crypt under the high altar had also housed royal tombs before they were moved to the sides of the high altar, but this is not documented elsewhere, and the crypt itself seems to date from the time of Cisneros.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Lop Otín (2003), p. 182. Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla* (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1954), p. 99. The most reliable overview is Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, *Las empresas artísticas de Sancho IV El Bravo*. Estudios de Arte, 8 (Valladolid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1997), pp. 164-72.

⁶¹ González Ruiz (1997), pp. 364-5, gives date 1287; p. 365, fn. 114, quoting from Florez, *España Sagrada* Vol. XXIII, 416: ‘tresladó los cuerpos del noble enperador don Alfonso de Castiella e del rey don Sancho que fue rey de Portugal e sacáronlos de la capiella de Sant Espírito, que es en la iglesia de Toledo e pusieronlos en pos del altar de Sant Salvador que es en el mayor altar de la iglesia.’

⁶² *Crónica de Sancho IV*, xiii, p. 90: ‘É el Arzobispo dijo luégo la misa, é desde la ovo acabado, enterraron el cuerpo en el monumento de piedra que él mandára facer en su vida, cerca del rey don Alfonso, emperador de España.’ Cf. Del Arco (1954), pp. 100-101. Franco Mata (1994), pp. 175-177, 189, for royal burials in Toledo. Franco Mata established a link between the tombs in Toledo, with their accompanying standing statues, to the French royal monuments in Saint Médard in Soissons, p. 189.

⁶³ González and Pereda (1999), p. 228. Lop Otín (2003), p. 277, fn. 164.

⁶⁴ Lop Otín (2003), p. 277, fn. 164. Cf. José María Quadrado and Vicente de la Fuente, *España. Sus monumentos y Artes. Su Naturaleza e Historia. Castilla la Nueva. Volumen III: Toledo* (Barcelona: Editorial de Daniel Cortezo y Cía, 1886), p. 219, who stated that in the chapel of St. Lucy was the marble tomb of the bishop of Segovia Pedro Barroso, deceased mid-fourteenth century.

⁶⁵ González and Pereda (1999), p. 258: ‘in subterranea aedicula sub altari maiori structa; duabus validissimis columnis suffulta colitur. Ubi olim eram regum veterum cadavera, quae nunc sunt ad latera eiusdem maximi altaris (ut diximus) sita sunt.’

Thus, the most prestigious location, near the high altar, was granted to the kings of Castile. In the arcaded niches, to the right, are the monuments of Alfonso VII and his son Don Sancho *el Deseado*, and on the left side, the effigies of Sancho IV and his grandson don Pedro de Aguilar.⁶⁶ Completed by 1507, the framing structure contains the medieval wooden effigies, which were originally covered in silver, inside arches.⁶⁷ The funerary effigy of Sancho IV is represented wearing the Franciscan habit.⁶⁸ The popularity of the Franciscan Order was strong across royalty and clergy. The choice of a Franciscan site for his temporary burial reflected Albornoz's esteem for the Order. Ironically, the very same king whose animosity against Albornoz was cited as a reason for not being buried in Toledo also favoured this Mendicant Order. When Pedro I's lover, María de Padilla, died in Sevilla, she was buried in the Poor Clares monastery she had founded in Astudillo (Palencia).⁶⁹ However, in his will of 1362, Pedro ordered the translation of her body to the Royal chapel he had built in the Cathedral of Sevilla, and he stated his wish to be buried dressed in the Franciscan habit, flanked by her tomb and that

⁶⁶ González and Pereda (1999), p. 175: 'Dextra levaque vetustiorum regum de aurata monumenta altare circundant. Dextra occupant partem imperator Aldefonsus septimus, nencon Santius rex eius filius cognomento desideratus. Sinistram vero Sanctius rex cognomeno ferox. Et Petrus infans filius Aldefonsi regis, qui dicitur Guadalfajarae accipitris vulnere occisus.' Del Arco identified the remaining statues as those of Sancho Capelo, king of Portugal, and archbishops Sancho de Castilla and Sancho de Aragón; Del Arco (1954), pp. 100-102, cf. Verardo García Rey, 'La Capilla del rey Don Sancho el Bravo y los Cenotafios Reales en la catedral de Toledo', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias de Toledo* XII (1922), pp. 129-148.

⁶⁷ Del Arco (1954), pp. 100, 102, 104, 283. He dated the effigy of Sancho IV as late 13th century and the wooden effigies of Alfonso VII and Sancho III, dressed in Franciscan habit, as first half of the 14th century. He also stated that the royal tombs are cenotaphs except for Sancho IV. The seated effigies on the tombs of Fernando el Santo, his wife Beatrice of Swabia and their son Alfonso X in Sevilla were also covered in silver, but Pedro I took the jewels during the war with Aragón in 1356, and the silver was stripped in 1671, see pp. 107-113, 227-230, and *Cantigas* 292 and 324, in *As Cantigas de loor de Santa Maria* (Santiago de Compostela: Centro Ramón Piñeiro para a Investigación en Humanidades, 2003).

⁶⁸ Del Arco (1954), p. 274.

⁶⁹ *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1361, vi, pp. 513-4: 'morió en Sevilla de su dolencia Doña Maria de Padilla: é fizo el rey facer alli, é en todos sus Regnos grandes llantos por ella, é grandes complimientos. É levaronla á enterrar al su Monasterio de Sancta Clara de Estudillo, que ella ficiera é dotara.' Also *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 519-20.

of his son Alfonso.⁷⁰ Ultimately, Pedro was buried in Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid, and only in 1877 his remains were taken to Sevilla.⁷¹

By the time Albornoz dictated his last wishes in 1364, choosing the chapel of St. Ildefonso, the east end was occupied by royal tombs. He might have chosen the choir, had it not been for the fact that Gudiel was already buried there. Burial near a fellow archbishop and cardinal would have precluded the individual focus he clearly preferred for his person. Since the cloister was not completed until the late fourteenth century, his choice of burial inside the church was further justified. He wished his status as Archbishop and Cardinal to remain patent for later generations. Albornoz insisted on burial in Toledo despite the fact that it was not his native city, and his choice reflects the importance of the position he had held as Primate of the Spanish Church. Members of his family were defined by their link to the Archbishop of Toledo; for example his brothers Alvar Garcia and Fernan Gomez.⁷² Albornoz chose burial in Toledo Cathedral, bypassing his private foundation of Villaviciosa, where he might have been buried in the centre of the church. The presence of his body in the cathedral would entail the benefit of the prayers from visitors and members of the Chapter. Already during his lifetime, Albornoz was concerned with his salvation, and, in 1360, he funded prayers for his soul at the convent of S. Francesco in Bologna.⁷³

All the surviving tombs of archbishops of Toledo date from after Albornoz's period and there are no contemporary tombs that can be compared to his sepulchre. Only the tomb of Pedro

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 593-94: 'mando que el mi cuerpo que sea traído á Sevilla, é que sea enterrado en la capiella nueva que yo agora mando facer; é que pongan la Reyna Doña Maria mi muger del un cabo á la mano derecha, é del otro cabo á la mano izquierda al Infant Don Alfonso mi fijo primero heredero; é que vistan el mi cuerpo del abito de Sant Franco, é lo entierren en él.' Will also published by J B Sitges, *Las mujeres del rey D. Pedro I de Castilla* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1910), pp. 250-261, at p. 252.

⁷¹ Del Arco (1954), p. 113.

⁷² Moxó (1972), p. 36. *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, cccx, p. 371.

⁷³ Mesini (1972), p. 61.

Tenorio (d.1399) stands in its original location; it will be discussed in the next section. The tomb of Juan de Medina de Pomar (d.1248), once in the chapel of the Trinity, is now lost.⁷⁴

Archbishop Gudiel (d.1299) was followed in the See of Toledo by his nephew Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque (1299-1310). Both Gonzalo Diaz and the next archbishop of Toledo, Gutierre Gomez (1310-1319), were buried in the Cathedral.⁷⁵ The Chronicle of Fernando IV provides an account of the role of the king in the election of Gutierre Gomez, whose brother was the royal counsellor.⁷⁶ Gutierre's burial in the choir was once marked by a slab (Fig. 147). We have no information regarding the appearance of the sepulchre of Albornoz's uncle, Ximeno de Luna (d. 1338). Ximeno died in Alcalá de Henares and was buried in the chapel of St. Andrew in the Cathedral, no longer extant.⁷⁷ Ortiz reported in 1549 that the antesacristy, which used to be the chapel of St. Andrew, was the burial place of many archbishops of Toledo, including Don Bernardo; Ortiz reported, and transcribed, some of the epitaphs.⁷⁸ In a letter written in Gibraltar in October 1349, Albornoz mentioned that the Chapter of the cathedral had recently been holding its meetings in the chapel.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ González Ruiz (1997), p. 212. ACT, MS 42-31, fol. 53r: 'El arçobispo don Johan de Medina, que yaze en la capiella de la Trinidad.'

⁷⁵ For Diaz Palomeque, see López (1949), p. 214. Muñoz y Soliva (2002), pp. 96-101 for Palomeque buried in the chapel of St. Lucy in a plain marble sepulchre decorated with his coat of arms. Rivera Recio (1969), pp. 72, 74.

⁷⁶ *Crónica de Fernando IV*, 1310, xvii, p. 165: 'E desde que llegó á Toledo, falló que era muerto el arzobispo don Gonzalo, é trabajóse de ayudar con el cabildo á Gutier Gomez, hermano de Fernand Gomez, su privado, que era arcediano de la Iglesia de Toledo, é el cabildo entró en su eleccion, y como quier que avia en la Iglesia otros omes más letrados que este arcediano, tan grand rescelo ovieron que el Papa reservaria en sí esta eleccion, é que lo que ellos ficiesen non sería valedero nin irian adelante, que non se quisieron perder con el Rey, é dierónle a entender que lo querian facer por él, é esleyéronle luego por su arzobispo.'

⁷⁷ Rivera Recio (1969), p. 83, fn. 3 and ACT, B.42-30, fol. 139r: 'Obiit donnus Eximius de Luna apud Alcalam archiepiscopus toletanus ante auroram. Era MCCCLXXVI, nov. XVI ... Fuit sepultus ista die apud Toletum.' The chapel no longer exist, and is now occupied by the *antesala* of the sacristy. Pérez (1579), fol. 197v, stated that he was buried on the wall of the chapel. Lop Otín (2003), p. 278, stated that Ximeno de Luna was buried in the chapel of Santiago.

⁷⁸ González and Pereda (1999), p. 195.

⁷⁹ BNE, MS. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 153r-154v: 'los onrrados et sabios señores Don Jacobo Parro capiscal de la Iglesia de Toledo, teniente logar de Dean et el cabildo desta misma Iglesia seiendo aiuntados á Cabildo en la Capilla de Sant Andrés, que es en la dicha Iglesia, segunt lo acostumbran de poco acá los honrrados et sabios señores

Appointed by Clement VI to replace Albornoz in Toledo, Gonzalo de Aguilar never moved to the city, choosing to reside in Sigüenza, where he died and was buried.⁸⁰ Nothing remains of his tomb in Sigüenza cathedral, which may have been in the choir.⁸¹

Archbishops Gudiel (d.1299), Blas Fernandez de Toledo (d.1362) and Gomez Manrique (d.1375) were buried in Toledo cathedral, at the feet of the Virgen Blanca. It had been Gudiel's wish to be buried in the choir, in front of the *altar de prima*.⁸² Blas Fernandez, who died in exile in Coimbra, had requested to be buried near Gudiel.⁸³ The bodies of Gudiel and Fernandez were translated from Rome and Coimbra respectively, and they lay in the choir when Gomez Manrique chose to be buried in the same location.⁸⁴ The three sepulchres were sarcophagus with sculptured effigies, and were dismantled during the remodeling of the choir stalls in 1547. The tomb of Gudiel had an effigy covered in silver according to descriptions, and in its materials and location in the centre of the choir, recalled the surviving effigy of bishop Mauricio in Burgos cathedral.⁸⁵ Three seventeenth-century slabs on the pavement behind the altar of the choir mark the burials (Fig. 147).⁸⁶ It seems that the remains were translated to the ante-sacristy.⁸⁷

Datum in obsidione de Gibraltar. Cadicensis et insuleviridis diocesis XV Kalendas octobris Anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo nono, sub sigili nostri impresione..'

⁸⁰ ACT, B.42-30, fol. 27.

⁸¹ Muñoz y Soliva (2002), p. 109.

⁸² López (1949), p. 213. Pérez (1579), fol. 65v: 'Que don Goncalo Cardenal este dentro del coro de Toledo sepultado delante sancta Maria la Blanca se dize en una dotacion que haze a don Vasco Arcobispo su sobrino don Suero Arcobispo de Santiago era 1403'.

⁸³ *Crónica de Pedro I*, xxi, p. 510: 'É despues que él morió, algunos parientes é amigos que él avia ganaron del Rey que el su cuerpo fuese traído á la Iglesia de Sancta Maria de Toledo, é fuese enterrado allí é asi se fizo, é yaze enterrado delante el altar de Sancta Maria la Blanca.'

⁸⁴ Pérez (1579) fol. 189v. Gil Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de las Iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los Reynos de las dos Castillas. Vidas de sus Arzobispos, y Obispos, y cosas memorables de sus sedes* (Madrid: Pedro de Horna y Villanueva, 1647), Vol. 2, ff. 160-161, stated that Blasco died in S. Domingo in Coimbra, and was buried in the choir of Toledo cathedral. Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 209, fn. 1 identified the four archbishops buried in the choir as Gudiel, Gutierre de Toledo, Vasco Fernandez de Toledo and Gomez Manrique.

⁸⁵ Salazar de Mendoza, *Cronologia historica*, fol. 308v, quoted by Linehan and Fernandez (2004), p. 394, fn. 49: 'Pusose el cuerpo en la mesma sepultura que le havia senialado el Cabildo, en el Coro de los Beneficiados, ante el altar de Nuestar Senora, al lado de el Evangelio. Aquí, entre los arçobispos don Vasco Fernandez de Toledo y don Gomez Manrique vemos su sepultura con una losa llana en el suelo, con el letrero de cada uno. Algunas de estas sepulturas, y otra del arcobispo don Gutierre, solian estar releuadas del suelo, con vultos que representauan a cada

As for the burial of secular persons inside the Cathedral, these are documented from the late thirteenth century, but the monuments have been lost too. The *alcalde* of Toledo Juan García was buried in the chapel of St. Eugenio in the late years of the thirteenth century. On 27 May 1301, the chapter acknowledged the receipt of the considerable amount of 8,000 maravedis from his widow Doña Mayor Alfonso, to fund a chantry and two anniversaries in the chapel.⁸⁸ The chapel of S. Eugenio (also known as Corpus Christi) was later rebuilt.⁸⁹

When Enrique II established in his will of 1374 the foundation of a royal burial chapel in Toledo Cathedral, he was asserting his legitimate right to the throne.⁹⁰ The chapel occupied two bays of the north aisle, near the west door, and, crucially, near the Pillar of the Descent, where the Virgin had rested during her encounter with St. Ildefonso.⁹¹ The pillar was therefore an important focus of devotion, and Enrique II established the royal burial chapel in this area, with

vno de los que estauan en ellas. Y porque embaraçaban mucho al servicio del altar a que estauan arrimadas, se deshizieron, puniendo en su lugar quatro losas llamas como oy parece. Esto paso el anio de mil y quinientos y quarenta y siete. Y el vulto que representaua al Cardenal era de madera, cubierto de planchas de plata.’ Ortiz in 1549 failed to include Gudiel’s tomb, see pp. 178-182. Gudiel had been bishop of Burgos until 1280. The tomb of bishop Gonzalo Juanes in Cuenca was also in the middle of the choir in Cuenca cathedral, *ibid.*, p. 274, fn. 115 and Mártir Rizo (1974), p. 152. For Mauricio, see Gómez Bárcena (1988a), p. 47, ill. 4.

⁸⁶ The current central slab wrongly refers to a Gonzalo Barroso archbishop of Toledo, which Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. I, p. 139 identified as Gonzalo de Aguilar. Lop Otín (2003), p. 278, identified in the choir the slabs of Blas Fernandez and Gutierre Gomez. For best and most recent discussion, see Hernández and Linehan (2004), pp. 393-94.

⁸⁷ González Ruiz (1997), p. 414. For body of Gudiel in antesacristia, see Parro (1978), Vol. I, pp. 160-161. Hernández and Linehan (2004), p. 394, fn. 49.

⁸⁸ ACT, E.1.A.2.8, [2]: ‘reçibimos de vos doña Mayor alfonso, fija de don Alfonso Perez çervatos et muger de don Johan Garcia alcalde que fue de Toledo, ocho mill maravedies de diez dineros blancos ..[3] nos diestes para comprar heredamientos et refazer los que hoy aviemos malparados ... e mandamos comprar heredamientos dellos et refazer [4] ... et por estos ocho mill maravedies que nos diestes nos prometemos de dar doze piezas de la moneda sobredicha [5] o la estimaçion della a un capellan perpetuo que sea en la Capiella de Sant Eugenio do yaze el cuerpo del dicho don Johan garcia, Missa de requiem cada dia por el et que sirva [6] el coro et la iglesia ... Otrossi vos prometemos que fagamos dos anniversaries cada [7] año por el dicho don Johan garcia vuestro marido, el uno veynte dias andados del mes de Deziembre, et el otro el dia de su enterramiento, que fue veynte dias andados del mes de Julio..’

⁸⁹ González and Pereda (1999), p. 233.

⁹⁰ Franco Mata (1994), p. 176.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177. Enrique II referred to the funerary chapel of his father Alfonso XI in Córdoba, see *Crónica de Enrique II*, p. 39.

the current Treasury room as its sacristy.⁹² When Enrique II founded his royal chapel, the more prominent locations had been occupied- the high altar had royal tombs, and the chapel of St. Ildefonso, further to the east, already contained the tomb of Albornoz in its centre. Proximity to the locus of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin Mary provided a prestigious enough location. The royal chapel was moved to its current location in 1534.⁹³ The present *Capilla de Reyes Nuevos*, built under Archbishop Fonseca, contains the tombs of Enrique II (d.1379) and his wife Juana Manuel (d.1381), on the south wall.⁹⁴ The tombs of Enrique III (d.1407) and his wife Catherine of Lancaster (d.1418) are on the north wall. Juan I, son of Enrique II (d.1390), and his wife Leonor (d.1382) are buried in the presbytery, with orant effigies dating from 1534.⁹⁵

5.3.2 The chapel of St. Ildefonso

The documentation regarding the construction history of the chapel of St. Ildefonso is extremely fragmentary. In 1238, Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada established twenty chantries in the Cathedral of Toledo.⁹⁶ Of these, fourteen were in the altars of the chapels that used to be in the apse, and one was dedicated to St. Ildefonso.⁹⁷ These chapels could be used to celebrate

⁹² González and Pereda (1999), p. 52.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, 211-214.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-214. Del Arco (1954), p. 106. Franco Mata (1994), p. 198.

⁹⁵ Sancho (1997), p. 41; Del Arco (1954), p. 106.

⁹⁶ ACT, E.1.A.1.1. Hernández (1996), doc. 450. The chantries established in the 14 original altars were dedicated to the Trinity, Nativity, Transfiguration, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Holy Spirit, St. Ildefonso, All angels, St. John the Baptist and other prophets and patriarchs, Apostles and Evangelists, All Martyrs, All Confessors and All Virgin Saints. Five more chantries were founded, in the memory of Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII, Fernando III and his mother Berenguela, Ximenez himself, and his parents and siblings. One more chantry was in the chapel that Ximenez had built in the archbishop's palace.

⁹⁷ For an architectural description of the apse of Toledo Cathedral, see Franco Mata (1994), pp. 178-180. Cf. Franco Mata (1991), pp. 421-465.

anniversary services, although they were not funerary in origin.⁹⁸ For example, the chapel of St. Anne, where Ximenez de Rada established two chantries for the souls of the kings of Castile and for those of his family, or the adjacent chapel of St. John the Baptist, where Gudiel had ordered that weekly masses for the dead were celebrated.⁹⁹ Ortiz stated that on one of the altars on the side of the choir, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, five weekly masses were celebrated for the soul of Ximenez de Rada.¹⁰⁰ The chantries were distributed in tripartite chapels, the only surviving one being the chapel to the south of St. Ildefonso, the *Capilla de Reyes Viejos*. In origin, the chapel of St. Ildefonso would have equally been tripartite, but we do not know at what precise point the walls were knocked down to turn it into a unified, octagonal chapel. There is no medieval documentation which dates the rebuilding process, apart from the documented purchase of land east of the Cathedral in 1351.¹⁰¹ Some authors have attributed to Albornoz the actual construction of the chapel, whereas others have credited him with completing it.¹⁰² In the most recent publication regarding this chapel, in 1996, Serra and Marías asserted the surprising lack of scholarly attention granted to this important space of the Cathedral.¹⁰³ We know that the chapel was used continuously throughout the fourteenth century for daily Mass. Blas Fernandez de Toledo bequeathed a small donation to the chaplain who celebrated Mass in this chapel.¹⁰⁴ In

⁹⁸ Lop Otín (2003), p. 182.

⁹⁹ González and Pereda (1999), p. 226.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁰¹ ACT, X.3.A.3.4 and X.3.A.3.6, whereby the Obra purchased lands near the meat market, east of the Cathedral, for 500 maravedies.

¹⁰² Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. II, p. 68, mistakenly stated that he died in 1364 and that his body was translated from Viterbo in 1367 to the chapel he had founded. Andrés Cabrera y Delgado, *Catedral de Toledo* (Barcelona: Escudo de oro, 1993), p. 35, and José Luis Sancho, *Guía de visita: Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid: Aldeasa, 1997), p. 32 state that Albornoz built the chapel. Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), p. 108 limited his role to completing the chapel.

¹⁰³ Marías and Serra (2005), p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ ACT, A.8.F.1.5: '[10] disponimus etiam/ quod qualibet die dentur tres denarii Capellano qui in Capella sancti Ildefonsi celebraverit Misam et post matutinale officium celebrantur.'

1365, Gomez Manrique stated his intention to be buried in the chapel of St. Ildefonso.¹⁰⁵

However, with the city under siege in 1367, it is likely that all building campaigns came to a halt.¹⁰⁶ The chapel was still undergoing building five years later, which prompted Gomez to reiterate his request and to encourage the completion of the project. Gomez, rather ambitiously, planned a freestanding tomb next to the one which should house the remains of Albornoz.¹⁰⁷

In 1371, Gregory XI crucially supported the translation of the Cardinal's body to Toledo, by issuing a papal indulgence. The Bull, dated 21 September 1371, granted plenary indulgence to every person who carried the remains of the Cardinal throughout the long journey from Assisi.¹⁰⁸ Tolling bells should herald the arrival of the funeral cortege and ecclesiastical interdict and excommunication would be temporarily lifted in the places along the itinerary.¹⁰⁹ The document refers to the chapel 'which Albornoz had built and in which he had chosen burial', and the fact that the body had to be translated in the near future.¹¹⁰ In October 1371, Gomez ordered

¹⁰⁵ 24 Jan 1365, ACT, A.5.A.1.12: '[14] y que salgamos todos capitulamente en procession sobre vuestra [15] sepultura si el vuestro cuerpo fue enterrado en esta elesia. Si no que vayamos a la capiella de sant Ildefonso [16] do nos nos diemos y otorgamos sepultura y en vuestra memoria digamos alli responso.'

¹⁰⁶ ACT, Ms. 4-22, fol. 1v described the siege: 'et quia civitas Toletana resistere fortiter nimis cepit, duram et arctam obsidionem posuit, que per annum duravit et ipsos compulit equos, mulas, asinis, canes et multa alia horrenda et etiam, prout a quibusdam asseritur, humanam carnem manducare.' García y García (1972a) p. 163; cf. Russell (1959), p. 323.

¹⁰⁷ 'Episcopo Tirasonen. cum b.m. Egidius, episc. Sabinen., ad ecclesiam Toletan., cui ipse longo tempore pre fuerat, et ad capellam s. Illefonssi sitam in ipsa eccl. specialis devotionis affectum habens, in suo testamento in capella prefata elegerit sepulturam et inibi quemdam tumulum in quo ossa ejusdem debent tumulari edificari mandaverit et Gometius, archiepisc. Toletan., nitens sepulture dicti episcopi suam equiparare sepulturam, proponat post ipsius obitum in dicta capella juxta dictum tumulum ipsius episcopi equaliter se facere sepeliri ac unum alium tumulum pro sua sepultura intendat facere edificari.' Michel and Anne-Marie Hayez, M-H. Laurent, Janine Mathieu and Marie-France Yvan eds., *Urbain V (1362-1370). Lettres Communes* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), 12 vols (Paris: Centre National du Recherche Scientifique, 1954-1986), doc. 27116.

¹⁰⁸ Franco Mata (2007), pp. 104-228, p. 183; Beneyto Pérez (1986), p. 254.

¹⁰⁹ 'januis apertis, etiam alta voce, campanis pulsatis, excommunicatis prorsus exclusis sed interdictis admissis, missam et alia divina officia celebrari facere.' Reg. chart. An. I. lib. II, fol. 476, published by Theiner (1862), doc. DXXIII, p. 490. Anne-Marie Hayez ed., *Grégoire XI (1370-1378): lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1992-1996), doc. 10697. Cf. Beneyto Pérez (1986), pp. 254ff.; Marti (1966), p. 55.

¹¹⁰ 'Omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui ossa b. m. Egidii, episc. Sabinen, in partibus Italie defuncti, que de partibus illis ad ecclesiam Toletan. ut in capella s. Illefonssi sita in eadem eccl., quam idem construi et edificari fecit et in qua elegit sepulturam, tumulentur deferri debeantur infra breve, postquam ea defferentes Castellam intraverint

that the chapel be finished in time for impending arrival of the body.¹¹¹ Contemporaneously, Gregory XI addressed the Chapter of the Cathedral in a separate letter, calling for action on this matter. Fernando Alvarez, recently promoted to the Archbishopric of Sevilla, and Alfonso Fernandez were set to begin the journey to Toledo, and Gregory XI demanded (quite rightly, at this stage) a prompt resolution to the matter.¹¹² This provides a *terminus post quem* for the tomb. The chapel was, finally, ready to house the remains of Albornoz by the summer of 1372, and the Pope issued an indulgence to visitors of the chapel. In this Bull, *Licet is de cuius munere*, the foundation of the chapel was attributed to Albornoz.¹¹³ Fernando Alvarez stated in his autobiographical notes that he left Bologna in September 1372, although he surprisingly failed to mention the translation of his uncle's body.¹¹⁴ The funeral cortege would have taken a few months to reach Toledo, and probably arrived in Spain just before the coldest winter spell. There is no documentation regarding the arrival of the body and the burial in the chapel, but it is safe to assume that by the beginning of 1373, the body had been placed in the sarcophagus. And yet,

quousque in dicta capella sint reposita, concomiteraverint, singulis diebus conceditur indulgentia de uno anno et 40 diebus.' Hayez (1992-1996), no. 10694.

¹¹¹ 'Gometio, archiepiscopo Toletano, mandatur ut faciat compleri capellam S. Alphonsi consistentem in ecclesia Toletana quae <<nondum est completa nec lapidibus et fustis...expedita>> pro sepultura Aegidii episcopi Sabinensis, cujus ossa transmitti debent ad partes ilas ab Alphonso Fernandi, archidiacono Toletano, capellan papae, et Fernando archiepiscopo Ispalensi.' 12 Oct 1371, Reg. Vat. 263, fol. 119v, quoted by Guillaume Mollat, ed, *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Grégoire XI intéressant les pays autres que la France* fasc. 1 (Paris: Boccard, 1962), doc. 345.

¹¹² 'Et sicut accepimus cappella ipsa nondum est completa nec lapidibus et fustis ut ibidem sepultura edificari posset expedita. Nos qui ossa dicti episcopi Sabinen. per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Fernandum, archiepiscopum Ispalen. et dilectum filium Alfonsum Fernandi archidiacon. Tholetan. cappellanum nostrum, ad dictam Tholetan. ecclesiam in breui transmittere proponimus, fraternitatem rogamus et hortamur attente, tibi nichilominus per apostolica scripta mandantes quatenus, omni mora postposita, predictam cappellam expediri facias et compleri' 13 October 1371. Reg.Vat. 263, fol. 199b, quoted by Marti (1966), p. 55, n. 5, cf. Theiner (1862), quoting Reg. chart. An. I. lib. II, f. 476.

¹¹³ 19 June 1372. ACT, X.10.D.1.38: '[5] accepimus bone memorie Egidius Episcopus Sabinensis [6] inter alia sua gloriosa opera pietatis que muens? fecit et obiens? facienda reliquit in ecclesia Toletane que vocabulo beate marie virginis insigni [7] tur quandam capellam in honorem et sub nomine beati Illefonsi confessoris fundari fecerit et dotari ac ad ecclesiam et capellan predictas ser [8] vens devotio fidelium habeatur.'

¹¹⁴ ACT, Ms. 4-2: 'Anno a Nativitate Domini M.CCC.LXXI ... dictus Dominus Gregorius transtulit me de episcopatu Olixbonensi ad Archiepiscopatum Yspalensem. in die lune IX mensis Iunii Anno MCCCLXXII in die veneris hora vesperorum. Xa. mensis septembris recessi de Bononia', quoted by García y García (1972a), p. 165.

despite Archbishop Gomez's plan to be buried in the chapel of St. Ildefonso, next to Albornoz, he was laid to rest in the choir when he died in 1375. At that stage the tomb of Albornoz would have been completed, and the reason for this ultimate change of burial place is not known. In any event, Gomez was buried near the sepulchre of another cardinal, Gudiel.

Perhaps because of the indulgence of 1372, people were willing to contribute to the construction or endowment of the chapel in 1383. In April 1383, houses were sold to fund the chapel of St. Ildefonso, following testamentary dispositions of Juan Nicolás in 1376, and the sale raised 3,000 maravedies.¹¹⁵ Contemporaneously, Domingo Ferrández, procurator of the testamentary executors of Albornoz, spent 3,900 maravedies on the purchase of houses and a hostel in Cuatro Calles, and 8,000 on the purchase of a wine-selling establishment in the Jewish quarter.¹¹⁶ The income derived from the rental of these properties would fund the upkeep of the chapel. In 1387, the Chapter acknowledged receipt of 48,000 maravedies on account of the 2,000 florins originally promised by the executors.¹¹⁷ But in another clause, they arranged to have the rest of the promised amount delivered in a different manner. The document, in Toledo Cathedral, specified that part of the agreed sum of 2,000 florins was paid in real estate. The Chapter thus acquired a number of houses and lands in and around Toledo, and promised to comply with the testamentary dispositions of Albornoz regarding prayers for his soul.¹¹⁸ The Chapter agreed to celebrate a solemn anniversary every year, with a vigil on the 23 August, and

¹¹⁵ ACT, E.9.A.1.1. 8 April 1383.

¹¹⁶ ACT, E.11.A.1.2.b. 10 April 1383. ACT, E.11.A.1.2.a. 13 April 1383.

¹¹⁷ AA, Vol. IX, n. 27, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 332. 13 November 1387.

¹¹⁸ ACT, A.8.D.1.2, 13 November 1387: '[7] don fernando Arzobispo que fue de Sevilla, sobrino del mucho onrado [8] Padre et señor don gil de buena memoria Cardenal que fue de España et Arzobispo que fue de la dha Iglesia de Toledo, et don Alphonso Obispo que fue de Avila et de Palencia et Arcidiano de la dha Iglesia de toledo executores [9] del testamento del dho. señor Cardenal se obligaron al dho Cabillo de la dha Iglesia quando traieron el Cuerpo del dho señor Cardenal, de dar, et pagar dos mil florines de oro corrientes para que se fisiesen el la [10] dha Iglesia ciertos aniversario obsequias et otros encargos en memoria del dho señor Cardenal...' Cf. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 59r-64v, at ff. 59v-62r.

Mass the following day, at the considerable expense of 500 maravedies.¹¹⁹ It was also established that once a month a memorial service would be held in the chapel, four days before the end of each month and one day before the anniversary service held for Cardinal Pedro Gomez. It is worth noting that Pedro Gomez had his anniversary celebrated in this chapel, which is not mentioned elsewhere in the documentation related to this Cardinal.¹²⁰ Furthermore, after the daily morning Mass celebrated in the chapel, the clerics attending were to sing a prayer over the tomb of Albornoz.¹²¹ By 1549, the customary daily Mass was celebrated in honour of the Virgin Mary, with the presence of a female attendant.¹²² The yearly anniversary of Albornoz's death was still celebrated in 1645.¹²³ In 1392, twenty years after Albornoz's body had been taken to Toledo, Boniface IX issued a Bull of indulgence to the faithful who prayed at the chapel of St. Catherine in Assisi, to raise funds towards its upkeep.¹²⁴ This suggests that funds from the estate of Albornoz were no longer available to this chapel after the translation of the body.

¹¹⁹ ACT, A.8.D.1.2: '[28] el dho Cabillo de su propria et libre voluntad por ellos et por sus sucesores ordenaron et se obligaron de faser et complir por el alma [29] del dho señor Cardenal los ofizios et encargos et cosas yuso escriptas segund que aqui dira. Primeramente de faser, et desir en la Capilla de sant Illefonso que es en la dha Iglesia do esta el cuerpo del dho señor [30] Cardenal hun aniversario solempne cada año, las Vigilias a veinte et tres dias de Agosto que es vigilia de sant Bartholome et la misa otro dia. et el qual día fino el dho señor Cardenal, et a este aniversario que se partan [31] de la su mesa del Refitor a los interessentes quinientos maravedis.' Cf. BNE, Ms 13023 [Burriel], ff. 62r-v.

¹²⁰ ACT, A.8.D.1.2: '[33] Et otrosi mas que el dho Cabillo [34] de la dha Iglesia de Toledo que fagan et digan en cada uno de los otros meses del año en la dha Capilla de san Illefonso, por el Alma del dho señor Cardenal, con aniversario con sus vigilias et sus misas et sus responsos, un dia [35] antes de los Aniversarios que se fassen por el Cardenal don Pedro, que será cada uno destos dhos Aniversarios del dho señor Cardenal don Gil a quatro dias de andar de cada mes del año, et que a cada uno de los dhos Aniversarios, [36] se partan de la dha Mesa dosientos maravedis en esta manera. los veinte a las Visperas, et los dies a maytines, et los ciento et setenta a la misa. Et otrosi que den et paguen de la dha su Mesa cada dia al Capellan que [37] dise la Misa del Alva en la dha Capilla de sant Illefonso.' Cf. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 62v-63r. (Note: Burriel transcribed Misa del Alma).

¹²¹ ACT, A. 8. D.1.2: '[38] et que dha la Misa los dhos Capellanes et Clerisiones, digan un responso cantado con sus oraciones sobre la sepultura del dcho señor Cardenal.'

¹²² González and Pereda (1999), p. 209: 'faemina quaedam nomine Teresa, coniux viri cuiusdam Albari Lupi appellati, ita religiosissime colebat, ut nullus intermitteretur dies, quin audita missa, quae sub auroram in sacello sancti Alphonsi quotidie concinitur.'

¹²³ Castejón y Fonseca (1645), fol. 812 stated date of 23 August.

¹²⁴ Pietralunga (1982), p. 35. Cf. Nessi (1991), p. 34. Nessi (1994), pp. 354, 456, interpreted 'conservationem' as restoration of the chapel.

On stylistic grounds, Pérez Higuera argued that the chapel of St. Ildefonso was completed during the time of Pedro Tenorio (1376-1399), and that it was part of the same campaign which produced the retrochoir screen, the upper section of the main façade, the cloister, the doorway of St. Catherine and the chapel of St. Blaise, which employ similar decorative motifs.¹²⁵

In 1426, there are documented building works in the chapel which prompted Quadrado and De la Fuente to state that the transformation of the space had taken place at this time.¹²⁶ The purchase of some houses from the parish of S. Román made it possible to build an extension to the original chapel, and buttresses were added on the exterior of its apse.¹²⁷

5.3.3. The tomb of Gil de Albornoz

The tomb of Albornoz is a freestanding, profusely carved sarcophagus in the centre of the chapel of St. Ildefonso. Despite its importance, there have only been superficial mentions of the monument, linking it to Italian, German or French sculpture.¹²⁸ Therefore, a detailed description is provided here.

Six half-figures of lions protrude from the base of the sarcophagus, which is decorated with twenty-two figures inside pointed arches (Fig. 151). On the table top lies the mitred effigy of Albornoz, larger than lifescale, dressed with alb and chasuble and resting his feet on a lion (Fig. 152).¹²⁹ The rim of the sarcophagus table is decorated with oak leaves and shields, which

¹²⁵ Pérez Higuera (1978), p. 132.

¹²⁶ Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 225.

¹²⁷ Libro de Fábrica 1426, Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 225, fn. 2.

¹²⁸ Franco Mata (1988), pp. 122-123, linked the effigy to Italian examples from the 13th and 14th centuries. Cabrera y Delgado (1993), p. 37: 'sarcófago de arquitectura gótico-germana.' Gardner (1992), p. 171, appropriately underlined its connection to Avignonese models.

¹²⁹ The sarcophagus is 247 cm. long and 99 cm. wide. Its height, without the effigy, is 102 cm. The effigy is 201cm. tall and 46 cm. wide.

alternate the heraldry of the Luna (crescent moon pointing down) and Albornoz families (Fig. 153).¹³⁰ Five large coats of arms, inside spiked quadrilobes, decorate the corners and central section of the long sides of the table. These shields, with the coat of arms of the Albornoz family surmounted by a cardinal hat or galero, are the only reference to his status as cardinal in the tomb (Fig. 154). Eight figures on each of the long sides of the tomb, and three on each short end, stand inside niches with pointed arches decorated with crockets and finials, and corbels formed by winged and hooded creatures (Fig. 155). The detail of the architecture is remarkable. The spandrels of the arches are carved with elaborate tracery which seems to be inspired in tracery windows. The spandrels alternate a pattern of six ‘lancet windows’ and two ‘rose windows’. The ‘rose windows’, with seven quadrilobes, appear in the clerestory openings, c. 1340, and in the retrochoir screen executed in the 1390s. In the chapel, they are present in the walled-up windows and in the fifteenth-century wall tombs nearer the entrance.

Led by a cleric carrying a processional cross, twenty-two figures line the sides of the tomb chest. Reading from left to right, our analysis moves from the east to the south side, although there is not such marked ‘marching’ sequence in the procession, with most of the figures in frontal view. The majority of the figures wear berettas or mitres, and some could be interpreted as female figures or young clerics. Azcárate stated that they were figures of saints, yet there are no haloes or attributes to sustain such suggestion.¹³¹ The reading of the figures follows the liturgical orientation, thus the east side being closest to the altar of the chapel.

¹³⁰ Garro de Toledo (1990), fol. 14r: ‘Una luna menguante, con las puntas a la parte inferior.’ The heraldry of Albornoz is green bend (bend crosses the field diagonally, from the dexter chief to the sinister base).

¹³¹ José María de Azcárate y Ristori, *Arte Gótico en España*. *Manuales de Arte Cátedra* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996, 2nd edition, first published 1990), p. 195. He dated the tomb to ‘soon after 1350’.

Description of the tomb

East side (Fig. 156)

Figure 1: An acolyte carries a ceremonial candlestick.

Figure 2: A cleric, wearing alb, surplice and beretta, holds a large processional cross.

Figure 3: An acolyte carries a ceremonial candlestick, wearing chasuble and beretta.

South side (Fig. 157)

Figure 1: A mitred cleric, wearing alb and chasuble, faces East. He holds a staff with both hands.

Figure 2: A mitred cleric holds a staff with one hand and blesses with his right hand.

Figure 3: A mitred cleric holds a closed book on his left hand and points to it with his right hand.¹³² He is addressing the adjoining Figure 4. The folds of his vestment are very elaborate.

Figure 4: A young layman holds the cloth of his long, hooded robe with both hands. The short fringe and the *beretta* under the hood identify the figure as male (notwithstanding the gesture of holding the folds which could perhaps be associated with a female).

Figure 5: A female mourner, wearing a hooded, sideless coat and a vestment with long buttoned sleeves. The hood covers all her hair, and she is not wearing a beretta underneath (Fig. 158).

She graciously grasps the side of the hood with her right hand, and her left arm rests on her abdomen, collecting part of the folding fabric of her robe. Casting her eyes down, her gestures portray a collected mourning attitude.¹³³

¹³² One of the surviving two groups of figures from the tomb of Clement VI represents two clerics with an open book, one of them points at it as if inviting to read or meditate on it. See Gardner (1992), fig. 186, at Musée Crozatier, Le Puy, p. 144. Also *Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe* (exhibition catalogue, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne, Dijon, 1971), p. 28, no. 3.

¹³³ The mourning canons featuring in the royal tombs in Poblet, the work of Jaume Cascalls between 1349 and 1373, have similar buttoned sleeves; see *Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe* (1971), p. 31, cat. 12-16, plates X, XI.

Figure 6: A cleric donning a *beretta* and wearing alb and surplice. He holds a closed book (with clasps) with the left hand and points to it with his right hand.

Figure 7: A lay female, facing East, and wearing a dress with buttoned sleeves and a hooded robe. Holding a closed book with clasps, she lowers her head as she listens respectfully to

Figure 8. If this is correct, and there is no sign of a cap or fringe, this would represent a literate female, holding a book of prayers (Fig. 159).

Figure 8: A cleric, wearing alb, surplice and *beretta*, holds a closed book. He turns to Figure 7 and engages in conversation.

The corner pillar is missing.

On this side, some of the fantastic creatures of the spandrels resemble dragons.¹³⁴

North side (Fig. 160)

Figure 1: A cleric wearing alb, surplice and *beretta* holds an open book in his hands, and seems concentrated in reading it, facing West to the adjacent figure.

Figure 2: An androgynous figure wearing a *beretta* and a vestment with long buttoned sleeves and a hooded robe. The figure may represent a young cleric, although the pose would seem to indicate that is a female. The left hand grabs some of the folds of the robe, and the right hand is on her cheek, a gesture which indicates not only sorrow but also that he is listening to the words of Figure 1.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Similar creatures support the bust of St. Ursula, in Castiglione Ferentino. See Taburet Delahaye (1997), pp. 55-56, fn. 61 for this reliquary, which she dated c.1340 and linked to Avignon, and to the reliquary-statuettes of St. Ildefonso and Eugenio in Toledo Cathedral.

¹³⁵ The gesture of taking a hand to the face as sign of mourning is also represented in the tomb of Gautier de Sully (d.1239), see *Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe* (1971), cat. no. 2, pl. II, pp. 27-28. The tomb, originally in Gautier's monastic foundation in Val-Saint-Benoit, shows a funeral procession led by clerics carrying a cross and a holy water aspersor, followed by the widow and female mourners. Hands crossed over abdomen are also a sign of mourning, see *ibid.*, p. 12.

Figure 3: A cleric wearing alb, surplice and *beretta* stands frontally holding a closed book on his chest with his hands crossed, and a maniple hangs from the left wrist.

Figure 4: An androgynous figure, wearing a vestment with buttoned sleeves and hooded robe, holds a book on the right hand and points to it with the left-hand index finger. The neck and a short fringe are visible.

Figure 5: A cleric wearing *beretta*, a vestment with long, buttoned sleeves, and a hooded robe, but no surplice. He holds a closed book with both hands.

Figure 6: A mitred cleric addresses Figure 5 gesturing with his (broken) hand. He wears a *mozetta* (shoulder cape), a heavily layered robe and pointed shoes.¹³⁶

Figure 7: A mitred cleric, wearing chasuble and cope, carries a (broken) staff with his right hand and holds the clasp of his cope with the left hand. There are remains of painting on the area of his chest.

Figure 8: A mitred cleric holds a (broken) staff with his flexed left arm, his hands crossed.

West side (Fig. 161)

Figure 1: A cleric, wearing alb, surplice and *beretta*, holds an asperser and *aspergillum*. Holy water would be sprinkled on the tomb during funeral exequies.¹³⁷ In 1549, Blas Ortiz stated that on Sundays, a priest sprinkled holy water on the royal sepulchres at the high altar of Toledo Cathedral.¹³⁸

Figure 2: A mitred cleric, wearing a cope held by a morse, faces Figure 1 as he blesses the water.

¹³⁶ See Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1984), p. 158.

¹³⁷ Gardner (1992), p. 13. Often, wills included a donation for the cleric in charge of sprinkling the blessed water, see Chiffolleau (1980), p. 131.

¹³⁸ González and Pereda (1999), p. 175: 'Dextra leuaque vetustiorum regum de aurata monumenta altare circundant. Dextra occupant partem imperator Aldefonsus septimus, necnon Santius rex eius filius cognomento desideratus. Sinistram vero Sanctius rex cognomeno ferox. Et Petrus infans filius Aldefonsi regis, qui dicitur Guadalafajarae accipitris vulnere occisus. Quae quidem monumenta singulis Dominicis diebus, antea quam populus, qui de more congregatur, aquis lustralibus expietur, a sacerdote ei rei praefecto aquis eisdem prius asperguntur, satis digna et religiosa memoria, aequum este enim, ut defuncturum manes et reliquiae sed praesertim regum et principum quovis honore et pietate condecorentur.'

Figure 3: A cleric wearing alb, surplice and *beretta* holds an open book with both hands.

The funeral procession is therefore made up of members of the Chapter, and, perhaps, two attending females.¹³⁹ The eight mitred clerics are not necessarily bishops, since members of the Cathedral Chapter in Toledo were allowed to wear mitre on special occasions.¹⁴⁰ This would account for the absence of the liturgical insignia of a bishop (stole and maniple).¹⁴¹ The representation of books, although commonly found on similar depictions of funerals as a reference to prayers, is particularly profuse in this tomb. It may perhaps be a reference to Albornoz's interest in learning and his foundation of the Collegio di Spagna. All of the figures are beardless, and the males sport mid-length hair (just below the ears) and a short fringe, like the effigy of Albornoz. Overall, these are elegant, gesticulating figures which interact with each other and with the spectator. The faces have well-defined features and bone structure, particularly chin and lips, and long, marked eyebrows. The elaborate folds of the layered vestments in some of the figures are unique among the sculpture in Toledo Cathedral. Comparisons may be drawn with some sculptures in the west facade of Vitoria Cathedral, and in the parish church of S. Pedro el Viejo, also in Vitoria.¹⁴²

Effigy

There are important differences in material, execution and style between the tomb chest and the effigy. While the sarcophagus was executed on an unidentified porous stone, the effigy of Gil Albornoz was carved separately in white marble. The table where it lies is made of six

¹³⁹ Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), pp. 227-228 identified the weepers as bishops, clerics, friars and nuns.

¹⁴⁰ For example, when the Archbishop celebrated High Mass under palio; see Lop Otín (2003), p. 108, Papal Bulls of Celestine III (1192) and Innocent IV (1248).

¹⁴¹ Gauthier (1983), p. 40.

¹⁴² For S. Pedro see Azcárate y Ristori (1971), pp. 141-175; for the tympanum in Vitoria Cathedral, see *ibid.*, pp. 152-155.

pieces, joined by metal staples near the head and feet end. The effigy has been scratched and incised with lettering, particularly on the face, where the nose is partially broken (Fig. 162). There are remains of polychromy on the north side of his robe (see Fig. 160). The effigy rests its head on a plain cushion with tassels at the corners.¹⁴³ Dressed in alb, dalmatic and plain chasuble, with embroidered amice and wearing a bejewelled mitre (*mitra pretiosa*), the effigy rests its hands over the chest.¹⁴⁴ The rich mitre, maniple and stole indicate his ecclesiastical status as Archbishop of Toledo, and the only reference to his Cardinal rank is the *galero* on the five coats of arms on the table below. The effigy is represented with its eyes almost fully closed and hair which falls just below the ears. This is in compliance with the regulation that had been enforced at the Councils held in Toledo in 1323 and 1356, prescribing that members of the clergy kept their beard shaved and their hair cut to a medium length, not below their ears, for reasons of decorum, hygiene and respect for the Lord.¹⁴⁵ As opposed to the mourners, the face of the effigy has no bone structure, and the lips are clumsily suggested by swelling, without a defining outline. The rich folds seen in some of the figures below are absent here, and the decoration is limited to the embroidered amice. The plain rectangular orphrey on the chasuble front was probably decorated with painting. The right hand is rather damaged and missing some fingers. The hands rest on his chest, and there is no sign that they ever held an object such as a pastoral staff, crozier or book. The effigy was broken at the joint between the body and the head, below the neck, and was repaired with a thick and uneven layer of mortar. It is not known the

¹⁴³ Cushions in funerary monuments often show heraldry, as for example the late 13th-century tomb of a knight of the Iñiguez family, in Vitoria Cathedral, see Enciso Viana (1971), p. 98 and figs. 79, 80, where heraldry decorates the front of the sarcophagus and the cushion. Also in wall inscription and cushion of the tomb of chantre Nicolas, d.1349, in S.Vicente, Vitoria, *ibid.*, pp. 224-225 and figs. 402, 403.

¹⁴⁴ For the *mitra pretiosa*, see Mayo (1984), pp. 157-158. It is not clear if he is wearing gloves, as they are so plain.

¹⁴⁵ Sánchez Herrero (1976), II, 7: 'De vita et honestate clericorum. Licet generaliter traddatur ut clericus neque comam nutriat neque barbam. Specialiter tamen et sub pena excommunicationes precipimus ut quisquam presbiter, quolibet saltim mense, ne sumendo Christi sanguinem aliquid indecens contingere possit, barbam faciat sibi raddi, crines vero non protendatur notabiliter ultra aures.' In 1356, the threat of excommunication was replaced by a fine of 10 maravedies; *ibid.*, p. 230.

date and manner in which the effigy was damaged.¹⁴⁶ Beneyto Pérez vaguely suggested that the vault had collapsed not long before he decided to write his biography of Albornoz in 1950, yet I have found no records of such event in the twentieth century.¹⁴⁷ In the late thirteenth century, the bishop of Pamplona Miguel Sanchez de Uncastillo encouraged the faithful to join the confraternity of the Cathedral by offering an indulgence which included pardoning tomb vandals: ‘Also all those, male and female, who break the faces of the effigies on tombs or damage in any other way the likeness that God gave them, and which they do against law and common sense, we wish them to be forgiven by their confessors, offering a reasonable donation toward the said building campaign.’¹⁴⁸ In 1845, Villaamil reproduced the tomb in a lithograph and illustrated the facial damage.¹⁴⁹ In 1884 the face was described as worn out.¹⁵⁰

The tomb has never been opened, or at least such event has not been documented. It is likely that the body of Albornoz was buried in full pontificals. Vestments and liturgical objects have been recovered from other ecclesiastical tombs, such as that of Archbishop Don Sancho (d.1275), which was opened in 1503. The body had been buried with a rich mitre, crozier, pontifical ring, the cope currently preserved in the cathedral treasury decorated with heraldry, embroidered shoes, and held a gold rose.¹⁵¹ The sarcophagus of Archbishop Ximenez de Rada

¹⁴⁶ Matilde Revuelta Tubino ed., *Catálogo monumental y artístico de la Catedral de Toledo redactado por el conde de Cedillo* (Toledo, 1991, 2nd edition, first published 1919), p. 47: ‘un sarcófago ricamente decorado según el gusto germánico ... El sarcófago descansa sobre seis leones ya muy desgastados por el constante roce de los que en ellos se sentaban ... La estatua, cuya nariz fue barbaramente mutilada, reposa sus plantas sobre un león, y no deja de estar, en sus facciones y ropajes, labrada con inteligencia. Parecenos, sin embargo, que otras de su época ... le aventajan en la ejecución.’

¹⁴⁷ Beneyto Pérez (1950), pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁸ García Fernández (1992), p. 334, fn. 19. ‘Orossi todos aqueyillos e aqueyllas que rompen las caras sobre muertos o en quoaquier otra manera por la quoa cosa façen grant peccado desfaçiendo la semeiança que dios en eyllos metio e façen contra escriptura e contra buena raçon queremos sean sueltos por sus confessores inviando su almosna convenible a la dicha obra segunt arbitrio de los dichos confessores...’

¹⁴⁹ Jenaro Pérez de Villaamil, *España Artística y Monumental*, Vol. II (Paris: Hauser, 1845).

¹⁵⁰ Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 228.

¹⁵¹ Ramírez de Arellano (2002), p. 19. The mitre was listed in the Inventory of Lorenzana in 1790, in Toledo Cathedral Archive, ff. 105v-106r, no. 8. It had many pearls, rubies, enameled flowers, and sapphires. For the

(d.1247) was opened and a description of the body's vestments and posture was written before 1660 stating that the corpse reflected the sculptured effigy.¹⁵² Ximenez de Rada was buried in the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Huerta in Soria.

A lion, with closed jaw, rests at the feet of Gil de Albornoz's effigy (Fig. 163).¹⁵³ Lions appear in this position also in the tombs of the bishops of Pamplona Arnaldo de Barbazán and Sancho Sanchez de Oteiza. Lions are also associated with royalty, and an oversized lion rests at the feet of the effigy of a princess, also in Pamplona Cathedral.¹⁵⁴ The employment of lions as figurative supports is very frequently found in Castilian sarcophagi. Examples abound in secular, particularly royal sepulchres.¹⁵⁵ The thirteenth-century double tomb of the founders of Las Huelgas, Alfonso VIII and doña Leonor, rests on two lions, as do the royal sarcophagi of doña Berenguela and Infante de la Cerda.¹⁵⁶ The half-figures of lions on Albornoz's tomb are rather worn down, specially the top of their heads, and have open jaws.

Traces of the original polychromy have survived on the robe of the effigy and inside the niche of figure 8 on the north side. The surviving painting on the alabaster effigy of Diego de las

opening of his tomb in 1505, see González Ruiz (1997), pp. 266-7. Sancho died in battle in southern Spain and his body was carried to Toledo; see *Crónica de Alfonso X*, lxiii, pp. 50-51. González and Pereda (1999), p. 223.

¹⁵² Loperraez Corvalán (1788), Vol. 1, pp. 202-203. At p. 207 he transcribed an anonymous description, dated before 1660: 'Su cuerpo fue traído a Huerta, y se colocó en dicho sepulcro con su pontifical, guantes y anillo con una piedra rubí, y el palio arzobispal prendido con una aguja de plata grande en el pecho, en que está engastada otra piedra preciosa: las sandalias estaban todas bordadas de aljofar: su cabeza reclinada sobre una almohada bordada de castillos y leones; y de castillos de oro la casulla que tenía sobre sí; y su testamento sobre el pecho. En esta misma forma estaba grabada su efigie en la cubierta del sepulcro a medio relieve.' By the time Loperraez saw it, in a second opening of the tomb in 1776, the textiles had decayed.

¹⁵³ A lion appears at the feet of the effigies of Cardinals Simon de Beaulieu (d.1279, Jouy abbey, destroyed), Jean Lemoine (d.1313, College Lemoine, Paris, destroyed), Pierre des Près (d.1361, Collegiale of Montpezat-de-Quercy), and of the bishops Hughes de Chatillon (d.1352, cathedral Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), and Raymond d'Aigrefeuille (d.1361, cathedral Rodez). Illustrated in Jean Adhémar and Gertrude Dordor, 'Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 84 (1974), pp. 1-92 (nos.1-1085); figs. 80, 82, 201, 185, 197. In England, the effigy of Edward II (d.1327, Gloucester Cathedral).

¹⁵⁴ Illustrated in Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), fig. 144.

¹⁵⁵ Franco Mata (1988), p. 104: 'Los leones sustentantes entran de lleno en el simbolismo regio de lo heráldico.' Also along the base of the late 13th-century wall tomb of a knight in Vitoria Cathedral, see Enciso Viana (1971), p. 98 and fig. 80.

¹⁵⁶ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 194-196.

Roelas (documented alive in 1396) in Ávila Cathedral provides a later reference point of what the tomb of Albornoz might have looked like (Fig. 164). The tomb of Diego de las Roelas, now on the south transept, was originally placed on the north wall of the high altar.¹⁵⁷ His gloves and mitre show his heraldry, as Franco Mata pointed out.¹⁵⁸ There are striking similarities to the effigy of Albornoz, such as the vestment, lips and eyes of the figure, but the double cushion and the four censing angels at his head and feet (their heads are now broken) do not feature in the Toledo monument.

According to Ciacconius, writing in 1677, there was an inscription on the tomb which read ‘AEGIDIUS. DE. ALBORNOTS CARDINALIS. ARCHIEPISCOPUS TOLETANUS.’¹⁵⁹ Yet, an Anniversary book (*Libro de Caridades*) dated c. 1440, stated that there was no epitaph.¹⁶⁰ There is no sign of any previous inscription, which would have left some worn away carved or incised lettering, or nail holes to hold metal letters, and this suggests it was painted.¹⁶¹

Three wall tombs in the chapel, which form a distinct group, were probably planned and executed in the late fourteenth century. The gables, lined with crockets, are decorated with the Enthroned Christ with the symbols of the Evangelists and the Coronation of the Virgin on the

¹⁵⁷ González Dávila (1647), Vol. 2, fol. 259 called him de los Roeles: ‘dioselo a su cuerpo sepultura en la Iglesia Cathedral, y yaze en la Capilla Mayor al lado del Evangelio.’ Ángela Franco Mata, *Escultura Gótica en Ávila* (Valladolid: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2004), p. 45: originally in the centre of the main chapel, then moved to basement of the main altarpiece, and now in chapel of Virgen de la Claustro, next to the Sacristy. Franco Mata included this in the oeuvre of Ferrand Gonzalez, and suggested that Diego de las Roelas chose Ferrand because he was from Toledo. Cf. Pérez Higuera (1978), pp. 133, 139.

¹⁵⁸ Franco Mata (2004), p. 45.

¹⁵⁹ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. II, col. 505: ‘Iacet Aegidius, ut referunt Hispanici scriptores, in Ecclesia sancti Hildephonsi cum hac Inscriptiōe: AEGIDIUS. DE. ALBORNOTS CARDINALIS. ARCHIEPISCOPUS TOLETANUS.’

¹⁶⁰ Pérez (1579), fol. 225r: ‘Don gil de Albornoz esta en la capilla de s. Yllefonso con bulto sin epitaphio.’

¹⁶¹ The inscription once on the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ximenez de Rada in Santa Maria de Huerta was lost when the tomb was opened at an undetermined time (17th century?) and it read HIC JACET DOMINUS RODERICUS, FELICIS RECORDATIONIS ARCHIEPS. TOLETANUS. In paint or metal letters. Agustín Romero Redondo, Luz María Luzón Nuñez de Arenas and Isidoro María Anguita Fontecha, *Santa María de Huerta, Monasterio Cisterciense* (Santa María de Huerta: Monasterio Cisterciense Santa María de Huerta, 2005), p. 107. The sepulchre was moved to the west wall of the church in 1660 from its original position on the right wall of the east end.

north wall, and the Last Judgement on the south. It is not known who these tombs were intended for; one now houses a carved altarpiece, and the remaining two were used to hold the bodies of Archbishop Juan de Contreras (d.1434) and Iñigo López Carrillo de Mendoza (d.1491).¹⁶² The tomb of his brother Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz, bishop of Ávila and great nephew of Gil de Albornoz (d.1514), stands next to it.¹⁶³ The latter are the work of Vasco de Zarza.¹⁶⁴ The two niches nearest the entrance to the chapel were carved in the fifteenth century; only one of them was used, to bury Alejandro Frumento (d.1580).¹⁶⁵

The wall tombs used to bury the bodies of Contreras and López Carrillo have been dated to the archbishopric of Albornoz (1339-1350), and the style recalls the tomb of the cardinal; Gardner suggested that they are earlier work of the same workshop.¹⁶⁶ There is no documentation for these reliefs, but their style seems to place them in the same time period as the tympana in the west façade. The angels attending the Coronation of the Virgin are rather similar to those on the central west doorway representing the Imposition of the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso. A similar example is the wall tomb of the bishop of Burgos Lope de Fontecha (d.1351) in Burgos Cathedral, which also features a similar representation of the burial and funeral of the cleric on the back wall (Fig. 165).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Cabrera y Delgado (1993), p. 36.

¹⁶³ Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 226.

¹⁶⁴ Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. II, pp. 69, 72; Sancho (1997), pp. 32-33.

¹⁶⁵ Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 226.

¹⁶⁶ Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), p. 108. Gardner (1992), p. 170. Revuelta Tubino (1989), Vol. II, p. 69, dated them to the second half of the 14th century.

¹⁶⁷ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 67-69, dated late 14th century. Pius Bonifatius Gams (OSB), *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Apostolo* (Ratisbona: Typis et Sumtibus Georgii Josephi Manz, 1873), p. 17.

Blas Ortiz stated that two members of the household of Albornoz, the students Alvaro de Xarava and Pedro Ramirez, were also buried in the chapel of St. Ildefonso, but I found no record of them in the documentation available.¹⁶⁸

5.4. The tomb in context: a Castilian Cardinal during the Avignonese papacy

The tomb of Albornoz is a unique survival of its period in Toledo. In fact, its location, style and iconography make this the most outstanding sepulchre of a prelate in Castile. The tomb of Cardinal Gil de Albornoz occupies the easternmost space of the Cathedral of Toledo, a privileged position in terms of its geographic proximity to the East. The tomb is of course oriented, with the feet of the effigy pointing to the East in the hope of rising to face the Lord at Resurrection. It is rather telling that Albornoz chose burial in the chapel dedicated to St. Ildefonso, one of the earliest archbishops of Toledo, and a learned prelate who had received the blessing of the Virgin Mary. The choice seems to seek to emphasise his status as primate of Spain and as a fit successor to St. Ildefonso. Albornoz's body was brought to Castile under Enrique II soon after he had snatched the throne of Castile from his half-brother Pedro I, killing him to secure it. The Pope had campaigned for the completion of the chapel to secure the transferral of the body of Albornoz, and perhaps the fratricidal king took this opportunity to legitimise his recently-acquired crown, and to encourage acceptance of his rule among the secular and ecclesiastical, by supporting the translation and burial of Albornoz in Toledo. Albornoz himself had served Enrique's father, Alfonso XI, before leaving Spain, and Alvar and Fernan Alvarez de Albornoz had been staunch supporters of Enrique, to the chagrin of Pedro I.

¹⁶⁸ González and Pereda (1999), p. 217: 'Alia etiam capellania est in hoc sacello ab Alvaro de Iarava scholastico conchensi et a Petro Ramirez scholastico Toletano dicti cardinalis familiaribus cum officio trium missarum in qualibet hebdomada instituta, quorum cadavera in eodem sacello sepulta sunt.'

Enrique founded his dynastic burial chapel at the opposite end of the Cathedral of Toledo, near the Pillar of the Descent. The location of Albornoz's tomb followed his testamentary wishes and received ecclesiastical and political backing. Its privileged position, in the centre of the chapel, inside the Cathedral, was unparalleled at the time. The tombs of founders and benefactors of monastic foundations were often granted privilege of burial near the high altar or in the centre of the nave, as the sepulchres of Alfonso VIII and his consort in Las Huelgas exemplify. The wooden effigy of Bishop Mauricio, once covered in silver and enamels, stands in the centre of the choir of Burgos Cathedral, which he had rebuilt in Gothic style.¹⁶⁹ His contemporary Ximenez de Rada, responsible for the thirteenth-century construction of Toledo Cathedral, was buried in the main chapel of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Huerta in Soria, to which he donated his important library.¹⁷⁰ The monastery had been founded by his uncle, St. Martin of Finojosa (d.1213), who had supported his ecclesiastical career. Ximenez had already decided to be buried in Huerta when he drew up a will as a young student in Paris, in 1201.¹⁷¹ The grateful nephew did not change his decision after becoming primate of Spain, although he established anniversaries for his soul in Toledo.¹⁷² His tomb was moved from its original position, near the high altar, and now rests against the west wall. The sarcophagus rests on three lions, and the effigy is carved in relief on the front of the tomb chest (Fig. 166).

The tombs of Gonzalo Gudiel and other archbishops of Toledo were in the choir of Toledo Cathedral, as discussed before. The tomb of Albornoz stands in the centre of the chapel. Such occurrence, although infrequent, is not exceptional in cloister chapels. Such is the case of

¹⁶⁹ Azcárate y Ristori (1996), p. 178.

¹⁷⁰ Loperráez Corvalán (1978), Vol. 1, pp. 195-203. For his tomb, see Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), p. 93. Ximenez de Rada donated lands to fund his anniversary services in Toledo already in 1211; see ACT V.6.I.3.2, quoted by Hernández (1996), doc. 323, pp. 293-294.

¹⁷¹ González Ruiz (1997), p. 167.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

the tomb of the French bishop Arnaldo de Barbazán (d.1355), in Pamplona Cathedral (Fig. 167). Arnaldo was appointed to the See of Pamplona in 1318 by John XXII.¹⁷³ His tomb, just above pavement level, stands in the centre of the Chapter House, protected by a grill, and represents the bishop with a lion at his feet, and two attendant angels at the head (Fig. 168). The applied decoration that once filled the amice of the effigy is lost. The heraldry of the bishop decorates the ribs of the vault.

In the cloister of the cathedral of Salamanca, Bishop Juan Lucero (d.1362) was buried in the centre of the chapel of St. Barbara.¹⁷⁴ In Toledo, Archbishop Pedro Tenorio built his funerary chapel in the cloister he had completed in the 1390s. The chapel, dedicated to St. Blaise, has the alabaster tombs of Pedro Tenorio and Vicente Arias, and the coat of arms of Tenorio decorates the doorway and the roof boss of the octagonal vault. In Zaragoza, Bishop Pedro Lopez began building his burial chapel in the cathedral, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, with his heraldry on the crossing vault, but the chapel was not finished when he died in 1345, and his body was buried in front of the high altar.¹⁷⁵ The chapel was on the north side near the east end, and was demolished in order to rebuild the current chapel of Santiago el Mayor, between 1478 and 1520. The tomb, which was described as very sumptuously carved, was dismantled and lost.¹⁷⁶

There are royal precedents for the prominent location of Albornoz's sepulchre. King Jaime II planned his funerary chapel in Mallorca Cathedral around 1306 as a double-storey axial

¹⁷³ García Fernández (1992), p. 324. Gams (1873), p. 62.

¹⁷⁴ Lucero was bishop of Salamanca between 1339 and 1362, and of Segovia in 1362. Gams (1873), pp. 67, 70. Arranz Guzmán (2001), p. 447, fns. 107, 108. Innocent VI had punished him in 1354 and 1355 for his support of Pedro I's adultery, see *Crónica de Pedro I*, x, p. 444. See Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, *La Catedral Vieja de Salamanca. Vida capitular y arquitectura en la Edad Media* (Murcia: Nausicaä, 2004), pp. 46-51.

¹⁷⁵ Gams (1873), p. 20. He was bishop of Zaragoza since 1314, which was promoted to archbishopric in 1318.

¹⁷⁶ Lacarra Ducay (1991), p. 480. By the mid-16th century it was lost.

chapel, although his tomb was, ultimately, not placed in the chapel.¹⁷⁷ Ricardo del Arco suggested that the tomb of Countess Sancha (d.1316) used to be freestanding in the central chapel of the ambulatory of León Cathedral, where it now appears on the wall; however, there is no documentary evidence to support this theory.¹⁷⁸ Also in León, the thirteenth-century tomb of Ordoño II is on the wall of the high altar enclosure, facing the ambulatory, but this is an enfeu monument.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, the tomb of Cardinal Albornoz is a unique survival of its type and location.

5.5. Funerary iconography

The tomb of Gil de Albornoz presents a combination of Spanish, Italian and French aspects in its iconography. Funerary effigies are often represented resting on a cloth in Italian monuments, for example those of Cardinal de Braye in Orvieto, Matteo Orsini in S. Maria sopra Minerva and Cardinal Ancher de Troyes in S. Prassede, Rome. The effigy of Albornoz lies directly on the tomb table, which is the standard convention in Spanish and French sepulchres.¹⁸⁰

The figures carved on the tomb chest of Cardinal Albornoz represent clerics performing funeral rites, accompanied by mourning attendants. The representation of the funeral exequies, often blended with the funeral procession, is abundant in Castilian tombs. The tomb of Prince Louis, son of Louis IX (d.1260), executed in the 1260s, included for the first time the funeral procession with weepers, a theme which would develop in French tomb sculpture and was

¹⁷⁷ Del Arco (1954), pp. 202-205.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 25, and fn. 5. See Ángela Franco Mata, *Escultura Gótica en León y Provincia (1230-1530)* (León: Diputación Provincial de León - Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 1998, 2nd edition, first published 1976), pp. 426-429, figs. 304-311.

¹⁷⁹ For the tomb of Ordoño II, see Franco Mata (1998), pp. 394-401, figs. 255-260.

¹⁸⁰ In Spain, the tombs of Arnaldo Barbazan in Pamplona, Diego de los Roeles in Ávila, Pedro Tenorio in Toledo, Chancillor Ayala in Quejana; in France, the papal tombs of Clement VI and Innocent VI.

adapted in Spanish monuments.¹⁸¹ Franco Mata pointed out that the earliest occurrence of this iconography in Spain would be the tomb of Ramón Berenguer in Ripoll (d.1151).¹⁸² The relief behind the effigy of the wall tomb in S. Giovanni in Laterano, perhaps belonging to the papal notary Riccardo Anibaldi (d.1289), shows six attending clerics in a funerary procession.¹⁸³ Arnolfo di Cambio introduced with this frieze new ideas in Italian tomb sculpture. The representation of the funerary procession became increasingly detailed, mirroring the development of regulations funeral arrangements and cortege became increasingly complicated and regulated in the mid-fourteenth century; from 1340 in France the demands for crosses, torches and banners multiply.¹⁸⁴ The description of the exequies and burial of the archbishop of Rouen Aymeric Guenaud in 1342 illustrates the manner in which these were conducted.¹⁸⁵ The body of the defunct was dressed in archbishop's regalia, and carried in a funeral procession accompanied by clerics singing and carrying tapers. He was buried in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, next to the tomb of the previous archbishop, Audoin Rigaud.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ *Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe* (1971), p. 12. The table tomb of Philippe-Dagobert, d. 1235, brother of St. Louis, shows clerics alternating with angels inside arches, whilst that of St. Louis' son shows the funeral procession of clerics and lay weepers following the bier with the dead prince, under arches. Originally in Royaumont abbey, the tombs are now in St. Denis. María Jesús Gómez Bárcena, 'La liturgia de los funerales y su repercusión en la escultura funeraria gótica en Castilla', in *La Idea y el Sentimiento de la Muerte en la Historia y en el Arte de la Edad Media (I), Ciclo de conferencias celebrado del 1 al 5 de Diciembre de 1986, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico da Universidade, 1988), pp. 31-50 (hereafter referred to as Gómez Bárcena, 1988b)

¹⁸² Franco Mata (1988), p. 123.

¹⁸³ Gardner (1994), pp. 104-106, fig. 104.

¹⁸⁴ Chiffolleau (1981), p. 251. Chiffolleau (1980), pp. 126-143 for the funerary cortège.

¹⁸⁵ Philippo Labbe, *Novae Bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum*. Tomus primus (Paris: apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, Regis & Reginae Architypographum, et Gabrielem Cramoisyum via Iacobaea, sub Ciconijs, 1657). Sectio Secunda. Chronicon Rothomagense, (ab anno Christi primo ad 1344). In index, the source is listed as: *Chronicum paulo susius ROTOMAGENSE ab anno Christi primo ad annum usque MCCCXLIV. Ex quo iis, que mendosa sunt, aut nimis vulgaria, solerter sublatis, selegimus quaecumque ad Gallicam ac Rotomagensem maxime Historiam spectare propius visa sunt. Codicem membraneum MS. ex Museo Caroli Baroni, Presbyteri Parisini, commodavit mihi D. Antonius de Vyon d'Herouval in suprema Regiarum Rationum Curia Auditor Antiquitatum nostratium studiosissimus. Ff. 388-390.*

¹⁸⁶ Labbe (1657), fol. 389: 'Eodem anno feria sexta festo sancti Sulpitii bonae memoriae Aymericus Arch. Roth. decessit apud Pitaruillam, fuitque inhumatus sequenti quinta feria in Ecclesia Rotomagensi in Capella B. Mariae juxta sepulturam Archiepiscopi Odonis Rigaudi in dextra parte dictae Capellae.' Ibid., fol. 390: 'decoretur sepultura

The Church discouraged excessive displays of mourning such as screaming, tearing of hair, and scratching of faces, as they were seen signs of despair, and lack of faith in resurrection, particularly amongst the clergy.¹⁸⁷ The synod held in Toledo in 1323 issued a threat of excommunication for the clergy found taking part in such unbecoming displays, and established that only the closest relatives of the deceased could wear funerary clothing.¹⁸⁸ In 1356, Blas Fernandez de Toledo repeated the ruling.¹⁸⁹

The mourners represented on the tombs were often impoverished lay men and women who would benefit from a testamentary donation in exchange for their presence at the exequies.¹⁹⁰ They could also be novices, young clerics in training, who carried the tapers or crosses, if the burial took place in a monastic church.¹⁹¹ The funeral processions increased in number of participants during the later years of the fourteenth century.¹⁹² The processional cross headed the cortege.¹⁹³ This is represented in the tomb of Albornoz, and in the thirteenth-century wall tombs of Esteban Domingo and Bishop Blasco in Ávila Cathedral.¹⁹⁴ The sarcophagus of

eius in Capella B. Mariae a parte dextra iuxta sepulturam Odonis Rigaudi, quondam Archiepiscopi & sunt contiguae dictae sepulturae.’

¹⁸⁷ Sánchez Herrero (1976), II, 1, III, 11, XVI, 23. This was also the case in France, where mourners were discouraged and not allowed to follow the body; see Chiffolleau (1980), p. 139, for 1298 example from Valréas.

¹⁸⁸ BNE, Ms.13041 [Burriel], ff. 133v-134r: ‘De sepulturis. Quamquam pietatis affectu et humanitatis intuitu liceat mortuos deplorare, excessus tamen lugubris prohibetur, quia desperationem videtur future resurrectionis habere, illum ergo execrabilem abusum, ut cum aliquis moritur, homines et mulieres ululando per vicos et plateas incedant, voces horribiles in ecclesiis et alibi emittant, ac quedam alia indecencia faciant ad gentilium ritum tendencia, que non solum fidelium corda pungunt, sed divine oculos maiestatis offendunt, penitus reprobamus. Expressius autem ea clericis sub pena excommunicationis interdcentes precipimus, ne, tempore dumtaxat exsequiarum excepto, vestes lugubres portent, nisi pro patre, matre, fratre, domino aut sorore.’ 25 May 1323.

¹⁸⁹ Sánchez Herrero (1976), p. 233.

¹⁹⁰ Chiffolleau (1980), pp. 135-136, for 15th century examples. The charitable distribution of bread to feed the poor is represented in the 13th-century tomb of Bishop Martín in León Cathedral, which influenced the tomb of Bishop Hernando in Ávila; see Franco Mata (2004), pp. 35-38.

¹⁹¹ Chiffolleau (1980), p. 136.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 137.

¹⁹⁴ Tomb of Esteban Domingo in chapel of S. Miguel, on four lions, with *elevatio animae*, and effigy on lit de parade, mourners and attending clergy and knights; see Franco Mata (2004), p. 38-40. Tomb of Blasco Dávila, Bishop of Sigüenza, buried in chapel of St. Blaise; represented with staff, the inscription dates it as 1334, but the correct date is 1291, see Franco Mata (2004), p. 44.

Queen Doña Blanca (d.1156) in Nájera shows a lively representation of mourners, and the *elevatio animae*.¹⁹⁵ Mourners also appear in tombs in crossing of the old Cathedral of Salamanca.¹⁹⁶ In the late thirteenth-century royal tombs in Villalcázar de Sirga, spectators look down onto the lively procession from turrets between the arches.¹⁹⁷ The tomb of prince Felipe (d.1274) includes a representation of the obit, a group of female mourners, the funeral procession with the coffin, and a group of clerics praying for the soul of the defunct. The tomb represented on the relief has three lions, and the actual sarcophagus rests on four lions and two monsters.¹⁹⁸

In wall tombs, the mourners and attending clerics are represented on the wall behind the effigy. This is the case in the tomb of Ermengol VII, executed between 1300 and 1350, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.¹⁹⁹ Three tombs of bishops in Burgos Cathedral are remarkable examples of this iconography, displaying a complete program on their fronts. The first one is the sarcophagus of Pedro Rodríguez Quijada (d.1313), in the Chapel of the Condestable, which represents the mourners at his death-bed and burial (Fig. 169). The deceased is placed with his mitre inside a sarcophagus which rests on three lions (Fig. 170).²⁰⁰ The slightly later tomb of Gonzalo de Hinojosa (d.1327), dated mid-fourteenth century, in the chapel of S. Gregorio, shows a strikingly similar effigy, and a more elaborate carved front with the representation of the obit, funeral and burial of the bishop.²⁰¹ The tomb of Lope de Fontecha (d.1351) represents only the funeral procession on the back wall and is crowned by a tympanum

¹⁹⁵ Del Arco (1954), p. 17.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁷ For the tombs of Infante don Felipe and infanta doña Leonor in Villalcázar de Sirga, see Del Arco (1954), pp. 213-223, and Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), fig. 44.

¹⁹⁸ Del Arco, p. 218.

¹⁹⁹ Charles T. Little and Timothy B. Husband eds, *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), p. 107, Figure 99. The monument currently displayed is an ensemble composed in the 18th century, but the effigy and the row of mourners seem to be part of the same tomb.

²⁰⁰ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 62-64. Gams (1873), p. 17.

²⁰¹ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 66-67. Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), p. 76. The sarcophagus is 2,60 m. long, and the effigy 2,10 m. long.

with the Coronation of the Virgin (see Fig. 165).²⁰² The representation of the exequies and liturgical procesion is very detailed, including the processional cross, asperser, and book carried by clerics, all elements which also appear in the tomb of Albornoz. Although it is a wall tomb, it has three lions attached, as a remnant of the free-standing ones.

In Zaragoza, the tomb of the archbishop Lope Fernandez de Luna (d.1382) stands in a chapel attached to the east end of the Cathedral. Lope had accompanied Albornoz to Italy, and had been his lieutenant and vicar there.²⁰³ He was, like his uncle Albornoz, an important artistic patron. He oversaw the completion of the crossing tower in 1376, and commissioned a new doorway, completed in 1379.²⁰⁴ His name is associated with building works in the Archbishop's palace and with the castle of Mesones de Isuela (Zaragoza), as well as with a cross he commissioned from a French goldsmith residing in Barcelona; he donated his rich library to the cathedral of Zaragoza in his will of 1382.²⁰⁵ Lope chose burial in the chapel of St. Michael Archangel, which he had built and endowed, in the east end of the Cathedral.²⁰⁶ The alabaster effigy is surrounded by officiating clerics on the wall enclosing the sarcophagus, which is decorated with weepers on its arcaded front (Fig. 171). It was carved by the Catalonian Pere

²⁰² Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 67-69. Lope had been dean of Valencia and Bishop of Calahorra, and was translated to Burgos in June 1351. Arranz Guzmán (2001), pp. 435-6, see fn. 44 in p. 436 for confusion between Lope and Pedro. Gams (1873), p. 20.

²⁰³ Glénisson and Mollat (1964), nos. 59, 62, 63.

²⁰⁴ It had been begun under Pedro; the Libro de Fabrica of 1346 survives. See Cristina Monterdes in *El espejo de nuestra historia. La Diócesis de Zaragoza a través de los siglos* (exhibition catalogue, San Juan de los Panetes, Lonja, Palacio Arzobispal, Zaragoza, 5 October 1991-6 January 1992) ed. Mar Agudo Romeo (Zaragoza: Edelvives, 1991), p. 180. Carmen Lacarra Ducay, 'Mecenazgo de los preladados zaragozanos durante la baja edad media (1318-1520)', in *El espejo de nuestra historia* (1991), pp. 480-81 for doorway.

²⁰⁵ Lacarra Ducay (1991), p. 481.

²⁰⁶ The chapel was built 1374-1381. Ángel Canellas López, ed. *Los Cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Monumenta Diplomatica Aragonensia) 4 vols (Zaragoza: Ibercaja, 1990), Vol. 4, docs. 1623 and 1625 for the 1381 endowment and the will, dated 3 February 1382, p. 1328: 'Item volumus et ordinamus quod corpus nostrum traddatur eccleciastice sepulture in capellam quam fecimus noviter construi seu fieri in ecclesia nostra Cesarauguste sub invocatione et reverentia beati Michaelis archangelis in loco ad hoc in dicta cappella nostra ordinate. Exequie vero seu funeralia fiant in dicta ecclesia Cesarauguste coram altari maiori et in dicta capella beati Michaelis tumuletur corpus nostrum et ibidem fiat tumulus iuxta decentiam nostri status si antea factum non sit'. Lacarra Ducay (1991), pp. 480-81.

Moragues, who had been employed by him since 1376; the chapel was decorated with wall paintings (lost) by John and Nicholas of Brussels.²⁰⁷

5.6. Authorship

It is most unfortunate that no records have survived for the design and execution of the tomb of Albornoz. There is no information regarding the costs, authorship, or the design of the tomb. The contract for the wall tomb of the bishop of Cuenca Bernalt Zafón (d.1372) is a rare survival of documentation of this kind for the period. In the contract, dated 1374, master Ally del Castiello promised to deliver the requested work for the tomb of Bernalt within a deadline. The sculptor agreed to execute the monument on the right aisle of the Catedral; it should have detailed and elaborate carving throughout and should have an effigy on top of the tomb, of durable plaster ‘in the manner of the other tombs of bishops’ in its proximity, and painted in the colours of the artist’s choice.²⁰⁸ Nothing remains of this tomb.²⁰⁹ Gema Palomo identified master Ally del Castiello as a Muslim artist working for Christians, which was commonplace in

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 481.

²⁰⁸ Document noted and transcribed by Palomo Fernández in the Archivo Catedral de Cuenca, Sección Institucional, no signature. Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 1, p. 148, fn. 242, and Vol. 2, p. 15, and transcribed in doc. 35, pp. 311-312. It was painted. ‘Sepan quantos esta carta vieren commo yo maestre Ally del Castiello otorgo et conosco que ... yo faga a mi costa la obra de la sepultura de don Bernal, obispo que fue de Cuenca, en la pared a mano derecha, onde yaze enterrado en la dicha iglesia, por presçio de çiento e treinta florines de oro de los de Aragón que me avedes a dar por ello, la qual dicha sepultura me obligo a fazer de la obra con las condiçiones que se siguen. Primeramente que se abra la paret de la iglesia la meytad della quanto la dicha sepultura demanda et que aya en la dicha pared un arco de canto en manera que pueda sobrelevar la dicha paret, et después desto que aya un sobre arco de yesso fecho con sus archetes de tres puntos et con sus marmoletes e sus capiteles muy bien entellados en manera que la obra sea muy polida. Et después desto que aya ençima del dicho sobrearco una orla que se levante sobre los capiteles del dicho sobrearco que llaman rematamiento et que sea verdugada con sus enfojamientos, los más sotiles que puedan seer, e después desto que sea fecha en el cuerpo del dicho arco una tumba entallada sobre tres marmoletes fechos de canto con sus basas et con sus capiteles entallados, et que aya ençima de la dicha tumba una ymagen de yeso segúnd que estan las otras de obispos çerca deste, et la dicha ymagen que sea conçiõnada el dicho yesso con enhuevos por que sea durable para en sienpre, et que sea metida la obra en colores do paresçieren, et que ençima del rematamiento que sea llena de lavor que venga anevellada...’ Cuenca, 30 March 1374.

²⁰⁹ Palomo Fernández (2002), Vol. 2, pp. 15-16, pointed out the notice in Archivo Catedral de Cuenca, Libros, fol. LXXXIIv, which recorded that his tomb was under that of Don Diego, in the Epistle side of the altar of S. Mateo.

the building workshops in Castile from the late fourteenth century.²¹⁰ Ally was to be paid 150 Aragonese florins, but he had to meet a deadline; failure to complete the project by the feast of St. John in June would mean that he was liable for 50 mrs. for each day afterwards, plus a fine of 50 mrs. for not complying with the contract.²¹¹ Bernalt legislated in favour of flat pavement-level tombs.²¹²

The style of the effigy of Gil de Albornoz, which is clearly the work of a master different from the one responsible for the tomb chest, has been compared to the work of Ferran Gonzalez.²¹³ The late fourteenth-century tombs of Archbishop Pedro Tenorio and of his secretary, Vicente Arias, buried in a freestanding tomb next to him, in the chapel of St. Blaise in the cloister of Toledo Cathedral, were the work of the Ferran Gonzalez workshop (Fig. 172).²¹⁴ A badly damaged inscription at the feet of the lion read until recently: ‘Feran Gonzalez, pintor e entallador’.²¹⁵ Ferran Gonzalez is documented in the Cathedral in 1383, probably working in the choir screen.²¹⁶ The tomb of Pedro Tenorio, which rests on six lions, is decorated with representations of Virtues and Vices; a dog rests at the feet of the mitred effigy. The heraldry of Tenorio appears profusely along the two horizontal registers of the sarcophagus. The inscription

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 19-20, see fn. 82.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 20, and document transcribed in pp. 311-12.

²¹² Ibid., p. 20, and fn. 83 in p. 37 for resolution taken in the Synod of 1364.

²¹³ Franco Mata (1994), p. 192. Julio Martin Sanchez, ‘El Toledo de la Exposicion: el mecenazgo artistico de los arzobispos de Toledo’, in *Los arzobispos de Toledo y la Universidad española* (2002), pp. 75-102, at p. 78. The effigy was first linked to the style of Ferran Gonzalez by Tormo in *La escultura española en la Edad Media* (1926), p. 39; see Maria Teresa Pérez Higuera, ‘Ferrand Gonzalez y los sepulcros del taller toledano (1385-1410)’, *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología de la Universidad de Valladolid* XLIV (1978), pp. 129-142, at p. 130, fn. 6, and p. 138.

²¹⁴ Franco Mata (1994), p. 193.

²¹⁵ The collapse of the vault in 1973 damaged the effigy and the inscription; see Pérez Higuera (1978), p. 129, fn. 1. Almudena Sánchez-Palencia Mancebo, *Vida y Empresas del Arzobispo D. Pedro Tenorio* Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos. Serie VI. Temas Toledanos, 54 (Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1988), p. 42. See Revuelta Tubino (1991), number 228 (no page numbers).

²¹⁶ Pérez Higuera (1978), p. 131.

on the tomb states that he died in May 1399.²¹⁷ Tenorio had lived in Perugia and Rome, and his familiarity with Italian art perhaps influenced the reliefs for the choir screen and the decorative scheme in his funerary chapel, complete with mural paintings.²¹⁸ Lop Otín dated the chapel 1397.²¹⁹ The tomb of Vicente Arias de Balboa, Bishop of Plasencia (d.1413), was executed after Tenorio's.²²⁰ The Count of Cedillo suggested that the effigy of Vicente Arias could perhaps correspond to that of Albornoz, which 'had been moved' according to him, although he did not elaborate on this, and there is no documentary evidence to support this theory.²²¹ In any event, the similarities between the effigy, or any other part of the tomb of Albornoz, and the style of the Gonzalez workshop are rather superficial. On close examination, there are clear differences in materials, execution and iconography such as the appearance of the representation of Virtues and Vices. A discussion of Ferran Gonzalez, whose workshop also executed the tombs in Quejana, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The author of the tomb of Albornoz drew from other iconographical conventions in the use of weepers. The tomb of the bishop of Valencia Raimundo Gastón (d.1348), which was unearthed in the Cathedral during excavations in 2003, is remarkably similar to that of Albornoz (Fig. 173).²²² It shows the effigy with his gloved hands crossed over the chest, mitre, maniple and stole, and a lion at his feet, and figures of clerics on the front and sides of the sarcophagus.

²¹⁷ 'Aqui yaze don Pedro Tenorio de laudable memoria Arcobpo de Toledo y Primado de las Españas chanciller mayor de Castilla cuya anima Dios aya, Fallecio dia de S.Spiritus xiii dias de Mayo año de MCCCXCIX', transcribed by Pérez (1579), fol. 225r. Cf. transcription by Count of Cedillo: 'AQUI YASE DO PERO TENORIO DE LAUDABLE MEMORIA ARCOBPO DE TOLEDO PMADO DE LAS ESPAÑAS CHANCELLER MAYOR DE CASTILLA CUYA ANIMA DIOS AYA. FALLESCIO DIA DE STI SPIRI MES DE MAYO. ANO DEL NASCIMIENTO DE NUESTRO SALVADOR IHU XPO DE M CCC XC IX AÑOS', in Revuelta Tubino (1991), number 228 (no page numbers). Cf. Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 254, fn. 2.

²¹⁸ Pointed out by Franco Mata (1988), p. 124. Gonzálvez and Pereda (1999), pp. 263-265.

²¹⁹ Lop Otín (2003), p. 182.

²²⁰ Pérez Higuera (1978), pp. 130, 139. Gams (1873), p. 64.

²²¹ Revuelta Tubino (1991), number 228: 'cabe la duda por varias razones si esta segunda estatua será la del Cardenal Albornoz que como se sabe ha sido objeto de traslados.'

²²² Alberto Saiz, 'Raimundo Gastón', *Paraula* (4 January 2004), pp. 9-16.

It was placed against a wall, which accounts for the fact that it is only carved on 3 sides, and the effigy is slightly tilted towards the viewer. It was found 2 metres underneath the floor in the chapel of S. José.²²³ Raimundo was identified by the emblem of a bull decorating the effigy's mitre.²²⁴ The highly individualised face, with folds around the mouth, and a large nose, suggests this was a portrayal of the bishop. Raimundo Gastón, bishop of Valencia from 1312 to 1348, founded in 1345 the *Estudio General* which would later become the University of Valencia.²²⁵

The inspiration for the free-standing tomb of Albornoz, with an effigy of the deceased surrounded by mourners attending his funeral, was patently French. The use of weepers stems from the French royal tombs of Louis in St. Denis, and the tomb of Philippe III le Hardi in Narbonne Cathedral.²²⁶ Clement VI adopted the theme for the tomb he commissioned during his lifetime.²²⁷ He broke with the tradition of previous papal sepulchres, and, as Gardner pointed out, his tomb contributed to its growing popularity.²²⁸

In 1344, Clement VI decided to rebuild the Benedictine monastery of La Chaise-Dieu, where he had been a novice, and where he chose to be buried.²²⁹ Clement died in December 1352, and his body was later transported to La Chaise-Dieu accompanied by a cortege which included five cardinals related to the deceased pontiff.²³⁰ The abbot of La Chaise-Dieu elected in

²²³ Ibid., p. 10.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 11. Gams (1873), p. 88.

²²⁶ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 76, fn. 41.

²²⁷ Auguste Fayard, 'Le Tombeau de Clément VI à La Chaise-Dieu', *Almanach de Brioude* 52 (1962), pp. 39-82.

²²⁸ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 69. Gardner (1992), pp. 54-61, 64-89, 102-109, 133-152. The immediate influence of the papal tomb is seen in the sepulchre of Bishop Hugues de Chatillon, d.1352, in Saint-Bertrand de Comminges, illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 185.

²²⁹ Wood (2002), p. 62.

²³⁰ Baluze (1914), p. 266. Déprez (1900), pp. 235, 238-9. The cardinals were his brother Hugues Roger (cardinal S. Lorenzo in Damaso 1342), his nephews Guillaume de la Jugie (cardinal deacon S. Maria in Cosmedin 1342), Nicolas de Bese (cardinal deacon S. Maria in Via Lata 1344), Pierre Roger de Beaufort (future Gregory XI, cardinal deacon S. Maria Nova 1348), his cousin Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille (cardinal S. Maria in Trastevere 1350), and his elder brother Guillaume Roger, count of Beaufort. The updated review by McGee Morganstern (2001), pp. 71-74, added nephews Pierre de la Jugie (archbishop of Narbonne, 1347), Hugues de la Jugie (bishop Béziers, 1349), and

1350 was also a relative of Clement VI: it was his cousin Etienne d'Aigrefeuille.²³¹ The tomb, in the centre of the choir of the abbey church, was mutilated in 1562; it contained forty-four statuettes (Fig. 174).²³² The figures represented a priest carrying a holy water stoup, a deacon with a book, a servant, four cardinals, five archbishops, nine bishops, the count of Beaufort with his two wives, the viscount of Turenne and other relatives of the Pope; the monument featured an unprecedented number of relatives of the deceased (Fig. 175).²³³ One of these, Guillaume de la Jugie, was nephew of Clement VI and had been a legate in Castile in 1355 and 1358.²³⁴ He was appointed cardinal by his uncle in his first promotion, in 1342, whilst his brother Pierre became archbishop of Zaragoza (1345), Narbonne (1347), Rouen (1375) and cardinal in 1375; their eldest brother, Nicholas, married the sister of Cardinal Gilles d'Aucelyn (promoted cardinal in 1361).²³⁵ Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille became archbishop of Zaragoza in 1347 and cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere in 1350.²³⁶

Unlike Alborno, Clement VI had commissioned his funerary monument whilst alive.²³⁷ He had drawn up a protocol for his funerary cortege in 1350.²³⁸ The original feature of this monument is that the weepers represented identifiable people.²³⁹ The cortege was organised in a hierarchical sequence, and was meant to be read clockwise, beginning at the head of the tomb

cousins Guillaume de la Garde (archbishop of Braga, 1349 and transferred to Arles 1351), Raymond d'Aigrefeuille (bishop of Rodez, 1349), Pierre d'Aigrefeuille (bishop of Clermont, 1349), Durand des Chapelles (bishop of Rieux, 1348), and Etienne de La Garde (bishop of Saintes, 1348), as well as his great nephew (?) Jean de Cros, bishop of Limoges in 1347. Their promotion dates coincide with the pontificate of Clement VI and signal the rampant nepotism which he exercised. Other members of the cortege included lay relatives of the Pope.

²³¹ Fayard (1962), p. 43. Other cousins had been also been abbots in 1346 and 1347.

²³² Déprez (1900), p. 239, fn. 2: it had 44 statuettes in origin. McGee Morganstern (2001), pp. 61-77. For a 17th-century testimony of the position of the tomb in the centre of the choir, see Fayard (1962), p. 45. The niches were 28.5 cm. wide, the chest was 2.73m, and the table 3.02m; *ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

²³³ Déprez (1900), p. 239, fn. 2; cf. McGee Morganstern (2001). Fayard (1962), p. 56.

²³⁴ Zunzunegui Aramburu (1964), p. 131.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 71.

²³⁷ Déprez (1900), p. 239, fn. 3.

²³⁸ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 61; Fayard (1962), p. 43, suggested a date before December 1350.

²³⁹ Fayard (1962), p. 58.

chest.²⁴⁰ Pierre Boye was the sculptor, and payment for the monument amounted to 3,500 florins; it was carved in Avignon and transported to La Chaise Dieu by 1351.²⁴¹ Never before had a pope placed his tomb in the choir of a church in such a prominent monument, but secular precedents existed, such as the tomb of Emperor Henry the Lion and Empress Mathilda at Brunswick of c.1240.²⁴² In his will of 1362, the Aragonese cardinal Nicholas Rosell (d.1364) established burial in the tomb he had commissioned in the centre of the Dominican church of St. Catalina in Barcelona, now lost.²⁴³ Rosell preceeded Albornoz, whose intention to be buried in the centre of the chapel of St. Ildefonso is first documented in his will of 1364.

There are similarities between the tombs of Clement VI and Albornoz other than the effigy. A surviving group of figures from the front of the tomb represents two clerics, holding an open book which one of them points at with his right hand (Fig. 176).²⁴⁴ Some of the clerics in the tomb of Albornoz also hold open books and interact with each other (north panel, Fig. 160). As Morganstern pointed out, the innovation in Clement VI's tomb lies in the detailed prescription for the innovative iconography, which reflected the *Ceremonial* of Giacomo Stefaneschi.²⁴⁵ At the feet end of the sarcophagus of Clement VI were four figures which represented the absolution rite on a corpse: one carrying a vessel of holy water, a deacon, a cleric with a gospel book and an attendant or acolyte.²⁴⁶ In the tomb of Albornoz, three figures enact

²⁴⁰ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 63. This was also the case in Champmol.

²⁴¹ Gardner (1992), p. 144. Cf. Fayard (1962), p. 58, who named the sculptors as Pierre Roye, Jean de Sanholis and Jean Davis. See *ibid.*, p. 53 and McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 61, for sculptures carved in Villeneuve and transported to Chaise-Dieu.

²⁴² Gardner (1992), p. 61.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 167. It was the work of Pere Moragues, the author of the tomb of Lope Fernandez in Zaragoza cathedral, completed in 1382; *ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁴⁴ In the Musée Crozatier, Le Puy-en-Velay. *Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe* (1971), pp. 30-31, cat. nos. 8-11, plates VIII-IX. The figures are 41 cm. tall.

²⁴⁵ McGee Morganstern (2001), pp. 66, 69, fns. 21, 31.

²⁴⁶ Fayard (1962), p. 47 described the tomb as having 3 figures at the short ends; McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 63 stated there were 4 figures, and corrected Faucon's edition of 1904.

the rite at the west end: a mitred cleric is blessing the holy water stoup carried by the deacon to the left whilst another cleric holds an open book to the right. The location of these figures within the tomb would be more appropriate if they are closing the procession (which starts at the opposite end), since sprinkling holy water was the last liturgical rite before actual burial.²⁴⁷ Albornoz is thus being scorted to his tomb. There are no censers, unlike in the Luna tomb in Zaragoza. In Toledo, the absolution has already taken place, and the tomb represents the funerary procession ready for burial.

The materials employed in the tomb of Clement VI, white and black marble, offered a chromatic contrast which is not found in the tomb of Albornoz, which was painted. The Toledo monument is composed of different materials: a stone sarcophagus and a marble effigy. There are other differences between the monuments. For example, there were six figures of saints surrounding the effigy of the Pope; but there is no trace of a canopy, angels, or any other figure near the effigy of Albornoz.²⁴⁸ The funerary effigy of Clement VI has two small lions at his feet, whilst Albornoz has one. The tomb of Clement VI did not include an epitaph.²⁴⁹ There is no documentary evidence that heraldry figured in Clement VI's tomb, but it is not unlikely.²⁵⁰

The strong and immediate influence of Clement VI's freestanding monument is patent in the tomb of the bishop of Puy and abbot of La Chaise-Dieu, Jean de Chandorat (d.1356), and in the lost tomb of Clement VII (d.1394).²⁵¹ The tomb of Archbishop Pierre de la Jugie, located between two piers on the choir enclosure of the Cathedral of Narbonne, also reflected the tomb of Clement VI. It shows deacons and a bishop followed by fifteen canons grouped in pairs, some

²⁴⁷ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 66.

²⁴⁸ For figures surrounding effigy of Clement VI, see Fayard (1962), pp. 50-51, and McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 74, who suggested that the dowel holes that were on the tomb would have supported figures of angels or monks reciting prayers.

²⁴⁹ Fayard (1962), p. 47.

²⁵⁰ McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 70.

²⁵¹ According to Fayard (1962), p. 57.

of whom are sharing books, as seen on the papal tomb, and the frontality of the figures is also derived from the papal tomb.²⁵² In the sepulchre of Albornoz we see the dual attitude of the figures: while the clerics lead the procession, the relatives stand frontally, facing the viewer, or interact with each other.²⁵³

The hands of the effigy of Albornoz are not joined in prayer as those of Clement VI. They rest on his chest, in the manner of the effigy of Innocent VI (d. 1362).²⁵⁴ Ten days after his death, Innocent's body was transported to the Chartreuse in Villeneuve and buried in the tomb he had commissioned from Bertrand Nogayrol, who had begun it in December 1361 (Fig. 177).²⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the loss of sculptures it has endured, this freestanding sepulchre underlines the ostentatious nature of Innocent VI, who, despite the financial struggles of the Church ensured that he would rest in a monumental tomb; the cost of his funeral was even higher than that of Clement VI.²⁵⁶ The effigy is bearded, a feature which was also portrayed in the representation of the Pontiff in the *Regestum recognitionum et iuramentorum fidelitatis civitatum sub Innocentio VI*, fol. 4r (Figs 76, 178). The monument at the Chartreuse is a more elaborate version of the earlier sepulchre of John XXII (d.1334), in Notre-Dame des Doms; the latter had sixty-four statuettes which are now lost.²⁵⁷ Its links to English sculpture is patent when compared to the shrine-like monument of Edward II (d.1327) at Gloucester Cathedral.

The main model for the tomb of Albornoz in Toledo was that of Clement VI, the most fastuous pontiff, and the one who had granted Albornoz his first cardinal title. Without documentary evidence for the tomb, it is not possible to establish whether this was deliberate

²⁵² McGee Morganstern (2001), p. 69.

²⁵³ For frontal figures 'gawking' at the spectacle before them, see Gardner (1992), p. 146.

²⁵⁴ Innocent VI died on 12 September 1362; see Déprez 1900), p. 241.

²⁵⁵ Déprez (1900), p. 242. See ASV, IE 297, Camera Apostolica, fol. 42v: 'in monument quod edificatur in domo Cartusiensi palacii Villenove pro sepulture domini nostri pape.'

²⁵⁶ Déprez (1900), pp. 243, 248-250: it amounted to 4,193 florins, as opposed to the 2,490 of Clement VI.

²⁵⁷ Fayard (1962), p. 45.

choice on the part of the patron (Albornoz, his testamentary executors, or the cathedral chapter) or whether it was the outcome of the visual culture of the artists. The tomb of Clement VI provided a model which Albornoz was familiar with, yet it is interesting that previous or contemporary papal sepulchres, such as those of Benedict XII, John XXII or Innocent VI, were not as influential on the Castilian cardinal's tomb. Inspiration was often found in papal tombs; a case in point is the tomb of Gudiel in Rome, influenced by that of Boniface VIII in St. Peter's.²⁵⁸ The tomb of Gil de Albornoz may have been executed by French artists, whose local production in Toledo seems to have concentrated solely on this project. The quality of the carving and the intricate details of the tomb chest are unparalleled in surviving contemporary sculpture in Toledo.

5.7. The tomb of an Avignonese Cardinal

Albornoz was cardinal bishop of Sabina when he died. The tombs of his three predecessors in the office provide a chronological and contextual reference which is relevant for the study of the funerary requests and decisions taken by a Castilian cardinal who formed part of the French-dominated papal court at Avignon. He was preceded in the title by three cardinals hailing from Italy, Spain and France.

The Roman cardinal Matteo Orsini (d.1340) chose to be buried in the chapel he had built in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. The chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine, was finished by 1340, when Matteo described it as '*quam ibidem feci fieri*' in his will, but his tomb had not been executed yet, and Matteo allocated a maximum budget of 150 florins for a modest

²⁵⁸ Gardner (1992), p. 51; Linehan and Fernández (2004), p. 392.

monument.²⁵⁹ The tomb of Cardinal Orsini was removed circa 1565 when the patronage of the chapel, now dedicated to the Ss. Sacramento, passed to the Aldobrandini family, who remodeled it.²⁶⁰ At a later date, the Orsini tomb was amalgamated with the monument of cardinal Latino Malabranca (d.1294) and placed against the wall of the old chapel of S. Tommaso, to the left of the high altar.²⁶¹ The front of the sarcophagus was probably executed at this stage; it presents two coats of arms of the Orsini and the inscription: ‘VEN. MEM. FF. LATINI. ET. MATTHAEI. URSINORUM. ORD. PRAED. S.R.E. CARDINALIUM’ (Fig. 179). The effigy, which presents signs of polychromy, is all that remains from Matteo’s original tomb.²⁶² It represents the mitred gisant with the hands crossed at the waist, and the eyes closed, laying on a bier cloth embroidered with rosettes (Fig. 180). The pallium is also embroidered with rosettes, the heraldic emblem of the Orsini.²⁶³ The head of the effigy, resting on a plain, tasseled cushion, shows individualized facial features such as the pronounced nose and the corners of the mouth turned downwards. The one other known representation of Matteo Orsini shows him with similar features, suggesting that this is a portrait of the deceased cardinal. The depiction of Matteo in the Chapter House of S. Niccolò in Treviso dates from 1352; the prominent nose and downturned mouth could suggest the possibility that Tomaso might have known the effigy in Rome or another representation of Matteo, unknown to us (Fig. 181). The authorship of the tomb in Rome may be attributed to the sculptors Angelo da Ventura and Paolo da Siena, together

²⁵⁹ Forte (1967), p. 230: ‘Item volo quod dicta sepultura fienda in dicto loco in Minerva non sit curiosa vel nimium sumptuosa, sed humilis et honesta. Et si aliqua sumptuositas requiratur ibidem, attendant dicti executores testamenti mei quod huiusmodi sumptuositas resultet ad decorem ecclesie ipsius et devotam memoriam meam.’ Ibid., p. 232: ‘si non sufficerent centum floreni, quos pro ipsa sepultura ordinavi fideliter expendendos, addantur floreni tot quot sufficiant usque ad quinquaginta ad plus.’ See Gardner (1992), pp. 121-123.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 209.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 209; Francesco Filippini, ‘La tomba del card. Matteo Orsini nella chiesa della Minerva in Roma e gli affreschi della cappella Orsini in San Francesco in Assisi’, *Bollettino d’Arte* VII (1927) Luglio, pp. 84-90.

²⁶² Gardner (1992), p. 22, fn. 100 and p. 123.

²⁶³ Matteo’s heraldry appears in the College de la Croix in Avignon; see Georges de Loye, ‘Une frise armoriée dans la livrée du cardinal de Bayonne (1335)’, *Annuaire de la société des amis du palais des papes* LV-LVI (1978-1979), pp. 25-52, at p. 45: ‘de gueules à trois bandes d’argent au chef du second boutonné du premier.’

with Giovanni Guidacelli and a certain Lelo or Menchiabona, who appear as witnesses in a document drafted in the Chapter House of S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1341.²⁶⁴ Gardner suggested that the Orsini tomb would have been ‘a canopied wall monument, perhaps borne on corbels set on the right-hand side of his sepulchral chapel.’²⁶⁵ The date of completion of the tomb and transferral of the body is not known.²⁶⁶

The prelate who succeeded Orsini as cardinal of Sabina was the Castilian Pedro Gomez (d.1348). Pedro established in his will that if he were to die in Avignon, he was to be buried in the church of St. Praxède which he had founded in the outskirts of the city, in front of the high altar.²⁶⁷ Should he die in Italy, Pedro wanted to be buried in S. Prassede in Rome, his first cardinal title, and if he died in Spain, his body should be buried in Toledo Cathedral. Pedro Gomez allocated 300 florins to pay for his tomb, that is to say double the amount left by Matteo Orsini eight years earlier, but he did not specify the appearance or position of his tomb in these two alternative locations.²⁶⁸ Nothing survives of Pedro’s tomb, and the documentay evidence refers only to the fact that he was buried there, without any description of his tomb. Ciacconius transcribed a long epitaph which once decorated his tomb in St. Praxède.²⁶⁹ Pedro’s nephew,

²⁶⁴ ‘...magistro Angelo et magistro Paulo Marmorariis olim de Senis et nunc de Urbe, de regione pinee, Johanne Guidacelli marmorario de regione trivii, et Lelo dicto alias Menchiabona de regione pinea, testibus ad hoc vocatis et rogatis.’ Filippini (1927), p. 84. The document was kept with a copy of Orsini’s will in the AS Bologna, Sezione Demaniale, San Domenico 191-7525 which Forte could not trace after the Second World War moves. Forte (1967), p. 208, fn. 86. Angelo da Ventura executed and signed in 1330 the tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati in Arezzo. Filippini (1927), p. 84; Gardner (1992), p. 122.

²⁶⁵ Gardner (1992), p. 123.

²⁶⁶ Forte (1967), pp. 208-209.

²⁶⁷ The will was transcribed by Pansier (1916), at pp. 76-84; p. 76: ‘sepeliatur in ecclesia monasterii nostri Sancte Praxedis, Avinion.diocesis, ante ipsius ecclesie majus altare, in quibus ecclesia et loco eligimus sepulturam.’

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 77: ‘Et si forte nos in partibus Ytalie ubicumque diem claudere contingat extremum, in ecclesia S.Praxedis de Urbe, que noster estitit titulis principalis; si vero in Yspanie partibus, in catedrali ecclesia Tholetan., nostram eligimus; cui sive Tholetane sive S. Praxedis ecclesie pro sepultura prefata trecentos florenos relinquimus et legamus’.

²⁶⁹ ‘Ad superos evolavit anno 1349. vel melius ex Felici Contelorio 14.Julii, seu mense Decembri anni 1348, & sepultus in Ecclesia S.Praxedis extra Urbem Avenionensem a se, ut diximus, erecta cum sequenti Inscriptione, quae ad nostram pervenit notitiam studio Iosephi Mariae Suaresij Episcopi Vasionensis: PETRUS GOMESII DE

Pedro Gomez Barroso, was buried in the nearby Augustinian church of Montfavet when he died in 1374, and Françoise Baron identified the alabaster head of a funerary effigy in the Musée de Petit Palais in Avignon as appertaining to his sepulchre.²⁷⁰ Barroso had been bishop of Sigüenza and cardinal of S. Prassede (1371).²⁷¹ Gomez wanted his body to be laid out in the Dominican church of Avignon for nine days, following custom and according with his status as cardinal, although keeping within a restrained budget and avoiding excess expenditure.²⁷² He requested 5,000 masses for his soul (although he did not specify where), and endowed Toledo Cathedral for the celebration of twelve anniversaries and twelve High Masses a year.²⁷³ In case his body was not buried there, Pedro nonetheless requested that the Toledo clergy pray at the tomb of his uncle Gomez Garcia.²⁷⁴ I have not located this tomb in the Cathedral and presume it lost.

BARROSO, NATIONE HISPANUS, DE CIVITATE TOLETANA ORIUNDUS, EX PATRE FERDINANDO PETRI MILITE DE BARROSO, ET UXORE EIUS MEMSIA GARZIA DE SOTOMAIORI, QUI CUM ESSET EPISCOPUS CARTHAGINENSIS, PER SANCTAE REC. DOMINUM IOANNEM PP.XXII FUTIT CREATUS CARD. AD TT. S. PRAXEDIS, DEINDE PER SANCTAE REC. DOMINUM BENEDICTUM PP.XII. FUTIT FACTUS EPISCOPUS SABINENSIS, DE BONIS A DEO SIBI COLLATIS, PRO ANIMA SUA, ET BENEFACITORUM SUORUM, ECCLESIAM ISTAM, ET MONASTERIUM FUNDAVIT, ET PER DEI GRATIAM QUO AD FABRICAM COMPLEVIT, ET IBI SUAM SEPULTURAM.....AUTEM PER SUAM MISERICORDIAM, CUIUS EST PERFICERE, QUOD EST... CREMENTUM DET...INTRODUXIT AUTEM SORO... TIBUS MISIT AD PRULIANUM ANNO DOMINI MCCCXLV.... MENSIS IULII IN FESTO SANCTAE PRAXEDIS.’ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. II, fol. 428. Epitaph also transcribed by Davila with slight variation in calligraphy, and failing to realise that the date was incomplete, which he published as 1345. González Dávila (1647), Vol. 2, fol. 59.

²⁷⁰ Musée Petit Palais, N.109A, from Nôtre-Dame du Bon Repos, Montfavet. Françoise Baron, ‘Fragments de gisants avignonnais’, *Revue du Louvre* 28 (1978), 2, pp. 73-83, at pp. 81-82. J Goñi Gaztambide, ‘Pedro Gomez Barroso’, in *Dictionnaire d’Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXI (1986), pp. 546-549, at p. 548. *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1355, xix, p. 468 stated that he had been buried in the monastery founded by his uncle, not in the collegiale: ‘el qual yace enterrado cerca de Aviñon en el Monesterio que dicen de España.’ Cf. Grassoti (1972), p. 337 fn. 68. The funerary inscription that decorated the monument was partially transcribed in the 17th century; Pansier (1916), p. 39. Will of Anglic Grimoard, 1388: ‘Item lego executoribus testamenti bonae memoriae Domini Cardinalis Hispani ultime defuncti cujus corpus sepultum est in Ecclesia monastery ordinis Sancti Augustini Avenionensis dioecesi’, quoted by Baluze (1916-1924), Vol. IV, pp. 327-348.

²⁷¹ Eubel (1913), p. 45.

²⁷² Pansier (1916), p. 76: ‘et ibidem fiant exequie usque ad nonam diem secundum morem et consuetudinem cardinalium decencium, vitato tamen excessu expensarum in dictis exequiis fiendarum’.

²⁷³ The instructions regarding the liturgical celebrations in Toledo for his soul are specified in his will. Pansier (1916), p. 80: ‘Item pro anima nostra benefactorum et parentum nostrorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum quibus obnoxii nos teneremus, quinque milia missarum volumus celebrari, et presbiteris eas celebrantibus diebus quibus celebraverint oblationem juxta morem patrie dari volumus condecenter ..

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81: ‘Et si ibi nostra non fuerit sepultura, eodem modo debeant ire ad sepulturam domini Gometii Garciae, condam abbatis Vallissoletan. avunculis (*sic*) nostri.’ There is a tomb slab in the chapel of S. José of a Joannes

Gomez was a common name, and no trace remains of this tomb in the chapel of St. Lucy, which was associated with the family. The number of masses that Pedro requested is exactly a tenth of the 50,000 requested by Albornoz 30 years later. Cardinal Talleyrand du Perigord did not request a precise number of Masses for his soul; instead, he allocated in his will of 1360 specific sums to fund anniversary services in Lincoln, the monastery of La Chancelade and churches in the diocese of Perigord.²⁷⁵

The cardinal of Sabina who succeeded Pedro Gomez was the French national Bertrand de Déaux. He died in October 1355 at the *livrée* Ceccano in Avignon.²⁷⁶ In his will, he left instructions to build a collegiate church, leaving the decision to his testamentary executors. The rebuilt church of St. Didier was consecrated in September 1359; the body of Bertrand was probably buried in the east end until the tomb was completed.²⁷⁷ Gagnière suggested that perhaps the actual tomb was not complete, and that it is unlikely that the body was transferred before the final repository was finished.

The wall tomb of Bertrand was covered by wooden panelling between 1676 and 1678 and only resurfaced in 1973 during a restoration campaign.²⁷⁸ The tomb is on a very prominent position and occupies a large section of the wall to the left of the high altar (Fig. 182). A round arch encloses the elaborate structure carved within the wall recess, reaching a total height of almost 7.50 metres. There are three vertical registers, articulated in an architectural frame reminiscent of a Gothic church façade with a pointed roof and pinnacles.²⁷⁹ The lowest register would have contained the effigy and the epitaph. The recess is not deep enough to have

Gartia, MCCCXXVI. It is the closest I found to Gomez Garcia in Toledo Cathedral. See Revuelta Tubino (1989) Vol. II, p. 103.

²⁷⁵ Martène and Durand (1717), cols. 1470-1471.

²⁷⁶ Gagnière (1977), p. 3.

²⁷⁷ Girard (1936-37), p. 643; Gagnière (1977), p. 3.

²⁷⁸ Gagnière (1977), pp. 1, 8. The tomb was opened in 1678.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

contained a horizontal table tomb and effigy; perhaps the effigy lay perpendicular to the wall, in the manner of the tomb of Ximenez de Rada, or there was a sarcophagus attached to the wall.

Ciacconius transcribed the now lost epitaph on his tomb.²⁸⁰ In 1638, Frizon published it but we do not know whether he had seen it or whether it was an unacknowledged copy from

Ciacconius.²⁸¹ The central section of the monument, articulated into niches by piers and cusped arches, is missing most of its original decoration. A relief survives in the centre which represents the soul of the deceased (wearing a chasuble, with his hands joined in prayer) carried aloft by four angels (Fig. 183).²⁸² This motif of the *elevatio animae* was represented in the chapel of St. Martial in the Palais des Papes and on the tomb of Renaud de Montclar at the Chaise-Dieu (d. 1346).²⁸³ The subject also appears frequently in Spanish funerary sculpture. The crowned soul of Queen Leonor (d.1214) appears on the west end of her thirteenth-century sarcophagus in Las Huelgas. The tomb of Bishop Mateo Rynal (d.1259) in the cloister of Burgos Cathedral includes a representation of his soul being carried by angels.²⁸⁴ In the chapel of the Condestable in the

²⁸⁰ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. II, col. 474: 'Decessit Avenione xij Kal. Novembris anno 1355 ac sepultus in Templo sancti Desiderij a se constructo, cum hoc Epitaphio: Hic iacet bonae memoriae Bertrandus de Deucio, Gallus, Castri de Blandiaco Uticensis Dioecesis, Legum Doctor egregius, qui fuit Ebredunensis Archiepiscopus, & deinde tituli S.Marci Presbyter Cardinalis, & demum Episcopus Sabinensis & S.R.E. Vicecancellarius, vir magnarum virtutum & scientiae, qui de suis bonis hanc Ecclesiam dotavit, & fieri ordinavit. Obijt autem Avenione xxj Octobris ibidem Curia Romana residente, anno a Virginis partu 1355. Domini Innocentij Papae VI Tertio; cuius anima in pace quiescat.'

²⁸¹ Frizon stated in 1638 that Bertrand had left donations to the Chartreuse of Avignon, which is not accurate, for Bertrand died before the monastery was founded: 'Aedem D. Desiderii Avenionensem erexit, dotavit, Monasteriumque Carthusiense ibidem condidit.' Paul Frizon, *GALLIA PURPURATA qua sum summorum pontificum, tum omnium galliae cardinalium, qui hactenus vixere res praeclare gestae continentur; adiectae sunt parvae, & earundem descriptionis* (Paris, 1638), p. 325. By 1699, DuChesne could only offer a representation of the bust.

²⁸² Mognetti in *Sculpture Funéraire à Avignon au temps des papes* (exhibition catalogue, Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, 1979), ed. Elisabeth Mognetti (Avignon: Musée du Petit Palais, 1979), p. 13 stated that there were two angels, but close inspection reveals that there are four.

²⁸³ Gagnière (1977), p. 4, fn. 4. For Renaud de Monclar, and the engraving of the lost tomb of Urban V at St. Victor in Marseilles, see Gardner (1992), p. 151, fig. 199.

²⁸⁴ For the tomb of Queen Leonor, see Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 194-196. The tomb of Bishop Rynal was opened in 1621, when the tomb was translated to the cloister, and the written account states that the body was clothed in pontificals. Ibid., pp. 96-97, figs. 67, 68. The *elevatio animae* also appears on the tomb of Fernando

main body of the cathedral, the wall tomb of the bishop of Burgos Domingo de Arroyuelo (d.1380?), executed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, includes the representation of the mitred, naked soul of the Bishop, with his hands joined in prayer, right above the head of the effigy (Fig. 184).²⁸⁵ Finally, the lost tomb of Urban V in St-Victor, Marseille, included this iconography.²⁸⁶

The coat of arms of Bertrand de Déaux, *d'argent au chef d'azur*, surmounted by the cardinal hat, appears carved and painted inside the wall recess, and is painted on the pillars supporting the framing arch of the monument (Fig. 185).²⁸⁷ The latter heraldry is set on rectangular panels which simulate veined marble in yellow and red tones. On the spandrels of the arch, two quatrefoils contain the busts of St. Jerome to the left, holding an open book and wearing a cardinal hat, and St. Gregory the Great to the right, wearing a tiara and holding a scroll. St. Gregory is identified by the fragmentary inscription: '...ORIUS.' The area of the wall behind the architectural frame is covered in a grid pattern of red and blue hexagones. On the intrados of the arch, the painted decoration consists of foliage and two round human faces, which could perhaps represent the Sun and the Moon (Fig. 186). This is an extremely elaborate monument, with exquisite attention to detail. The internal wall and the vault of each niche are painted. Along the lower horizontal band which would have marked the separation between the effigy and the architectural frame, there are six carved bases that would have supported statuettes, and are now used as candle holders. Three of these are decorated with foliage, two are heads of angels and one is an animal head with simian features. The lower niches are framed by

Alonso (d.1285) in the Catedral Vieja of Salamanca; see Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), fig. 75, p. 90.

²⁸⁵ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 64-66. Durán Sanpere and Ainaud de Lasarte (1956), p. 76. González Dávila (1647), Vol. 3, fol. 75, stated that he died in 1385.

²⁸⁶ Gagnière (1977), p. 4.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

ogee arches, with an elaborate finial at the cusps. The dominant colours of the monument are red, green and blue. Gold has been applied to highlight certain details such as the capitals of the colonnettes throughout the structure, the crockets lining the spires and the finial at the summit. The structure of the tomb is carved in Pernes stone, a material which was also employed in the tombs of John XXII, Innocent VI and the gisant of Jean de la Grange.²⁸⁸ The effigy and the accompanying sculptures would have been of alabaster.²⁸⁹ The head is all that survives from the gisant. It is a piece of alabaster measuring 22 x 17cm, preserved in the Petit Palais since it was unearthed in St. Didier during building works in 1859 (Fig. 187).²⁹⁰ The deceased cardinal is represented with his eyes open and wearing a mitre. Gagnière and Baron have demonstrated the validity of Duchesne's engraved portraits after comparing the head with the bust reproduced by the seventeenth-century author (Fig. 188).²⁹¹ The mitre and the facial features, particularly around the mouth area, are identical in both engraving and stone. Gagnière suggested that the slight asymmetry of his features might be due to a facial paralysis on the right side, which is marginally larger.²⁹² Two figures of mourners in the Musée Calvet might have been part of the tomb.²⁹³ Gagnière and Baron dated the tomb 1360-1365.²⁹⁴ However, it is also possible to suggest a date of execution closer to 1359, when the church was consecrated. The tomb of the founder would have been completed by then, particularly if work had begun at the apse in 1355.

²⁸⁸ Pointed out by Gagnière (1977), p. 4.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹⁰ Musée de Petit Palais, Inv. n. 2270; see Gagnière (1977), p. 7, fn. 12. Baron (1978), p. 75, fn. 21 gives a height of 24 cm. instead of 22 cm. Bertrand's nephew, Jean de Blandiac (d.1379) chose burial in this church but established instructions for no tomb nor epitaph; see Baron (1978), p. 75.

²⁹¹ Gagnière (1977), p. 7 also for measures, in fn.12. Baron compared other sculptured fragments from Avignonese tombs to Duchesne engravings of 1660, with satisfactory results, such as the effigy of Arnaud de Via (p. 74), Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille (pp. 75-76), and Élie de Nabinaux (pp. 76-79). Baron (1978/2), pp. 73-83.

²⁹² Gagnière (1977), p. 6.

²⁹³ *Sculpture Funéraire à Avignon au temps des papes* (1979), p. 13.

²⁹⁴ Gagnière (1977), p. 10. Baron (1978), p. 75.

The funerary requests and the tombs of other cardinals of the Avignon court are also worth noting, since they provide further parameters of comparison with the tomb of Albornoz. His contemporary Niccolò Capocci, for example, wished to be buried in his home town, Rome, in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, next to his ancestor Cardinal Pietro Capocci, in the chapel of S. Lorenzo. In his will, Niccolò clearly stated his desire for a simple tomb: ‘I wish my burial to be on the ground without further ado a monument; I also wish that a slab of stone is placed on the burial, carved with the figure of a bishop in regalia, according to custom, [and] wherever this tomb were, I request no more than fifty candles placed at my burial place, and that none of my *familiares* is dressed in black.’²⁹⁵

Capocci endowed his funerary chapel with twelve chaplains.²⁹⁶ However, in the Statutes of the College he had founded in Perugia, the site of his burial is not identified as the chapel of S. Lorenzo, but as the nave where St. Jerome was buried.²⁹⁷ The chapel was remodeled, like most of the chapels in the church, in the sixteenth century.²⁹⁸ The tomb has not survived, although the long epitaph was transcribed by Ciacconius.²⁹⁹ The bodies of Pietro and Niccolò were moved to the canons’ burial crypt in 1750, where a slab marking their burial survives.³⁰⁰ Niccolò Capocci requested that the anniversary of his death be celebrated in the

²⁹⁵ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. 1, col. 512: ‘meam sepulturam volo esse in terra sine aliquot aedificio; Volo tamen, quod unus lapis supra dictam sepulturam ponatur sculpta in dicto lapide figura unius Episcopi parati, ut moris est, ad quam sepulturam, ubicumque fuerit, volo deferri ad plus quinquaginta torticia, & alias faculas, & candelas pro portione torticiorum, & mando, quod nullus meus familiaris induatur de nigro.’

²⁹⁶ Cardella (1793), p. 184: ‘In quella Basilica volle il Card. Capocci, che dopo la sua morte si fondasse un colleggio di dodici sacerdoti, che, insieme col Capitolo, convenissero in coro alla recitazione de’ divini uffici, a’ quali assegnò rendite per vivere, e una comoda casa per abitare, sulla piazza della medesima Basilica.’ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 132, stated that the chapel was only completed in 1374.

²⁹⁷ The revised Statutes may be dated c. 1369. Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 389: ‘et requiescit Corpus ejus in Ecclesia Sancte Marie Majoris de Urbe, in Navi videlicet ubi requiescit Corpus Sanctissimum Sancti Jeronimi, et ejus Anima requiescat in pace..’

²⁹⁸ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 132-133.

²⁹⁹ Ciacconius (1677), Vol. II, col. 510.

³⁰⁰ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), pp. 125-133, illustrated in p. 130. The inscription reads: PETRUS. ET. NICOLAUS. CAPOCCII./ CARDINALES. ARCHIPRESBYTERI./ MUNIFICENTIA. PIETATE. SINGULARI./

Collegio he had founded in Perugia with an Office of the dead for his soul and that of his relatives.³⁰¹ He also asked students to pray for his soul often.³⁰² His anniversary was established in the day after the feast of St. James, in July- as he died on the feast day, the anniversary is celebrated one day later.³⁰³

Some cardinals specified in their will not only the location but also the material for their sepulchres. The French cardinal Jean de Dormans (d.1373) requested a tomb with an effigy made of copper, and requested to be buried in a tomb in front of the high altar of the church of the Charterhouse of Vauvert in Paris.³⁰⁴ Talleyrand du Perigord (d. 16 January 1364) requested to be buried in the church of St. Front in Périgueux, out of his devotion for this saint, and because it had been his first important ecclesiastical position. Incidentally, this was a pilgrimage church. In his will of October 1360, Talleyrand did not specify location, or whether a tomb was already made. He only requested that should he die in Avignon or the surrounding area, the funeral rites be conducted in the Franciscan church, and then his body be translated to St. Front. On his burial day, he established that a pound of silver be given to each attending canon, priest, and cleric (to be distributed by his executors), and to give 2 florins to each Franciscan house in Périgueux.³⁰⁵ There is no trace of the tomb in St. Front, which led some scholars to suggest that

REBUS. GESTIS./ DE. S.R.E./ DE. LIBERIANA. BASILICA. / OPTIME. MERITI./ TEMPLO. INSTAURATO./ PLURIES. TRANSLATI./ TANDEM./ IN. CANONICORUM. SEPULCHRO./ RESURECTIONEM. EXPECTANT./ EX. CAPITULI. DECRETO./KAL. FEBR. M.DCC.L.’

³⁰¹ Statute XV, transcribed by Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 352: ‘Item volo quod scribatur dies mortis mee et in dicta capella meum anniversarium celebretur et quilibet dictorum scolarium per se et ad partem ea die teneatur dicere pro anima mea et parentum meorum totum officium mortuorum et scolares sacerdotes domus teneantur illa missam et officium de mortuis celebrare.’

³⁰² Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 365, Statute XLIII.

³⁰³ Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 378, Statute LXIV.

³⁰⁴ Carolus-Barré (1935), pp. 316, 352-353: ‘et volo quod corpus meum ibidem sepaliatur directe ante majus altare ejusdem ecclesie sub tumulo ibidem sumptibus meis de novo faciendo honeste, sicut decet ad decorem loci, de metallo cupreo.’ Gardner (1992), p. 168. Adhémar and Dordor (1974), no. 845.

³⁰⁵ Martène and Durand (1717), col. 1469: ‘rogamus, sperantesque precibus & intercessione beatissime Frontonis, & ejus meritis apud omnipotentem Dominum ad juvari, in ecclesia ipsius Sancti Frontonis de Petragoriis, ad quam gerimus specialis devotionis affectum, nostram eligimus sepulturam: ut in ea in qua promotionis nostrae primordia

he was buried in S. Pietro in Vincoli.³⁰⁶ However, a document dated March 1365, whereby the nephew of the cardinal, Archambault, acknowledged receipt of five large tapestries which had been used at the burial of Talleyrand, provided evidence of his burial in St. Front.³⁰⁷ Passing mention was made of the tomb in 1440, whose original location Roux placed on one of the sides of the door which leads to the crypt, against the choir enclosure wall.³⁰⁸ It was destroyed in 1582 during building works.³⁰⁹

Cardinal Guy de Boulogne requested burial in the family chapel in the Cistercian abbey church of Vauluisant (now disappeared), which his family had erected.³¹⁰ He left 500 florins to the Cathedral of Lyon to celebrate an anniversary for him and his family once a year, in perpetuity.³¹¹ To the churches of S. Cecilia, Porto, Therouanne, Amiens and Clermont, where he had held positions, he left 200 to 300 florins, for anniversaries for his soul and his relatives.³¹² Androin de la Roche was buried in the chapel of Saint Denis in the lost church of Cluny, but we have no description of it.³¹³

sumsimus, orationum suffragia jugiter sentiamus. Si autem in civitate Avenionensi, vel prope eam nos decedere contingat, in domo Fratrum Minorum de Avenione exsequias nostras fieri ordinamus, & exinde post novem dies ad locum praedictae sepulturae nos portari volumus & transferri. In die autem sepulturae nostrae hujusmodi canonicis majoris & dictae sancti Frontonis ecclesiae Petragoricensis utriusque & aliis clericis in eis deservientibus ibidem pro sepultura nostra venientibus, dari libratam in pecunia volumus, & eleemosynam pauperibus ibi convenientibus dari praecipimus, prout secundum morem patriae, & inspecto statu nostro infrascriptis executoribus nostris videbitur faciendum. Qua etiam die singulis conventibus praedictorum Minorum, & sororum monialium sanctae Clarae Minorissarum de Petragoris decem florenos auri pro pitancia dari volumus. Et in die exsequiarum faciendarum in Avenione singulis collegiis pauperum religiosorum, & hospitalibus dictae civitatis eleemosynam dari volumus, prout infrascriptis executoribus videbitur faciendum.’

³⁰⁶ Canon J. Roux, ‘Lieu de la sépulture du cardinal Hélié Talleyrand de Périgord’, *Bulletin de la société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord* LVIII (1931), pp. 160-164, at p. 161.

³⁰⁷ Roux (1931), p. 163.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 164.

³⁰⁹ Ibid..

³¹⁰ Jugie (1986), Vol. III, p. 184, lines 54-56.

³¹¹ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 187, lines 124-130.

³¹² Ibid., Vol. III, p. 187, lines 131-141.

³¹³ DuChesne (1660), p. 570.

Burial next to relatives was a common request. The archdeacon of Olmedo Sancho Sanchez in his will dated 13 October 1341, asked to be buried next to his brother in the Cathedral of Ávila.³¹⁴ The Roman cardinal Annibale da Ceccano, cardinal bishop of Tusculum from 1332 to 1350, wished to be buried in Nôtre-Dame des Doms if he died in Avignon, and in the chapel of SS. Lorenzo e Giorgio in St. Peter's, near his uncle the important cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, should he die outside Avignon.³¹⁵ Albornoz, although his uncle Ximeno was buried in Toledo, did not mention him in his will, and he did not choose to be buried near his relatives in Cuenca.

The sepulchre of Albornoz was a pioneer regarding its location and type; it was directly indebted to the papal tomb of Clement VI and certainly reflected the status of the deceased. Its influence upon funerary sculpture in Spain is most clearly seen in the tombs of Fernando and Pedro Perez Calvillo in Tarazona Cathedral. Pedro was bishop of Tarazona from 1352 to 1391, and was succeeded in the See by his brother Fernando, who became a cardinal in 1397 and died in 1404.³¹⁶ The wall tombs of the brothers, executed by the Catalonian sculptor Pedro de Corcan circa 1404, represent a combination of prelates and weepers under arcades, taking part in a funeral procession (Fig. 189).³¹⁷ Both brothers had sojourned in Italy and were associated with Albornoz: whilst Pedro Calvillo had joined the legation of the Castilian cardinal in 1355, Fernando arrived in Bologna in 1370, where he studied Canon Law and would have been

³¹⁴ Moreno Núñez (2001) p. 413. AHN, Clero Catedral de Avila, carpeta 29, no. 3. 'E pido por mercet a mio sseñor el Obispo e al dean e al cabillo de la iglesia de Avila que me den ssepultura en la dicha iglesia çerca la fuessa do yase don Johan Viçente en tal manera ge la fuessa de maestre Benito mi hermano que la alçen arriba contra la pila por ge la mi sepultura venga par de la fuessa del dicho dean.' Fuessa refers to the tomb; in the same document we read: 'E para cada dia de la novena veynte maravedis por que salgan sobre mi fuessa.'

³¹⁵ Dykmans (1973), pp. 231, 300-301, lines 200-205.

³¹⁶ Gams (1873), p. 78. María Teresa Ainaga Andrés, 'Los episcopados de Pedro y Fernando Pérez Calvillo. Su legado cultural a la ciudad de Tarazona', in *Retablo de Juan de Leví y su restauración: Capilla de los Pérez Calvillo, Catedral de Tarazona* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, Departamento de Cultura y Educación, 1990), pp. 7-18, at p. 7. María Teresa Ainaga Andrés, 'El legado artístico de Pedro y Fernando Pérez Calvillo a la sede episcopal de Tarazona (Zaragoza)', *Turiaso* 10/ 2 (1992), pp. 453-504, at p. 472.

³¹⁷ In 1404, Pedro de Corcan received 130 florins for the tomb of Pedro and 300 florins for the tomb of Fernando; Ainaga Andrés (1990), pp. 16, 55.

familiar with the Collegio di Spagna.³¹⁸ The architectural canopy which might have been present at Albornoz's tomb is found in both sepulchres at Tarazona, and the tomb of Fernando includes the representation of the cardinal hat in stone, placed at the feet of the effigy, near the lion. The earlier wall tomb of the French bishop Gaufridus (d.1352), also in Tarazona Cathedral, and showing frontal figures of clerics holding books under arches along the front of the sarcophagus, may have been an inspiration for the Calvillo tombs, together with the sepulchre of Albornoz which was in place by 1404.³¹⁹

The fifteenth-century tomb of Bishop Alonso de Cartagena in Burgos Cathedral is the closest parallel to that of Albornoz regarding location and iconography: it consists of a freestanding stone sarcophagus with an alabaster effigy in pontificals and figures of mourners inside arches on the long sides. The tomb, in the centre of the chapel of the Visitación, is oriented towards the altar, and is dated c. 1475.³²⁰ However, the architecture is not as elaborate as that seen in Toledo, there are less figures of mourners, and the lions along the base of the tomb of Albornoz are replaced here for coats of arms. At the feet end of the sarcophagus is represented the Imposition of the chasuble to St. Ildefonso, a reference to the name saint of the deceased bishop, not to his office; Alonso was not archbishop of Toledo.

³¹⁸ In May 1355, Innocent VI sent Pedro Calvillo to Italy; he requested benefices for members of his household; see Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), docs. 293, 302-304. For Fernando, who later joined the Curia in Rome, see Ainaga Andrés (1990), pp. 11-12.

³¹⁹ See Eubel (1913), p. 513. Tomb reproduced at Bildindex, under Tarazona, in <http://www.bildindex.de>.

³²⁰ Gómez Bárcena (1988a), pp. 50-53. He erected the chapel of the Visitación in the south crossing of the Cathedral.

5.8. Remembering the dead in prayer: anniversaries and other services.

Albornoz instructed in his will that 50,000 Masses be said for his soul. More than half of these (35,000) were to be celebrated on Italian soil, mainly in Umbria, the Marche and Romagna. The cardinal of Sabina showed his predilection for the Mendicant Orders: the Franciscans in Assisi and in the duchy of Spoleto were trusted with a third of the total number (10,000), whilst the Dominican, Augustinian hermits and Carmelitan friars throughout the Marche and Romagna were to celebrate 20,000 Masses. The remaining 5,000 were to be held in Bologna (3,000 by Mendicant friars and 2,000 by secular clergy).³²¹ Albornoz wished to be remembered in Avignon with 10,000 masses, and in his country of origin with 3,000 in Zaragoza and 2,000 in Cuenca, his native town. The Masses in Zaragoza would be celebrated by Mendicant Orders, but in Cuenca, also by the secular clergy.³²²

In addition to this, his testamentary executors, in 1368, requested from the friars at San Francesco in Assisi that a Requiem Mass and a solemn anniversary Mass for the cardinal's soul must be celebrated each year, in perpetuity, 'in the chapel of lord Gil in the Lower Church.' There is no mention of St. Catherine, or the precise location within the church, but at this stage the tomb of the cardinal and the frescoed decoration were in place, rendering details such as the advocacy of the chapel unnecessary.³²³ The Collegio di Spagna in Bologna in 1377 established

³²¹ Appendix I, lines 14-17; Sepúlveda (1780), VIII. He trusted his testamentary executors to distribute the services among the various Orders.

³²² Appendix I, lines 18-19; Sepúlveda (1780), IX.

³²³ 'predicti fratres et conventus, pro anima dicti domini Egidii cardinalis, teneantur et debeant, perpetuis temporibus, omni anno, celebrare seu celebrari facere, in capella dicti dom. Egidii sita infra ecclesiam S. Francisci de Assisio, unam missam de requiem, et unum solempne anniversarium perpetuo facere singulis annis, omni die vicesima tertia in vespero et vicesima quarta mensis augusti in missa, in quo quidem anniversario omnes fratres ordinis S. Francisci, qui sunt et erunt per tempora in conventibus dicte civitatis Assisii, debeant interesse, aliud anniversarium perpetuo, omni die vicesima tertia in vesperis et vicesima quarta in missa cuiuslibet mensis, quod fieri debeat per fratres in monasterium S. Francisci de Assisio in capella antedicta, super quibus observandis et fideliter adimplendis eorum conscientiam oneramus.' AA, Vol. IX, n. 5, quoted by Filippini (1910), p. 58. This is

the celebration of a daily Mass for the soul of Albornoz and his kin, as well as a yearly solemn anniversary –with vespers service- in August, in the college chapel.³²⁴ In Assisi, the friars were to hold an anniversary service on August 24th, with vespers the previous evening, every year.³²⁵ In 1597, Albornoz was still remembered in the prayers of the Franciscans at Assisi.³²⁶

When the executors of the will of Albornoz distributed the Masses among the Mendicant Orders in Bologna, they favoured the Franciscans. Whereas the Carmelites, Hermits of St. Augustine and the Dominicans received the commission of 500 Masses each (entailing a donation of 25 pounds), the friars in S. Francesco were granted the celebration of 1,000 Masses, with the corresponding donation (50 pounds).³²⁷ The celebration of a further 1,000 Masses in S. Maria de Borgopanigale was endowed with the same donation.³²⁸ The codicil of 1368 stipulated the presence of two chaplains in the chapel of the Collegio di Spagna, who were to pray for the souls of the cardinal and his relatives.³²⁹ Of course, services were held in Toledo for the soul of Albornoz on the anniversary of his death, 23 August.³³⁰ But further services were held on 2 January and each month, ‘four days before the end of the month, and a day before [the

confirmed by the executors in 1368, cf. BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], ff. 79v-80r. Confirmed in May 1372, AA, Vol. IX, n. 7, p. 11, quoted by Piana (1972), p. 517. See above, *Chapter 3*, pp. 164-187.

³²⁴ Statute IX, Marti (1966), pp. 168-169. At dawn, the Mass of the Dead would be celebrated, and students were encouraged to attend it; see Statute XI, *ibid.*, pp. 177-183. The anniversary service was held on the 24th August, with vespers the day before, but only 4 torches were used; *ibid.*, p. 180. Statute XXXV urged students to pray for the soul of Albornoz, in gratitude for his generosity, see *ibid.*, pp. 298-301.

³²⁵ AA, IX, n. 7, p. 11, quoted by Piana (1972), p. 517.

³²⁶ Nessi (1991), p. 263, doc. 77.

³²⁷ AA, IX, n. 16A – 16D, quoted by Piana (1972), at pp. 513-516. 2 March 1368.

³²⁸ AA, IX, n. 16H, quoted by Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 328. 25 August 1368.

³²⁹ BNE, Ms. 13023 [Burriel], fol. 72v: ‘Item simili modo declaramus ordinamus et volumus quod in dicto collegio ultra ordinata per dictum dominum Egidium cardinalem in suo ultimo testamento sicut et esse debeant duo alii capellani presbiteri qui ibidem continue missas celebrentet horas canonicas dicant predicti domini Egidij et suorum parentum animabus et uti dicto Collegio cultus divinus augeatur.’

³³⁰ ACT, MS. 42-30, fol. 97v: ‘Augusto xxiii. Commemoratio bone memorie dns. egidio cardinalis yspanie quondam archiepis toletanus’; MS. 42-31, fol. 69r: ‘Aniversario por don Gil Cardenal de España. Dizense las vigiliias a xxiii dias del mes de Agosto que es vigilia de sant. Bartholome et la missa el dia et fazese el officio todo en la capilla de sant alifonso, do sta el cuerpo del dicho Cardenal, et presentense a este aniversario quinientos mrs.’ Pérez (1579), ff. 189v and 191v, dated the first Obituary, to the time of Archbishop Blas Fernandez, c. 1356, and the second Obituary to the lifetime of Archbishop Tenorio, c. 1396. Cf. González Ruiz (1997), p. 127, who dated MS. 42-30 to the first quarter of the 14th century, and MS. 42-31 to the last decade of the 14th century.

celebration of the anniversary of] cardinal Pedro.’³³¹ The Chapter celebrated a Mass to the Virgin Mary on the last day of January for the soul of Cardinal Pedro Gomez. And, the day before the last of each month, a Requiem mass was celebrated in the chapel of St. Lucy, where members of the Gomez family were buried.³³² In 1440 there was another notice linking the chapel of St. Lucy to Pedro Gomez and his family.³³³ Members of the Confraternity of the Obra which Albornoz had founded during his archbishopric were remembered each April with a Requiem Mass.³³⁴

The Chapter of Toledo also remembered Alonso, bishop of Ávila and nephew of Albornoz, every 26 June with a Mass, in recognition of his role on securing the arrival of relics and precious objects to the Cathedral from the execution of the will of Albornoz. The attendants to the service were to recite prayers over the tomb of the Cardinal, in the chapel of St.

Ildefonso.³³⁵

³³¹ Pérez (1579), ff. 192r, 192v. ‘Enero ... Por don Gil Arcobispo Cardenal se dize missa de nuestra senora cada tercero dia del mes ... Por el Card. don Pedro missa de sancta Maria cada postrer dia de mes (creo es de don Pedro Barroso) ... El Cardenal don Pedro cada penultimo dia del mes missa de Requiem responso en la capilla de sancta Lucia ... Don Gil Cardenal cada mes un dia antes que los del Cardenal don Pedro que es quatro dias por andar del mes (idest quarto calis. cuiuslibet mensis) y por estos, y por la vigilia de S. Bartholome en Agosto dexo dotacion. Vease abaxo en Agosto.’ MS. 42-31, fol. 52v: ‘Julio. Aniversario por don Gil Cardenal de españa. fazese cada mes un dia antes que los del Cardenal don pedro que es a iij dias por andar del mes. et presentense CC. los xx alas visperas et los x a maitines por los quales aniversarios et por el del mes de agosto dela vigilia de Sant Bartholome. et por otros encargos que tomo el Cabillo segund se obligo el dicho Cabillo esta escripto en el dicho mes de agosto.’

³³² Pérez (1579), fol. 192r; for Gomez family reference, *ibid.*, fol. 196v: ‘El Cardenal don Pedro Barroso esta enterrado en sancta Praxedis de Aviñon. Van con responso a la capilla de sancta Lucia donde estan enterrados los de su linage’; *ibid.*, fol. 197r, mentioned a certain dean Fernan Perez, nephew of don Pedro. Cf. Lop Otín (2003), p. 277, fn. 164 and Quadrado and De la Fuente (1886), p. 219, who stated that the chapel held the tombs of the Diaz Palomeque family and of Pedro Barroso, respectively.

³³³ Pérez (1579), fol. 196v: ‘De otro libro de charidades y aniversarios en papel del tiempo de don Juan Cerezuela cerca del año 1440 ... Enero: El Cardenal don Pedro Barroso esta enterrado en sancta Praxedis de Aviñon, Van con responso a la capilla de sancta Lucia donde estan enterrados los de su linage.’

³³⁴ ACT, MS. 42-31, fol. 34r: ‘Abril. El lunes primero siguiente de la dominica de ego sum pastor bonus. Missa de Requiem por los cofrades finados de la cofradia de la Obra a prima, presentense C [mrs].’ Pérez (1579), fol. 197r: ‘En Abril missa de requiem por los cofrades finados de la cofadria [sic.] de la obra en la capilla del Cardenal don Gil, ay charidad. C mrs.’

³³⁵ ACT, MS. 42-31, fol. 49v: ‘Junio. Missa en xxvj dias del mes a prima. Missa de sancta Maria por don alfonso Obispo de Avila que ordeno el Cabillo. por los ornamentos et joyas et reliquias que proouro et traxo para esta iglesia dela execucion del Cardenal don Gil. et salen con Responso sobre la sepultura del dicho Cardenal. Presentense dela mesa del Refitor. C.’

On the northern pillar of the entrance to the chapel of St. Ildefonso is a sculpture of the Virgin and Child, described by Jerónimo de la Higuera as ‘the Nativity’, and which tradition identified as a donation of Cardinal Albornoz; it was believed to contain in its base relics of the hair and milk of the Virgin Mary.³³⁶ De la Higuera also reported that on the exterior wall of the chapel were to be found a panel listing the services to be held for the soul of Albornoz and the funerary inscription of his *alferez* Juan Fernandez de Vargas (d.1351), but there is no record of either in other documentary sources.³³⁷

Albornoz’s request for prayers and services for his soul seems to indicate that the Spanish Cardinal was concerned over his chances of salvation, and perhaps he was aware that some of his actions in his Italian campaigns had been morally questionable.³³⁸ Yet, this was not a unique and extravagant demand by fourteenth-century standards: Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch (Gascoine), requested 50,000 masses for his soul in 1369.³³⁹ The number of services and anniversaries was a clear indicator of wealth, since funding these prayers was a costly enterprise. And whilst Clement VI requested only 50 masses, the cost of his funeral reached 5,000 florins.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Padre Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, *Historia Eclesiástica de España. Vol. IV. Historia Eclesiástica de Toledo con las vidas de los arzobispos*, BNE, Ms. 1641, fol. 16v.

³³⁷ BNE, Ms. 1641, fol. 16v, dated the epitaph on the tomb of Juan Fernandez as era 1389, which equals to 1351. The epitaph had been noted and transcribed by Juan Bautista Pérez; see BNE, Ms. 1529, fol. 186v: ‘Aqui yaze Joan Fernandez de Vargas cavallero muy honrrado e Alferez que fue del Arcobispo de Toledo, e fino treçe dias andados del mes de Otubre era MCCC e nueve años.’ This would equal 1271. De la Higuera read instead 1389, which is more plausible. The inscription was framed with heraldry and the Evangelists at the corners, in the manner of the epitaphs of the Albornoz family in Cuenca.

³³⁸ Satolli (1990), p. 77 suggests that the cardinal had perhaps some doubts over the morality of the campaign in Italy. See Jacques Chiffolleau, ‘Sur l’usage obsessionnel de la messe pur les morts à la fin du Moyen Âge’ *Faire Croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux di XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome, 1981), pp. 235-256.

³³⁹ Chiffolleau (1981), p. 242. In 1338, Bernard d’Escoussans, lord of Langoiran in Bordelais, requested 25,000 masses; *ibid.*, p. 235. The increase in requested services on the part of the bourgeoisie was influenced by the Plague, particularly in the second half of the 14th century, and was a reflection of the ecclesiastical practice, see *ibid.*, pp. 246-250. The bishop of Rodez Pierre de Castelnau (d.1334) ordered 15,000 masses; Mollat (1933), p. 334.

³⁴⁰ Gardner (1992), p. 12. Déprez (1900), p. 236, stated that the cost was over 2,490 florins. The costs of the transportation to the Chaise-Dieu were calculated by Innocent VI as 5,000 florins in February 1353, see *ibid.*, p. 238; quoting ASV, IE 267, fol. CLIIIr, n. 270, fol. 13r. See also Schäfer (1911), pp. 481-482. Documents related to the

Cardinal Matteo Orsini demanded that five daily masses be celebrated at the chapel of St. Catherine, and one solemn Mass in each Dominican convent and monastery of the Roman province immediately after his death.³⁴¹

Conclusion

The Castilian cardinal who is chiefly remembered for his work in Italy did not want to be buried away from his homeland. Yet, he did not choose to rest in his native town of Cuenca but rather in Toledo, where he had been Archbishop. The position of ‘*Primado de las Espannas*’ was the highest ecclesiastical office in Spain, and he wanted to be remembered as such, rather than as one of the numerous cardinals who formed part of the Curia in Avignon. Burial in the cathedral of Toledo also entailed the prestige associated with physical proximity to royal tombs, as well as sharing the space of the site of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin Mary to St. Ildefonso.

The translation of the body of Albornoz to his preferred burial place followed precedents set by previous prelates. Both Castilian cardinals of Boniface VIII died away from their homeland, and Gudiel’s tomb was inspired by that of the Pontiff, whilst Pedro Hispanus was buried at his feet.

The design and quality of the carving of his tomb in Toledo Cathedral are unmatched elsewhere in Spain at the time of its execution. Unfortunately, archival research has not yet

tomb of Clement VI were published by Maurice Faucon, ‘Documents inédits sur l’église de la Chaise-Dieu’, *Bulletin archeologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1884), pp. 383-443, at pp. 431-441.

³⁴¹ Forte (1967), p. 233: ‘faciant dici quinque missas singulis diebus per fratres particulares volentes celebrare in capella mea.’ Ibid., p. 236.

yielded the names or any information regarding the artists. The tomb stands as a compliment to an extraordinary prelate of international importance in the fourteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The important artistic patronage that Cardinal Gil de Albornoz exercised in Spain, Avignon and Italy fits within the parameters established by his contemporary Avignonese cardinals, and typically shows a wide range of interests in English embroideries, Siense enamels and French reliquary-statuettes. Albornoz was certainly not an austere patron and managed to retain an impressive state whilst in Italy.¹ In the light of the evidence provided by documents and surviving objects appertaining to his fellow members of the College of Cardinals, Albornoz was an important artistic patron. The figure of Pedro Gomez stands out as a precedent for Albornoz in the Avignonese Curia. Like Pedro Gomez, Albornoz wished for burial in the Cathedral. Both Castilian cardinals were attached to their homeland, which they endowed generously. Pedro made his monastic foundation of St. Praxedis his universal heir, but he had made extremely abundant and consistent donations to the Cathedral of Toledo throughout his life, mostly consisting of ecclesiastical vestments and liturgical textiles. Albornoz endowed his educational foundation in Bologna, but he chose to be buried in his native Spain. He insisted on calling the Collegio '*Domus Hispanica*', and the purpose of the Collegio was to support fellow Spaniards studying in Italy. Although he endowed his family chapel in Cuenca Cathedral with chaplaincies and some liturgical furnishings, Albornoz preferred to be buried in Toledo Cathedral. Gil de Albornoz had renounced to his position as Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain upon his promotion, but he wished to return to his Cathedral for eternal rest. He was not demure in his demand of burial location, in a prominent position within the church and within the chapel. The tomb of Gil de Albornoz may have been executed by French artists, whose local production in Toledo seems to have concentrated solely on this project. The quality

¹ Jara (1914), pp. 198-201.

of the carving and the intricate details of the tomb chest are unparalleled in surviving contemporary sculpture in Toledo. The type and iconography were reflected in the tombs of the bishops of Tarazona, Pedro Perez Calvillo (1354-1391) and his brother Fernando Perez Calvillo (d.1404). It is highly probable that Fernando was inspired by the tomb of Albornoz in Toledo when he commissioned the sepulchres in 1404.² Perhaps one day documents regarding the contract or payments for the tomb of Albornoz may resurface in the Archive of Toledo Cathedral, in the manner of A.8.D.1.1. The latter document crucially demonstrates the role of Albornoz in the building campaign of Toledo Cathedral, previously unknown.

Albornoz's foundation of Villaviciosa and the role he played in the building campaign of the west end of the Cathedral signify his importance as a patron before being raised to the dignity of cardinal. Albornoz was granted burial, and the monopoly of the decoration campaigns, in two prominently- located chapels of the major churches of Assisi and Toledo. His preoccupation with the request for prayers and anniversary masses for his soul bears witness to his spiritual concerns, just as his testamentary instructions regarding the care of his *Opus Anglicanum* cope and the reliquary of St. Blaise attest to an appreciation of earthly matters and aesthetic beauty.

² Ainaga Andrés (1990), p. 16 attributed the commission of the tombs to the testamentary executors, but, in my opinion, it is likely that Fernando was familiar with the tomb of Gil de Albornoz in Toledo, and this was reflected on the design of the sepulchres at Tarazona.

APPENDIX I

Will of Cardinal Gil de Albornoz. Ancona, 29 September 1364.

Source: Archivo Catedral Toledo, A.8.D.1.1.¹

[1] In nomine Domini. Amen. Presentis publici scripti cunctis pateat evidenter quod nos Petrus Villani legum doctor decanus Castrinovi de Arrio Domini nostri pape Capellanus ipsiusque et eius Camerarius, ac Curie Camere Apostolice generalis Auditor vidimus et diligenter inspeximus quasdam literas sive publica instrumenta videlicet unum continentes testamentum [2] bone memorie Dominis Egidij miseratione divina Episcopi Sabinensis Apostolice Sedis Legati Sancteque Romane Ecclesie Cardinalis scriptum et signatum manu discreti viri Fernandi Gomecij de Pastrana clerici Toletane diocesis publici apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarii et aliud instrumenti codicillum dicti Domini Cardinalis continentem scriptum et signatum manu Martini [3] fernandi de pastrana clerici Toletane diocesis publici apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarii. Quod quidem instrumentum testamenti sigillo dicti domini Cardinalis in cera alba et filo de serico impendenti cum impresione dicti sigilli in cera rubea sigillatum extitit sana et integra non viciata non cancellata sed omni prisus vicio et suspicione carentia. Quorum quidem instrumentorum [4] tenores sequuntur de verbo ad verbum et sunt tales. In nomine domini. Amen. Anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo CCCmo. sexagesimo quarto Indictione secunda die vero vicesima nona mensis septembris. Pontificatus sanctissimi Patris et domini nostri domini Urbani divina providentia clementia pape. V. anno secundo. presentibus me notario publico et testibus infrascriptis ad hoc vocatis specialiter et rogatis. [5] Reverendissimus in christo pater et dominus dominus Egidius miseratione divina Episcopus Sabinensis sancte Romane Ecclesie Cardinalis sanus mente et corpore habens licentiam testandi et ordinandi et disponendi libere de omnibus bonis ad eum pertinentibus cuiuscumque quantitatis seu valoris fuerint a felicis recordationis domino Innocentis Papa. VI. prout in literis apostolicis ipsius domini pape vera integra bulla plumbea eiusdem more Romane [6] Curie Bullatam continetur. quarum quidem literarum apostolicarum tenor talis est. Innocencius Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili fratri Egidio Episcopo Sabinensi apostolice sedis Legato Salutem et apostolicam

¹ Burriel transcribed this document in BNE, Ms. 13023, ff. 159r-175v. The copy of the will in the Collegio di Spagna was transcribed by Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Opera*, (1780), IV, pp. 86-96.

benedictionem. Cum nichil sit per/quod magis hominibus debitum/debeatur quam ut supreme voluntatis liber sit stilus et liberum quod irritum non reddit arbitrium nos tuis supplicationibus inclinati testandi ordinandi et disponendi [7] libere de omnibus bonis ad te pertinentibus cuiuscumque quantitatis seu valoris fuerint etiam si illa ex proventibus ecclesiasticis seu ecclesiis tibi commissis vel ad persone tue vel tui Cardinalatus intuitu ratione aut contemplatione ad te pervenerunt et pervenient in futurum plenam et liberam licentiam tenore presentium elargimur. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc pa [8] ginam nostre concessionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum. Datum Avinione. II. Kalendas Octobris. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto. De Bonis suis predictis per sua parentum et benefactorum suorum animabus testamentum suum seu ultimam voluntatem suam huiusmodi fecit condidit et [9] ordinavit in hunc modum. Ego Egidius miseratione divina Episcopus Sabinensis Apostolice sedis legatus sancte que Romane ecclesie Cardinalis considerans et attendens quod nul certius morte, nihilque incertius hora mortis desiderans diem peregrinationis mee extrema dispositione testamentaria prevenire de predictis bonis meis pro mea parentum et benefactorum meorum animabus testamentum meum seu meam ultimam voluntatem [10] huiusmodi facio condo et etiam ordino in hunc modum. In primis fidem Catholicam quam sacrosanta Romana ecclesia tenet docet et predicat firmiter credo et simpliciter confiteor et in ipsa fide mori volo et salvari et quando me de presenti seculo migrare contigerit animam meam sancte et individue trinitati gloriose beate Marie semper Virgini beatis Apostolis Petro et Paulo et beato Clementi martiri totique Curie celesti [11] comendo. Item dispono et ordino quod funeralia mea sive exequie fiant in ecclesia beati francisci confessoris ordinis fratrum minorum illius Civitatis terrae seu loci in quo me mori contigerit et si forte in Civitate terra seu loco ubi me mori contigerit talis ecclesia beati francisci confessoris non fuerit volo et ordino quod funeralia mea fiant in solepniori ecclesia ipsius Civitatis terre seu [12] loci in quo me viam carnis ingredi contigerit universam. Item dispono et ordino quod si contingat me mori in Italia corpus meum sepeliatur in ecclesia beati Francisci de assisio sub deposito tamen et commenda ita quod quandocumque contigerit cesare indignationem istius vel alterius Regis Castelle contra illos de genere meo ossa mea portentur ad ecclesiam Toletanam et sepeliantur in Capella beati Illefonsi [13] confessoris in medio coram altare ejusdem beati Illefonsi et fiat ibi tumulus iuxta decentiam status mei. Et hoc intelligo si in vita Reverendi Patris domini Lupi

Archiepiscopi Cesaraugustani vel alterius ex fratribus meis videlicet nobilium virorum dominorum Alvari garsie vel fernandi gomecij comendatorius Montisalbani seu gomecij garsie nepotis mei nati predicti Alvari garsie [14] fieri comode possit aliter ex tunc volo quod ossa mea non transferantur de dicto monasterio Sancti francisci de Capella in qua sepulta fuerint sed ibi requiescant absque translatione quacumque. Item dispono et ordino quod quam citius fieri poterit post mortem meam celebrentur pro remedio anime mee Quinquaginta Millia Missarum videlicet trigintaquinque millia in Italia de quibus decem milia [15] celebrantur per fratres minores conventus asisij et aliorum conventuum ducatus spoletanensis iuxta ordinationem et distributionem faciendam per venerabiles patres dominos Alfonsum firmanensem et nucerinum Episcopos viginti milia vero celebrentur per fratres predicatores minores heremitas sancti Augustini et beate Marie de Monte Carmeli in provintijs Marchie Anconitane et Romandiole iuxta ordina [16] tionem et distributionem faciendam per venerabiles patres dominum Henricum de Sexa Brixiensem et predictum Alfonsum firmanensem Episcopos et Fernandum Alvari Abbatem Vallisoleti et Alfonsum fernandi Thesaurarium Toletanum Camerarium nostrum quinquemillia vero celebrentur in Civitate bononiensi de quibus tria millia volo celebrari per Religiosos ordinum mendicantium et duo milia per [17] presbiteros seculares iuxta ordinationem et distributionem religiosi viri fratris Thomasij ministri ordinis sancti Francisci in provincijs Bononiensi et Romandiole et predictorum fernandi Alvari Abbatis Vallisoleti et Alfonsi fernandi Thesaurarij. De alijs vero quindecim milibus Missarum decem millia celebrentur Avinione secundum ordinationem et distributionem Reverendissimorum [18] Patrum dominorum meorum dominorum Nicolai Episcopi Tusculanensis Petri apostolice sedis Vicecancellarij titulo sancte Anastasie presbiteri et Petri sancte Marie nove diaconi sancte Romane Ecclesie Cardinalis tria millia celebrentur per religiosos conventuum mendicantium Civitatis et diocesis Cesaraugustane iuxta ordinationem dicti d. Archiepiscopi Cesaraugustani duo millia autem celebrentur [19] per Religiosos mendicantes et Clericos seculares Civitatis et Diocesis Conchensis iuxta ordinationem et distributionem venerabilis patris domini Bernardi Episcopi et Martini fernandi Decani et Capituli ecclesie Conchensis. Item lego pro Centum puellis Maritandis in diocesi Toletana et Conchensi cuilibet Trecentos morapetinos monete illarum partium nunc currentis. Item lego pro [20] redimendis Christianis captivis in terra Sarracenorum Triginta millia morapetinorum monete Regni Castelle nunc currentis. Item cum ego statuerim sex Capellanas perpetuas in ecclesia Toletana sintque solum quatuor dotate lego

Capitulo dicte ecclesie Toletane Triginta millia morapetitorum dicte monete pro alijs duabus dotandis ita quod ipsi incorporent [21] eas cum bonis mense sue juxta ordinationem et conditionem aliarum quatuor. Item lego Capitulo ecclesie Conchensis Molendinum ad farinam et trapos que ego habeo in fluvio qui vocatur xucar prope Civitatem Conchensem que olim fuerint Michaelis Sancij cum socio et omnibus pertinentijs suis sicut ego emi. Item lego eidem Capitulo Conchensi [22] omnes possessiones quas ego emi prope Civitatem Conchensem que vocantur la Deesa ab heredibus Johannis Sancij de la Requiella et a Johane martini filio petri martini Macellarij Conchensis et volo et rogo Decanum et Capitulum quod ipsi instituant duas Cappellanas perpetuas iuxta conditionem aliarum Cappellaniarum institutarum per patrem et matrem meos et me et Capellani [23] debeant celebrare in Capella ubi parentes mei sunt sepulti pro remedio animarum suarum et mee. Item lego pro anima mea eidem Capelle unum Calicem Argenteum deauratum ponderis trium marcharum, et parvam crucem que est in Capella mea. Item duas Casulas unam albam et aliam rubeam de diasper cum albis amictis stolis manipulis et cingulis. Item lego [24] eidem ecclesie Conchensi Caput argenteum cum reliquijs beati blasij ponderis quadraginta octo marcharum. Item pluviale meum pretiosum de opere Anglicano volo tamen quod dicti Decanus et Capitulum nunquam possint illa alienare vel vendere seu impignorare sed perpetuo reserventur in Sacristia cum alijs jocalibus et reliquijs ecclesie nec ad aliquem usum inde extrahentur [25] nisi infrascriptis festivitatibus videlicet natalis Domini Circuncisionis Epiphanie beati blasij martiris purificationis beate Virginis Anuntiationis eiusdem Resurrectionis Domini Ascensionis Penthecostes Trinitatis Corporis Christi sancti Johannis Baptiste beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli beate Marie Magdalene Assumptionis beate Marie Virginis Nativitatis eiusdem omnium sanctorum [26] beati Clementis martiris Anuntiationis Dominice que celebratur per octo dies ante natalem Domini dictum Capud extrahatur dum celebrabuntur divina ad altare vel ad procesionem et dictum pluviale ad vespuras matutinum et procesionem per Conchensem et per quemcumque alium Episcopum qui in ibi celebret vel absente Episcopo in procesionem tantum per illum qui celebrabit Misam maiorem [27] et volo quod pro dicto capite fiat, vel pes planus, vel duo angeli quibus decenter sustentetur ponderis viginti marcharum argenti deaurati, et volo quod si per Decanum et Capitulum, vel per episcopum fiat aliquid contra conditiones supradictas, videlicet alienando, vel impignorando, vel trahendo de ecclesia extra Civitatem aliquod de jocalibus supradictis, vel utendo alijs diebus fratres mei [28] predicti vel heredes eorum, aut quicumque ex ipsis et descendentibus ab eisdem

possint revocare et sibi habere, predicta jocalia, et omnes possessiones quas supra lego eidem Capitulo. Item volo quod restituantur eidem Capitulo Conchensis ecclesie biblia manualis, et thomas super lucham, et Johannem, quos ab eis habui, et tenebam ad vitam. Item lego ecclesie Toletane ymagines [29] beatorum Eugenii et Illelonsi ad usum altaris sancti Salvatoris, et beate Marie intra chorum. Item volo et ordino, quod Archiepiscopo Toletano assignetur mitra vocata de Camafeis quam habeo, que est ecclesie Toletane, cum omni melioramento facto per me de margaritis lapidibus et alijs. Item volo et ordino, quod restituantur eidem archiepiscopo pluviale, et casula seu planeta [30] de xamete albi coloris cum pulcherrimis aurifrisijs de margaritis et auro. Item Cirotece cum perlis et smaltis antiquis. Item duo anuli pontificales unus cum uno Camafeo satis pulcro cum multis smaragdjs parvis in circuitu et alius cum uno Saphiro in medio ubi est quedam ymago sculpta et in circumferentia sunt aliqui lapides, [31] et margarite quia sua sunt, et habui solum usum ad vitam a domino Gondissalvo predecessore suo. Item lego eidem Archiepiscopo Toletano pro Capella sua duo paria bacilium de argento. Alterum deauratum tum quod dedit mihi Dominus Johannes Archiepiscopus Mediolanensis, et istud par lego sibi loco duorum bacilium etiam deauratorum que habui de Capella sua, quorum [32] unum fuit mihi furatum in Regno Castelle dum eram Archiepiscopus alterum remanet inter bona mea, aliud par sit album cum smaltis in medio et horla deaurata ponderis duodecim Marcharum, quod sibi lego loco aliorum duorum Bacilium de argento Albo que inveni in Capella sua et dicebantur empta per dominum Guterrium que nunc non [33] inveniuntur in bonis meis quia forte fuerunt mutata in aliam formam. Item volo et ordino quod restituantur eidem Archiepiscopo Toletano omnes libri in quibus inveniatur scriptum in postis vel in Cartis, vel in principio vel in fine, quod sunt ecclesie Toletane. Item volo et ordino quod idem fiat ecclesijs Terraconensi et Caesaraugustane de libris quos legavit eis [34] bone memorie dominus Eximinus Archiepiscopus Toletanus. Item est sciendum, quod ego olim emi a clare memorie domino Alfonso Rege Castelle et Legionis Illustri Castrum de paracuellos Toletane diocesis pro Centum viginti millium morapetitorum monete Regni Castelle quantitate, quod quidem Castrum fuit ordinis milicie sancti Jacobi et ideo Castrum [35] predictum et omne jus quod mihi competeret in eo seu dictam CXX. millium morapetitorum quantitatem, si forte Rex Castelle vellet ipsum Castrum pro se retinere, vel dictus ordo recuperare, et predictam moropetitorum quantitatemolvere lego Decano et Capitulo dicte ecclesie Toletane. Ita tamen quod idem Decanus et Capitulum postquam predictum Castrum seu pecuniam [36] recuperaverint, teneantur de redditibus suis quos habent in villa de Briocha

Toletane diocesis et ejus territorio dare et solvere singulis annis priori et conventui Monasterij beati blasij de Villa deliciosa duo millia morapetitorum monete illarum partium, mille videlicet pro reparatione domorum. Et mille pro vestuario Canonorum [37] ipsius monasterij et in casu quo dicti Decanus et Capitulum ecclesie toletane pro Castro seu quantitate CXX. millium morapetitorum predicta nollent predicta duo millia morapetitorum prefatis priori et Conventui Monasterij sancti blasij annis singulis dare et assignare lego predictum Castrum de paracellos, et omne jus quod mihi comperit in eodem sive [38] predictam Centum viginti mille morapetitorum quantitatem prefatis Priori et Conventui Monasterij sancti blasij de Villa deliciosa predicti. Item mando et ordino quod ymago beate Marie Virginis que est in Capella mea, que est ponderis Triginta marcharum detur conventui beati francisci de assisio, et tria tapitia maiora mea videlicet illud quod fuit [39] emptum in Anchona pro Sexaginta ducatis et illud quod fuit domini Albertachij et alterum de duobus maioribus ad arma mea. Item lego eidem Conventui pro fabrica ecclesie et conventus mille florenos. Item lego ecclesie Sabinensi ubi magis utile et necessarium fuerit iuxta arbitrium et dispositionem executorum meorum Quingentos florenos. Item mando [40] et ordino quod redditus et fructus precepti et debiti a sex annis citra de ecclesia sancti Clementis in urbe tituli mei expendatur in reparatione dicte ecclesie iuxta dispositionem executorum meorum. Item volo et ordino quod in ecclesia Cathedrali Anconitana in loco quem Episcopus ipsius ecclesie cum suo capitulo et executores mei presentis elegerint construatur una Capella in honorem [41] beati Clementis martiris. Item lego fratribus predicatoribus de Ancona pro fabrica ecclesie sue Centum florenos. Item lego fratribus heremitis de Ancona Centum florenos. Item lego fratribus minoribus de Ancona pro complemento refectorij et Capituli sui monasterii ducentos florenos. Item mando et ordino quod ordinentur et dotentur due Capellanie perpetue [42] in ecclesia beate Marie Magdalene, et sancti Cataldi que est intra Rocham papalem Ancone, et ementur possessiones sufficientes pro duobus Capellanis ita quod quilibet eorum habeat ad minus Triginta florenos annuatim, et celebrent cotidie in dicta Capella, presentatio autem dictarum Capellaniarum pertineat ad Thesaurarium provincie Marche Anconitane, et [43] Castellatum dicte Roche qui pro tempore fuerint. Institutio autem pertineat ad supradictum Episcopum Anconitanum. Item mando et ordino quod nullus dictorum Capellanorum possit habere aliquod beneficium in Civitate Anconitana nec etiam extra si requirat residentiam, et si receperit vel habuerit aliquod tale beneficium ipso facto vacet predicta Capellania, [44] et de ea disponatur per presentationem et institutionem ut predictum est. Item lego omnibus Capellanis

socijs meis qui fuerunt mecum in Italia et interfuerint sepulture mee cuilibet Centum florenos, et domicellis cuilibet Sexaginta florenos Clericis vero de Capella et alijs de Raubis Clericorum cuilibet Quinquaginta florenos: alijs officialibus et [45] palafrenarijs deputatis ad servitium meum immediate illis videlicet de Raubis officialium cuilibet Triginta et illis de Raubis garcionum cuilibet Quindecim florenos auri. Item lego fratri Didaco socio predicti Episcopi Firmanensis Quinquaginta florenos. Item volo et ordino quod omnibus prelatis, et alijs Capellanis socijs nostris et familiaribus qui [46] tempore obitus mei mecum erunt et corpus meum associaverint usque ad sepulturam et post per novem dies fiant expense decenter sicut est consuetum in tinello meo. Item volo quod in vestibus familie cera drapis aureis, et alijs non fiat excessus nissi sicut est consuetum alijs Cardinalibus in Avinione. Item volo quod a die obitus [47] mei usque ad diem sepulture, et novem dies sequentes secundum dispositionem executorum meorum qui fuerint presentes videlicet in quibus locis et quot pro quolibet die pascantur et induantur panno grosso de lana et lineo duo millia pauperum. Item ultra predictos Sexagintos florenos auri legatos cuilibet domicello lego fernando sancij de moya [48] cubiculario meo unum ex equis meis quem elegerit et Octingentos florenos auri pro matrimonio suo si contingat eum recipere uxorem in Italia, si autem contingat eum ire ad partes et ibi recipere uxorem lego sibi tantum Quadringentos florenos, et domum de Caracena aldea de opta cum hereditatibus, vineis molendinis ortis pratis pascuis, et alijs terris [49] cultis et incultis, et cum alijs possessionibus et bonis mobilibus et immobilibus que ibi habeo et habere debeo, sicut in eis successi patri et matri meis. Item lego ultra predictos LX florenos Garsie fernandi de belvisio Quadringentos florenos auri et domum meam de belmonte cum hereditatibus vineis ortis molendinis pratis, et pascuis et alijs terris [50] cultis et incultis et cum alijs possessionibus, et bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, que ibi habeo et habere debeo, sicut in eis successi patri et matri meis. Item lego ultra predictos LX. florenos Gundisalvo roderici de Cisneros Trecentos florenos auri. Item lego ultra predictos LX. florenos Nunio fernandi de finis Trecentos florenos. Item lego predicto domino [51] Alvaro garsie fratri meo pro filiabus suis maritandis sex millia florenorum. Item lego Chaterine nepote mee filie predicti domini fernandi Gomecij Comendatoris montisalbani fratris mei pro matrimonio quinque millia florenorum et rogo prefatum reverendum patrem dominum Luppum Archiepiscopum Cesaraugustanim, quod ipse assumat istud onus de maritando eam [52] sicut sibi visum fuerit. Et quod de pecunia per eum michi debita per solvat predicta quinque millia florenorum. Et si quod absit antequam virum recipiat contingat eam mori vel quoquomodo non

ducere virum cum effectu volo quod dictum legatum V. mille florenorum redire debeat ad universalem heredem meum infrascriptum. Item lego Gomecio garsie militi nepoti meo nato [53] prefati Alvari garsie Aldeas infrascriptas videlicet el Foyo de concha Cañizares Unna el aldehuela et valdemecha cum omnibus vassalis, et Jurisdictionibus suis et cum pascuis omnibus fluvij lacunis montibus molendinis venationibus pratis vineis hortis et omnibus alijs possessionibus, et bonis mobilibus et immobilibus, tam cum illis in quibus [54] successi patri et matri meis quam cum alijs que in predictis locis et terminis suis emi vel melioravi. Item lego predicto Gometio Garsie domum de la deesa, et domum de Vivera. Item domum de vallestros. Item domum de villar de ollalla. Item domum del olmeda prope valeram cum alcolea, et villar de teias. Item domum de valera [55] de suso cum noguero. Item domum de valera de yuso. Item domum de mesquitas. Item domum de parriella cum omnibus domibus, et hereditatibus vineis molendinis ortis pratis et pascuis, et alijs terris cultis et incultis et alijs possessionibus et bonis mobilibus et immobilibus que in eisdem locis et terminis suis habeo et habere [56] debeo. Item lego eidem Gometio Garsie vallemsalobre cum suis pascuis et salinis. Item lacunas de la palomera cum pertinentijs suis sicut ego habebam. Item lego Alvaro nepoti meo filio predicti domini Alvari Garsie omnia illa que ego habui et habeo in naharros, xuarros, buruanos, in valleiudeorum Aldeis de opta [57] cum omnibus pertinentijs suis. Item volo et ordino quod solvantur omnia debita in quibus secundum bonam veritatem reperiatur me teneri et de eis plenarie satisfiat. Item volo et ordino quod fiat ratio secundum bonam veritatem inter Cameram Romanam et me, et si reperiatur quod ego teneor Camere, volo quod eidem satisfiat de bonis meis, et si [58] reperiatur quod Camera teneatur mihi illud in quo tenetur assignetur executoribus meis infrascriptis. De residuo autem bonorum meorum ordino quod fiat in Civitate Bononie unum Collegium scholarum in loco decenti scilicet prope scholas, et construatur decens hospitium cum viridario et aulis et Cameris, et construatur ibi Capella decens, et [59] bona ad honorem beati Clementis martiris, et emantur redditus sufficientes ad provissionem vigintiquatuor scholarium, et duorum Capellanorum pro illa bursa et vita de qua ordinabo quam domum seu collegium volo domum yspaniorum nominari. Et predictam domum sive collegium instituo universalem heredem meum in omnibus pecunijs, [60] vaxella libris tam Juris Canonici quam Civilis, et aliarum quarumcumque facultatum, et omnibus alijs bonis meis, et alias quocumque modo mihi debitis tam per administratores, qui administrarunt pro me Arreragia (?)² Toletane et

² Illegible. Burriel could not read this word; Sepúlveda ignored it.

Segoviensis ecclesiarum, et eorum heredes qui per Regem Castelle, et alios occupatores bonorum meorum patrimonialium, et [61] reddituum omnium beneficiorum meorum que habeo et obtineo in Regnis Castelle et Legionis quam etiam per procuratores qui sunt et fuerunt pro me in beneficijs meis Regnorum Castelle et Legionis Francie portugalie et aragonie, et alias universaliter per quoscumque, excepto quod illud quod debeatur mihi de Capello per executores meos infrascriptos [62] mandetur distribui pauperibus Iesu Christi in Civitate Avinione. Item volo et ordino quod supradicti fernandus Alvari Abbas Vallisoleti, et alfonsus Fernandi Camerarius singulariter habeant curam, et administrationem construendi domum predictam seu collegium et Capellam, et emendi possessiones, et redditus pro vita dictorum viginti [63] quatuor scolarium, et duorum Capellanorum, et ipsis mando ac etiam rogo quantum possum quod post mortem meam remaneant Bononie ad minus per duos continuos annos ad complendum predicta, et lego eis pro expensis et labore ultra predicta cuilibet sexcentos florenos. Et ad omnia et singula supradicta iuxta voluntatem [64] et ordinationem meas exequenda Reverendissimos in Christo patres et dominos meos divina providentia Nicolaum Episcopum Tusculanensem et Petrum apostolice sedis vicecancellarium titulo sancte Anastasie presbiterum, et Petrum sancte Marie nove diaconum sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalem superius nominatos, et sub eis et de eorum mandato ad complendum ea que hic in Italia sunt [65] fienda venerabiles patres dominos henricum Brixiensem Alfonsum firmanensem Episcopos, et Nobilem militem dominum Gomecium Garsie, Fernandum Alvari Abbatem Vallisoleti nepotes meos, et Alfonsum fernandi Thesaurarium Toletanum Camerarium meum predictos et sub eisdem etiam dominis meis dominis Cardinalibus ad complendum ea que in Ispania [66] sunt fienda Reverendos patres dominos Luppum Cesaraugustanum et Gomecium Toletanum Archiepiscopos, et predictum Camerarium meum, et Martinum fernandi Decanum Conchensem meos constituo, et facio executores, quibus do et concedo plenam et liberam potestatem exequendi et complendi de bonis meis omnia et singula supradicta in hujusmodi meo [67] testamento contenta et hanc assero et esse volo meam ultimam voluntatem testamenti seu Codicilli, vel cujuslibet alterius ultime voluntatis, volo perpetuo valituram et revoco quodcumque aliud testamentum codicillos et ultimas voluntates quascumque per me hactenus conditas, factas, seu ordinatas sub quacumque forma et expressione [68] verborum etiam si in eis vel eorum aliquo fuerit aliqua clara derogatoria inserta quam in presenti volo pro expresa haberi, et pro specialiter nominata et eis seu ei ex certa scientia per presens testamentum seu ultimam voluntatem penitus derogo, et pro

abolitis et non factis (?) haberi volo. Requirens et Rogans me notarium publicum infrascriptum [69] ut de premissis omnibus et singulis conficiam unum duo tria et plura, et tot quot expedierit publica instrumenta ipsaque mandavit et voluit sui sigilli appensione muniri. Que fuerunt acta in Rocha papali alias sancti Cataldi Civitatis Ancone in Camera secreta superiori dicti domini Legati Anno Indictione die mense, et pontificatu predictis [70] presentibus Reverendis in Christo patribus dominis henricho Brixienis, et Alfonso firmanensis ecclesiarum Episcopis, et Johanne de mariñano Abbate sancte Marie de Sutria Nucetine diocesis necnon venerabilibus viris dominis Johane de Senis in Jure Civili licentiato, et Alfonso fernandi Thesaurario ecclesie Toletane, et Petro Alfonsi Archidiacono de Calatrava [71] in ipsa ecclesia Toletana, ac Sancio Sancij Canonico ecclesie Segoviensis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego fernandus Gomecij de pastrana clericus Toletane diocesis publicus apostolica et Imperiali auctoritate notarius predictis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premititur per prefatum Reverendissimum patrem et dominum dominum Egidium [72] Cardinalem fierent et agerentur una cum prenominitis testibus presens fui eaque omnia et singula propria manu fideliter scripsi et publicavi signo que meo solito signavi Rogatus et requisitus in testimonium premissorum. Constat mihi notario de rasura super in XVIII linea posita ubi legitur celebrentur per religiosos conventorum [73] mendicantium Civitatis et diocesis Cesaraugustane iuxta ordinationem dicti domini Archiepiscopi Cesaraugustani et in LXVII linea ubi legitur Toletan que no vitio sed errore factum fuit. Et ego henricus Episcopus Brixienis testis supradictus propria manu me scripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et ego Alfonsus Episcopus firmanensis supradictus testis propria manu [74] me subscripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et ego Johannes de senis supradictus testis manu propria me subscripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et ego Joannes Abbas sancte Marie de Sutria testis supradictus ipsa manu me subscripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et Alfonsus fernandi thesaurarius Toletanus predicti domini Legati Camerarius testis supradictus propria manu me [75] subscripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et ego Petrus Alfonsi Archidiaconus de Calatrava testis supradictus propria manu me subscripsi in testimonium premissorum. Et ego Sanctius sanctij Canonicus segobiensis testis supradictus me in testimonium premissorum propria manu subscripsi. In nomine Domini Amen Anno a nativitate ejusdem millesimo [76] Trecentesimo Sexagesimo Septimo Indictione. V. die vicessimotertio Mensis Augusti pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris et domini nostri domini Urbani divina providentia pape. V. Anno Quinto Reverendissimus in Christo Pater et dominus

dominus Egidius miseratione divina Episcopus Sabinensis sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis. In mei notarij publici, et testium infrascriptorum ad hec [77] specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum presencia existens ac iacens in lecto in Camera sua interiori sita in Bastita Belrepausi prope Viterbum in qua inhabitare consueverat sanus mente et in sua bona memoria et discretione existens licet infirmus corpore attendens hominis ultimam voluntatem deambulatoriam fore usque ad supremum vitae Spatium Quod Est [78] certis et iustis de causis cum moventibus ut aserebat codicillando confirmavit, ratificavit et approbavit testamentum seu ultimam voluntatem alias per eum conditum videlicet de anno a nativitate domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Sexagesimoquarto Indictione II die XXVIII mensis Septembris scriptum et publicatum manu providi viri fernandi [79] Gomecij de Pastrana clerici Toletani dictis publici apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarij in omnibus et per omnia pro ut in dicto testamento continetur exceptis infrascriptis que addidit et mutavit et pro additis et ibi mutatis haberi voluit, et pro non apposis nec insertis in dicto testamento videlicet quod executores testamenti sui, ex Reverendissimis [80] patribus et dominis dominis Cardinalibus esse voluit de et super contentis in dicto testamento et sua ultima voluntate Reverendissimos patres et dominos dominum Nicolaum Episcopum Tusculanensem dominum Guillelmum titulo sante Marie in transtiberim, et dominum Anglicum titulo sancti petri ad vincula presbiteros ac dominum petrum titulo sante Marie nove diaconum Cardinalem [81] cum eadem potestate et sub eisdem formis, et modis sicut isdem domini Nicolaus Tusculanensis, et Petrus titulo sante Marie nove diaconus Cardinalis nominati erant et descripti in primo testamento. Ita quod de nominatis in dicto testamento ex dominis Cardinalibus solummodo sint, et esse debeant executores prefati domini Nicolaus Tusculanensis [82] et Petrus titulo sancte Marie nove et alij duo supradicti scilicet dnus Guillelmus titulo sancte Marie in Transtiberim et Anglicus titulo santi Petri ad vincula presbiteri Cardinales. Item voluit dictus testator quod executores contenti in dicto testamento inferiores et inferioris status Cardinalibus stant rati et firmi [83] et habeant in omnibus et per omnia eandem potestatem, que eis data et attributa est in dicto primo testamento, et circa eos nec eorum personas seu potestatem voluit dictus testator aliquid inmutari per presentem codicillum, sed eos de novo confirmavit, et pro confirmatis haberi voluit iuxta formam et modos [84] in dicto primo testamento descriptos. Item dicit et protulit dictus testator verba infrascripta, et mandavit et ordinavit sic dicendo ibidem quia vos Reverendi patres Brixienensis et firmanensis Episcopi ac vos Camerari scitis, quod plura que mandabam in fieri in supradicto meo testamento iam sunt in vita

mea effectualiter [85] adimpleta volo quod illa que iam sunt completa ulterius compleantur, et etiam quia aliqua ex contentis in dicto testamento sunt mutanda, et aliqua supplenda, et addenda super quibus iam locutus fuit aliquibus de votis ideo commisos vobis ac vobis domino Nicolao de Neapoli Cancellario regni Sicilie, et etiam vobis domino Johanni de Senis qui estis [86] hic presentes quod contenta in dicto testamento mutetis suppleatis ac eisdem addatis, prout iustum et equum vobis visum extiterit super quibus vobis do et concedo plenam potestatem, ac vestras conscientias onero de premissis. Que fuerunt acta sub anno indictione die mense pontificatu et loco predictis, presentibus Reverendo in Christo [87] patre domino Angelo Aversanensi Episcopo, et honestis ac nobiles viris domino Girando Girardi, Archipresbitero plebis quinti Ravenatensis Diocesis, Magistro Geronimo de Viterbio, medico Gondisalvo roderici de Cisneros et Fernando sancij de Moya domicellus Conchensis diócesis, ludovico et Matheo quondam Matheis de vicedominis [88] de Monticulo de Parma, Bindacio domini Alberti de Riscaluis de Florentia, Bernardo de Campis Rectore ecclesie de vallibus Terraconensis diocesis, Michaele sancij de Lorriz Canonico Calagurritano, Nunio Garsie de Ramega Canonico Urbinatis, et Martino Petri Canonico Calagurritano, et pluribus alijs testibus ad [89] premissa vocatis pariter et rogatis. Et ego Martinus fernandi de Pastrana clericus Toletane diocesis publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius, ac dicti domini Cardinalis secretarius predictis omnibus et singulis, una cum dominis Brixienis, et firmanensis episcopis Nicolao de Neapoli, Alfonso fernandi de Toletano Thesaurario Toletano [90] Camerario ac Johanne de Senis et testibus predictis presens fui ipsa que mandato dicti domini Cardinalis scripsi, publicavi, et in hanc publicam formam redegi signo meo consueto signavi in testimonium veritatis. Quasquidem litteras, sive publica instrumenta ad requisitionem venerabilis et discreti viri domini fernandi Canonici [91] Toletani procuratoris in executione predictorum, per Magistrum Testam Crescij de Civitatecastelli publicum apostolica et imperiali auctoritate, et dicte curie Camere notarium transcribi et publicari mandavimus, et fecimus volentes et decernentes quod hujusmodi transcripto publico sicut ipsis originalibus litteris sive instrumentis tam in Iudicio [92] quam extra adhibeatur, et detur de cetero plena fides. Quibus omnibus, et singulis nostram et dicte curie Camere apostolice auctoritatem ordinariam interposuimus pariter decretum. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum proprium dicte curie quo utimur apponi fecimus. Acta fuerunt hec Rome in hospicio ecclesie sanctorum Celsi et Juliani [93] et habitationis dicti domini Auditoris presentibus discretis viris Magistris Johanne de Ausilhaco, et Leone Bergencij dicte curie

notario, ad Latino de Interampne domicello testibus ad predicta habitis et vocatis. Sub Anno a nativitate domini Millesimo Trecentesimo Septuagesimo Indictione octava die quarta mensis [94] februarij, Pontificatus domini Urbani pape Quinti Anno Octavo.

[95] Et ego testa filius Crescij Clericus Civitatis Castelli publicus apostolica et imperiale auctoritate Curie que Camere domini Pape notarius, eademque imperiali Judex ordinarius predictis Visioni, et inspectioni autoritatis et decreti interpositioni, et omnibus, et singulis supradictis dum per eundem dominum Auditorem fierent una cum [96] prenomatis testibus interfui, et prout in dictis originalibus litteris seu instrumentis publicis inveni. Ita hic de mandato, et auctoritate dicti domini Auditoris per alium transcribi feci. Et quia facta diligenti collatione de presenti transcripto cum dictis originalibus instrumentis ea ad invicem concordare inveni in testimonium premissorum [97] me subscripsi, et signum meum hic apposui consuetum rogatus et requisitus, et constat mihi de rasuris et correctionibus suprafactis in quarta VI. VII. XII. XXV. XXVIJ. XXVIII. XXXVI. XL. XLV. LXXIII. LXXXV. LXXXVJ. lineis quas aprobo.

APPENDIX II

Gazeteer (in chronological sequence) of fortresses associated with the patronage of Gil de

Albornoz during his legations in Italy

Foligno (1355)

The fortress of Foligno was begun in 1355.³

Cesena (1357)

Albornoz regained control of Cesena in 1357 after laying siege to the fortress.⁴ The fortress had to be heavily restored whilst construction also began for a palace for the legate.⁵ The local painter Basco Guarnerio depicted the coats of arms of the Church on the fortress and on the legate's palace.⁶ In 1371, the *Descriptio provinciae Romandiolae* and the *Praecepta* included references to the fortified and residential character of the complex.⁷ Arson reduced the fortress to rubble in 1377, and Galeotto Malatesta began in 1380 the construction of the present fortress, which was modified in the fifteenth century.⁸

Forlì / Salvaterra (1360)

Albornoz transferred the bishopric of Forlì to nearby Bertinoro, and ordered the building of a new fortification, under the auspicious name of Salvaterra, which incorporated the

³ Satolli (1990), p. 76. Jamme (2003), p. 395 claimed it was built by Albornoz, not the Trinci.

⁴ L Marinelli (Ten. Col.), *La Rocca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Reggio Emilia: Società Anonima di Arti Grafiche, 1907), pp. 14-16. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 24.

⁵ ASV, Vat. Reg. IE 287, ff. 194v-221r, 'Innocentii VI Expensa reparationis Palatii et Rocha Cesenae. Anno 1362'; ASV, IE 290 (1359) fol. 130v, 'Roche seu Cassari Cesene.'

⁶ Chauvin (1992), Vol. 1, p. 184; ASV, IE 287, ff. 206v, 209r.

⁷ *Descriptio provinciae Romandiolae*: 'Item in dicta civitate Cesene est roccha seu fortalitiu certum, videlicet Castrum Cesene, situm in quodam monte positum intra dictam civitatem a parte superiori, in quo castro moratur unus castellanus cum XXX. famulis', Theiner (1862), doc. DXXV, p. 498. *Praecepta*: 'est ibi pulcrum cassarum et una murata, in qua murata est domus ecclesie Romane satis pulcra, que custoditur de nocte et de die'; Ibid., doc. DXXVII, p. 533.

⁸ Marinelli (1907), pp. 5, 24.

bishop's palace.⁹ In 1363, Albornoz disbursed a total of 1,100 gold ducats to a certain Franceschino de Cesena, for the materials and salaries of the workers in the fortress.¹⁰ Anglie Grimoard mentioned the castle in 1371 in his *Descriptio* and *Praecepta*.¹¹

Assisi (1362?)

The *Rocca Maggiore* rises on the site of a previous fortress, demolished in 1316.¹² Albornoz began work on the fortress in 1362, or perhaps earlier.¹³ By 1365 a considerable part of the structure must have been in place, since Miglioruccio Angeluzzi was being paid to guard the fortress on an occasional basis.¹⁴

The fortress consists of a central keep and tower surrounded by walls, with four corner towers and a circular bastion to the south east. A surveillance tower, known as the *Rocca Minore* or *cassaro di S. Antonio*, is connected to the main fortress. The current entrance to the complex is on the west wall. This partition incorporates an older wall, with merlons included, which probably dates from the fourteenth century. The flanking towers date from a period after Albornoz's patronage.¹⁵ The central keep stands in a courtyard, which Brizi associated to the patronage of Albornoz, and which was once decorated with his heraldry.¹⁶ The master tower to the south has five vaulted floors linked by a spiral staircase. The original access to the complex was through the north-east tower. Its doorway was decorated with five coats of arms, mutilated

⁹ Amaducci (1905), pp. 44-48, doc. VI, p. 71, fn.1. Ferrer and Sáinz de la Maza (1995), doc. 46.

¹⁰ Amaducci (1905), doc. IX for first payment of 100 ducats: 'expendendos in constructione et hedificio dicti fortalicii seu laborerii Salvaterre et in salario magistrorum et operariorum ac in aliis rebus necessariis pro constructione fortalicii et laborerii predictorum secundum quod expendiens fuerit pro agendis.' Further payment in Filippini (1933), p. 297, fn. 1; cf. Trenchs and Sáez (1979), p. 292.

¹¹ Theiner (1862), 1371, doc. DXXV, p. 501: 'Salvattera est quoddam fortalium seu roccha sita in provincia Romandiole'; doc. DXXVII, p. 532: 'Salvattera, fuit civitas vocata Forlimpopuli... remansit ibi unum fortellicium satis magnum.'

¹² Brizi (1898), pp. 42-3.

¹³ Filippini (1933), p. 286; Satolli (1990), p. 76. Jamme (2003), p. 395.

¹⁴ Brizi (1898), pp. 53-54.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

in 1848, which included those of Albornoz, Anglic Grimoard, and Urban V.¹⁷ No trace remains of these, or of any documentation regarding the architect. Filippini stated that it was Gattapone, whereas Marini and Materazzi suggested it was Ugolino di Montemarte.¹⁸

The *rocca* has undergone a great deal of rebuilding.¹⁹ In 1392 the Perugian Biordo Michelotti took Assisi and altered the fortress, decorating it with his heraldry and adding a storey to the master tower.²⁰ The fortress was habilitated as a prison in the sixteenth century.²¹ The building, abandoned in the seventeenth century, was subsequently plundered for building materials until it was purchased by the Comune in 1891.²² Due to the ongoing restoration campaign, the only area of the fortress that is currently accessible to visitors is the walkway connecting the two towers to the west. The fortress was never broken into, proving its strength as a defensive outpost.²³

Imola

Albornoz commissioned the building of a castle in Imola in 1363, and documents supply the name of an ‘officer in construction’ called Matteo de Broccardi.²⁴

Ascoli Piceno

In 1363, Albornoz ordered the construction of a fortress in Ascoli Piceno.²⁵

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 5: ‘Tuttavia rileviamo dagli appunti del Frondini non che dalle tracce rimangono, i disegni di questi armi’. See Ibid., Tav.III, C tower. Cf. Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 53.

¹⁸ Filippini (1922-23), p. 79. Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 55: ‘Ugolino di Petruccio da Corbara, conte di Montemarte, diverrà fedelissimo collaboratore del Cardinale in qualità di esperto di architettura militare, darà il suo contributo nelle fortezze di Assisi, Orvieto, e collaborerà con l’architetto Matteo Gattapone per le fortezze di Narni e Spoleto.’

¹⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 172, fn. 44. Brizi (1898), p. 45. Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 53.

²⁰ Satolli (1990), p. 76. Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 53.

²¹ Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 54.

²² Guardabassi (1872), p. 28; Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 53. Other campaigns took place in 1977 and 1992. By 1997 the building had finally been consolidated but not restored.

²³ Marini and Materazzi (1997), p. 53.

²⁴ ASV, Inst. Misc. no. 2, 492: ‘Ser Mathei de Brocardis, officiali in constructione rocche Imole, cujus introitus fuerunt de usuris et in certis exactis per commissarios domini Sabinensis, incipiendo III julii MCCCLXIII et finitis die XXIII julii MCCCLXV’ quoted by Jamme (2003), p. 394, fn. 93. Matteo was paid 8,093 lire and 7 soldi.

Amandola

In 1364, the Cardinal had a fortress raised in Amandola.²⁶

Piediluco (1360s)

Commanding the hill over the lake Lucco, stand the ruined remains of the castle of Piediluco. According to Guardabassi, Albornoz had the existing fortress rebuilt in 1364, by the citizens of Rieti.²⁷ Filippini attributed it to Blasco Fernandez de Belviso.²⁸ The fortress was ruined by 1872.²⁹ Guardabassi compared the building technique and the architectural mouldings to the fabric of San Francesco in Assisi.³⁰ The remaining structure is divided into two sections. To the north, a master tower constitutes the main defence of the building. To the south, the residential area is defined by the large window openings on its south and east walls. The south wall is decorated with a corbel table and corbels below the window frames. On the east end of this wall survives a very finely carved bracket, with acanthus leaves, supporting the fragmentary figure of a lion. The high quality of this ornamental feature is all that remains of the sumptuous decoration that once must have adorned this castle.

Sassoferrato

A stump is all that remains of the rocca of Sassoferrato, a construction partly funded with money obtained from the sale of the possessions of the local ruling lord, c. 1365.³¹

²⁵ Jamme (2003), pp. 394, 398.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 394.

²⁷ Guardabassi (1872), p. 247.

²⁸ Filippini (1922-23), p. 79.

²⁹ Guardabassi (1872), p. 247.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Filippini (1933), pp. 392-393. Jamme (2003), p. 399.

Narni (1360s)

Placed on an easily-reached promontory in the outskirts of the town, it has recently been restored and is now the site of a catering school and conference centre. In the 1360s, a fortress was built on the site previously occupied by a Clarissan convent.³² In 1370, Urban V acknowledged the problematic displacement of the Poor Clares for the building of the fortress, which he described as founded by an unspecified officer of the Church.³³ The carved coats of arms of cardinals Anglic Grimoard and Philippe d'Alençon, and popes Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378), indicate that the building started under Urban V and was completed after 1370.³⁴ The first castellan is documented in 1370, and the duties of the position were specified in the Statutes of Narni of 1371. These included the donation of a silk pall to the church of S. Maria Maggiore to mark the beginning of office, after an inventory of the fortress had been drafted.³⁵

The fortress in Narni is a classic square plan fortress with four watch-towers at the angles. Both Ugolino di Montemarte and Matteo de Gattapone are credited with the design, although to my knowledge there is no documentary evidence for such attributions.³⁶ The building was heavily renovated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was used as a prison between 1840 and 1905.³⁷ In 1939 it was described as being in a pitiful condition, but it has been exemplarily restored.³⁸

³² Giuseppe Collosi, *La rocca di Narni e la sorgente di Ferogna* (Narni: Valente, 1939), p. 7. Satolli (1990), p. 71 for a starting date of 1366. Collosi (1939), p. 11 dated it to 1356-1360.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7: 'fortalitium, arx seu Rocha pro Romana Ecclesia seu eius officiales fundatum.'

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

³⁶ For the attribution to Ugolino, see Bandini (1933), p. 121. For attribution to Gattapone, see Guglielmo De Angelis D'Ossat, 'Caratteri e valori delle Rocche Albornoziane. L'esempio di Narni', *Terni Provincia* (August 1987), pp. 9-15, at p. 15.

³⁷ Collosi (1939), p. 32.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Orvieto (1364-1370)

Despite the fact that Orvieto agreed to surrender to Albornoz in June 1354, the city remained hostile to the Church.³⁹ Eventually, the city surrendered again in 1364 and offered to fund the building of a fortress, which Albornoz decided to erect near the church of S. Martino and Porta Pusterlà.⁴⁰ Construction began in September 1364 and must have been completed by 1370.⁴¹ The fortress was destroyed by the Orvietans in 1390.⁴² The remaining ruins (now a public park) and a document dated 1393 help us envisage its original aspect: the rocca was surrounded by a ditch with two drawbridges, and had a *palazzetum* adjacent to Porta Pusterlà, a cistern, and was served by an aqueduct to ensure the provision of water.⁴³ In 1367, the carpenters and builders employed in the construction were sent to Viterbo so that they could observe the gate and drawbridge there, which was to be the model for Orvieto.⁴⁴ The structure in Orvieto has undergone numerous reconstructions.⁴⁵

The building campaign was probably overseen by Ugolino di Montemarte.⁴⁶ Although he is not identified as the architect in any documents, the Chronicles attribute to him the design of the fortress, and his advice was sought in 1365 regarding some problems with the building.⁴⁷

³⁹ A fortress was planned in 1354 but the project was abandoned due to resistance of population, see Antonelli (1904), p. 137 and Jamme (2003), p. 396. Albornoz entered Orvieto in June 1354. Sáez, Ferrer and Trenchs Odena (1981), doc. 89; Theiner (1862), pp. 267, 268. By 1358, the Church officers and administrators were unwilling to stay in Orvieto because the absence of a fortified stronghold compromised their safety. Lodovico Antonio Muratori ed., *Cronaca d'Orvieto dal 1342 al 1363* (Milan: Daelli, 1845), p. 105. Satolli (1990), p. 65.

⁴⁰ Archivio di Stato, Orvieto, Riformanze, 1364, quoted by Satolli (1990), p. 65.

⁴¹ Satolli (1990), p. 65; Jamme (2003), p. 398, fn. 115.

⁴² Satolli (1990), p. 66.

⁴³ Archivio Stato Orvieto, Riformanze, 1391-1411, 11 October 1393, fol. 86v, quoted by Satolli (1990), p. 66.

⁴⁴ Satolli (1990), p. 65.

⁴⁵ A new fortress was erected on the site in the mid-15th century, which was modified in the 16th century by Clement VII and Paolo III. Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 172, fn. 44.

⁴⁶ Bandini (1933), p. 121, attributes the rocca to Ugolino.

⁴⁷ Montemarte (1842), p. 43: in 1364 '...Mandó poi messer di Spagna il conte Ugolini ad Orvieto e volse che stesse il certo tempo mentre si cominciò a fare la rocca sopra la porta di Posterla'; p. 34: 'Dopo tornato messer di Spagna dal reame [Naples] mandò il conte Ugolino in Orvieto, dove si murava la rocca, et ci feci provisioni come a quella d'Ancona'.

He was probably helped by Giordano Orsini.⁴⁸ When the general collector and governor of the Papal State Gerard du Puy arrived in Italy in 1372, he decided to build a fortress on the opposite end of the city, in Porta Maggiore, and levied heavy taxes on the local population to fund this project.⁴⁹ In November 1373, Matteo di Gattapone was documented as administrator in the building campaign. One of his tasks was that of calculating the compensation owed to two local citizens, Toffo di Rannuccio and his brother, for the loss of their house during the building works for the fortress.⁵⁰ The project was abandoned.⁵¹

Orte (1366)

In 1366, the town of Orte surrendered to Albornoz and agreed to build a new fortress, at the citizens' expense.⁵²

Senigallia (1366)

In 1366, Albornoz ordered the building of the fortress in Senigallia, which was completed by Anglic Grimoard.⁵³

Perugia (1370s)

In late 1373, Matteo was employed to direct the works of the fortress in Perugia.⁵⁴

Although the fortress was built after Albornoz's death, it is worth noting as the mature work of Gattapone. The fortress of Porta Sole in Perugia was begun in 1371 under the government of

⁴⁸ Satolli (1990), p. 65.

⁴⁹ Casini Bruni (1970), docs. 19, 22.

⁵⁰ 'Dilecti in Christo Thofi Rannuctii, civis Urbevetani, ... prout debet aliquialiter solvere non valeret nisi de valore quarundam suarum domorum de nostro mandato pro rocche fabrica acceptarum et iam diructarum in parte eidem et fratri suo, secundum extimationem factam per dilectum in Christo Matheum Gaptaponis nostrum commisarium, integre satisfiat...' Perugia, 21 November 1373. Published by Casini Bruni (1970), doc. 27. In March 1374 Gerardo ordered the city of Orvieto to compensate Thofa and his brother 'eis occasione domorum diructarum pro cassaro civitatis iamdicte'; *ibid.*, doc. 39.

⁵¹ Satolli (1990), p. 65.

⁵² Glénisson and Mollat (1964), nos. 1202, 1203.

⁵³ Jamme (2003), p. 393, fn. 82; p. 400.

⁵⁴ Nessi (1992), p. 88.

Pierre d'Estaing and was completed under Gerard du Puy.⁵⁵ Gregory XI financed the project in 1372.⁵⁶

Matteo Gattapone, described as the 'general officer of the work of Perugia fortress' in April 1374, commanded the contribution of Assisi towards the building campaign.⁵⁷ The building was completed by late 1375.⁵⁸ It was a complex and unique design, including three fortified buildings linked by corridors.⁵⁹ Italian chronicles refer to the sumptuous decorations.⁶⁰ Villola described it as the largest and best defended fortress in the world.⁶¹ The latter statement turned out to be inaccurate; the fortress fell in January 1376 after a short siege by the Perugian people, and the scavenged materials were employed in the construction of the cathedral of S. Lorenzo.⁶² Whatever remained of the palace used by the papal legates was destroyed in a fire in 1463.⁶³ The bastion was a rectangular structure flanked by six square towers, of which, all that remained by 1922 were the supporting walls with tall arcades.⁶⁴ The wellhead has survived, inside Palazzo Veracchi- Crispolti, in Piazza Biordo Michelotti.

⁵⁵ Eugenio Duprè-Theseider, 'La rivolta di Perugia nel 1375 contro l'abate di Monmaggiore ed i suoi precedenti politici', *Bollettino di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XXXV (1938), pp. 70-116, at pp. 88, 97-98.

⁵⁶ Theiner (1862), p. 547, doc. DXLI.

⁵⁷ 'Macthey Gattaponis de Eugubio Generalis Offitialis operum Cictadelle Perusii,' Assisi, Archivio Comunale, Riformanze, vol. 5, ff. 21v, 24r, quoted by Abate (1941), pp. 187-8. Antonio Cristofani, *Le Storie di Assisi* (Venice: Nuova Editoriale, 1959, 4th edition, first published 1856), libro III, p. 207, fns. 2 6, 30.

⁵⁸ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 52; cf. Angeletti and Bertini (1993), p. 92.

⁵⁹ Serra Desfilis (1992), p. 154: 'Por su concepción la fortaleza de Porta Sole representa la antítesis del bloque rectangular y compacto de la *Rocca* de Spoleto'. Jamme (2003), p. 408.

⁶⁰ 'e face fare dentro un'abitazione papale con tutte le belle cose che fare si poddero, sicchè sembrava un paradiso'. Ariodante Fabretti ed., *Cronache della città di Perugia* (Turin: 1892), Vol. I, p. 197. Eugenio Duprè-Theseider, 'La rivolta di Perugia nel 1375 contro l'abate di Monmaggiore ed i suoi precedenti politici', *Bollettino di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XXXV (1938), pp. 70-116, at pp. 94-95.

⁶¹ Villola, *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium* ed. Albano Sorbelli, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* XVIII, I-3 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1916), p. 299: 'le piu magne e lle piu forti forteze del mondo'.

⁶² Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 146-7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁶⁴ Filippini (1922-1923), p. 77. Serra Desfilis (1992), pp. 150, 158, fn. 7.

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Figure 1. Albornoz family house. Museo Arqueológico, Cuenca. Exterior, façade.



Figure 2. Museo Arqueológico, Cuenca. Interior. Library. Detail of ceiling decorated with heraldry of Luna and Albornoz .



Figure 3. Museo Arqueológico, Cuenca. Interior. Ground floor hall. Detail of ceiling decorated with heraldry of Albornoz . After 1350.

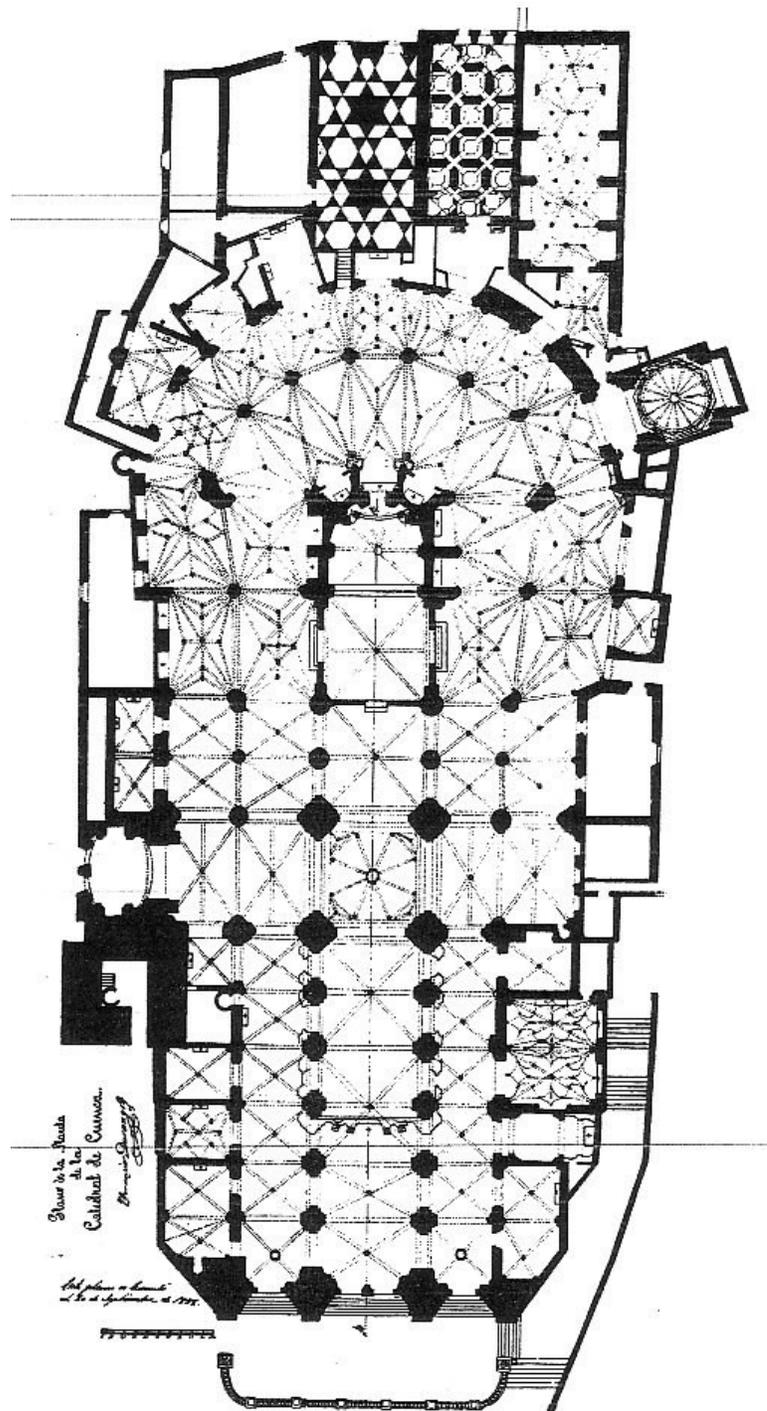


Figure 4. Plan of Cuenca Cathedral, indicating location of Albornoz chapel [after Luz Lamarca, Fig. 4]



Figure 5. Cuenca cathedral. Interior. Albornoz family chapel. View from the south entrance.



Figure 6. Tomb of García Álvarez de Albornoz (d. 1328). Albornoz chapel, north wall. Cuenca cathedral.



Figure 7. Tomb of Alvar García de Albornoz (d. 1374). Albornoz chapel, north wall. Cuenca cathedral.



Figure 8. Detail of Figure 6. Epitaph of García Alvarez (d. 1328)



Figure 9. Lion head. Fragment from the tomb of Alvar García. Sacristy, Cuenca cathedral.



Figure 10. Detail of Figure 7. Epitaph of Alvar García (d. 1374)



Figure 11. Tomb of Teresa de Luna (d. after 1338). Albornoz chapel. Cuenca cathedral.



**Figure 12 . Seal of Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. 1338.
ACT, A.8.D.1.7.**



Figure 13. Seal of Archbishop Gil de Albornoz. 1339. ACT, X.10.B.1.8.

Esta nra. signada de escuano publico
mas los deo esta nra. carta sellada
nra. letra vijna e en dia de Oct
de Bidas nra. valencia

Figure 14. Signature of Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. 1339. ACT, X.10.B.1.8.



**Figure 15. Seal and counterseal of Archbishop Ximeno de Luna.
1330. ACT, I.6.B.1.12.**



**Figure 16. Seal of Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. 1345.
ANF, Douet d'Arcq n.11345.**



Figure 17. Counterseal of Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. 1345. ANF, Douet d'Arcq n.11345.



Figure 18. Seal of Blas Fernández de Toledo, Archbishop of Toledo. 1353. ACT, V.12.B.1.1.



Figure 20. Seal of Pedro Tenorio, Archbishop of Toledo. 1391. ANF, Douet D'Arcq n. 11346.



Figure 21. Toledo Cathedral. Exterior. West front [Tom Nickson]



Figure 22. Toledo Cathedral. Exterior. View of South tower from eastern roof gallery.



**Figure 23. Key stone decorated with Albornoz heraldry, 1338-1350.
South aisle. Toledo cathedral.**

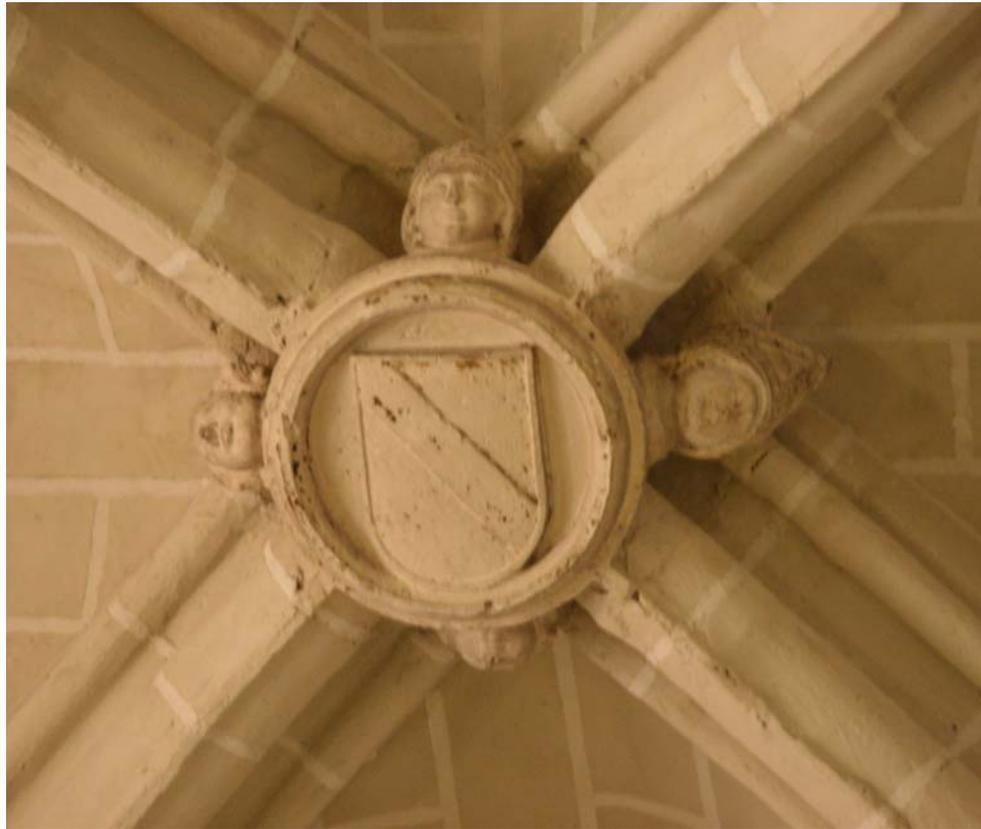


Figure 24. Toledo Cathedral. Interior. Key stone on vault of north aisle, decorated with Albornoz heraldry, 1338-1350 [Tom Nickson]



Figure 25. Toledo Cathedral. Central tympanum of west façade.



Figure 26. Toledo Cathedral. Southern tympanum of west façade.



Figure 27. Toledo Cathedral. Northern tympanum of west façade. [Tom Nickson]



Figure 28. Vitoria Cathedral. Northern tympanum of west facade. [After Viana, Fig. 24]



Figure 29. Brihuega castle. Exterior. North front.



Figure 30. Brihuega castle. Interior. Great Hall, looking East.



Figure 31. Brihuega castle. Interior. Fresco decoration on window. Great Hall.



Figure 32. Brihuega castle. Interior. Chapel. East end.



Figure 33. Villaviciosa del Tajuña. Doorway of access to site of Augustinian monastery of San Blas.



Figure 34. Villaviciosa del Tajuña. Site of Augustinian monastery of San Blas.



Figure 35. Bell tower. Site of Augustinian monastery of San Blas, Villaviciosa del Tajuña.



Figure 36. Tower. Arcos del Jalón.



Figure 37. Detail of stucco decoration showing Albornoz heraldry. West wall. Tower, Arcos del Jalón.



Fig. 38. Papal palace, Avignon. Exterior. West front.



Figure 39. Livrée Ceccano, Avignon. Exterior.



Figure 40. Livrée Ceccano, Avignon. Interior. Second floor. Fresco decoration.



Figure 41. Livrée Ceccano, Avignon. Interior. Second floor. Heraldry of Stefaneschi and Ceccano families.



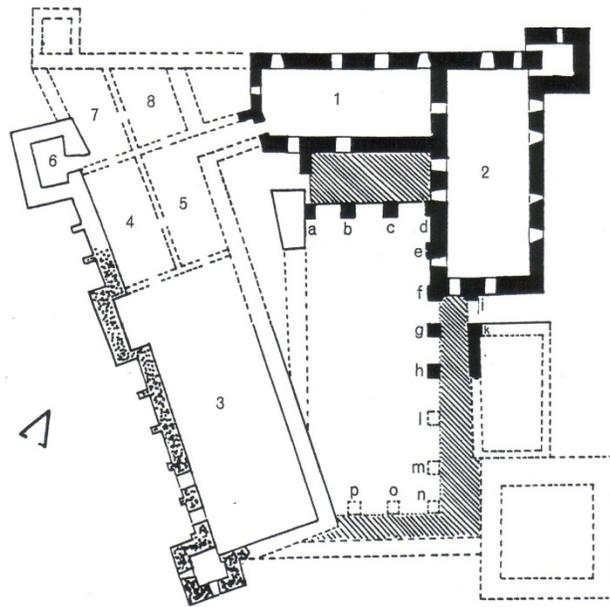
Figure 42. Fortified palace. Montefascone. Exterior view from north.



Figure 43. Fortified palace. Montefiascone. Southern tower, view from courtyard.

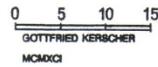


Figure 44. Fortified palace. Montefiascone. Courtyard.



- ERHALTENE GEBÄUDE
- - - FUNDAMENTE ODER ZUM TEIL AUFGEHENDES MAUERWERK
- /// KORRIDORE BZW. BALKON (ZWISCHEN 1 UND 2)
- · - · - REKONSTRUKTION

- 1 VORRAUM ODER TINELLUM
- 2 CAPELLA MAGNA
- 3 SALONE (CONSISTORIUM ODER TINELLUM MAGNUM)
- 4 ANTICAMERA (CAMERA PARAMENTI)
- 5 ANTICAMERA (TINELLUM PARVUM)
- 6 CAPELLA PARVA (PRIVATKAPELLE DES PAPSTES)
- 7 CAMERA PAPE
- 8 CAMERA SECRETA, STUDIUM
- a-h ERHALTENE LOGGIAPFEILER IM EG
- e-p REKONSTRUIERTE LOGGIAPFEILER IM EG



8. Montefiascone, Papstpalast, schematischer Grundriß des Obergeschosses im 14. Jh. (Verfasser)

Figure 45. Plan of fortified palace, Montefiascone [after Kerscher 1990, Fig. 8]

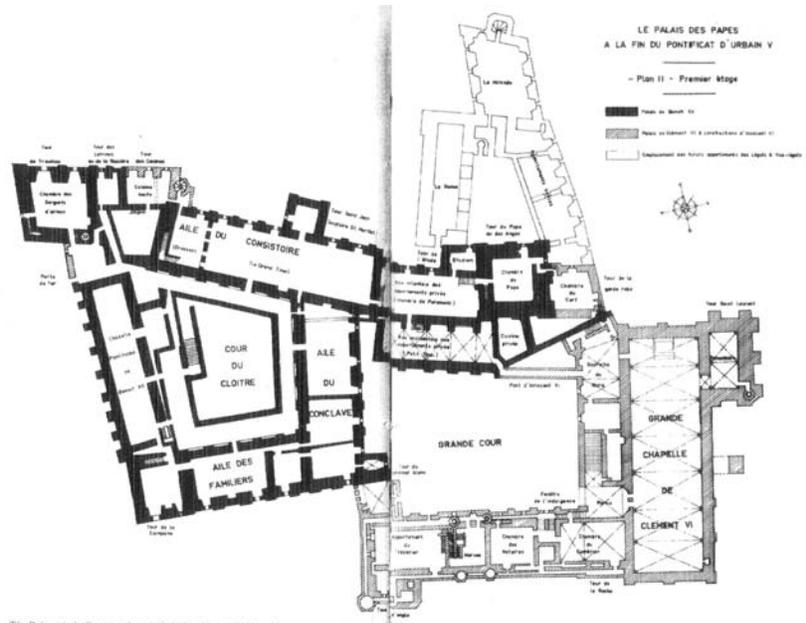
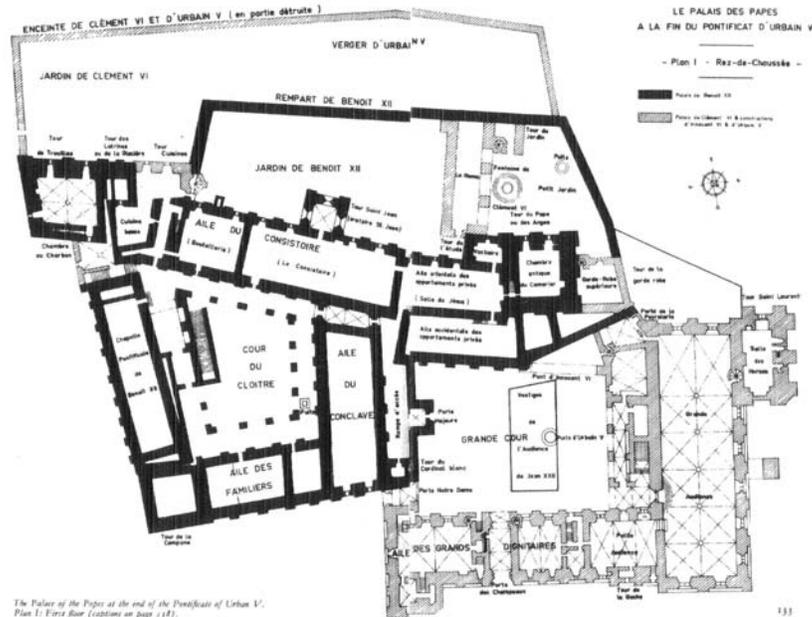
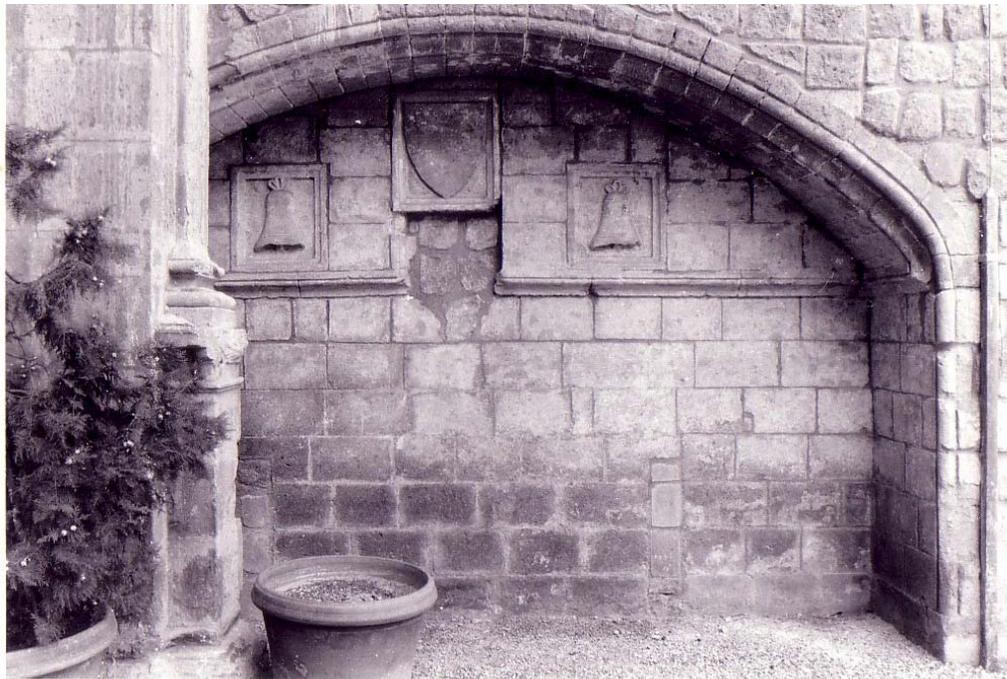


Figure 46. Plan of Papal Palace, Avignon [after Gagnière 1975]



Figure 47. Fortress, Viterbo. View from southwest.



**Figure 48. Heraldry on southern wall of courtyard. Fortress, Viterbo
[Soprintendenza dei Musei del Lazio]**



Figure 49. Tura da Imola, *Tomb of Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio* (d. 1366). West wall, Cathedral, Fermo.

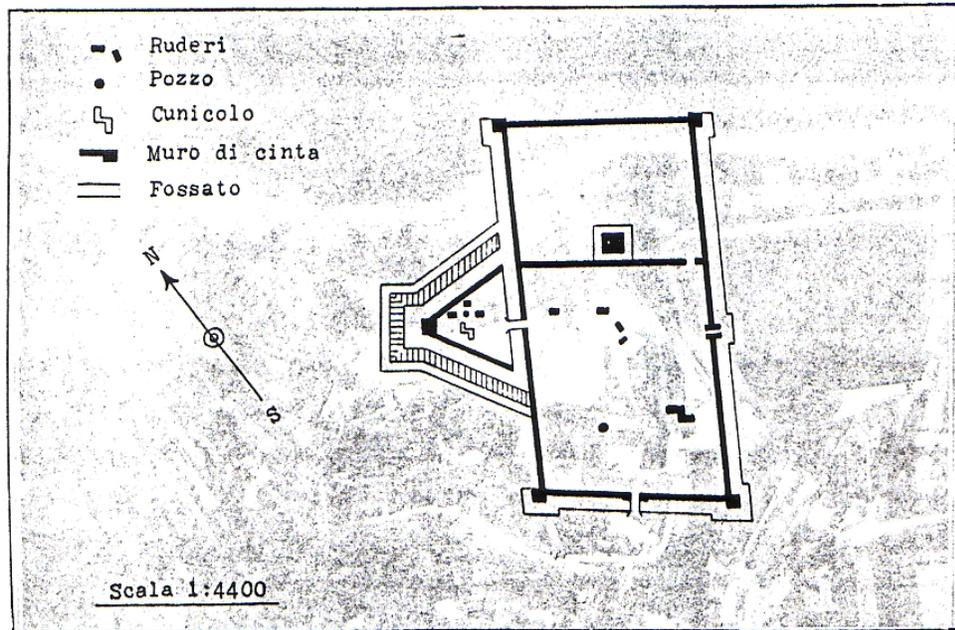


Figure 50. Reconstruction of plan of the fortress in Ancona [after Santini, Fig. 7]

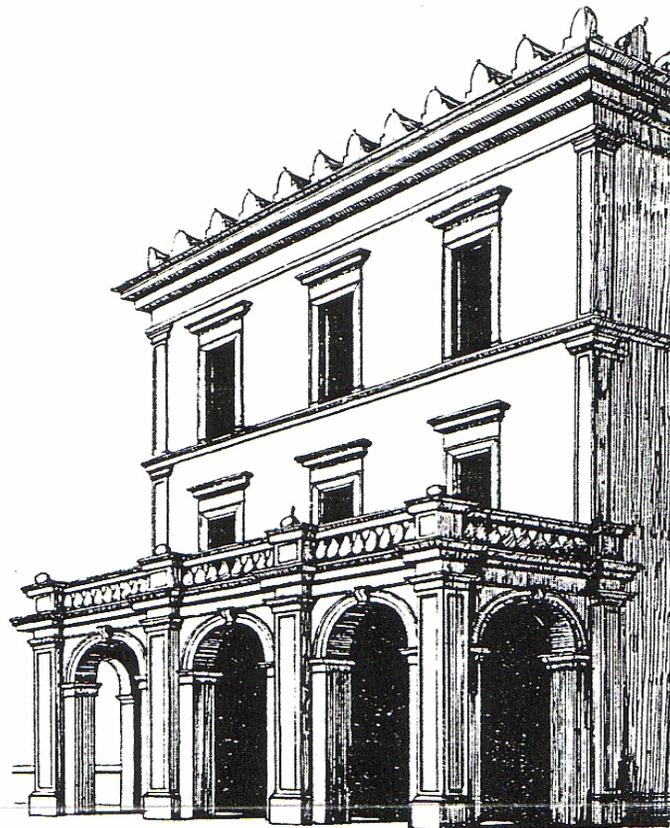


Figure 51. Depiction of lost loggia on Palazzo Fatati in Ancona [after Santini, Fig. 15]



Figure 52. View of Rocca from west. Spoleto.

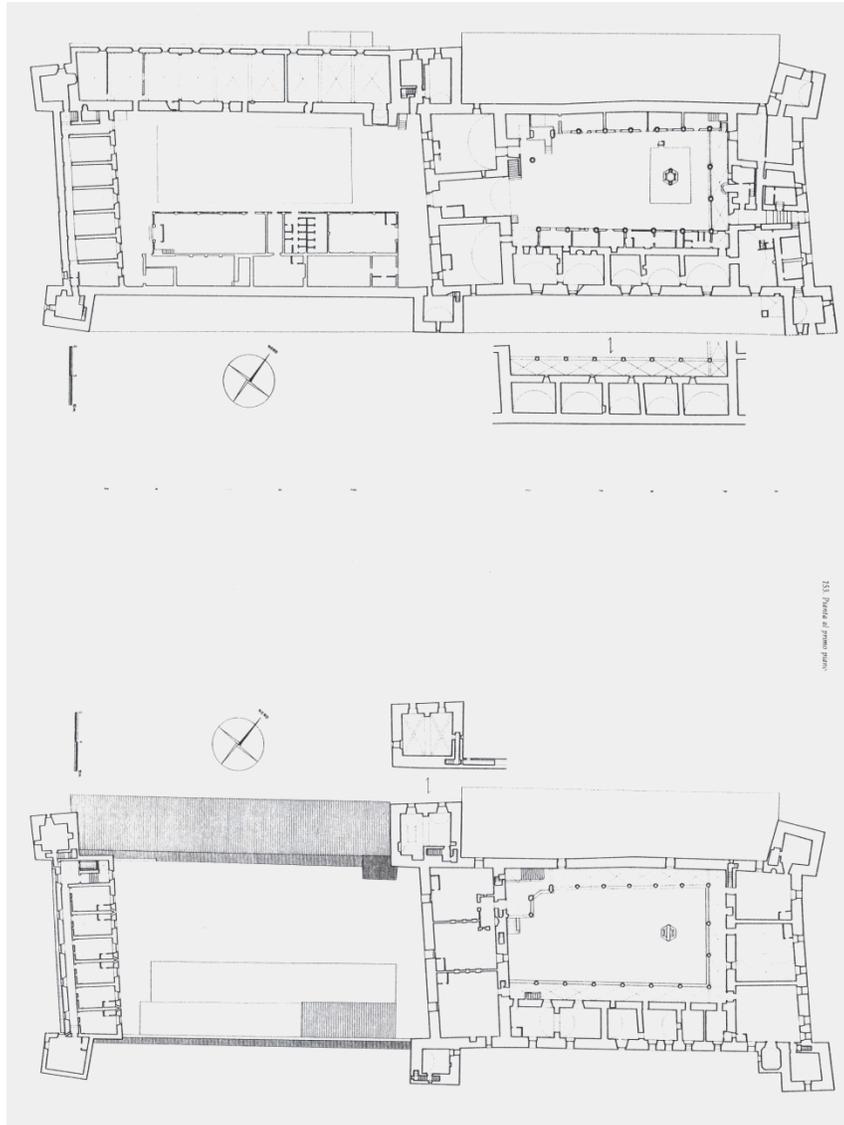


Figure 53. Plan of Rocca, Spoleto [after Paoletti, Figs 152, 153]



Figure 54. Heraldry above northern gate. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 55. Coat of arms of Urban V above northern gate. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 56. Military courtyard, looking east towards Great Hall. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 57. Heraldry above passage to residential area. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 58. Residential courtyard. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 59. Pillar in residential courtyard. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 60. Upper loggia. Residential courtyard. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 61. Ponte delle Torri viewed from east of Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 62. Northwest. Residential courtyard. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 63. Northwest corner. Residential courtyard. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 64. Interior of Great Hall. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 65. Interior of Camera picta. Rocca, Spoleto.



Figure 66. Fortress, Molina de Aragón.



Figure 67. Fortress, showing foundations of church. Molina de Aragón.



Figure 68. Castle, Sigüenza.



Fig. 12. Uno scorcio del cortile.

Figure 69. Courtyard. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna [after Marchini, Fig. 12]



Figure 70. East front. Palace. Cesena.



Figure 71. North front. Palace, Cesena.

«PALATIUM NOVUM»

FRONTE A NORD

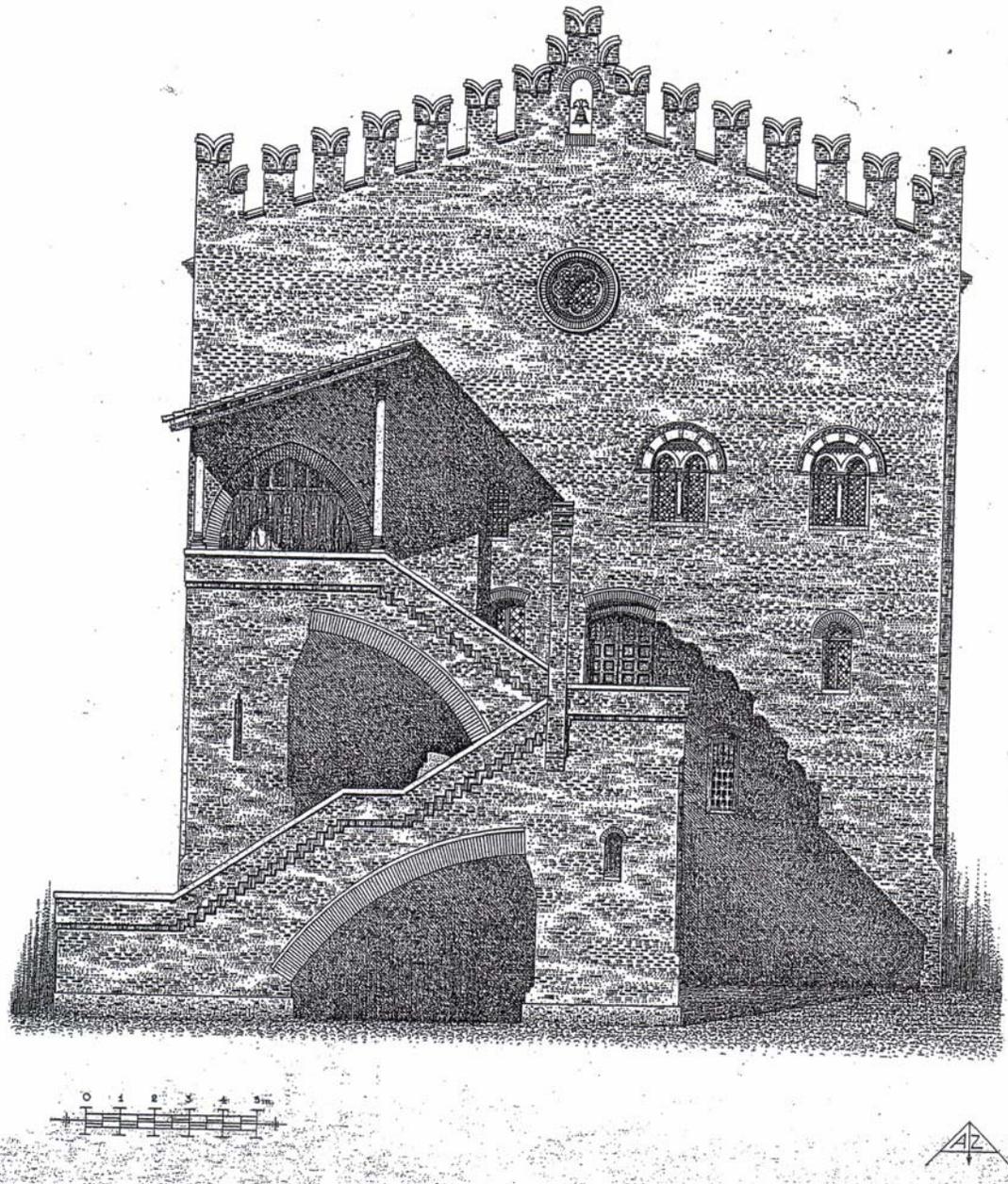


Figure 72. Amilcare Zavatti, *Reconstruction of north front of Palace in Cesena* [after Errani, p. 151]



Figure 73. West front. Palace. Cesena.



Figure 74. Terracotta decoration on west window of Great Hall. West front. Palace, Cesena.



Figure 75. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. XXXV, Cod. XX. Regestum recognitionum et iuramentorum fidelitatis civitatum sub Innocentio VI, fol. 6v. [Archivio Segreto Vaticano]

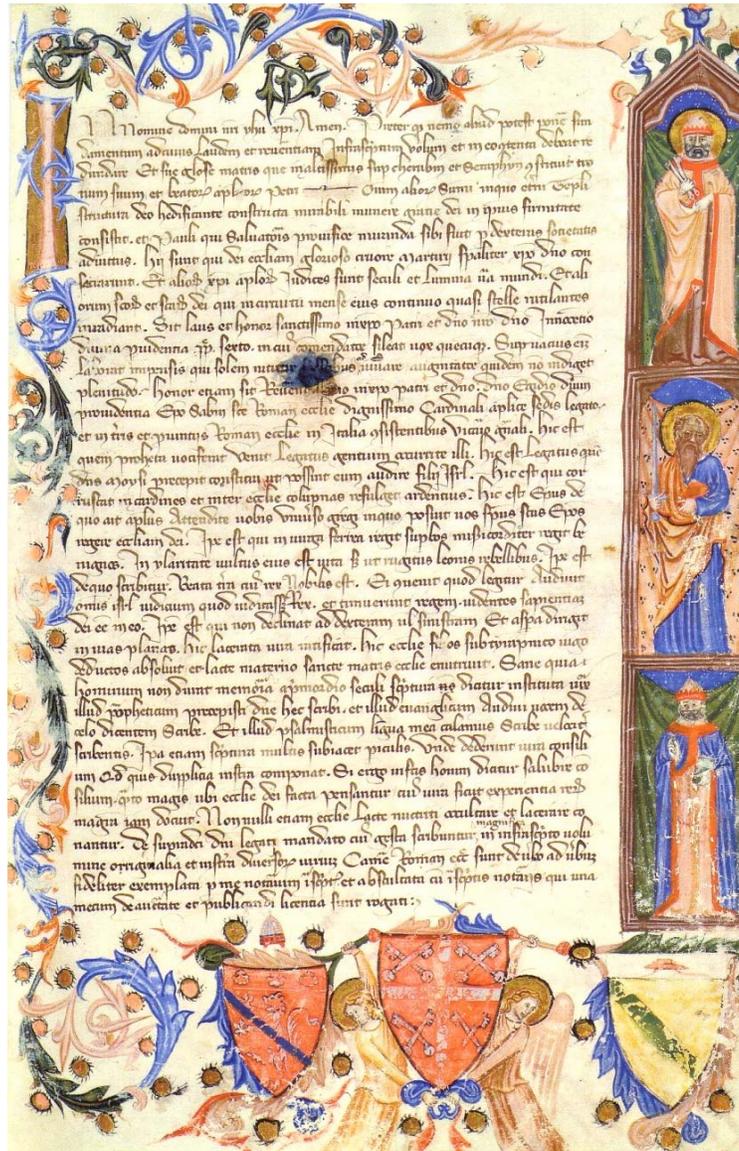


Figure 76. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. XXXV, Cod. XX. Regestum recognitionum et iuramentorum fidelitatis civitatum sub Innocentio VI, fol. 7r. [Archivio Segreto Vaticano]



Figure 77. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1366, Decretum Gratiani, fol. 97r [after Gibbs 1989, Fig. 52]



Figure 78. Heraldry of Albornoz and Boniface IX. Sala delle udienze, Palazzo Vescovile, Terni.



Figure 79. Heraldry of Bertrand de Déaux. Sala delle udienze, Palazzo Vescovile, Terni.



Figure 80. Albornoz heraldry. Vault over high altar. San Ciriaco, Ancona [Curia Vescovile di Ancona]



Figure 81. Albornoz heraldry. Exterior of central apse. San Ciriaco, Ancona [Curia Vescovile di Ancona]



Figure 82. Andrea de' Bartoli, *Gil de Albornoz kneeling at the feet of St. Clement*, c. 1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.

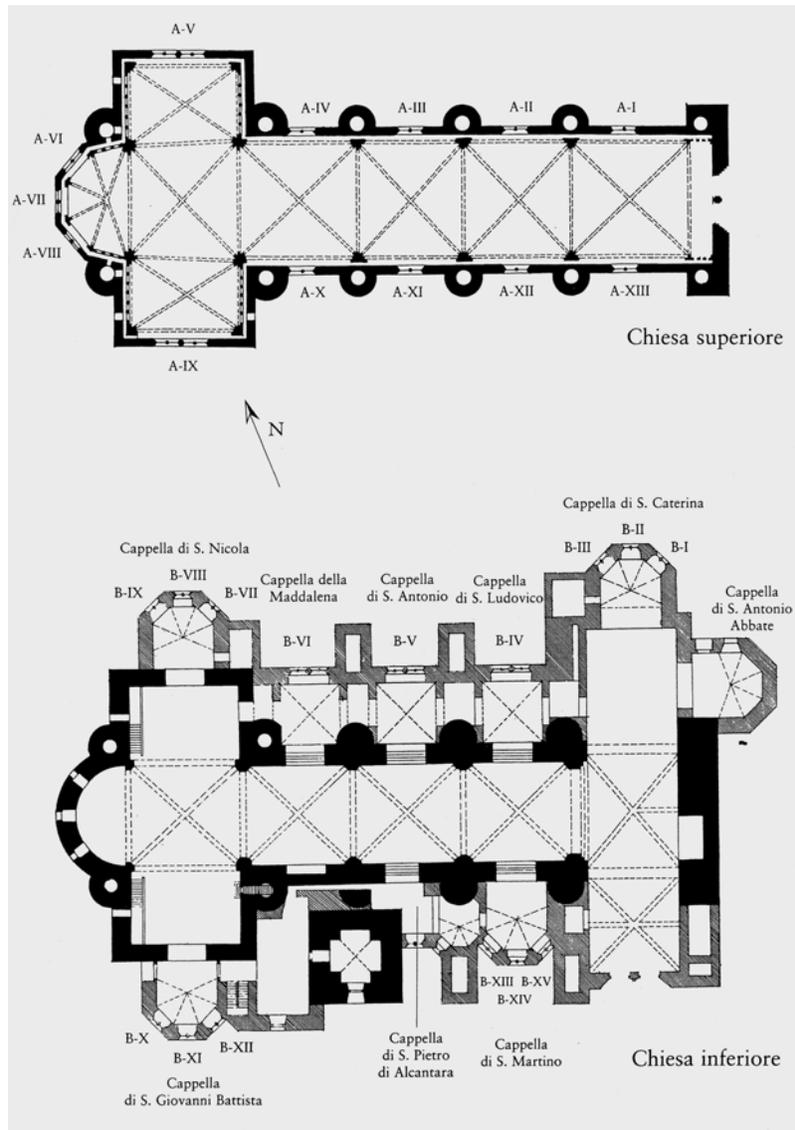


Figure 83. Plan of the Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Martin 1998]

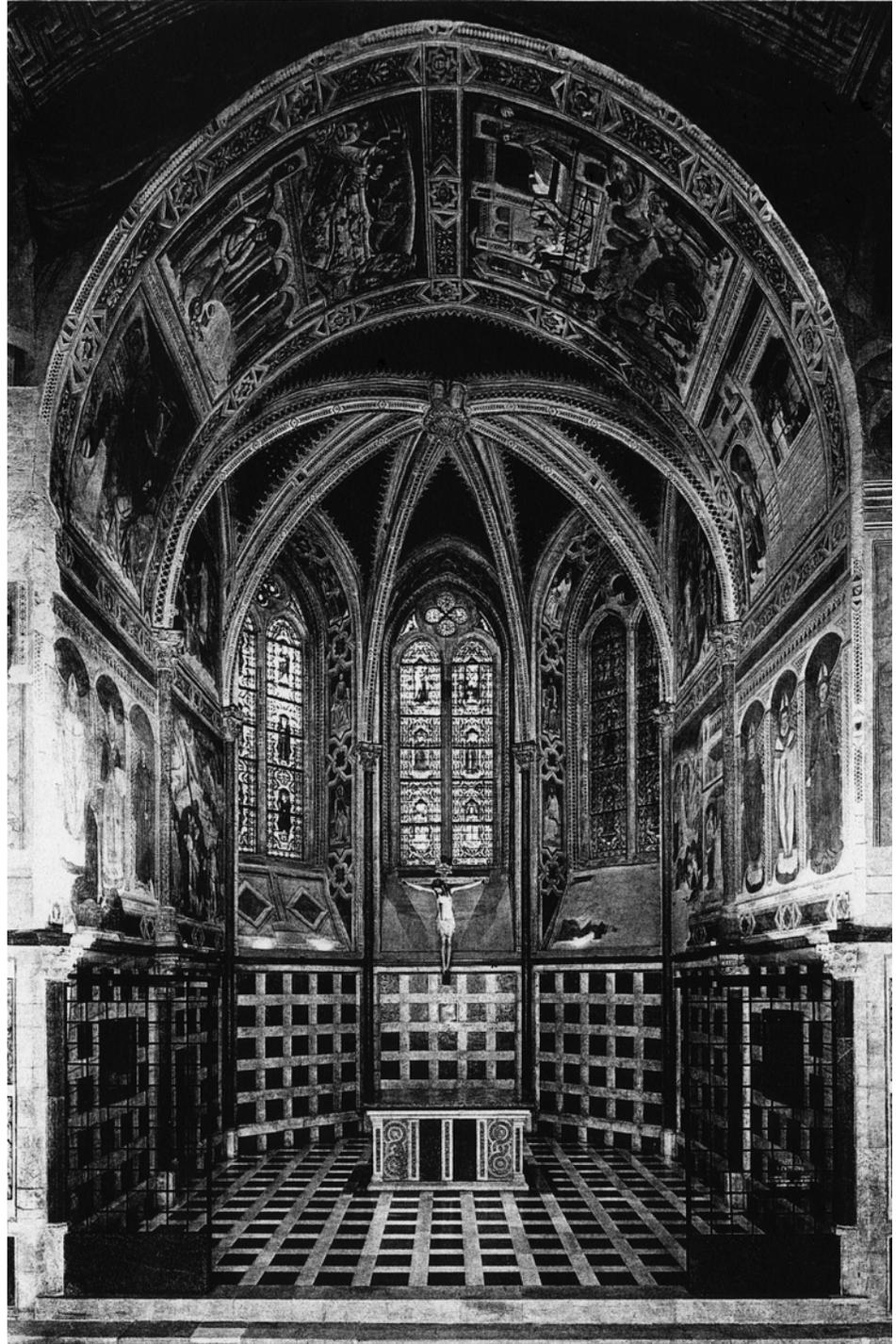


Figure 84. General view of the chapel of St. Catherine, looking east. Lower Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 171]

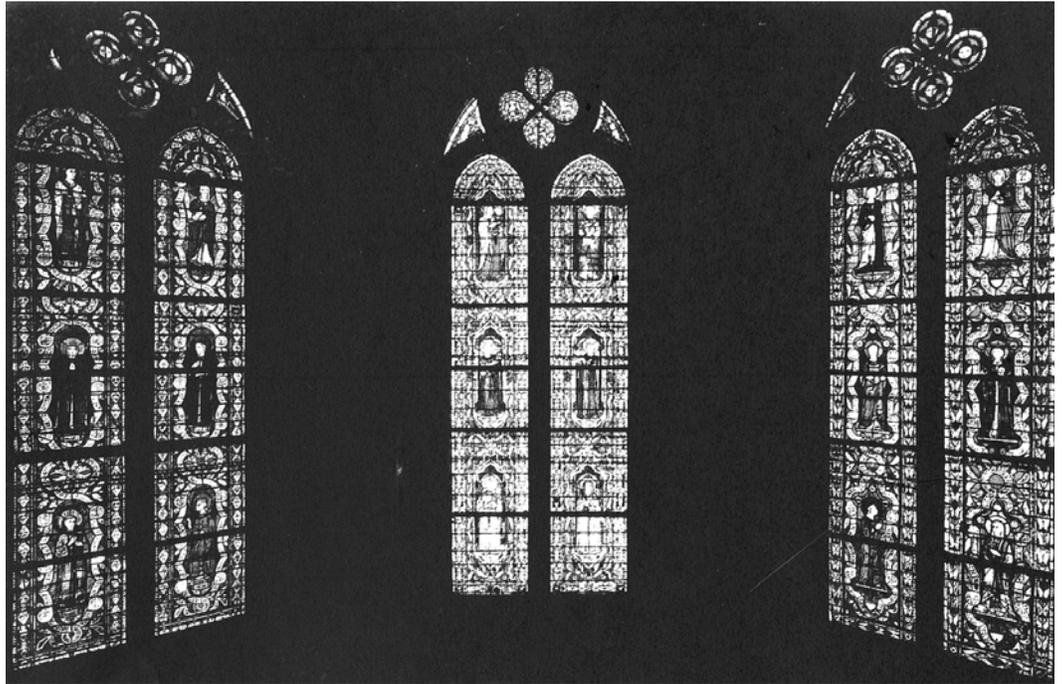
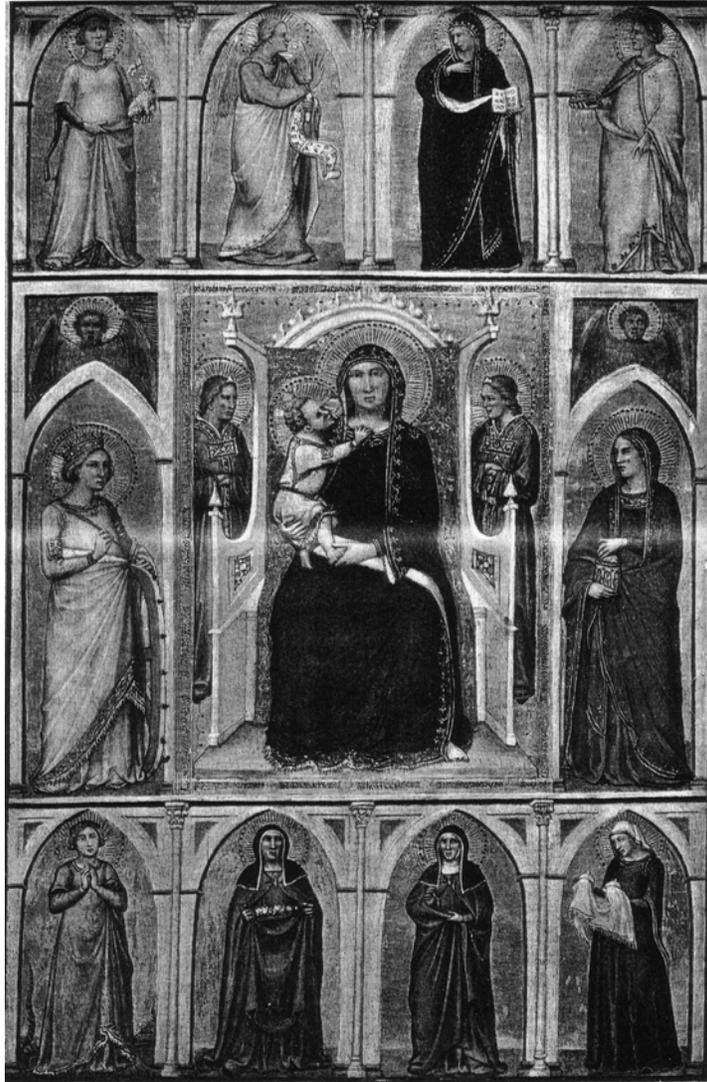


Figure 85. Windows in apse of chapel of St. Catherine. Lower Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Martin 1997, Fig. 305]

F. Martin / Zur Katharinenkapelle in S. Francesco



1 Puccio Capanna, Madonna mit Kind und weiblichen Heiligen. Rom, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

Figure 86. Puccio Cappanna, *Madonna with Child and saints*, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City [after Martin 2000, Fig. 1]



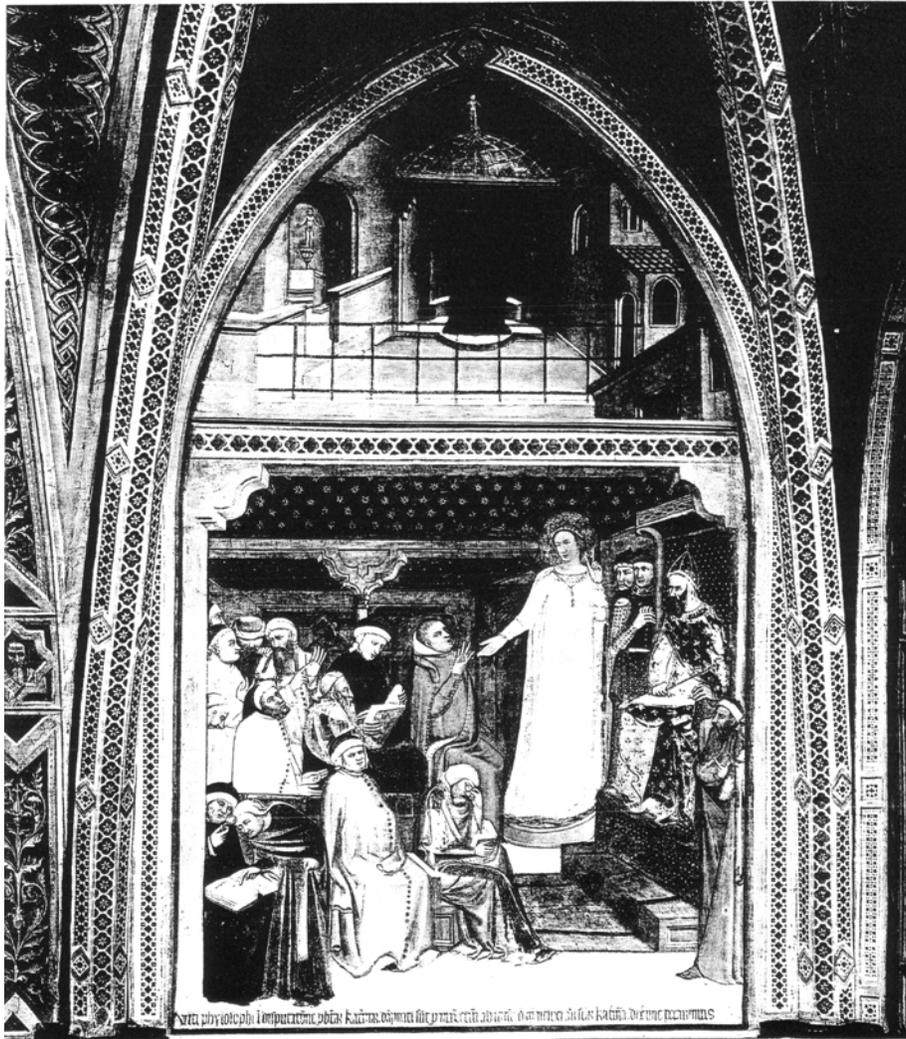
Figure 87. Andrea de' Bartoli, *St. Blaise, St. Eugenius and St. Louis*, c.1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.



Figure 88. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The conversion and the mystic marriage of St. Catherine*, c.1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 176]



Figure 89. Andrea de' Bartoli, *St. Catherine before the emperor Maxentius*, c.1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 177]



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Figure 90. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The disputation of St. Catherine with the philosophers*, c.1368, fresco. North wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 178]



Figure 91. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The martyrdom of the philosophers*, c.1368, fresco. North wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 179]

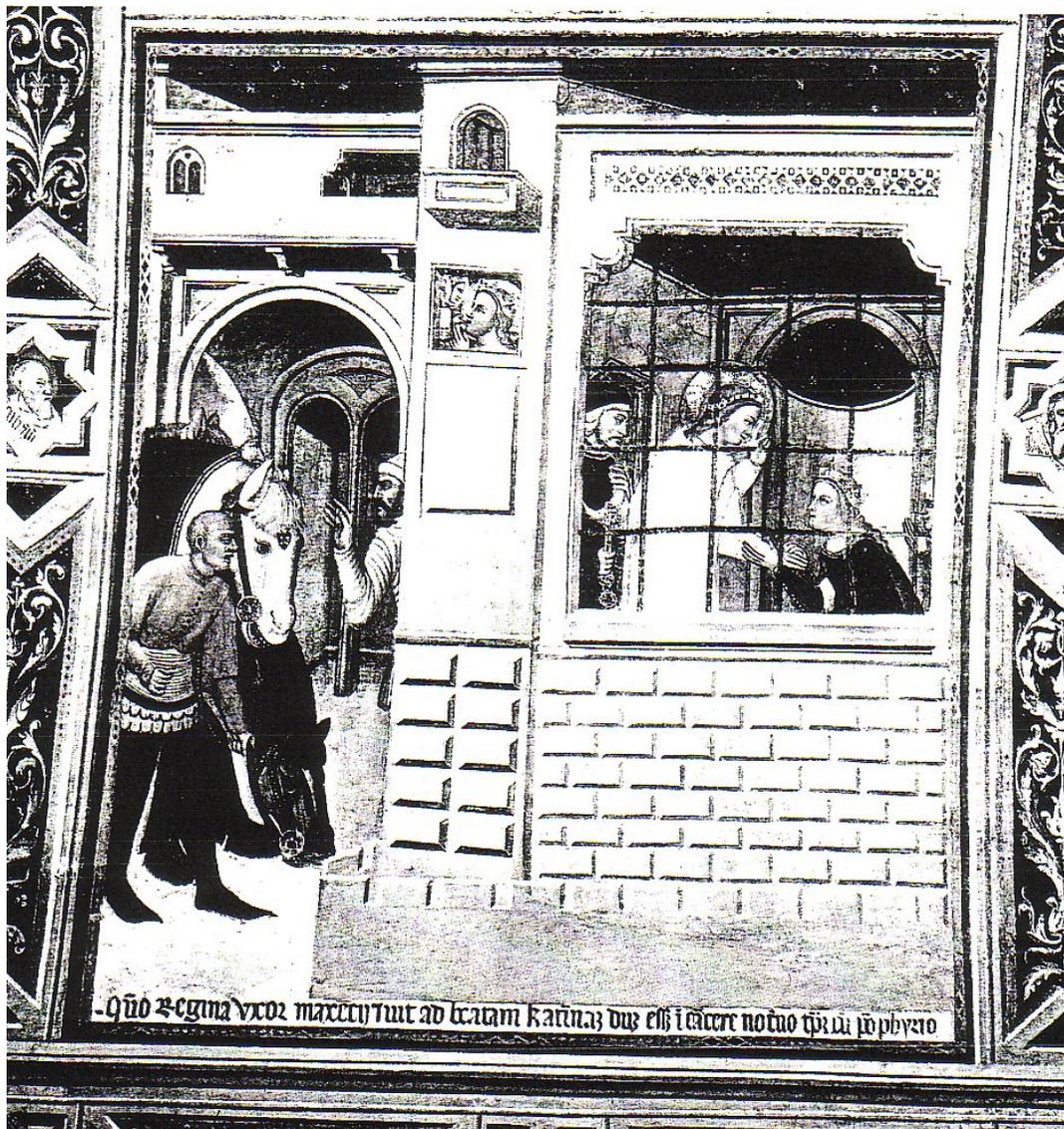


Figure 92. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The empress Faustina visiting St. Catherine in prison*, c.1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 181]

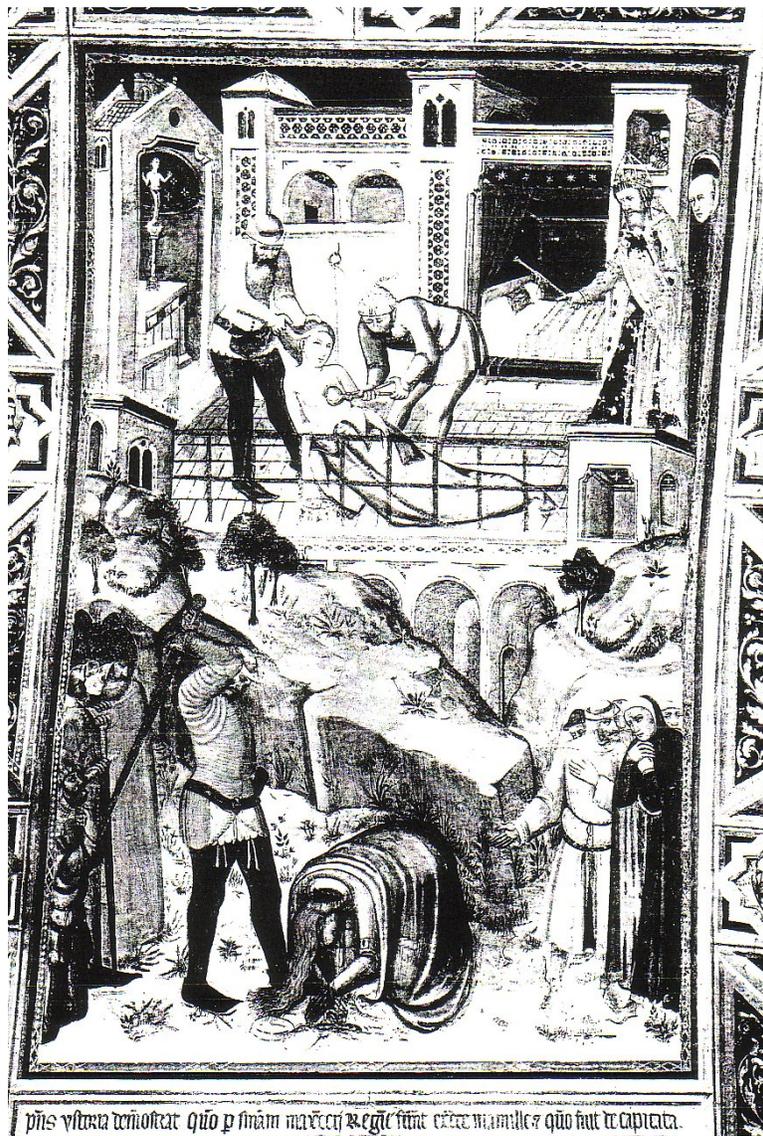


Figure 93. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The martyrdom of the empress Faustina*, c.1368, fresco. South wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 182]

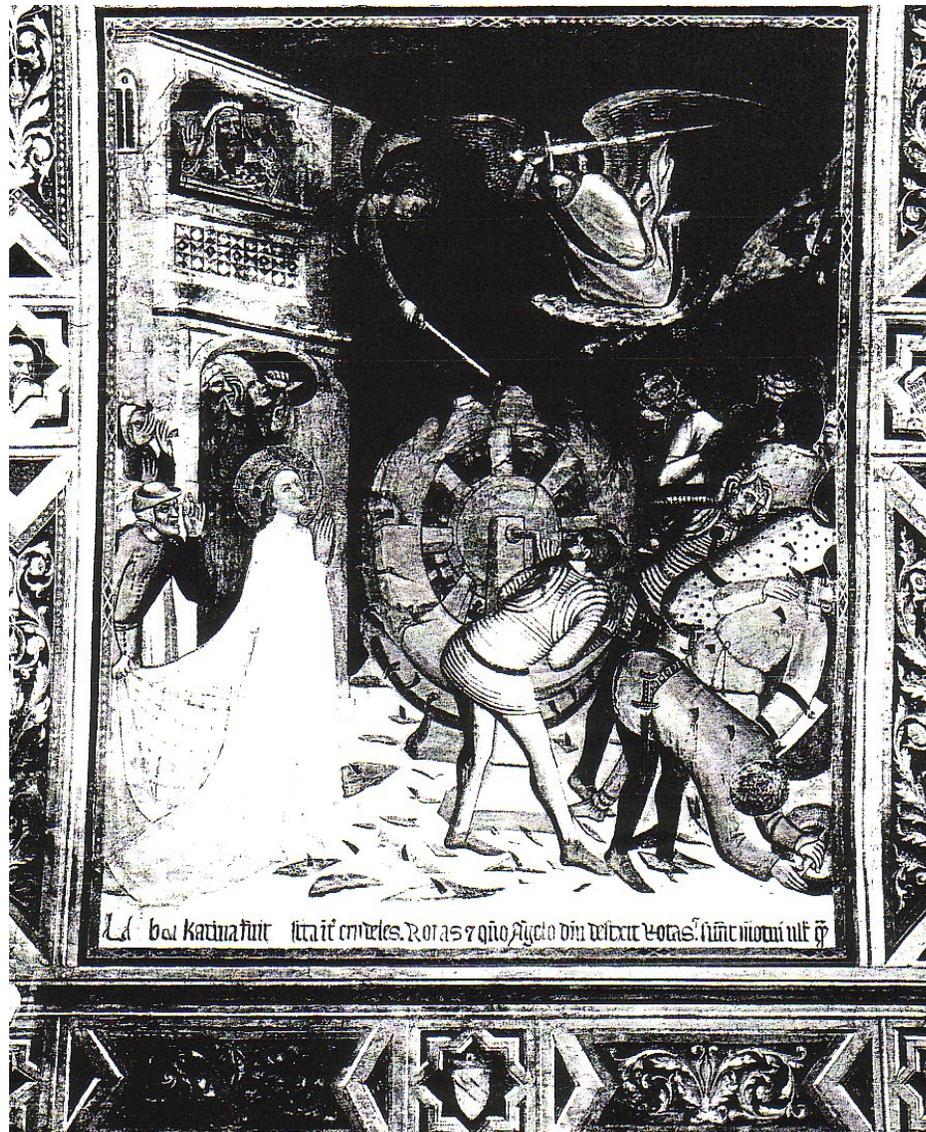


Figure 94. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The martyrdom of St. Catherine*, c.1368, fresco.

North wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco,
Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 184]



Figure 95. Andrea de' Bartoli, *The beheading of St. Catherine and the carrying of her body on Mount Sinai*, c.1368, fresco. North wall, chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi [after Bonsanti, Fig. 185]

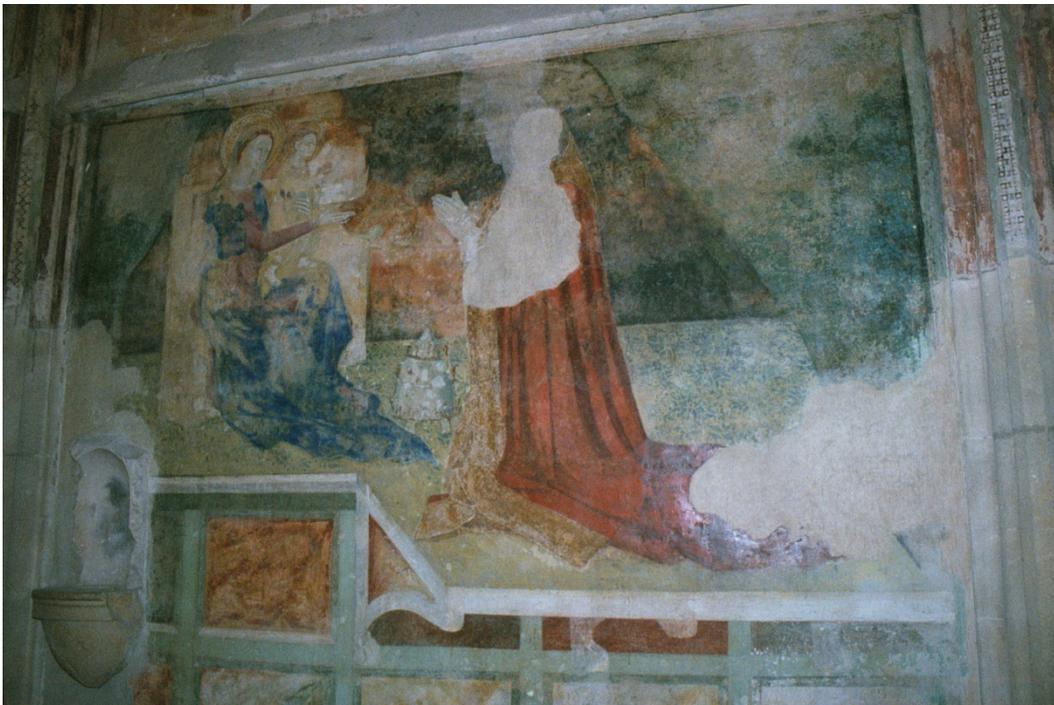


Figure 97. Matteo di Giovannetti da Viterbo, *Innocent VI kneeling at the feet of the Virgin Mary*, after 1356, fresco. Chartreuse, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.



Figure 98. Tomb of Blasco Fernandez de Belviso (d.1368). Chapel of St. Anthony Abbot, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.



Figure 99. Tomb of Garcia Fernandez de Belviso (d.1368). Chapel of St. Anthony Abbot, Lower Church of the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.



Figure 100. Infirmary wing. Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.

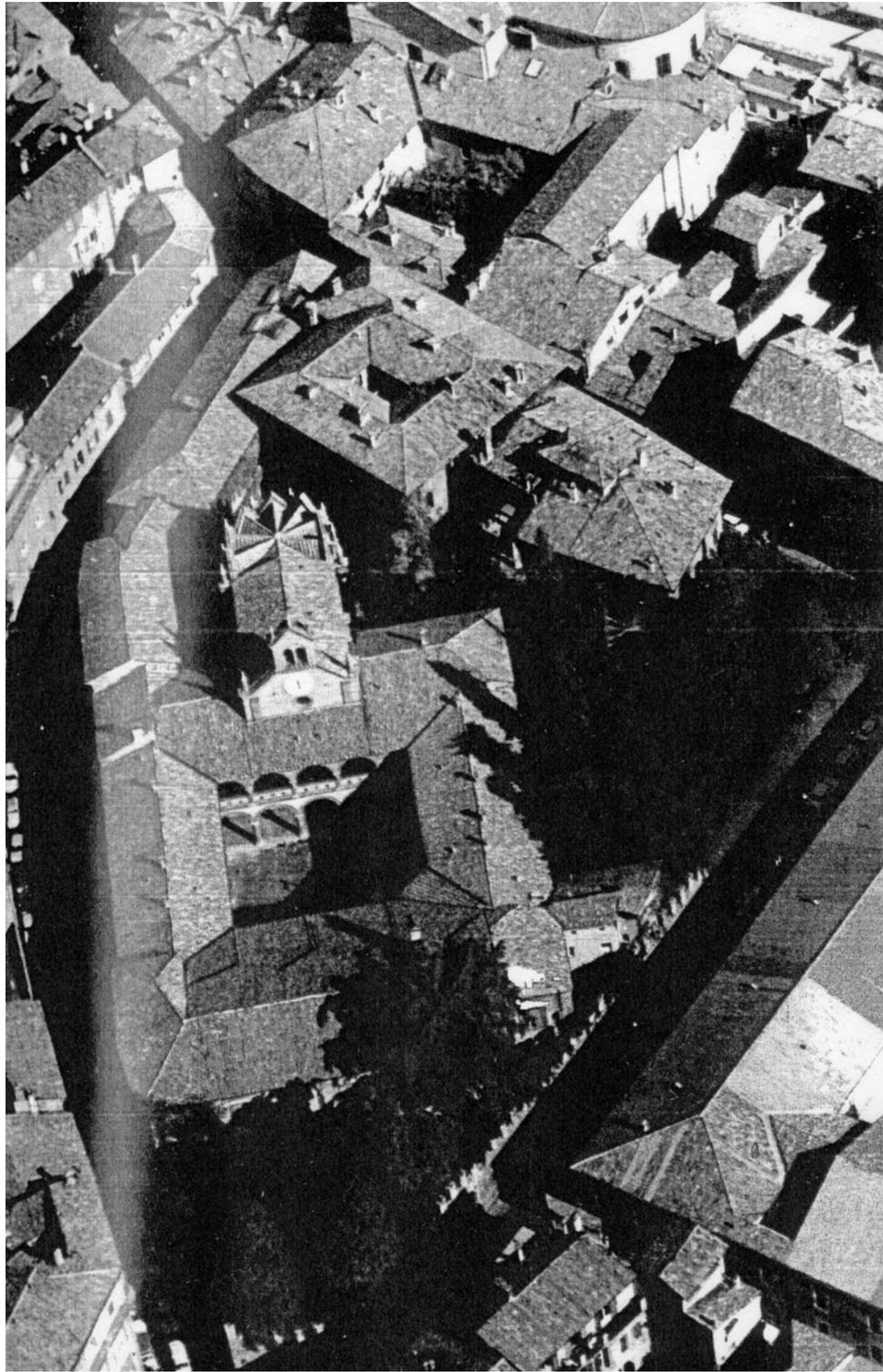


Figure 101. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna. Aerial view [after Marchini, frontispiece]

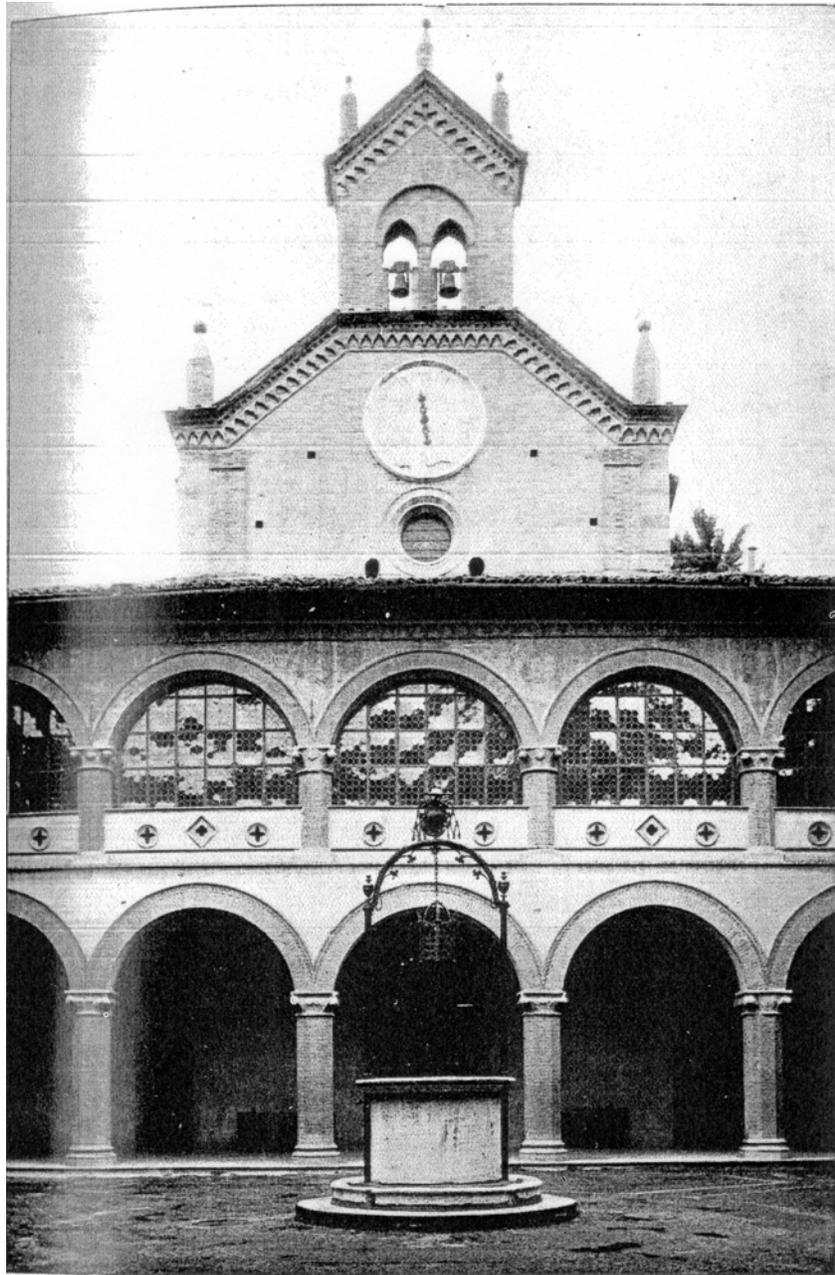


Figure 102. Courtyard, view towards east. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna [after Marchini, Fig. 11]



Figure 103. Upper loggia of courtyard. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna [after Marchini, Fig. 18]



Figure 104. Capitals on ground loggia of courtyard. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna [after Marchini, Fig. 15]



Figure 105. Chapel of San Clemente. Interior view towards east. Collegio di Spagna, Bologna.



Figure 106. Andrea de' Bartoli, *St. George, St. Catherine, Urban V and donors*, c.1369, fresco. North wall, chapel of San Clemente, Collegio di Spagna, Bologna.



Figure 107. Collegio della Sapienza, Perugia. External view.

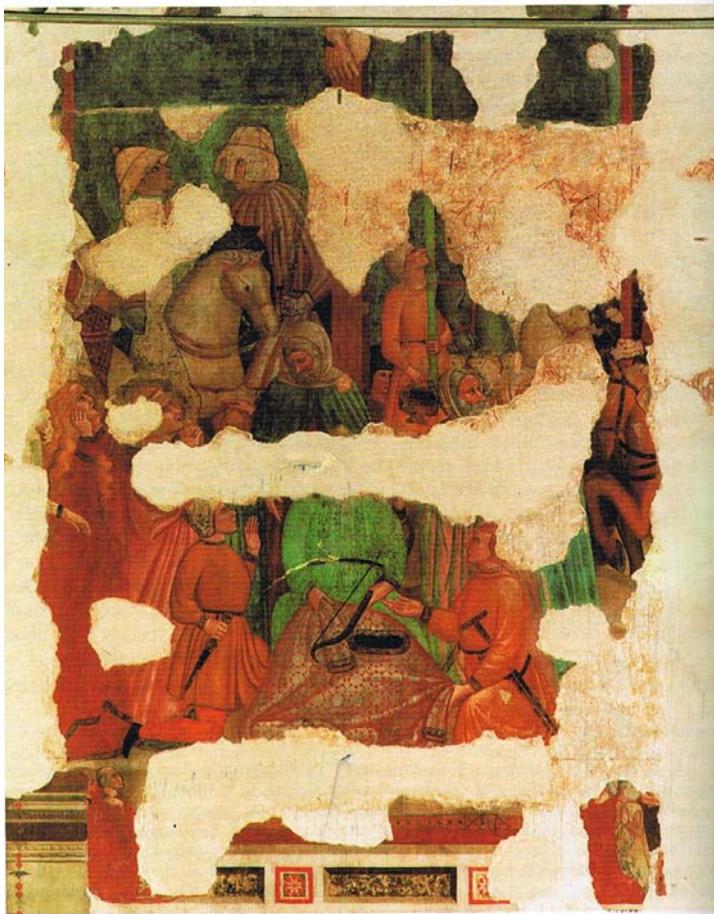


Figure 108. Crucifixion scene, after 1362, fresco. East wall, chapel, Collegio della Sapienza, Perugia [after Angeletti and Bertini, p. 314]

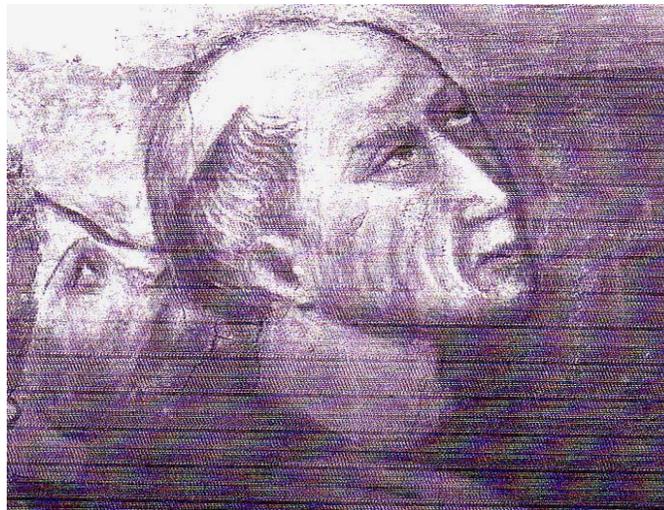


Figure 109. Detail of Figure 108. Donor portrait of Cardinal Niccolò Capocci (?), after 1362, fresco. East wall, chapel, Collegio della Sapienza, Perugia [after Angeletti and Bertini, p. 464]



Figure 110. Wooden chest for storage of ecclesiastical vestments. Gloucester Cathedral.



Figure 111. Cope. *Opus Anglicanum*, c.1300-1330. Vestry. Toledo Cathedral.

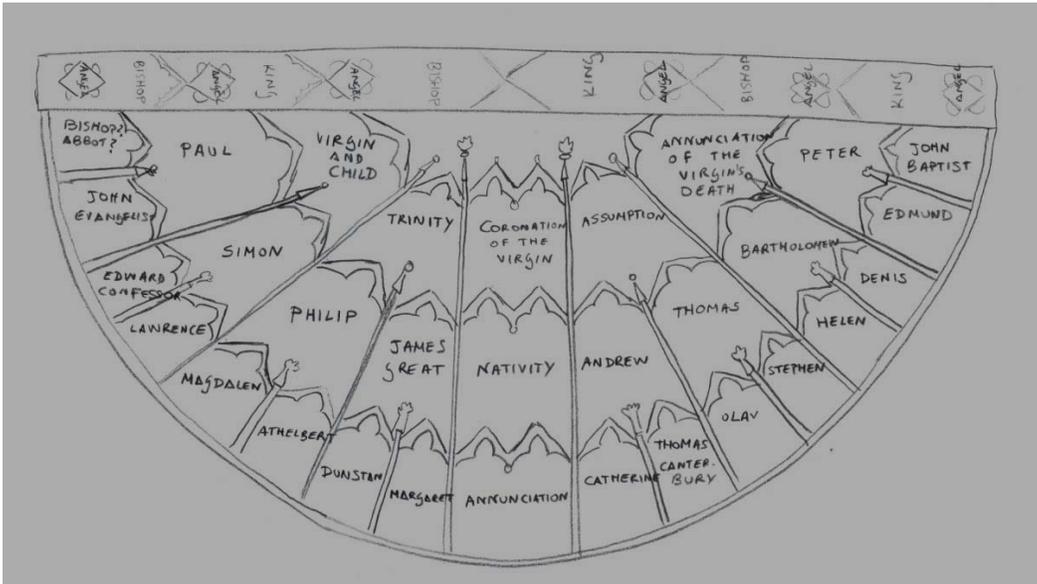


Figure 112. Diagram of Cope in Toledo Cathedral



Figure 113. Cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Toledo Cathedral [After Martini, Fig. 21]



Figure 114. St. Olaf and St. Stephen. Detail of cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Vestry, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 115. St. Ethelbert and St. Dunstan. Detail of cope. *Opus Anglicanum*.

Vestry, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 116. St. Catherine and St. Thomas of Canterbury. Detail of cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Vestry, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 117. Nativity. Detail of cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Vestry, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 118. Nativity. Detail of cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Pienza, Duomo [after Martini, Fig. 73]



Figure 119. Cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Pienza, Duomo [after Martini, Fig. 54]

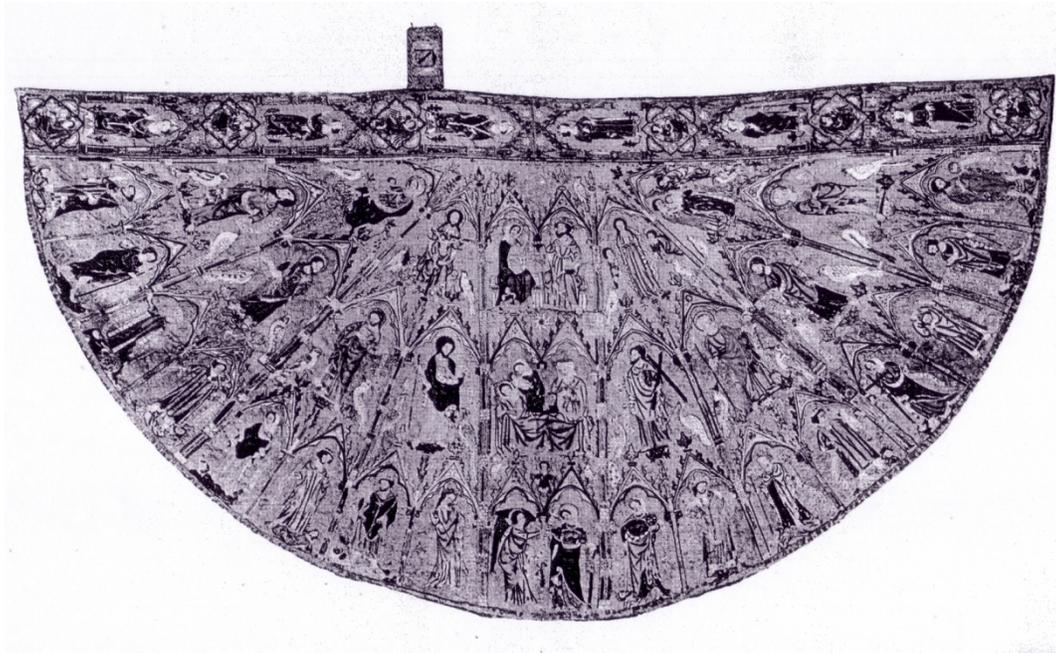


Figure 120. Cope. *Opus Anglicanum*. Toledo Cathedral. Photograph taken before 1938 [after Christie, Pl. CIX]



Figure 121. Giacomo di Guerrino, *Reliquary bust of S. Felicità*. Cattedrale di S. Margherita, Montefiascone [after Cioni, Fig. 33]



Figure 122. Reliquary of the jaw bone and arm of St. Antony. Treasury, il Santo, Padua.



Figure 123. Counterseal of Cardinal Guy de Boulogne. 1352. ANF, Douet D'Arcq n. 6186.



Figure 124. Reliquary bust of San Valero. 1397. Zaragoza Cathedral [after Leonelli and Hayez, Fig. 76]



**Figure 125. Reliquary-statuettes of St. Eugenius.
Ochavo chapel, Toledo Cathedral.**



**Figure 126. Reliquary-statuettes of St. Ildefonso.
Ochavo chapel, Toledo Cathedral.**



**Figure 127. Reliquary-stauette of St. Eugenius, before 1350.
Ochavo chapel, Toledo Cathedral [Archivo Amatller]**



Figure 128. Detail of base of Reliquary-statuette of St. Eugenius. Ochavo chapel, Toledo Cathedral [Archivo Amatller]



Figure 129. Reliquary-statuettes of St. Ildefonso, before 1350. Ochavo chapel, Toledo Cathedral [Archivo Amatller]



Figure 130. Cup of Aleardino. Second quarter of the fourteenth century. Treasury, il Santo, Padua [after Collareta, Tav. 1]



Figure 131. Reliquary-statuette of St. James Apostle, c.1321. Treasury, Santiago de Compostela Cathedral [after Cruz Valdovinos, Figure at p. 39]



2. Buste-reliquaire de sainte Agathe. Giovanni di Bartolo. Avignon. 1376 (base du XVI^e siècle). Catane, cathédrale.

Figure 132. Reliquary bust of St. Agata. 1376. Catania, Duomo [after Taburet-Delahaye 1995, Fig. 2]



Figure 133. Reliquary Shrine, *Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux*, c. 1324-39. Musée du Louvre, Paris [after Durand, Figure at p. 40]



Figure 134. Reliquary Shrine, before 1327. Monastery of San Juan Bautista, Quejana [after Portilla 1988, Figure at p. 20]



Figure 135. Detail of base of Reliquary Shrine, showing Gomez heraldry and poinçon. Monastery of San Juan Bautista, Quejana.



Figure 136. Detail of base of Reliquary Shrine. Poinçon. Monastery of San Juan Bautista, Quejana.

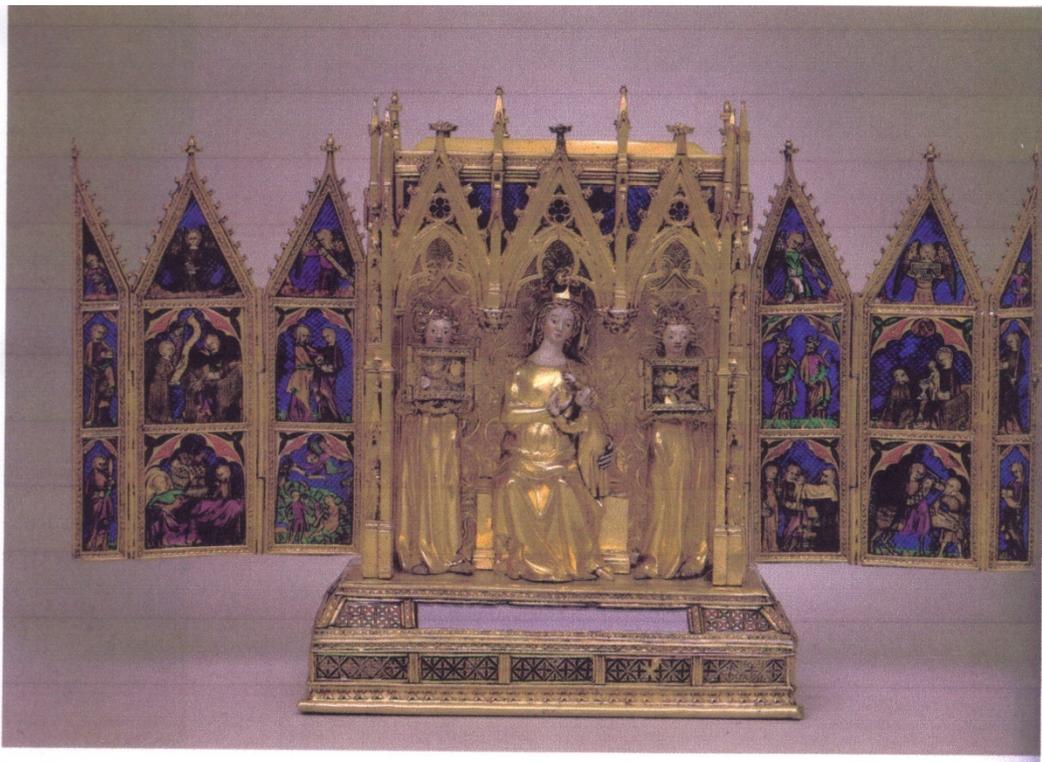
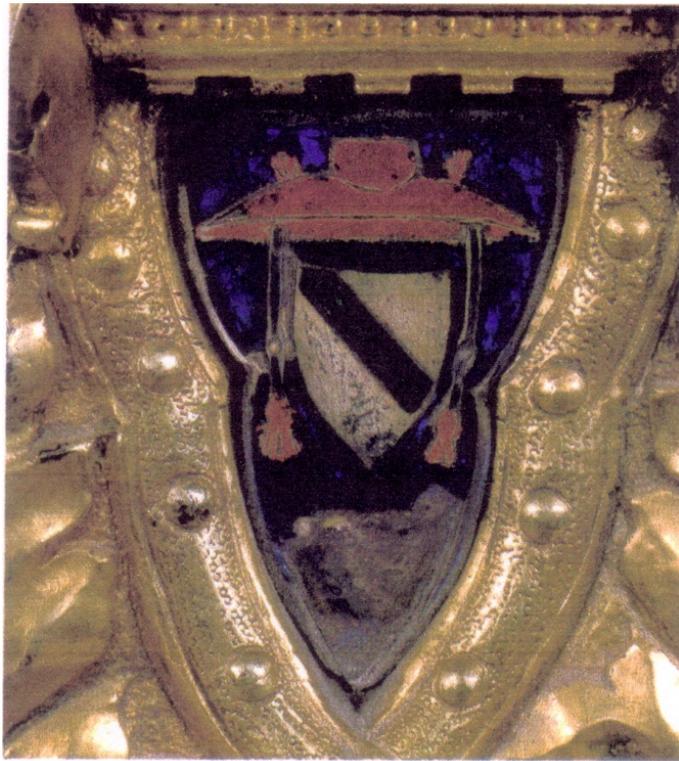


Figure 137. Reliquary Shrine, c.1320-40. The Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York [Metropolitan Museum of Art]



Figure 138. Reliquary of St. Lucy. Sacristy, Toledo Cathedral.



**Figure 139. Albornoz heraldry. Reliquary of St. Lucy.
Sacristy, Toledo Cathedral [after Cioni, Fig. 6 at p. 629]**



Figure 140. Chalice of San Segundo. Ávila Cathedral.

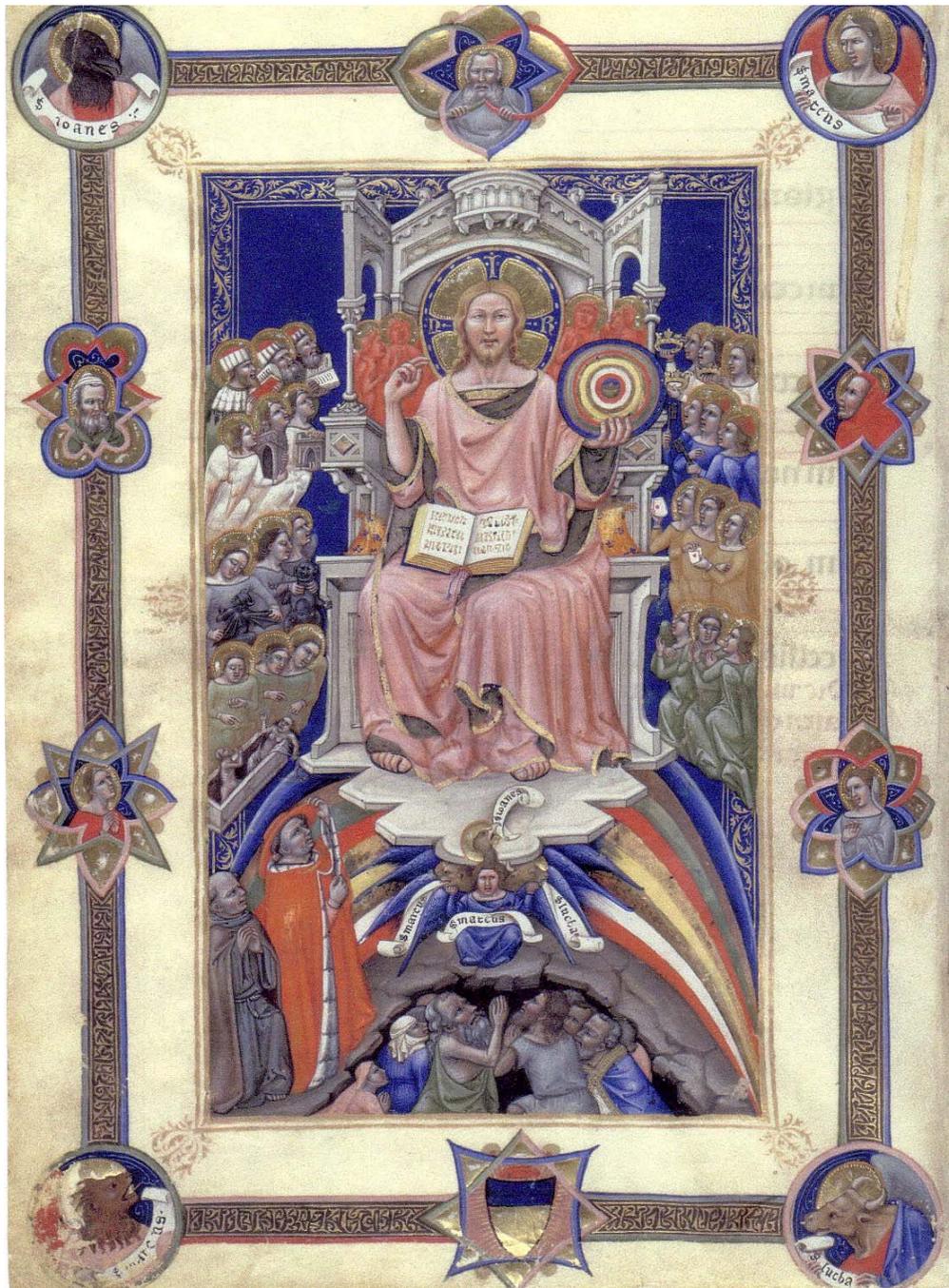


Figure 141. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro, B.63, fol. 188v
[Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana]



Figure 142. Tower from St. Praxedis monastery. Montfavet, Avignon



Figure 143. Key stone on vault of ground floor, decorated with heraldry of Cardinal Pedro Gomez, after 1327. Tower of monastery of St. Praxedis, Montfavet, Avignon.



Figure 144. Keystone on vault of upper floor, decorated with heraldry of Cardinal Pedro Gomez, after 1327. Tower of monastery of St. Praxedis, Montfavet, Avignon.



Figure 145. Tomb of Cardinal Gudiel (d.1299). Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.



Figure 146. Detail of effigy. Tomb of Cardinal Gudiel. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

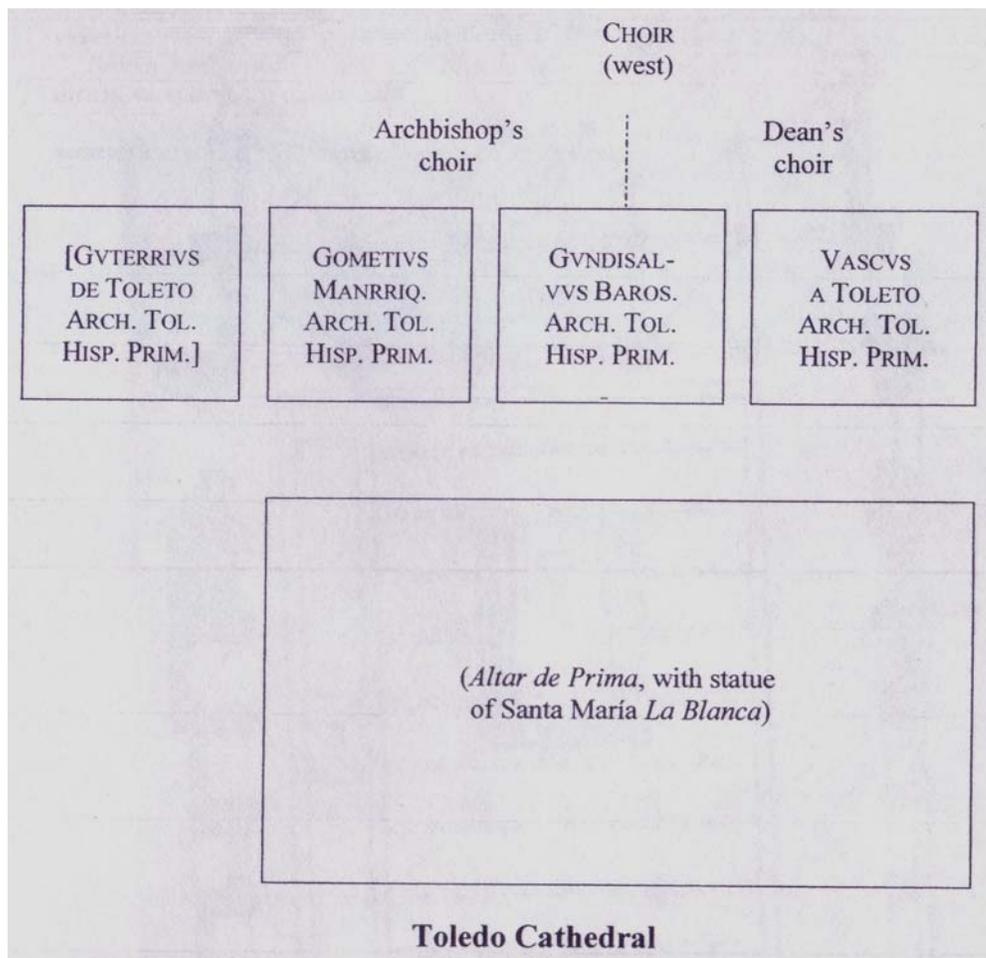


Figure 147. Arrangement of burials in the choir of Toledo Cathedral.
Reconstruction by Francisco José Hernández [after Hernández and Linehan, Fig. III]

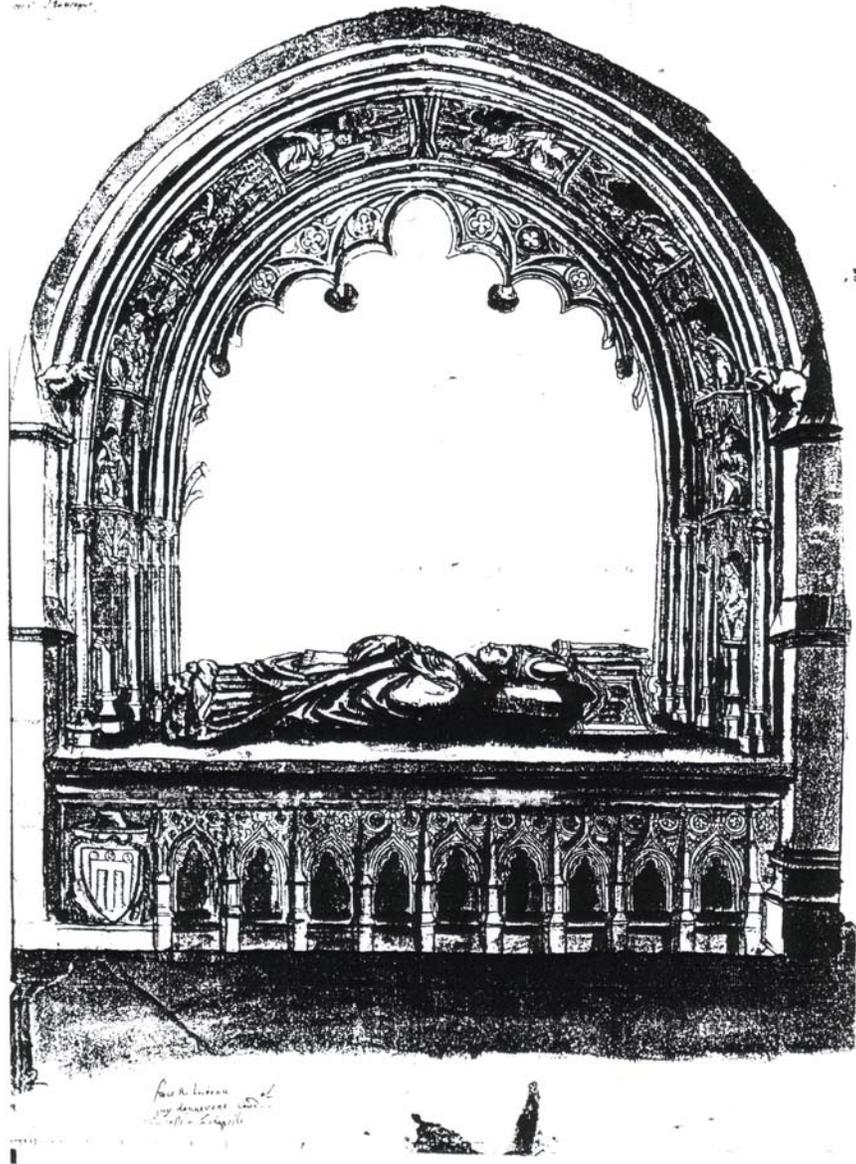


Figure 149. Engraved reproduction of lost tomb of Cardinal Guy de Boulogne (d.1373) in Bouchet Abbey [after Jugie 1986, Fig. 13]

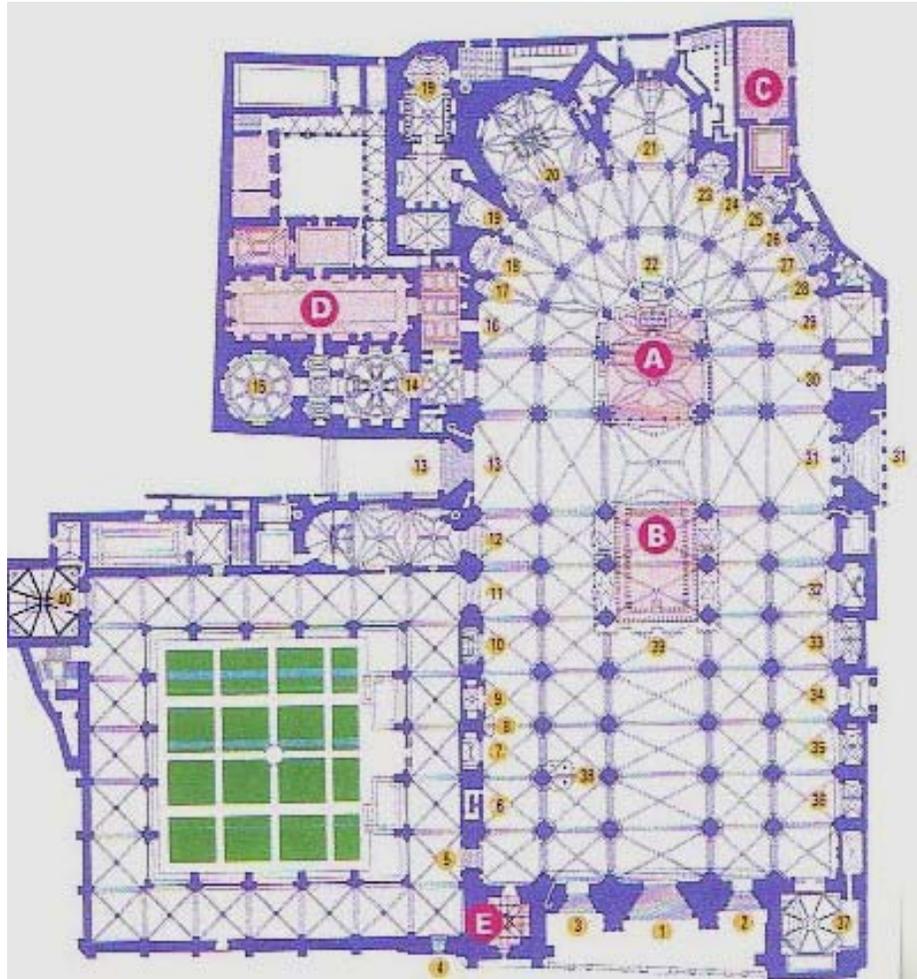


Figure 150. Plan of Toledo Cathedral, indicating location of chapel of St. Idefonso at no. 21 [after Sancho, Pl. 1]



Figure 151. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367)

Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 152. Effigy of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 153. Heraldry of Luna on border of tomb table. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 154. Heraldry of Albornoz on border and angle of tomb table. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 155. Mourning figure on north side. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 156. East side of tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 157. South side of tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 158. Female mourning figure on south side. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 159. South side of tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 160. North side of tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 161. West side of tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 162. Detail of effigy. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 163. Lion at the feet of effigy. Tomb of Gil de Albornoz (d.1367). Chapel of St. Ildefonso, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 164. Effigy on wall tomb of Bishop Diego de las Roelas (d. after 1396). Ávila Cathedral.



Figure 165. Tomb of Bishop Lope de Fontecha (d.1361). Burgos Cathedral.



Figure 166. Tomb of Archbishop Ximenez de Rada (d.1247). Santa María Huerta, Soria.



Figure 167. Tomb of Bishop Arnaldo de Barbazán (d.1355). Chapter House, Pamplona Cathedral.



Figure 168. Detail of effigy. Tomb of Bishop Arnaldo de Barbazán (d.1355). Chapter house, Pamplona Cathedral.



**Figure 169. Tomb of Bishop Pedro Rodríguez Quijada (d.1313).
Condestable chapel, Burgos Cathedral.**



Figure 170. Detail of tomb of Bishop Pedro Rodríguez Quijada (d.1313). Condestable chapel, Burgos Cathedral.



Figure 171. Tomb of Archbishop Lope de Luna (d.1382). St. Michael chapel, Zaragoza Cathedral [Tom Nickson]



Figure 172. Tomb of Archbishop Pedro Tenorio (d.1399).

St. Blaise chapel, Toledo Cathedral.



Figure 173. Tomb of Bishop Raimundo Gastón (d.1348). Valencia Cathedral [Tom Nickson]



Figure 174. Tomb of Clement VI (d.1352). La Chaise-Dieu [La Chaise-Dieu]

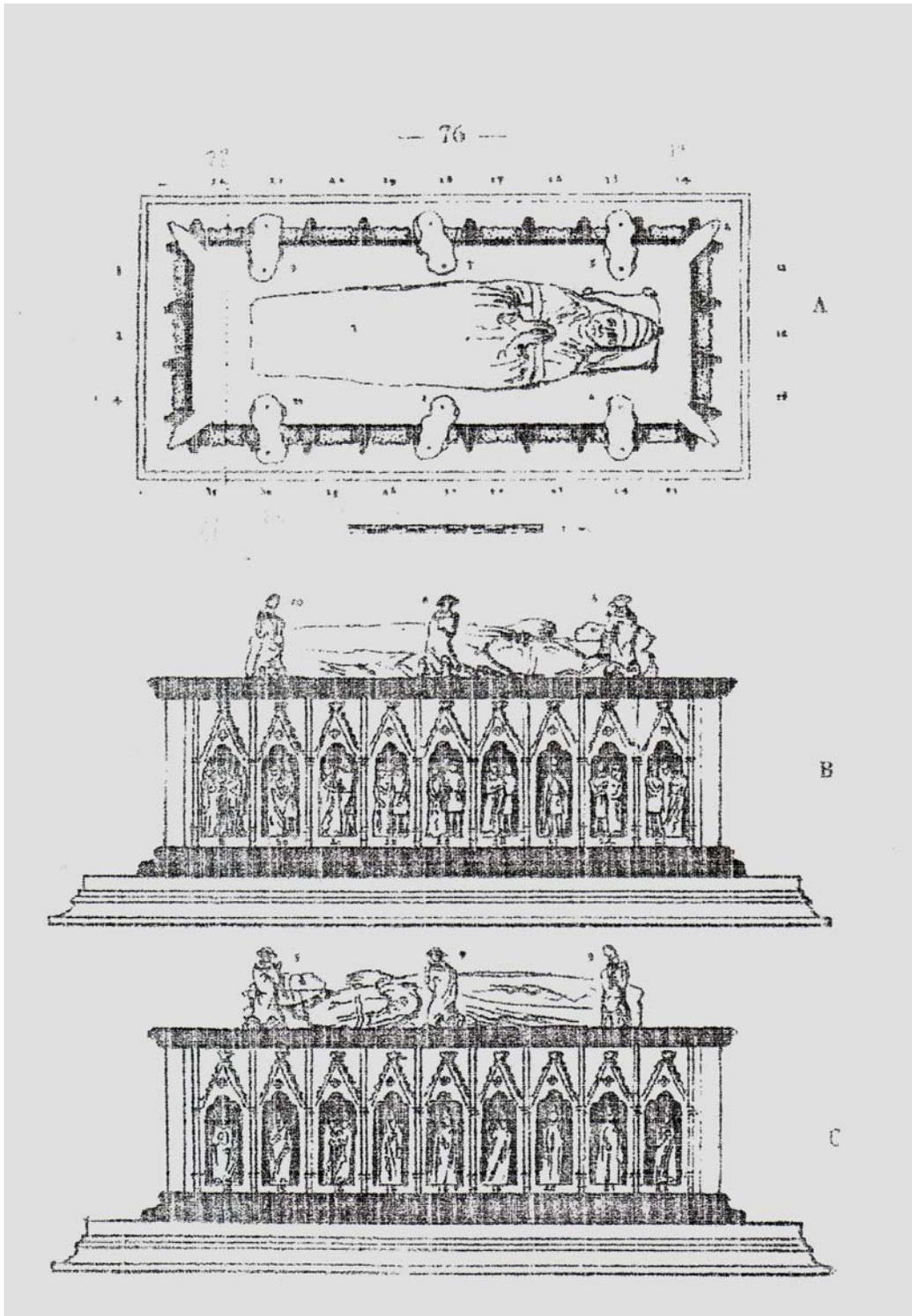


Figure 175. Reconstruction of the original aspect of the tomb of Clement VI [after Fayard, Fig. 5]



Figure 176. Weepers from the tomb of Clement VI. Musée Crozatier, Le Puy [after Gardner 1992, Fig. 186]

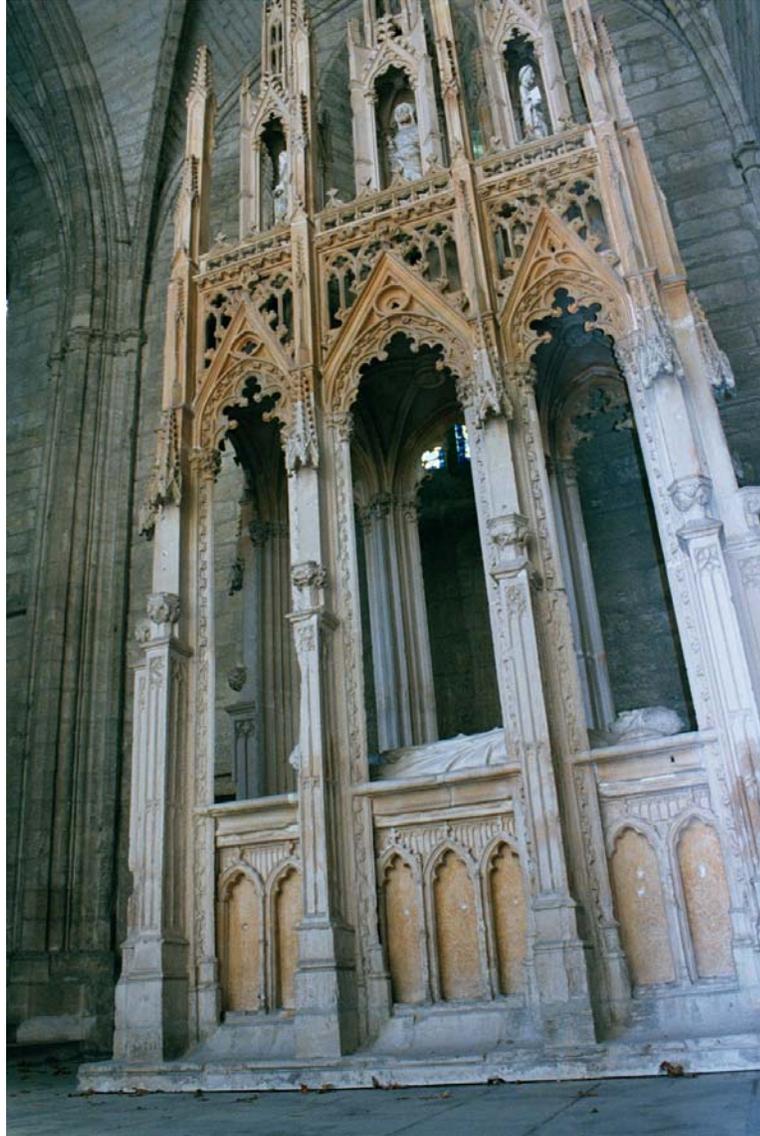


Figure 177. Tomb of Innocent VI (d.1362). Chartreuse, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.



Figure 178. Detail of effigy of Innocent VI (d.1362). Chartreuse, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.



Figure 179. Tomb of Cardinal Matteo Orsini (d.1340). S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.



Figure 180. Detail of effigy of Cardinal Matteo Orsini (d.1340). S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.



Figure 181. Tommaso da Modena, *Cardinal Matteo Orsini*, 1352, fresco. Chapter House, S. Niccolò, Treviso [after Gibbs 1989, Pl. 29]

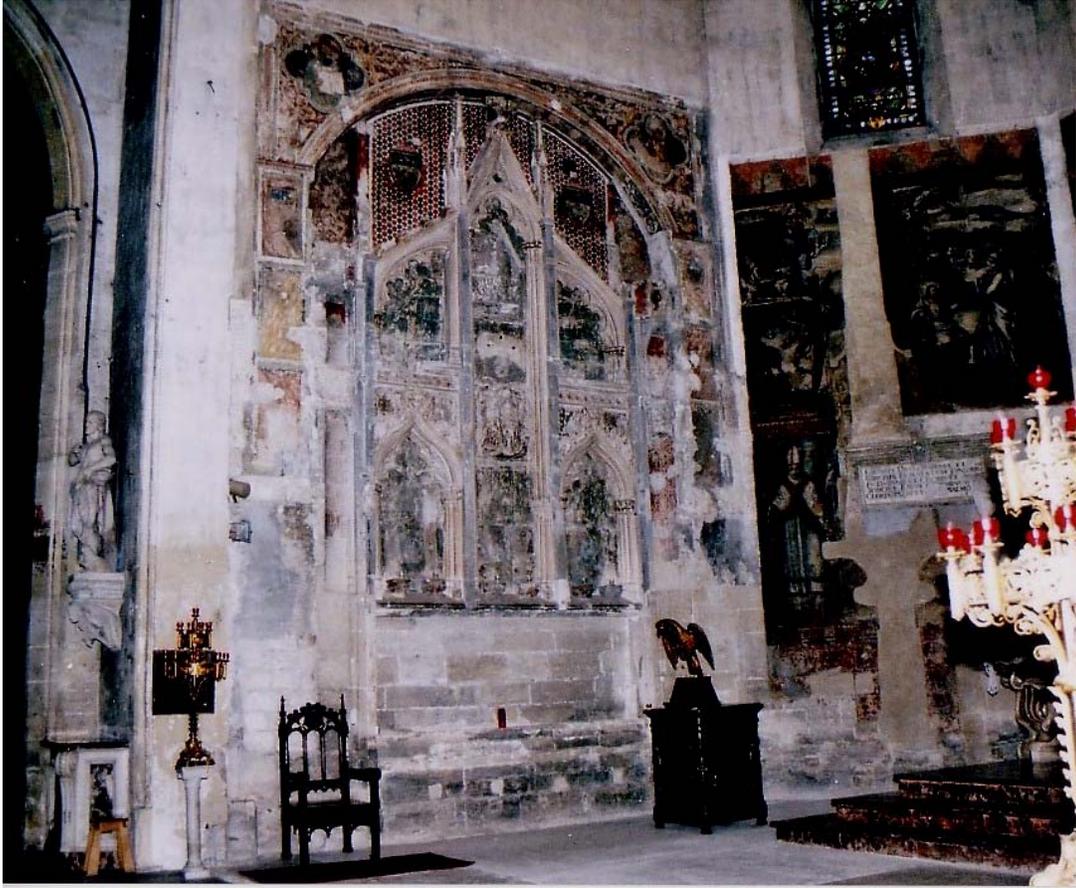


Figure 182. Tomb of Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355). Saint-Didier, Avignon.



Figure 183. Detail of tomb of Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355). Saint-Didier, Avignon.



**Figure 184. Detail of tomb of Bishop Domingo de Arroyuelo (d.1380?).
Condestable chapel, Burgos Cathedral.**



Figure 185. Detail of tomb of Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355).

Saint-Didier, Avignon.



Figure 186. Detail of tomb of Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355). Saint-Didier, Avignon.



Figure 187. Head of effigy of Bertrand de Déaux (d.1355). Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon.



Figure 188. Reproduction of the effigy on the tomb of Cardinal Bertrand de Déaux [after Duchesne, p. 477]

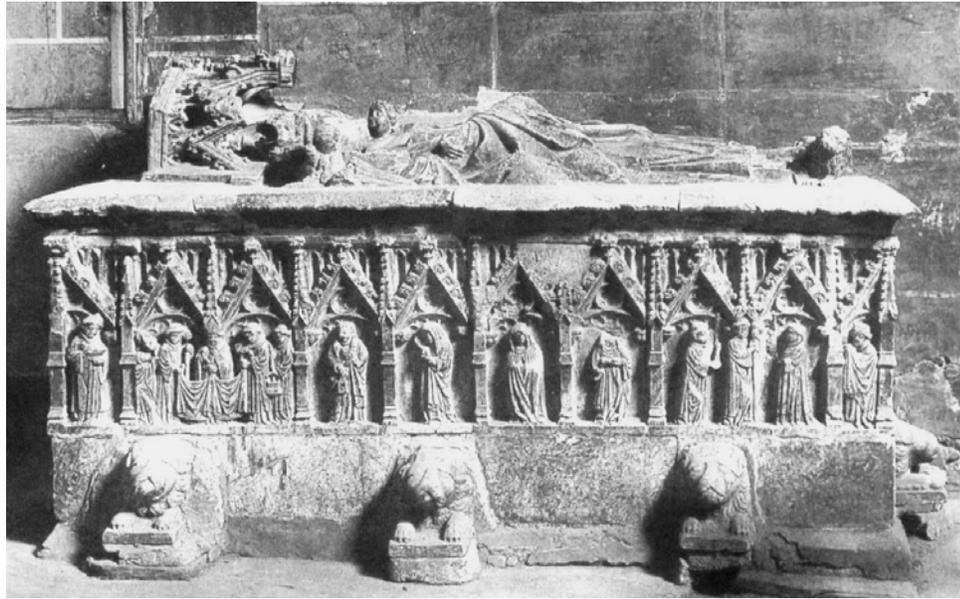


Figure 189. Tomb of Bishop Pedro Perez Calvillo (d.1391).

Tarazona Cathedral [Bildindex]