

MITTEILUNGEN  
DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN  
INSTITUTES  
IN FLORENZ



LVIII. BAND — 2016  
HEFT 2



LVIII. BAND — 2016

HEFT 2

# MITTEILUNGEN DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTES IN FLORENZ

## Inhalt | *Contenuto*

**Redaktionskomitee** | Comitato di redazione  
Alessandro Nova, Gerhard Wolf, Samuel Vitali

**Redakteur** | Redattore  
Samuel Vitali

**Editing und Herstellung** | Editing e impaginazione  
Ortensia Martinez Fucini

Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz  
Max-Planck-Institut  
Via G. Giusti 44, I-50121 Firenze  
Tel. 055.2491147, Fax 055.2491155  
svitali@khi.fi.it – martinez@khi.fi.it  
www.khi.fi.it/publikationen/mitteilungen

Die Redaktion dankt den Peer Reviewers dieses Heftes für ihre Unterstützung | La redazione ringrazia i peer reviewers per la loro collaborazione a questo numero.

**Graphik** | Progetto grafico  
RovaiWeber design, Firenze

**Produktion** | Produzione  
Centro Di edizioni, Firenze

Die *Mitteilungen* erscheinen jährlich in drei Heften und können im Abonnement oder in Einzelheften bezogen werden durch | Le *Mitteilungen* escono con cadenza quadrimestrale e possono essere ordinate in abbonamento o singolarmente presso:  
Centro Di edizioni, Lungarno Serristori 35  
I-50125 Firenze, Tel. 055.2342666, Fax 055.2342667,  
silvia@centrodi.it; www.centrodi.it.

**Preis** | Prezzo  
Einzelheft | Fascicolo singolo:  
€ 30 (plus Porto | più costi di spedizione)  
Jahresabonnement | Abbonamento annuale:  
€ 90 (Italia); € 120 (Ausland | estero)

Die Mitglieder des Vereins zur Förderung des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut) e. V. erhalten die Zeitschrift kostenlos. I membri del Verein zur Förderung des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz (Max-Planck-Institut) e. V. ricevono la rivista gratuitamente.

Adresse des Vereins | Indirizzo del Verein:  
c/o Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte  
Postfach 11 44  
D-82050 Sauerlach  
foerdereverein.khi@gmx.de; www.associazione.de

Die alten Jahrgänge der *Mitteilungen* sind für Subskribenten online abrufbar über JSTOR ([www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)).  
Le precedenti annate delle *Mitteilungen* sono accessibili online su JSTOR ([www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)) per gli abbonati al servizio.

### – Aufsätze – Saggi

#### – 131 – Ruth Wolff

*Auctoritas* und Berührung. Die Porziuncola-Tafel des Franziskusmeisters und der Franziskus- und Christuszyklus in der Unterkirche von San Francesco in Assisi

#### – 157 – Corinna Tania Gallori

The late Trecento in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: Napoleone and Nicola Orsini, the Carthusians, and the triptych of Saint Gregory

#### – 189 – Gail E. Solberg

Taddeo di Bartolo's Old Testament Frescoes in the Apse of Siena Cathedral

#### – 221 – Max Seidel

Fellini – Picasso. “Ô Beauté! Monstre énorme”

### – Miszellen – Appunti

#### – 271 – Luca Pezzuto

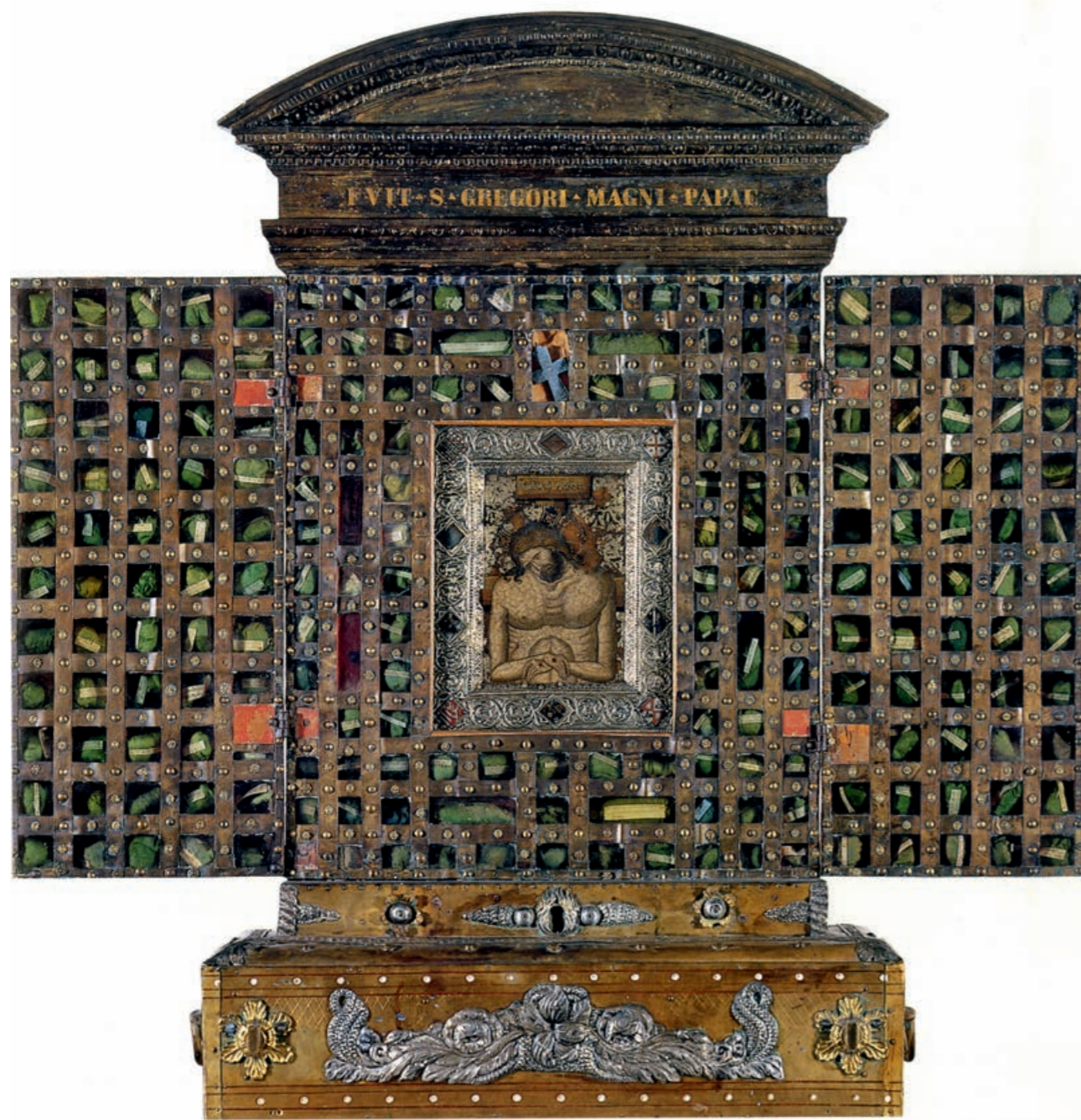
L'ultimo Jacopo Ripanda e le case di Raffaele Riaro (1513–1517)

#### – 278 – Maurice Saß

“Un altro Mercurio [...] Trimegisto [...] e 'l mio buon Benvenuto”. Antonio Allegrettis Beschreibung von Michelangelo und Cellini als Kinder Saturns

### – Nachrufe – Necrologi

#### – 283 – Paola Barocchi (*Donata Levi*)



1 Triptych of St. Gregory (with open wings). Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Museo della Basilica

## THE LATE TRECENTO IN SANTA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME NAPOLEONE AND NICOLA ORSINI, THE CARTHUSIANS, AND THE TRIPTYCH OF SAINT GREGORY

Corinna Tania Gallori

Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is one of the seven pilgrimage basilicas of Rome and a church with a glorious tradition.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Liber Pontificalis* it was erected by Emperor Constantine inside the Sessorium, an imperial villa in the Roman suburbs. Behind the apse his mother Helena built a chapel, later called Jerusalem, using earth she had excavated from the hill of the Calvary during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Another Empress, Galla Placidia, commissioned the mosaic decoration of this chapel. The Basilica Sessoriana housed many relics of the Cross – three pieces of the wood, one of the nails, and the superinscription. All these treasures and elite patronage attest to Santa Croce's cultic success in the early Christian period. However, the basilica's importance waned in the following centuries. In the twelfth

century Pope Lucius II restored the whole building, giving it the appearance (Fig. 2) Santa Croce would have until its complete renovation in 1741–1744. This event was followed by a long period of neglect. By the Jubilee of 1350 the church had almost been abandoned.

The renewal of Santa Croce began soon after, in 1370, with the creation of a Carthusian monastery, or charterhouse, which remained in the basilica complex until 1561. The late Trecento also marked the arrival in the basilica of its most famous work of art, the so-called triptych of Saint Gregory (Fig. 1). In this article I will investigate the historical context of these two events, arguing that they were connected by a common patronage, i.e. that of the Orsini family, and of Nicola Orsini in particular.

<sup>1</sup> Claudio Varagnoli, *S. Croce in Gerusalemme: la basilica restaurata e l'architettura del Settecento romano*, Rome 1995; *Gerusalemme a Roma: la basilica di Santa Croce e le reliquie della Passione*, ed. by Roberto Cassanelli/Emilia Stolfi, Milan 2012; Jack Freiberg,

*Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown*, New York 2014, pp. 9–36; *La Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma: quando l'antico è futuro*, proceedings of the conference Rome 1993, ed. by Anna Maria Affanni, Viterbo 1997.



2 Matthäus Greuter (sculptor), and Giovanni Maggi (inventor), *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (detail), ca. 1630. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

### I. The Orsini and the Roman Charterhouse

According to tradition, the first settlement of the Carthusian Order in Rome was created circa 1090 in San Ciriaco alle Terme when its founder Bruno of Cologne (1030–1101) resided at the court of his old pupil, Pope Urban II (r. 1088–1099).<sup>2</sup> However, the monks quickly abandoned Rome as the lively Holy City was not a fitting location for an order that prized

a semi-hermitic lifestyle. Rome remained without a charterhouse until the late 1350s or early 1360s when Napoleone Orsini († 19 September 1369), Count of Manoppello, and his first cousin once removed Nicola Orsini (1331–after 14 February 1399), Count of Nola, decided to patronize the building of a charterhouse.<sup>3</sup> During his 1362/63 sojourn in Avignon as ambassador of Queen Joanna of Naples (1328–

dell'archivio Orsini tra Medioevo ed età moderna", in: *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, CXIV (1991), pp. 77–99: 91–97; *eadem*, *Organizzazione del potere e dinamiche familiari: gli Orsini dal Duecento agli inizi del Quattrocento*, Rome 1998, *ad indicem*; Pio Berardo, "I signori di Poggio Umbricchio e Poggio Ramonte (1239–1558)", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*, LXXXIV (1994), pp. 69–77. Napoleone's death is recorded in the *Liber anniversariorum* of the Vatican basilica: see *Necrologi e libri affini della*

<sup>2</sup> See Benedetto Tromby, *Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca s. Bruno e del suo ordine cartusiano* [...], Naples 1777, VI, p. 301; Lidia Cangemi, "Certose e certosini a Roma: da S. Croce in Gerusalemme a S. Maria degli Angeli", in: *L'ordine certosino e il papato dalla fondazione allo scisma d'Occidente*, ed. by Pietro De Leo, Soveria Mannelli 2003, pp. 351–377: 351.

<sup>3</sup> On Napoleone Orsini see Franca Allegrezza, "Formazione, dispersione e conservazione di un fondo archivistico privato: il fondo diplomatico

1382), Nicola prompted Urban V (r. 1362–1370) to approve the project.<sup>4</sup> As this pope was a staunch supporter of the Carthusians and was related to the head of the Order, the petition was officially accepted on 5 January 1363.<sup>5</sup> The Orsini's original plan was not to install a charterhouse in the already existing structures at Santa Croce, but to erect a new monastery in the area of Diocletian's *thermae*, where the first Roman settlement of the Order had been situated. While the succession of these events is well known little attention has been given to the motivations of the patrons, which are worth examining in more depth because it can be demonstrated that this was an ambitious project modelled upon Neapolitan examples.

Before his premature demise, Charles of Calabria (1298–1328), heir to the Kingdom, had begun the building of the Certosa di San Martino in Naples.<sup>6</sup> The construction was continued by Charles' own father, King Robert (1277–1343), and completed in 1365 by his daughter, Queen Joanna. The latter's support of

the Carthusians was not limited to the building of San Martino.<sup>7</sup> She granted the Certosa di San Giacomo in Capri an income for the monastery and its inhabitants' maintenance (1 May 1371), among other privileges.<sup>8</sup> Not surprisingly, the queen was portrayed in the lunette of the church's main door and hailed as "Regina erga cartusiensem ordinem speciali devotionis affectu propensa" in an inscription.<sup>9</sup> In 1372 Joanna assigned the Incoronata church in Naples to the Carthusians of San Martino.<sup>10</sup> As she had personally sponsored the erection of this church and had asked the king of France for a thorn from the Crown of Thorns kept in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to be housed in the Incoronata, her support of the Order is evident. The royal patronage was quickly imitated by members of the Angevin court, beginning with Niccolò Acciaiuoli (1310–1365). Aside from having a chapel in San Martino itself, in 1338 the Gran Siniscalco began to plan a monastery for the Carthusians near Florence, his native city: the Certosa del Galluzzo.<sup>11</sup> That same

*provincia romana*, ed. by Pietro Egidi, Rome 1908, I, pp. 254f. On Nicola see Allegrezza 1998, *ad indicem*, and the recent (albeit not always correct, nor extensive) Marco Vendittelli, *s.v.* Orsini, Nicola, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXXIX, Rome 2013, pp. 685f. Nicola dictated his last will on 14 February 1399 (see Gianstefano Remondini, *Della Nolana Ecclesiastica Istoria*, Naples 1747–1757, III, p. 167), but we do not know whether he died soon after or survived.

<sup>4</sup> On Nicola's sojourn in Provence see Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), p. 105; Adrian S. Hoch, "The Translations of Saint Louis of Anjou and His Lost Monuments for the Franciscans of Medieval Marseille", forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> *Urban V (1362–1370): lettres communes*, ed. by Michel Pierre Gasnault/Anne-Marie Hayez, Paris 1954–1989, II, fasc. 2, p. 140, no. 5978; published by Francesco Cerasoli, "Documenti inediti medievali circa le Terme di Diocleziano, ed il Mausoleo di Augusto", in: *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, XXIII (1895), pp. 301–308: pp. 303f., no. I. On Urban V's relationship with the Carthusians see Daniel Le Blévec, "Urban V et les chartreux", in: *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischen Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter*, Salzburg 1991, II, pp. 33–53.

<sup>6</sup> See Mario A. De Cunzio, "La Certosa di San Martino", in: *Certose e Certosini in Europa*, conference proceedings Certosa di Padula 1988, Naples 1990, I, pp. 139–146; John Nicholas Napoli, *The Ethics of Ornament in Early Modern Naples: Fashioning the Certosa di San Martino*, Farnham 2015, esp. pp. 33–47.

<sup>7</sup> As noted also by Francesca Fabbri, "Arte di corte e arte baronale al

crepuscolo della dinastia angioina (1343–1382)", in: *Universitates e baronie: arte e architettura in Abruzzo e nel Regno al tempo dei Durazzo*, conference proceedings Guardiagrele/Chieti 2006, ed. by Pio Francesco Pistilli/Francesca Manzari/Gaetano Curzi, Città di Castello 2008, I, pp. 215–240: 230.

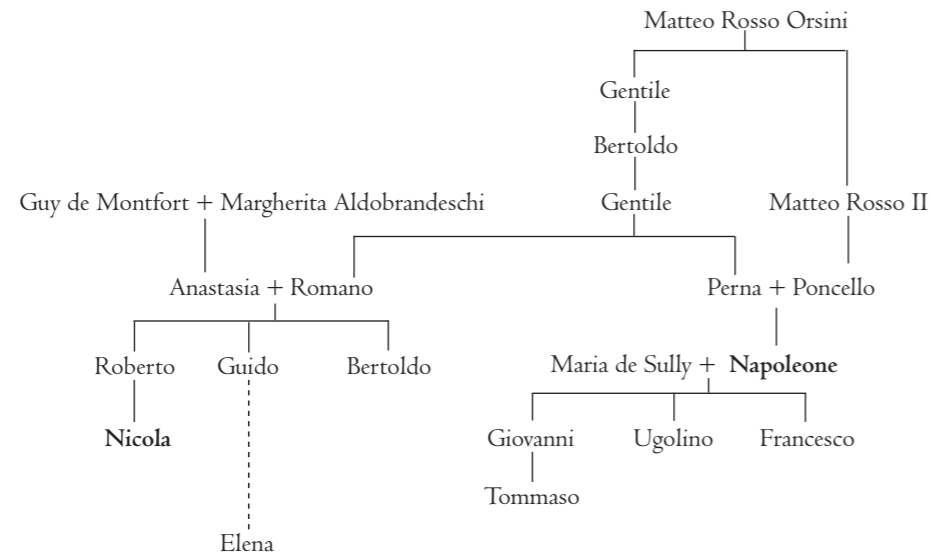
<sup>8</sup> See Roberto Di Stefano, *La Certosa di San Giacomo a Capri*, Naples 1982, pp. 167–169 e 141, fig. 123; and for the charterhouse James Hogg, *The Charterhouses of the Provincia Lombardiae Remotioris as seen in the Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, Salzburg 2013, X, pp. 17–152.

<sup>9</sup> Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414, e un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana*, Rome 1969, p. 328. On the lunette see also Jan Svanberg, "Part II", in: Hans Aili/Jan Svanberg, *Imagines Sanctae Birgittae: The Earliest Illuminated Manuscripts and Panel Paintings Related to the Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, Stockholm 2003, I, pp. 59–116: 91f.; Fabbri (note 7), pp. 230f.

<sup>10</sup> For the relationship between Joanna and the Carthusians, see Bologna (note 9), pp. 328f.; Di Stefano (note 8), pp. 166–170. On the Incoronata see now Paola Vitolo, *La chiesa della Regina: l'Incoronata di Napoli, Giovanna I d'Angiò e Roberto d'Oderisio*, Rome 2008; for the entrustment esp. pp. 34, 122f., 131–135, doc. 37, 56, 59–60, 64, 67–68, 73–74, 76.

<sup>11</sup> See Caterina Chiarelli, "Niccolò Acciaiuoli: la figura di un potente laico in rapporto con l'Ordine Certosino", in *Spiritualität heute und gestern*, conference proceedings Salzburg 1982, Salzburg 1983, III, pp. 33–46; Francesco P. Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli: vita e politica in Italia alla metà del XIV secolo*, Rome 2001, pp. 37–40, 51–54, 373f., 378–401; Brendan Cassidy, "The Tombs of the

3 Family tree of Nicola and Napoleone Orsini (simplified)



year the charterhouse of Guglionesi was founded by Duchess Agnese di Gravina, a niece of King Robert.<sup>12</sup> In 1370 Giacomo Arcucci, Queen Joanna's secretary and treasurer, founded the above-mentioned Certosa di San Giacomo in Capri, an island that was part of his fiefs and connected to his family's history.<sup>13</sup> As has been noted, the aristocrats who founded these charterhouses were members of the Anjou family or allied to them, and many officials of the Kingdom were buried in San Martino.<sup>14</sup>

Both Nicola and Napoleone Orsini were nobles of the Kingdom of Naples, members of the Angevin

court and of Acciaiuoli's circle.<sup>15</sup> Therefore their desire to build a charterhouse must have been influenced by the Neapolitan interest in supporting the Carthusians. We do not know whether the Orsini also intended to be buried in the new church, as both Nicola Acciaiuoli and Giacomo Arcucci had been,<sup>16</sup> but they clearly emphasized a personal connection with the planned monastery by means of its location and name. Rome was the birthplace of the Orsini family and the new charterhouse was to be dedicated to saints Leone and Nicola. Apart from being the namesakes of the monastery's founders, these two saints would

Acciaiuoli in the Certosa del Galluzzo outside Florence", in: *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Julian M. Luxford, Turnhout 2008, pp. 323–353; Napoli (note 6), pp. 43–45.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37; Hogg (note 8), X, pp. 9–14.

<sup>13</sup> Bologna (note 9), p. 328. On Arcucci see Di Stefano (note 8), pp. 166–171; Alberto G. White, "L'insula capritana alla fine del secolo XIV: note sul rinnovamento edilizio e urbano promosso da Giacomo Arcucci", in: *Conoscere Capri*, II (2004), pp. 73–95; Hogg (note 8), pp. 17, 120.

<sup>14</sup> See Mario De Cunzio/Vega De Martini, "La Certosa di Padula", in: *La Certosa di Padula / The Chartreuse of Padula*, ed. by *idem*, Florence 1985, pp. 9–24: 9f.; Napoli (note 6), p. 37. For the tombs in San Martino, *ibidem*, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> See Marco Vattasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici*, Rome 1904, pp. 17–22, doc. IIIf.; Caterina Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze: dalle origini alla metà del XVI secolo*, I, Salzburg 1984, pp. 25f.; Tocco (note 11), pp. 138, 164–167.

<sup>16</sup> Eventually, Napoleone was buried in the Saviour chapel in Saint Peter (Tiberio Alfano, *De basilicæ Vaticanæ antiquissima et nova structura*, ed. by Michele Cerrati, Rome 1914, p. 197, no. 157; Francesca Manzari, *Il Messale Orsini per la chiesa di San Francesco a Guardiagrele: un libro liturgico tra pittura e miniatura nell'Italia centro-meridionale*, Pescara 2007, p. 15). We do not know where Nicola was buried. Local lore considers a marble sepulchre in San Francesco in Nola, unfortunately lacking any inscription, to be his tomb (see Leonardo Avella, *Fototeca Nolana: Archivio d'immagini dei Monumenti e delle Opere d'Arte della Città e dell'Agro*, Naples 1997, II, pp. 334f.). At the beginning of the seventeenth century Giovanni Campagna's *Elogi di cento e più personaggi illustri di casa Orsina* states that the tomb of a "Nicola Orsino" was in San Francesco (ASC, AO, serie I, 408, fol. 118v), but without specifying anything else. On the *Elogi* see Barbara Furlotti, "New Considerations on a Set of Portrait Drawings of the Orsini Family by Giovanni Campagna", in: *Getty Research Journal*, V (2013), pp. 15–28.

have sparked many familial and cult associations. Both Napoleone and Nicola were typical names for the Orsini. Saint Nicholas enjoyed a special veneration: he was the namesake of Pope Nicholas III († 1280) and the titular saint of the family chapels in Saint Peter's in the Vatican, where Pope Orsini himself was buried, and in Assisi.<sup>17</sup> A saint Nicholas, albeit Nicholas the Greek, has been the co-patron of Manoppello since August 1343, when Count Napoleone had his body moved to San Francesco in Guardiagrele.<sup>18</sup> Leone was a sainted pope, Leo the Great († 461), and the titular of yet another Orsini chapel in Saint Peter's, which was founded by Orso di Giacomo in 1360.<sup>19</sup> In the above-mentioned church of San Francesco in Guardiagrele Napoleone's heirs erected a chapel dedicated, once more, to Leone, and coins minted in that city bear the saint's image.<sup>20</sup> I would also argue that the order of the chosen titular saints is relevant: Leone first and then Nicola. This choice may have been a sign of respect, as Napoleone was the elder of the two Orsini, being the son of Perna – sister of Romano Orsini (Nicola's grandfather) – and thus the first cousin of Nicola's father, Roberto (Fig. 3). Alternately, it may suggest that the idea of building a new charterhouse

<sup>17</sup> For the Vatican chapel, see Margherita Zalum, in: *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano: schede*, Modena 2000, p. 883, no. 1728; for the Assisi one, Alessandro Volpe/Enrica Neri Lusanna/Frank Martin, in: *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: testi. Schede*, Modena 2002, pp. 430–445.

<sup>18</sup> See Giorgia Pellini, "Il monumento funebre di Giovanni Orsini, conte di Manoppello († 1384)", in: *L'Abruzzo in età angioina: arte di frontiera tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, conference proceedings Chieti 2004, ed. by Daniele Benati/Alessandro Tomei, Cinisello Balsamo 2005, pp. 271–285: 272.

<sup>19</sup> See Cesare De Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei conti Anguillara", in: *Bollettino della Società di Storia Patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, XIX (1907), 17, pp. 197–212: 202, XX (1908), 19, pp. 63–86: 85, XX (1908), 20, pp. 181–196: 183; Alfano (note 16), pp. 40f., 184, no. 14; Zalum (note 17).

<sup>20</sup> See Pellini (note 18), p. 273; Manzari (note 16), p. 15; Achille Giuliani/Davide Fabrizio, *Le monete degli Angioini in Italia Meridionale: catalogo monetario*, Acquaviva Picena 2015, pp. 86f., nos. 113a–d, p. 97, nos. 128a, b.

<sup>21</sup> Tromby (note 2), VI, pp. 311f.; explanation accepted by Varagnoli (note 1), p. 23; Cangemi (note 2), p. 152. For other documents on the Santa Croce charterhouse see Hogg (note 8), p. XI. Tromby ([note 2], VI,

in Rome was Napoleone's. Scholars have generally ascribed a leading role in the foundation of the Roman charterhouse to Nicola, but as far as the earlier phase of the project is concerned that emphasis might be a misperception due to the untimely death of the Count of Manoppello and his heirs' disinterest in the project in the following years.

The charterhouse dedicated to Saints Leone and Nicola was never built. According to the eighteenth-century historian Benedetto Tromby, the expenses for the construction proved to be too high, and in the following years it was decided that the monastery should be moved to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.<sup>21</sup> The decision had been taken before Napoleone's death in the fall of 1369 and was later approved by another bull of Pope Urban V (Rome, 20 January 1370).<sup>22</sup> The usual explanation is that in the 1370s the Basilica Sessoriana was almost a ruin, that it was located in an isolated area, which was therefore suited to the Order's lifestyle, and that, as a monastery flanking the right side of the nave had been built circa 1003 (Fig. 4), it would have been easy to adapt its structure to the Carthusians' needs.<sup>23</sup> The main addition would have been the large cloister (called 'great *galilaea*') with

pp. 311f.) reported that in 1367 the Orsini petitioned Elzéar Grimoard, a relative of Pope Urban and prior of the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble, the head monastery of the Order, to dispatch monks to Rome who could oversee the construction works according to Carthusian traditions. Unfortunately the documentation used by the historian is missing, and it is impossible to know whether he was speaking of the planned Certosa of Saints Leone and Nicola or that at Santa Croce.

<sup>22</sup> *Urban V* (note 5), IX, pp. 336f., no. 26951. As stated in a second papal bull (Rome, 18 July 1370; *ibidem*, p. 401, no. 27196), Napoleone had agreed to transfer the planned Certosa to Santa Croce, but he died without changing his will. This bull was issued in order to modify his previous provisions and channel the funds into the new building site. In July–August 1370 Nicola was in Rome tasked with bringing the Pope the *censo* for the Kingdom of Naples (Giacinto Romano, "Niccolò Spinelli da Giovinazzo diplomatico del sec. XIV", in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, XXV [1900], pp. 276–334: 305), and the bull was most likely prompted by him.

<sup>23</sup> Varagnoli (note 1), pp. 18–20, 23; Cangemi (note 2), p. 153. For the imperfect conformance of Santa Croce to the Carthusian building style and the problems that arose from choosing a stationar basilica, see *ibidem*,

the thirteen monks' *cellae*, which were to be located behind the apse (Fig. 4), as per the Order's building tradition. However, there must have been other reasons, and I suspect that Nicola Orsini was instrumental in selecting Santa Croce as the location of the Roman charterhouse because the basilica's relationship to the Cross corresponded with the cults of his fief. A relic of the Cross was once housed in the cathedral of Cimitile and its existence was known thanks to the writings of the sainted bishop Paulinus of Nola (355–431).<sup>24</sup> In 1514 it was referred to by the local historian Ambrogio Leone.<sup>25</sup> Nicola promoted the transfer of the episcopal seat from Cimitile to Nola and patronized the construction and furnishing of a new cathedral from circa 1363.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he was interested in the cults of his fief, as in 1372 he visited the tombs of Paulinus and the martyred bishop Felice in Cimitile with his friend Bridget of Sweden (1303–1373) and her confessor Alfonso Pecha (1329/30–1389).<sup>27</sup> It is thus likely that he was aware of a cult of the Cross followed on his territorial possessions and at Santa Croce, and that he selected the Basilica Sessoriana because of it. Almost two hundreds years later, in the sixteenth century, Elena Orsini of the Counts of Nola lineage would choose to represent stories of the Cross

based on Paulinus' writings in her chapel at Trinità dei Monti in Rome.<sup>28</sup>

Eight days after Urban's approval, on 25 January 1370, in his Roman palace Nicola promised the priors of the charterhouses of Naples and Trisulti that he would erect a charterhouse in Santa Croce and furnish it with books, liturgical objects, and everything needed to celebrate mass according to the Carthusian rites:

in dicto loco S. Crucis ultra aedificia jam ibi constructa, omnibus suis sumptibus et expensis fundari et construi facere loca et alias officinas necessarias pro uno Conventu Fratrum praedicti Cartusiensis Ordinis [...] juxta morem dicti Ordinis consuetum; et ecclesiam et locum muniri et fulciri libris, calicibus, paramentis et aliis ornamentis necessariis ad divinum cultum pertinentibus secundum morem consuetudinem et observantiam Ordinis.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, in order to provide the residents of the future charterhouse with sufficient funds, he granted the monastery an income from the castle of Nettuno, one of his fiefs.<sup>30</sup>

Nicola kept his word and, although Napoleone's heirs did not pursue the relationship with the Roman

pp. 153–157. A document by Gregory XI, dated 12 January 1372, relating to public access issues in Santa Croce survives; see *Grégoire XI (1370–1378): lettres communes [...]*, II: 1371, ed. by Anne-Marie Hayez, Rome 1992, pp. 543f., no. 11116.

<sup>24</sup> See Teresa Piscitelli/Carlo Ebanista, "Paolino da Nola e la Croce pensile della Basilica nova: aspetti teologici e motivi iconografici", in: *Studia humanitatis in memoria di mons. Andrea Ruggiero*, ed. by Teresa Piscitelli, Marigliano 2015, pp. 155–230.

<sup>25</sup> Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola patria*, Venice 1514, c. XXXVv–XXXVIr.

<sup>26</sup> On Nola Cathedral see Cristiana Di Cerbo, "La Nola degli Orsini tra XIII e XIV secolo: topografia, sistema difensivo, castrum e magnificazione della città", in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, CXXXI (2013), pp. 1–28: 9–11, esp. note 31.

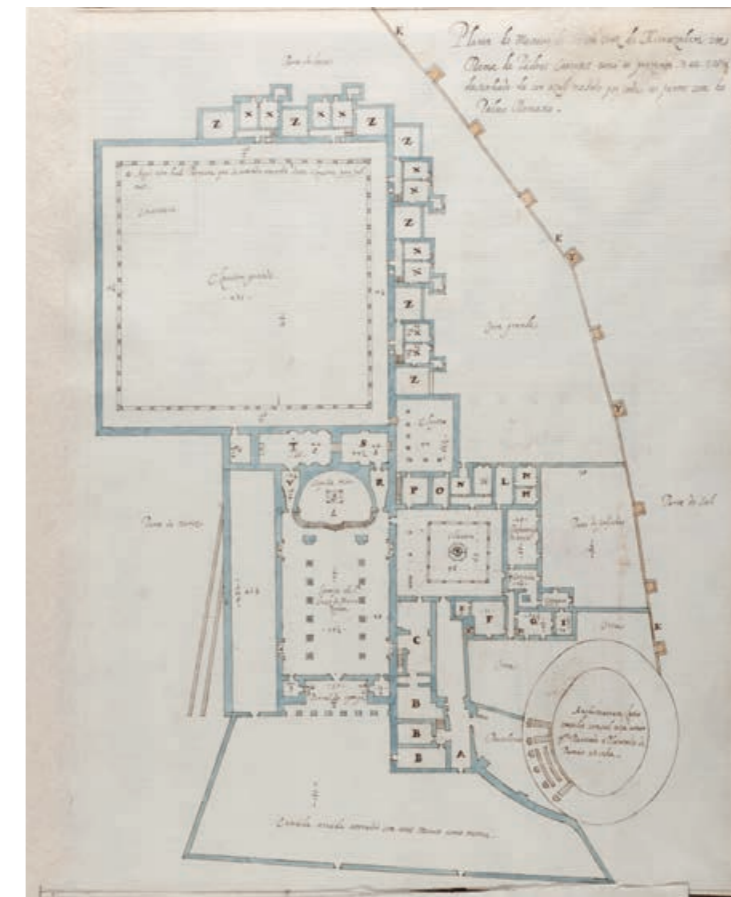
<sup>27</sup> Claudia Vultaggio, "I sodalizi napoletani di santa Brigida di Svezia", in: *Santa Brigida, Napoli, l'Italia*, conference proceedings Santa Maria Capua Vetere 2006, ed. by Olle Ferm/Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese/Marcello Rotili, Naples 2009, pp. 105–129: 113. On Pecha see Mario Sensi, "Alfonso Pecha e l'eremitismo italiano di fine secolo XIV", in: *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in*

*Italia*, XLVII (1993), pp. 51–80; Arne Jönsson, "Ex-Bishop of Jaén, St. Bridget's Evangelist", in: *Santa Brigida*, pp. 75–93.

<sup>28</sup> See Carolyn Valone, "Elena Orsini, Daniele da Volterra, and the Orsini Chapel", in: *Artibus et Historiae*, XI (1990), 22, pp. 79–87, esp. pp. 83–86. These counts of Nola were not descendants of Nicola but of his uncle Guido di Romano Orsini (see Fig. 3).

<sup>29</sup> Charles Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis, ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*, Montreuil-sur-Mer 1890, VI, pp. 96f.; Le Blévec (note 5), pp. 44f. The *notaio* who drew up the document was Michele de Villaribus; probably the canon of Tournai of the same name who in 1366–1368 worked for Giovanni Pananeo bishop of Senigallia (see Maela Carletti, "I codici dell'Archivio Storico Vescovile di Senigallia [secoli XIV–XV]", in: *Studia Picena*, LXXV [2010], pp. 69–133: 78, 90–95, nos. 3f.) and on 27 May 1369 wrote a document for Urban V (see Gaspero Ciacci, *Gli Aldobrandeschi nella storia e nella "Divina Commedia"*, Rome 1935, II, p. 229, doc. DLI).

<sup>30</sup> Le Couteulx (note 29), VI, p. 97. On the Orsini rule on Nettuno see Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), pp. 4, 5, note 5, 14, 70f.; for documents related to Nicola as lord of the city see Isa Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei romani: arti,*



4 Giovanni Vincenzo Casale, Map of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and the Carthusian monastery, 1570–1575 circa. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, DIB/16/49/176

charterhouse in the following years, he continued to offer his patronage. In April 1371 Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370–1378) granted him and his male heirs permission to inhabit the buildings belonging to the Santa Croce complex.<sup>31</sup> Documents attest that the construc-

tion works went ahead: on 17 January 1372, Antonio and Pietro di Ricciardo, Florentine *muratori* living in Rome, were paid 404 golden florins for having completed an unspecified work on three sides of the *galilaea* of Santa Croce.<sup>32</sup> On 4 June of the same year Gio-

*mestieri e professioni nella Roma del Trecento*, Rome 2001, p. 359; De Cupis 1908 (note 19), 19, pp. 78f.; *Protocollo notarile di Lorenzo Staglia (1372)*, ed. by Isa Lori Sanfilippo, Rome 1986, pp. 145f., no. 132; *Acta et processus canonizationis beate Birgitte*, ed. by Isak Collijn, III, Uppsala 1924–1931, p. 236.

<sup>31</sup> De Cupis 1908 (note 19), 19, p. 76: "Nicolao, comiti nolano, et suis heredibus conceditur, quod possint inhabitare domos spectantes ad titulum

Sanctae Crucis in Hierusalem, et eidem assignatur pensio in eius comitatu"; the document is ASV, Reg. Vat. 283, f. 38r.

<sup>32</sup> *Protocollo* (note 30), pp. 25f., no. 21. The text says "gallinea", but given the context it should be corrected to "galilaea"; the presence of these documents was first noted by Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), p. 106, note 11, and later by Isa Lori Sanfilippo, "Introduzione", in: *Protocollo* (note 30), pp. V–



5 Workshop of the Master of the Aigrefeuille missal, *Officium inventionis et exaltationis sanctae Crucis*, 1376, fol. 1r. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Sess. 20

vanni di Migliore and Bernardino di Buonaiuto, other masons from Florence, promised Antonio that they would build two *cellae* for the monks using as a model the two that had already been finished.<sup>33</sup> However, the Roman charterhouse would remain incomplete: only five out of the prescribed thirteen *cellae* had been built by the time it was moved to Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1561 (Fig. 4). While budget problems were surely one of the reasons for this interruption – as there were also restoration works to do in the church and other buildings, plus the living expenses of the community – the beginning of the Western Schism in 1378 and the contemporary fights for the crown of Naples must have contributed in distracting Nicola, an issue I will return to later.<sup>34</sup>

Information concerning his support of the charterhouse at Santa Croce started flowing again in the 1390s. On 5 September 1390, Nicola presented a short manuscript with the *Officium inventionis et exaltationis sanctae Crucis* bearing the arms of the late Gregory XI (Fig. 5) to the basilica.<sup>35</sup> The text was composed by Pierre Ameilh O.S.A. († 1401) sometime before 17 August 1376, when he was paid by Avignon's *Camera Apostolica* “pro scribendo officium novum de inventione et exaltatione S. Crucis”.<sup>36</sup> That same day he also received 3 florins “pro 46 litteris de auro cum armis papis et pro tota illuminatura”, i.e. for a manuscript illuminated with 46 golden letters and the Pope's coat of arms. As the Santa Croce manuscript has been as-

cribed to the workshop of an Avignonese master – the so-called Master of the Aigrefeuille missal – it is either the same as the one recorded in 1376 or a contemporary copy.<sup>37</sup> The Count of Nola knew Pierre Ameilh personally, since on 30 November 1376 he welcomed Gregory XI and the papal entourage when they entered the Papal State in Orbetello, but it is impossible to determine exactly when and how he obtained the manuscript.<sup>38</sup> The *Officium* would have perfectly complemented the liturgical life of Santa Croce, where the feast days of the Finding (3 May) and Exaltation (14 September) of the Cross were celebrated. In 1390 Nicola even presented his gift at the very beginning of the *novena* preceding the latter feast. Then, in October 1391, Nicola made a successful plea to Pope Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) to assign the Carthusians the church of Santa Maria “ad nives” in Palazzolo, near Albano Laziale, a possession the monks maintained until well into the fifteenth century and used as a temporary monastery for the summer due to the unhealthiness of the Basilica Sessoriana during these months.<sup>39</sup>

Apparently, even in his last will and testament (14 February 1399), the Count of Nola left something to Santa Croce, since during the papacy of Eugenius IV

(1431–1447) the Carthusians made a complaint against Raimondo Orsini and Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1386–1463) for not having complied with their, respectively, great-grandfather and grandfather's will.<sup>40</sup> A case against the latter was brought on 26 November 1451, but we do not know how the dispute continued.<sup>41</sup> There is evidence, however, that at least one of Nicola's heirs pursued a relationship with the Roman Carthusians. Until its theft in the 1820s the library of Santa Croce housed a book of hours *in octavo parvo* which included a prayer “pro quondam domino Raimundo de Baucio”, prince of Taranto, namely Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo (1350/55–1406), Nicola's second son and Giovanni Antonio's father.<sup>42</sup> The book must have been a gift to the basilica either from his widow, Mary of Enghien (1369–1446), or, most likely, Giovanni Antonio himself.

## II. The triptych of Saint Gregory and Nicola Orsini

In the late fourteenth century yet another work of art arrived in the Basilica Sessoriana: the so-called triptych of Saint Gregory (Fig. 1). Actually a triptych-shaped reliquary, the object we admire today is the result of a century-long process of additions. The

XLIII: XXXVIII. Nicola is not mentioned in these documents, but the *notario* who wrote them, Lorenzo Staglia, often worked for him and his deputy in Rome.

<sup>33</sup> See *Protocollo* (note 30), pp. 112f., no. 100, but also *ibidem*, p. 112, no. 99; Lori Sanfilippo (note 30), p. 247. For the cloister see Varagnoli (note 1), pp. 23f., 32–34.

<sup>34</sup> On 23 December 1389 the monks nominated a representative to either sell or rent a house they owned in Perugia (see ASP, Monastero di Santa Maria di Monte Morcino, Diplomatico, perg. 238) and specifically referred to their need for funds to continue the restoration of the basilica and the construction works of the monastery as the reason for their decision. Concerning other traces of fourteenth-century building in Santa Croce, see Varagnoli (note 1), pp. 21–24.

<sup>35</sup> BNCR, ms. Sess. 20. The information concerning the date and donor are recorded in a handwritten note on fol. 20r. Nicola's gift was mentioned already in the *Elogi* (note 16), fol. 99r, and then by Carlo Bertelli, “The Image of Pity in S. Croce in Gerusalemme”, in: *Essays Presented to Rudolf Wittkower on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday: Essays in the History of Art*, ed. by Douglas Fraser, II, London 1967, pp. 40–55: 44, note 25. See also Marco Palma, *Sessoriana: materiali per la storia dei manoscritti appartenuti alla biblioteca romana di S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, Rome 1980, p. 48, no. 93, for further bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> See Carlos Alonso O.S.A., “Pierre Ameilh O.S.A. Patriarca de Grado y Sacrista Pontificio († 1401)”, in: *Analecta Augustiniana*, XXXV (1972), pp. 165–196: 175f. This Augustinian friar must not be confused with Pierre Ameilh († 1389) who had been archbishop of Naples and Nicola Orsini's friend (see Vultaggio [note 27], p. 112).

<sup>37</sup> Alonso (note 36), pp. 175f. Marc Dykmans S.J., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Brussels/Rome 1985, IV, p. 20, note 41, considers the Roman manuscript to be a copy of the 1376 one as it does not feature 46 golden letters, but only 5 in gold and 80 in blue or red. On the attribution of the *Officium's* miniatures see Francesca Manzari, “La miniatura ad Avignone nel XIV secolo”, in: *Roma, Napoli, Avignone: arte di curia, arte di corte. 1300–1377*, ed. by Alessandro Tomei, Turin 1996, pp. 201–223: 215; *cadem*, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310–1410)*, Modena 2006, p. 188.

<sup>38</sup> For the 1376 event, see Pierre Ronzy, *Le voyage de Grégoire XI ramenant la Papauté d'Avignon à Rome (1376–1377)*, Florence 1952, pp. 63, 98: “Laureatur comes Nolanus nobiliter, coronantur omnes sertis frondosis”; and also Paolo Nardi, “La giovinezza di Francesco Casini: schede per una biografia”, in: *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, CXIII (2006), pp. 9–49: 39–41. Alternately, it might be relevant that Michele de Villaribus, the *notario* who drew up the document of 25 January 1370, had ties to Senigallia (see note 29 above), and Pierre Ameilh was the bishop of this city.

<sup>39</sup> See Le Couteux (note 29), VI, p. 422, who gives the date as 1390;

however, Casimiro da Roma, *Memorie storiche delle chiese, e dei conventi dei frati minori della provincia romana*, Rome 1845, pp. 327–330, in his transcription of the bull has the date as 21 October 1391. See also Alberto Crielesi, *Santa Maria “ad Nives” di Palazzolo*, Velletri 1997, p. 14. For the fifteenth-century events concerning the Palazzolo possession see Casimiro, pp. 330–340. In January 1505 Julius II agreed to allow the Carthusians to move to Santa Lucia in Selci (rione Monti) during the summer due to the insalubrity of Santa Croce (see Varagnoli [note 1], p. 52, note 105).

<sup>40</sup> See ASV, Reg. Vat. 367, fol. 175v–176r.

<sup>41</sup> See ASV, Fondo Certosini, 6.

<sup>42</sup> On the theft see Palma (note 35), pp. XXIf., XXX–XXXII, 113–118; Viviana Jemolo/Marco Palma, *Sessoriani dispersi: contributo all'identificazione di codici provenienti dalla biblioteca romana di S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, Rome 1984. The book of hours is listed *ibidem*, p. 36, no. 18; its present location is still unidentified in Franca Trasselli, “Una segnatura, le sue manifestazioni e un indice alfabetico, testimonianze per la storia dei manoscritti appartenuti alla biblioteca di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme”, in: *Rivista Cistercense*, XXV (2008), pp. 5–86;

wooden case itself dates to the late fourteenth-century, while the small mosaic icon featuring Christ as the Man of Sorrows nestled in its centre was crafted in a Byzantine workshop at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and the mosaic's silver frame with enamels is an Italian product from the late Trecento.<sup>43</sup> In the following centuries the case and its wings were covered in leather, and a pediment bearing the inscription *FVIT S. GREGORI MAGNI PAPAE* was added to the reliquary. The brass pedestal with handles dates to 1862, the year that the old base was substituted during the restoration of the reliquary, resulting in the case's present-day appearance.<sup>44</sup>

Scholars have long understood that the key to identifying the mosaic's first owner are the four lozenge-shaped shields encased in the corners of its silver frame: a red three-pointed label on a blue field with golden lilies enclosed in a white and red bordure (Fig. 6, no. 1: *Azure semy de lis Or a label of 3 points Gules within a bordure compony Argent and Gules*); a golden cross on a white field surrounded by four crosslets (Fig. 6, no. 2: *Argent a cross between 4 crosses patty Or*); a shield parted per pale that displays on the left a red rose on a white field, a golden band, and six white and red diagonal stripes, and on the right a rampant white lion with a forked tail on a red background (Fig. 6, no. 3: *Gules 3 bends Argent, on a chief of the last [Argent] a rose*

*Gules seeded Or, and sustained by a fillet Or. Impaling Gules a lion rampant Argent*); and, finally, a quartered shield, whose sections 1 and 4 bear a white star on a red field, while 2 and 3 have a dark horn on a light-colored field (Fig. 6, no. 4: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Gules a mullet of 16 points Argent 2 and 3 Or a hunting horn Azure* [probably meant to be *belted Gules*]). The first two shields are both related to the Angevins. Carlo Bertelli identified the first with an Anjou's arm, while Xavier Barbier de Montault had already recognized in the second the Jerusalem Cross, which belongs to the Angevin armorial because in 1277 Charles I bought the claim to the Kingdom of Jerusalem from Mary of Antioch.<sup>45</sup> Said claim and the permission to use its arms were then inherited by his line of direct descendants, the rulers of Naples, Charles II, Robert, and Joanna. In 1889 Barbier de Montault also noticed the presence of an Orsini shield (Fig. 6, no. 3), which in 1933 Alois Thomas specified was the Orsini-Montfort's.<sup>46</sup> The German scholar also identified the remaining shield (Fig. 6, no. 4) as the Del Balzo-Orange's. On account of the heraldic evidence, Thomas subsequently proposed identifying the mosaic's owner as Nicola Orsini, who could have joined the two families' arms as he had married Maria, the only daughter of Raimondo Del Balzo (ca. 1303–1375).<sup>47</sup> In 1967 Carlo Bertelli famously adjusted this proposal, arguing that it was unlikely that Nicola

would have been willing to include his wife's arms in a gift to his beloved basilica and that someone else may have claimed the last two shields: Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo.<sup>48</sup>

According to Bertelli's reconstruction, as the secondborn of Nicola but only son of Maria, and the Del Balzo heir through his mother, after his homonymous grandfather's death in 1375, Raimondo adopted his mother's family name and coat of arms. Furthermore, there was a very limited time in which he could have displayed the Angevin shields close to his own. Queen Joanna of Naples had originally chosen as heir Charles of Durazzo (1345–1386) – who was also the heir presumptive of King Louis of Hungary (1326–1382) and therefore, since 1365, living at his court – as he was the closest male relative in her line of succession. Charles' claim to the Neapolitan inheritance was further strengthened in 1370 when he married Margaret (1347–1412), daughter of the Queen's own sister Mary of Calabria (1329–1366). However, on 29 June 1380 Joanna adopted Duke Louis I (1339–1384) of the second house of Anjou, one of the many brothers of the King of France, a decision that led to a war for the control of the Kingdom. Since in 1379 she had also decided to support the Avignonese Antipope and depose Urban VI, the strife for the throne was henceforth interlinked with the Great Schism of the Church. From at least 20 September 1381, Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo participated in the conflict siding with Charles of Durazzo, but the alliance was short lived and in 1383 he began supporting Louis of Anjou and later his underage heir Louis II (1377–1417). Thus, as an Anjou supporter, Nicola's son may have wanted



6 Coat of arms from the frame of the *Man of Sorrows* icon on the triptych of Saint Gregory (detail of Fig. 1)

to show his position via the coat of arms in the mosaic's frame. Raimondo's political position started shifting again in 1385. In July, he helped Pope Urban VI escape a siege led by none other than his former ally Charles and was rewarded with the title of *gonfaloniere della Chiesa*. Then, in February 1386, Charles himself was killed in Hungary where he had gone to claim that throne as well. Previous disagreements notwithstanding, Pope Urban supported the claim of his heir, the underage Ladislaus (1377–1414), and committed the child to Raimondo's care. As Nicola Orsini had always been an ally of the Durazzo, this event would

68, no. 312. On Raimondo see Andreas Kiesewetter, "Problemi della signoria di Raimondo del Balzo Orsini in Puglia (1385–1406)", in: *Studi sul principato di Taranto in età orsiniana*, ed. by Giovanguilberto Carducci/Andreas Kiesewetter/Giancarlo Vallone, Bari 2005, pp. 9–87; *idem*, "Problemi della signoria di Raimondo del Balzo Orsini in Puglia (1385–1406)", in: *Dal Giglio all'Orso: i Principi d'Angiò e Orsini del Balzo nel Salento*, ed. by Antonio Cassiano/Benedetto Vetere, Lecce 2006, pp. 36–89; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, *s.v.* Orsini Del Balzo, Raimondo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXIX, Rome 2013, pp. 732–735. For his name see Kiesewetter 2005, pp. 7f., note 2.

<sup>43</sup> For the icon's dating and attribution see Bertelli (note 35), pp. 40–55. For an almost complete and updated bibliography see Giorgio Leone, *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*, Rome 2012, I, pp. 102–104, no. 59; see also Simona Antelini, in: *Tavole miracolose: le icone medievali di Roma e del Lazio del Fondo Edifici di Culto*, exh. cat., Rome 2012, p. 69, no. I.14.

<sup>44</sup> For the restoration see Balduino Bedini, *Le Reliquie Sessoriane della Passione del Signore*, Rome 1925, p. 75 and fig. 12, and the payment to Luigi Midollini

"intagliatore" in ASR, Cistercensi, 25/20, *Registro di S. Croce*, 25 March 1862.

<sup>45</sup> Bertelli (note 35), p. 43; Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres Complètes*, Paris 1889, II, pp. 344f. For the relationship between the Jerusalem Cross and the Anjou see Christian de Mérindol, "L'imaginaire du pouvoir à la fin du Moyen Âge: les prétentions royales", in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, conference proceedings Le Mans 1994, ed. by Joël Blanchard, Paris 1995, pp. 65–92, esp. 66; *idem*, "L'héraldique des princes angevins", in: *Les princes angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: un destin européen*, conference proceedings Fontevraud 2003, ed. by Noël-Yves Tonnerre/Élisabeth Verry, Rennes 2003, pp. 277–310: 287f.

<sup>46</sup> Xavier Barbier de Montault, "Inventaires de Saint-Pierre de Rome (suite)", in: *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, XXXII (1889), pp. 98–108: 100; *idem* (note 45), II, pp. 344f.; Alois Thomas, "Das Urbild der Gregoriusmesse", in: *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, X (1933), pp. 51–70: 52–54.

<sup>47</sup> On the Del Balzo (or De Baux) family see Émile-G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris 1954, *ad indicem*; Samantha Kelly, "Noblesse de robe

et noblesse d'esprit à la cour de Robert de Naples: la question d'italianisation", in: *La Noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, conference proceedings Angers-Saumur 1998, ed. by Noël Coulet, Rome 2000, pp. 348–361: 358f.; *eadem*, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship*, Leiden/Boston 2003, *ad indicem*; Antonello Del Balzo di Presenzano, *A l'asar, Bautezar! I Del Balzo ed il loro tempo*, Naples 2003. On Raimondo see Joachim Göbbels, *s.v.* Del Balzo (de Baux), Raimondo,

in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XXXVI, Rome 1988, pp. 320–326; Del Balzo di Presenzano, II, pp. 404–424; for his patronage, *Casaluce: un ciclo trecentesco in terra angioina*, Milan 2007; Riccardo Prencipe, *Il castello di Casaluce e la committenza artistica di Raimondo del Balzo e Isabella d'Apia*, Ph.D. Diss., Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II" 2009.

<sup>48</sup> The following reconstruction of the events is entirely based on Bertelli (note 35).



have prompted a family reunion – and offerings to the Roman basilica so dear to Nicola. The mosaic icon would have been a perfect gift for Santa Croce due to the connection of the Man of Sorrows imagery with the Passion and Good Friday.

Bertelli further cemented the identification of the icon's donor through other evidence. Circa 1380/81 Raimondo travelled to the Holy Land and visited the monastery of Saint Catherine of Alexandria on Mount Sinai where he obtained a finger of the saint, and in March 1385 he patronized the building of a church in Galatina, Apulia, to house the relic.<sup>49</sup> Not only is a second mosaic icon housed in the treasury of Galatina, signalling the younger Orsini's interest in this kind of artefact, but during its restoration in the 1960s an image of Saint Catherine (Fig. 7) was found on the back of the Santa Croce mosaic. Fittingly described as an “intriguing piece of painting” by Carlo Bertelli, it features Eastern elements (such as the saint's frontal pose, her garment, the *loros*, the small basilican building in the background, and a Greek sgraffito inscription running on the upper border) mixed with others hinting at a Western provenance (the diapered background, the saint's crown, maybe a fragmentary inscription, and, I would add, also the tiny wheel held up by Catherine).<sup>50</sup> The painting left Bertelli wondering whether it was the product of a Western workshop in the East

or of “an Eastern settlement on the western coasts”, but, due to the similarities with a Saint Theodore icon from Sinai, in a final *addendum* he supported “the possible localization of this particular school of painting in an Eastern centre closely connected with the Latin world”.<sup>51</sup>

Therefore, Bertelli proposed that the mosaic and perhaps the painting too had been originally offered to the shrine of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai before 1380/81 and that Raimondo obtained the mosaic icon during his pilgrimage there. The frame would have been commissioned in 1383–1385, when Nicola's son supported the Anjou claim. Finally, the mosaic would have reached Santa Croce circa 1385/86 as a sign of the reconciliation between Raimondo and his father. Not everyone agrees on the attribution of the *Saint Catherine*: in 1990 Serena Romano argued for an Italian origin, either Apulian or from an Anjou-ruled area, an opinion also supported by Roberto Cassanelli.<sup>52</sup> However, Bertelli's reconstruction of the icon's history was generally accepted, with minor shifts.<sup>53</sup> Only recently, Heike Schlie re-proposed Nicola as the donor, arguing that it was not impossible for him to display his wife's coat of arms close to his own and suggesting that, as both the reliquary and the *Officium inventionis et exaltationis sanctae Crucis* manuscript show identical leather coverings, they were both presented in September 1390 as a joint gift by Raimondo and Nicola.<sup>54</sup> While

this hypothesis is unsubstantiated, because the leather is actually a later addition to both works of art,<sup>55</sup> I agree that it was Nicola Orsini who presented the reliquary to the Basilica Sessoriana.

The identity of the donor depends on the four shields of the mosaic's silver frame, and their current identification and interpretation poses some problems. Beginning with the upper section (Fig. 6, no. 1), while the presence of the golden lilies does hint at an Anjou coat of arms, it is misleading to stop at these elements because the contenders for the throne of Naples in the late Trecento, Louis of Anjou and Charles of Durazzo, both belonged to the Anjou family. The first king of Naples, Charles I of Anjou, had many sons who started the lines of the kings of Naples, the dukes of Taranto, the Anjou of Hungary, and the Anjou-Durazzo. The latter branch began with Charles's son John of Anjou (1294–1336), nicknamed ‘of Durazzo’ on account of the fief he acquired in 1332. Durazzo was not a family name, but rather the Italian name of a city, Durrës in Albania. Each of the four Anjou branches had the right to use the undifferenced arms (or *Anjou ancien*), namely the golden lilies on an azure field with a label, which were marshalled with other coats of arms or to which distinct charges were added

as a mark of difference (Fig. 8).<sup>56</sup> The Anjou-Durazzo's coat of arms, as first used by the above-mentioned John of Durazzo, was characterized by a *label of three points Gules* and a *bordure Argent and Gules*, that is, red and white (Fig. 8, no. 5), while Louis I of Anjou's was instead charged with a *bordure Gules* and usually had no label (Fig. 8, no. 4).<sup>57</sup> The alternating red and white squares running around the edge of the first shield on the mosaic frame had been interpreted as a reference to the Angevin claim to the throne of Hungary; however, this is not a likely explanation because the Hungarian Anjou coat of arms is marshalled with the *Árpád stripes*, a *Barry of eight Gules and Argent* (Fig. 8, nos. 7–9).<sup>58</sup> The squares displayed on the first coat of arms are not a barry but a *bordure* and, more precisely, the Durazzo's *bordure*.<sup>59</sup> Thus, this shield is the Anjou-Durazzo's, and it must not be associated with the faction of Louis of Anjou, as Bertelli proposed, but with the opposite one, that of Charles of Durazzo. What is conspicuously missing in the coat of arms featured in the frame is the Hungarian's *Árpád stripes* (Fig. 8, nos. 7–9). As argued by Luciana Mocchiola, Charles could have only included this element after his crowning in late 1385 (but apparently he never did) and Ladislaus only after 1403.<sup>60</sup> The latter systemati-

<sup>49</sup> On the sanctuary see in particular: Cosimo Damiano Poso, “La fondazione di Santa Caterina: scelta devozionale e committenza artistica di Raimondo Orsini del Balzo”, in: *Dal Giglio all'Orso* (note 42), pp. 194–223; Angelo Maria Monaco, “Il ‘potere dello spazio’ nella basilica di Santa Caterina d'Alessandria a Galatina: culto delle reliquie e iconografia nella propaganda del potere degli Orsini del Balzo”, in: *Un principato territoriale nel Regno di Napoli? Gli Orsini del Balzo principi di Taranto (1399–1463)*, conference proceedings Lecce 2009, ed. by Luciana Petracca/Benedetto Vetere, Rome 2013, pp. 589–606.

<sup>50</sup> Bertelli (note 35), pp. 42f.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 45f., 55. Recently Rebecca W. Corrie (“Sinai, Acre, Tripoli, and the ‘Backwash from the Levant’: Where did the Icon Painters Work?”), in: *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. by Sharon E.J. Gerstel/Robert S. Nelson, Turnhout 2010, pp. 415–448: 427f., 436) proposed to ascribe the *Saint Catherine* to one of the painters of the *Histoire Universelle* (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 15268).

<sup>52</sup> Serena Romano, in: *Splendori di Bisanzio: testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia*, exh. cat. Ravenna 1990, ed. by Giovanni Morello, Rome 1990, p. 110, no. 41; Roberto Cassanelli, “I reliquiari”, in: *Gerusalemme* (note 1), pp. 177–181: 179.

<sup>53</sup> James Stubblebine (“Segna di Bonaventura and the Image of the Man of Sorrows”, in: *Gesta*, VIII [1969], 2, pp. 3–13: 6) preferred to consider the *Man of Sorrows* a personal commission by Raimondo. Giovanni Boraccesi (*Oreficeria sacra in Puglia tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Foggia 2005, p. 43; *idem*, “La produzione orafa nel principato di Taranto”, in: *Un principato territoriale* [note 49], pp. 515–555: 534f.) argued that the icon might have been in Galatina until the sixteenth century; for the confutation of this hypothesis, accepted by Sofia Di Sciascio, *Reliquie e reliquiari in Puglia fra IX e XV secolo*, Galatina 2009, p. 226, see note 122 below.

<sup>54</sup> Heike Schlie, “Erscheinung und Bildvorstellung im spätmittelalterlichen Kulturtransfer: Die Rezeption der Imago Pietatis als Selbstoffenbarung

Christi in Rom”, in: *Das Bild der Erscheinung: Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, ed. by Andreas Gormans/Thomas Lentjes, Berlin 2007, pp. 58–121: 64f.

<sup>55</sup> The leather of the reliquary was considered late fifteenth-century by Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, p. 348; I could not find any convincing match supporting a dating, but I suspect it could be from well after the Cinquecento. The manuscript binding is not from the same workshop and definitely dates to the sixteenth century: compare the phytomorphic tool used in the four corners with that of the *Liber census Romanae curiae* (BR, ms. Ricc. 228; *Al primo sguardo... legature riccardiane*, ed. by Rosanna Miriello, Florence 2008, I, pp. 118f., no. 42) and bindings by Niccolò Franzese (Anthony Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library*, Amsterdam 1975, p. 95, pl. XXI) and Marcantonio Guillery (*ibidem*, p. 89, no. 4, pl. XIX [a]). The outer frame of the manuscript's cover is similar to that of the *Registro della tesoreria segreta* (ASR, Camerale I, reg. 1308; *Legatura romana barocca 1565–1700*, exh. cat. Rome 1991, pp. 52, pl. 6, and 70, no. 6) and appears in bookbindings ascribed, again, to Niccolò Franzese (Hobson [note 55], pp. 80f., no. 9, pl. VIII) and Marcantonio Guillery (*ibidem*, pl. XIX [a]), in conjunction with

the above-mentioned phytomorphic tool; *idem*, “Italian 16th-Century Book-bindings”, in: Anthony Hobson/Paul Culot, *Legature italiane e francesi del XVI secolo*, exh. cat. Milan 1991, Stavelot 1990, pp. 11–57: 18–21, no. 4). On the two printers see Hobson (note 55), *ad indicem*.

<sup>56</sup> De Mérindol 2003 (note 45), pp. 281–283.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 285f. (Anjou-Durazzo), 286 (Louis of Anjou). The label may be missing in some shields of Charles of Durazzo (see Luciana Mocchiola, “Giovanna II d'Angiò Durazzo e il ‘codice di Santa Marta’”, in: *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, XIV [2010], pp. 139–150: 140, fig. 1), but the *bordure* is always present.

<sup>58</sup> Bertelli (note 35), p. 43; on the Hungarian coat of arms, see de Mérindol 2003 (note 45), pp. 288–290. It is worth noting that Louis of Anjou could never have claimed the Hungarian shield as his connection with that Angevin line was too distant.

<sup>59</sup> See Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopedia of Armory*, New York 1976, pp. 75 (barry), 95–97 (*bordure*).

<sup>60</sup> Luciana Mocchiola, “La presa di Napoli di Carlo III di Durazzo nel

7 Southern Italian painter (?), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, beginning of the fourteenth century. Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Museo della Basilica



cally claimed to be King of Hungary in his documents and coins, but apparently only in the early fifteenth century did he use the Hungarian arms impaled with those of Anjou in a *denaro* from Naples and on the *grossi* struck in Rome.<sup>61</sup>

As the Jerusalem Cross (Fig. 6, no. 2) belongs to the rulers of Naples, the first two coats of arms

hint at a relationship between the frame's donor and an Anjou-Durazzo who was also the king of Naples. Both Charles and Ladislaus were crowned (on 1 June and then again on 25 November 1381, and on 29 May 1390, respectively), and both included references to their titles combined with the Jerusalem Cross in coins minted in Naples.<sup>62</sup> A shield that impales the

pannello del Metropolitan Museum: nuove ipotesi", in: *La battaglia nel Rinascimento meridionale*, ed. by Giancarlo Abbamonte et al., Rome 2011, pp. 57–67: 63.

<sup>61</sup> See *ibidem*; *Corpus nummorum Italicorum*, Rome 1970, XIX, pp. 47, no. 6, and 48, no. 9; Grierson/Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, XIV: Italy (III: South Italy, Sicily,

*Sardinia*), Cambridge 1998, p. 242; Giuliani/Fabrizi (note 20), p. 82, nos. 105–106. The Hungary-Durazzo coat of arms on these coins is different from Fig. 8, no. 9, but it corresponds with the one featured in the Santa Marta codex. See Mocchiola (note 57), p. 140, fig. 2.

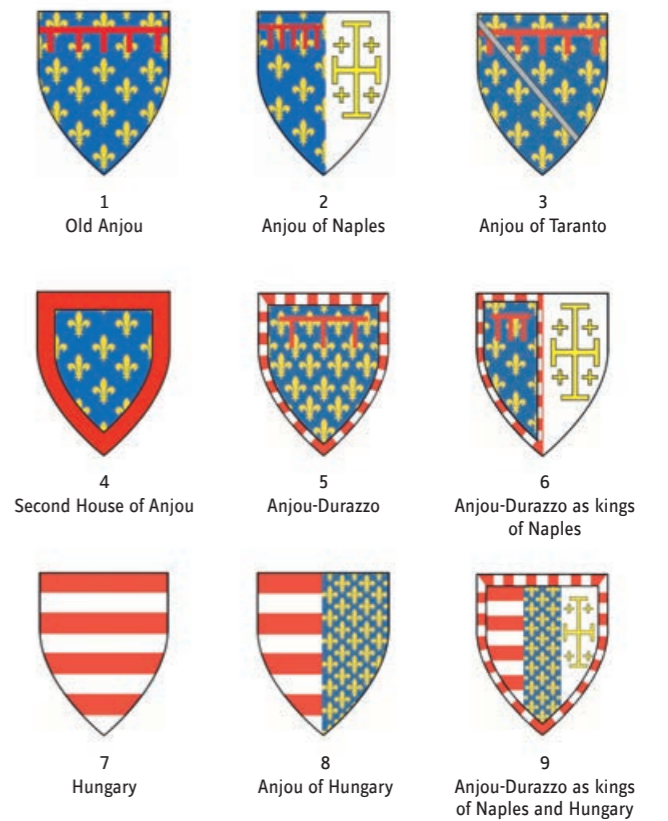
<sup>62</sup> For Charles' coronation see *Cronicon Siculum incerti auctoris ab anno 340 ad annum 1396*, ed. by Giuseppe De Blasiis, Naples 1887, pp. 37, 43. For the

Anjou-Durazzo arms with the Jerusalem Cross can also be seen in a cassone at the Metropolitan Museum depicting the *Conquest of Naples by Charles of Durazzo in 1381*.<sup>63</sup>

Establishing that the first shield belongs to the Anjou-Durazzo might seem to be a slight adjustment, which would actually fit even better with Bertelli's reconstruction and chronology, as Raimondo was a supporter of Ladislaus (albeit not from 1386, but only from 1398<sup>64</sup>) and could have included the Durazzo arms within the frame if it had not been for another problem. The Orsini coat of arms in the frame is marshalled with a white rampant lion with a forked tail on a red field (Fig. 6, no. 3). As Alois Thomas understood, this is the Montfort's coat of arms and it belongs to the counts of Nola because in 1293 Nicola Orsini's grandfather Romano († 1325) married Anastasia de Montfort and through her obtained the Neapolitan County and the title of Palatine Count.<sup>65</sup> Such a shield was adopted by the Orsini of Nola in order to signify inheritance from another family and their succession in the rule of a fief. Raimondo's shield instead incorporated the Orsini arms as an escutcheon, or a superimposed shield, *en surtout*, over the Del Balzo arms (Fig. 9). As this arrangement (escutcheon of pretence) places a person's hereditary coat of arms above those of his or her dominions in order to indicate territorial and titular rulership, Nicola's son was visually claiming possession of the Del Balzo lands.<sup>66</sup> But Raimondo always used the undifferenced Orsini arms and there is no evidence that he ever marshalled

coins see *Corpus* (note 61), XIX, pp. 44–49, pl. III; Philip Grierson/Lucia Travaini (note 61), pp. 237, 241–243, plate 39; Giuliani/Fabrizi (note 20), pp. 67–73, 81–89.

<sup>63</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906, inv. 07.120.1. For the debate on the cassone's heraldry see Everett Fahy, "Florence and Naples: A Cassone Panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art", in: *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: études sur la peinture du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, ed. by Pierre Rosenberg, Milan 1994, pp. 231–243; Mocchiola (note 60).



8 Coats of arms of the house of Anjou

<sup>64</sup> Raimondo could only have presented himself as a Durazzo supporter from 1381 to 1383 and between 1398 and 1405. To understand why, see Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), pp. 11f., 36f., 47–50.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas (note 46), pp. 52–54; on the Nolan county acquisition see Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), pp. 43–50, 122, and on the title of Palatine Count *ibidem*, pp. 49f., note 29. Concerning the coat of arms resulting from the wedding of Romano and Anastasia, see the forthcoming study by Antonia Solpietro.

<sup>66</sup> See Fox-Davies (note 59), pp. 94f., 362, and most importantly 369.



9 Detail from chalice with the shield of Caterina Orsini Del Balzo marshalling the Orsini Del Balzo and Enghien-Brienne arms, early fifteenth century. Bitonto, Museo Diocesano

this coat of arms with the Montfort's. In the shield of Raimondo's descendants (Fig. 9) and in the impressive heraldic gallery painted in Santa Caterina in Galatina there is a rampant lion, but it is the Brienne's *lion Or* on an azure field *semy of billets*, or small rectangles, and it is always quartered with the Enghien's pinwheel-like *gyronny*. These arms belong to Raimondo's wife Mary of Enghien, who was the grandchild of Isabella of Brienne,<sup>67</sup> and must not be confused with the Montfort arms. According to this evidence, the fourth coat of arms in the frame of the Santa Croce icon is not Raimondo's but his father's.

<sup>67</sup> On the Brienne lion see Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, "Du comté de Champagne aux royaumes d'Orient: sceaux et armoires des comtes de Brienne", in: *Chemins d'outre-mer: études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. by Damien Coulon et al., Paris 2004, II, pp. 589–606: 594–598.

<sup>68</sup> This was the solution given in Bertelli (note 35), p. 43, note 23b. The error apparently generated from Pompeo Litta's genealogies. See his *Famiglie celebri di Italia*, 114, *Orsini di Roma*, Turin/Milan 1839–1846, pl. XI.

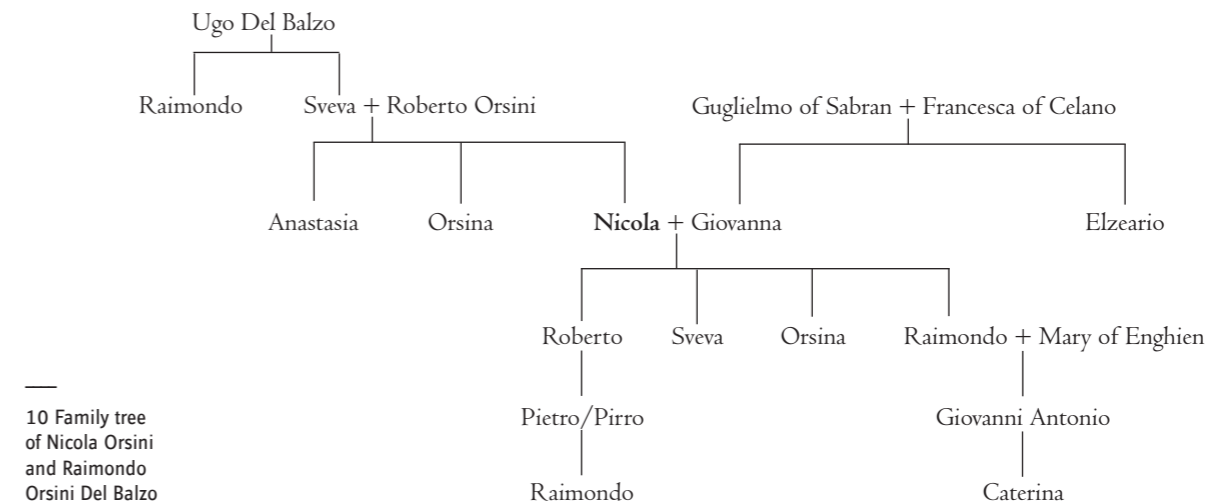
<sup>69</sup> The *terminus ante quem* of 1354 can be found in Cesare De Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei conti Anguillara", in: *Bollettino della Società di Storia Patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, XIX (1907), 16, pp. 123–134: 128.

Finally and most importantly, the Del Balzo shield (Fig. 6, no. 4) was part of Nicola's personal armorial. The traditional explanation of its adoption by Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo, i.e. that Raimondo Del Balzo's daughter Maria married Nicola Orsini and had a son who would have then inherited his maternal grandfather's lands, cannot be sustained because Nicola's wife – and Raimondo's mother – was actually Giovanna de Sabran (Fig. 10). In nineteenth-century scholarship, Giovanna (wrongly referred to as Gorizia) was supposed to have been the Count of Nola's first wife and to have died shortly after dictating her will in 1357, thus prompting a second marriage to Maria.<sup>68</sup> However this interpretation is incorrect. Raimondo Del Balzo had no descendant, and a Maria Del Balzo is never recorded in contemporary documents. Giovanna de Sabran was already married to Nicola in 1354, is stated to be his wife in a papal document dated 5 January 1363, and was still alive on 20 March 1372, which leaves no time for a second marriage and the birth of a son who was an adult by the late 1370s.<sup>69</sup> The connection of the counts of Nola with the Del Balzo comes through Sveva, daughter of Ugo Del Balzo, lord of Courthezon and *Gran Cancelliere* of Sicily, who married Roberto Orsini most likely in 1329 (Fig. 10).<sup>70</sup> She was Nicola's mother, as is confirmed by both documentary records and a 1359 inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the dormitory of Santa Maria Jacobi in Nola (Fig. 11).<sup>71</sup> Thus, when Raimondo Del Balzo (who was Sveva's brother) died, per his last will and

See *Urbain V* (note 5), II, p. 28, no. 5161, and Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), p. 8, note 3, for the following mentions of Giovanna.

<sup>70</sup> Del Balzo di Presenzano (note 47), II, pp. 403, 422.

<sup>71</sup> See Giovanni Vitolo, "Una dinastia, una città, una chiesa", in: Carmela Buonaguro, *Documenti per la storia di Nola: secoli XII–XIV*, Salerno 1997, pp. V–XVI: VI f.; Cristiana Di Cerbo, "L'insediamento francescano di Santa Chiara in Nola e la devozione a Santa Maria Jacobi: un'ipotesi di lettura", in: *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici*, XXIII (2008), pp. 109–215, esp. pp. 118, 127 f., 209. Aside from building the dormitory, Nicola acted on the Clares' behalf while in Avignon: there is a *supplicazione* from Nola's prioress in a series of requests from the Count of Nola (*Urbain V* [note 5], II, p. 28, no. 5164).



10 Family tree of Nicola Orsini and Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo

testament (29 July 1375) his nephew Nicola became his legal heir.<sup>72</sup> The younger Raimondo was to inherit the Del Balzo's fiefs only after his own father's death.

Soon after his uncle's demise in early August 1375, Nicola Orsini started to present himself as heir of the Del Balzo. In a document dated 24 September 1375, and in an inscription from 1376 commemorating the rebuilding of the façade of Orbetello Cathedral, he identified himself as the Count of Soletto, a fief that was part of Raimondo's inheritance.<sup>73</sup> Other evidence confirms that Nicola also adopted the Del Balzo arms. A quartered Orsini-Montfort and Del Balzo-Orange shield that is identical to the one displayed on the icon's frame appears on the façade of Palazzo Orsini-Colonna in Nettuno (Fig. 12).<sup>74</sup> The accompanying inscription

<sup>72</sup> Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), pp. 37–42; Raimondo's testament has been published by Laura Esposito, "Il primo sconosciuto matrimonio di Raimondo Del Balzo Orsini principe di Taranto: alle origini dei suoi possessi negli inventaria del 1396 e del 1402", in: *Il re cominciò a conoscere che il principe era un altro re? il principato di Taranto e il contesto mediterraneo (secc. XII–XV)*, ed. by Gemma Teresa Colesanti, Rome 2013, pp. 103–137: 118–123, doc. I.

<sup>73</sup> See Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), pp. 38 f., for the document, and Angelo Biondi, "Quando una 'P' cambia la storia: l'errore nella scritta del Duomo di Orbetello", in: *Accademia dei Rozzi*, XXI (2014), pp. 24–29, for the cathedral. Orbetello was part of the Aldobrandeschi-Montfort inheritance; see Fig. 3 and Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), p. 106, note 11.

identifying the owner of the fortress – A(RX) EXCELENTISSIMI D(OMINI). N(ICOLAI). DE VRSINIS NOLANI IN TUSCITIA PALATINI AC SOLETI COMITIS ET D(OMI)NI CASTRI NOPTVNI – would have referred to no one but Nicola, the only Orsini who could claim to be Count Palatine, of Nola and Soletto, and use the title of Lord of Nettuno. Apart from the last one, the same titles were listed in a (lost) 1395 inscription claiming Nicola's patronage on the SS. Apostoli church in Nola.<sup>75</sup> The coat of arms on the façade of Nettuno's palace could only belong to him. A quartered Orsini-Del Balzo shield was once also displayed on an unspecified "arco della porta", probably the main door, of the convent of Santa Maria Jacobi in Nola.<sup>76</sup> This shield is generally associated with Roberto Orsini's building of the convent;<sup>77</sup> however, it

<sup>74</sup> See Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica medievale e moderna*, Rome 1910, II, pp. 321 f., and Leonardo Avella, *Passaggiate nei luoghi degli Orsini*, Naples 2009, pp. 226–230.

<sup>75</sup> See Remondini (note 3), I, p. 162; Vitolo (note 71), VIII f.

<sup>76</sup> See Remondini (note 3), I, p. XI.

<sup>77</sup> See *ibidem* and Di Cerbo (note 71), pp. 120 f. Caroline Bruzelius (*The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy 1266–1343*, New Haven/London 2004, p. 182) says that the Del Balzo and Orsini arms also decorate the rib vault of the chancel and the front of the portal towards the courtyard. The church is presently inaccessible, but Antonia Solpietro tells me there are no such arms.



11 Building inscription of the dormitory of Santa Maria Jacobi in Nola, 1359. Nola, Santa Maria Jacobi

is unlikely that Nicola's father, who had no claim to the Del Balzo heirloom and no reason to emphasize his connection with them, would have displayed a coat of arms quartered with his wife's arms. The lost coat of arms may instead hint at the rebuilding, or at least refurbishment, of the church by Nicola.

Therefore, the third and fourth shields in the Santa Croce frame point to someone who was the Count of both Nola and Soletto: Nicola, the only Orsini-Montfort who could have presented himself as the Del Balzo's heir. He may also have included the Anjou-Durazzo's arms anytime from 1381 onwards, as in early July 1381 he pledged fealty to Charles and remained a good supporter of the Durazzo's claim to the Neapolitan throne until his own death. As Andreas Kiesewetter remarks, all the documents drawn up in Nola between 1382 and 1399 are dated according to the ruling years of Charles and Ladislaus, thus acknowledging them as kings of Naples.<sup>78</sup>

I would argue that Nicola Orsini also contributed to the creation of the reliquary case now housed in Santa Croce, as amid the 212 relics housed in the triptych there are some that can be associated with him.<sup>79</sup> The presence of a relic of "Sancte Brigide", i.e. Bridget of Sweden, is particularly significant.<sup>80</sup> It would not be odd if Nicola, who had known her since 1350 and was one of the witnesses at her canonization process,<sup>81</sup> had owned relics of the Swedish princess. His brother-in-law Cardinal Elzeario de Sabran (1333–1380)

certainly did. In June 1378 while residing at Nicola's Roman palace, Elzeario fell seriously ill and was saved by the relics of Bridget he received from her confessor Alfonso Pecha.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, the reliquary includes various relics from the Holy Land, such as pieces of Christ's tomb, soil from Calvary, stones from the house and sepulchre of the Virgin, and a mysterious "Lapis ubi sedebat XPS quando dimisit peccata Marie Magdalene".<sup>83</sup> All of these fragments suggest a donor who had been to Palestine. We do not have any information concerning a pilgrimage by Nicola Orsini, and I will discuss the issue of his son Raimondo's pilgrimage later; however, Bridget definitely travelled to the Holy Land and, upon returning in 1372, she was Nicola's guest in Naples and Nola. By then she possessed Holy ground relics, as demonstrated by the fact that she gave some of them to a demon-possessed woman of Nola.<sup>84</sup> The presence of a "Lapis ubi natus est XPS" among the relics of the triptych is particularly interesting. The floor of the Bethlehem basilica was (and still is) decorated with a "star of marble" that in 1335 the pilgrim Jacopo da Verona linked to the location where Christ was born and where the star guiding the magi hovered,<sup>85</sup> and the stone in Santa Croce must have been a fragment of this decoration. In Bethlehem Bridget had a vision concerning the Nativity, which prominently features the Child being born on the ground, and in 1380 Nicola Orsini specifically recalled depictions of this event at her canonization process.<sup>86</sup> While it is



12 Inscription of Nicola Orsini on the façade of the Palazzo Orsini-Colonna in Nettuno, after 1375

<sup>78</sup> Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), pp. 39f., note 113; Buonaguro (note 71), pp. 115–122, nos. 348, 351, 353, 357, 362, 363, 367, 369, 371, p. 124, no. 377, p. 126, no. 385, pp. 128–137, nos. 392, 399, 401, 405, 407, 411, 412, 414–417, pp. 139–140, nos. 424–426. On Nicola and Charles see also Cesare De Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei conti Anguillara", in: *Bollettino della Società di Storia Patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, XX (1908), 21, pp. 273–296: 275; Vitolo (note 71), p. VIII; Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), p. 106; Del Balzo di Presenzano (note 47), I, p. 301.

<sup>79</sup> All relics are wrapped in green silk and identified by an inscription on parchment. There are several catalogues of the reliquary's content, such as Onofrio Panvinio, *Le sette chiese principali di Roma*, Rome 1570, pp. 281f.; [Michael Hobart Seymour] "Recent public exhibition of relics at Rome",

in: *The American Protestant Magazine*, II (1846), pp. 112–115 and 150–153: 114f., that were based upon lists hanging in Santa Croce itself. A late single-sheet list was published by Bertelli ([note 35], fig. 23). Here I have used the list published in Barbier de Montault (note 46), pp. 100f.; *idem* (note 45), II, pp. 346–348. As the French scholar was copying the parchments in the wrappings themselves, his account is to be preferred to other catalogues. On the practice of wrapping relics see Martina Bagnoli, "Dressing the Relics: Some Thoughts on the Custom of Relic Wrapping in Medieval Christianity", in: *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. by James Robinson et al., London 2014, pp. 100–109.

<sup>80</sup> Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, p. 347, no. 81. Panvinio (note 79),

p. 282, instead reported a relic of "Santa Brigida uergine", that would be Bridget of Ireland.

<sup>81</sup> See *AASS, Octobris, IV, Appendix de miraculis S. Birgittae*, part 4, pp. 541f. (*BHL* 1345); Vultaggio (note 27), pp. 107f., 111f., 114.

<sup>82</sup> *Acta* (note 30), IV, pp. 254f.; Vultaggio (note 27), p. 109.

<sup>83</sup> Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, pp. 347, nos. I, 15, 32–34, 37, 63, 69, 348, nos. 16, 19–20, and other unnumbered relics on the right wing.

<sup>84</sup> *Acta* (note 30), IV, p. 389.

<sup>85</sup> Jacopo da Verona, *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. by Ugo Monneret de Villard, Rome 1950, p. 61.

<sup>86</sup> On Bridget's vision and its representations see Svanberg (note 9), pp. 93–101; Anette Creutzburg, *Die heilige Birgitta von Schweden: Bildliche Darstel-*

*lungen und theologische Kontroversen im Vorfeld ihrer Kanonisation (1373–1391)*, Kiel 2011, pp. 75–78, 86–93. For Nicola's testimony see *Acta* (note 30), IV, p. 233; Creutzburg, pp. 75, 88. The surviving early paintings of Bridget's vision are by Niccolò di Tommaso (see Erling Skaug, "Niccolò di Tommaso of Florence, St. Bridget of Sweden's first painter", in: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, n. s. IV [2004], pp. 289–321). The same artist worked at Casaluce castle for Nicola's uncle, Raimondo Del Balzo, and therefore must have been in contact with the circle of Bridget's Neapolitan friends. See Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Italian paintings, 1250–1450, in the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia 2004, p. 345, who also suggests Nicola as the owner of a triptych depicting Bridget's vision of the Nativity.

intriguing to consider that the pavimental decoration might have influenced the saint's vision, for this study it is more significant that the star was also linked to the Magi, as the Del Balzo claimed to be descendants of Balthazar, one of the three kings.<sup>87</sup> The star in their coat of arms is the one featured in the Gospels and other legends concerning the Nativity.

The centre of the reliquary also houses relics of saints Nicholas and Anastasia, namesakes of Nicola and his grandmother, those of the Magdalen, a saint strongly favoured by the Anjou, and of a "Sancte Helizabeth", who Onofrio Panvinio identified with Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary (1207–1231).<sup>88</sup> Given the relationship of the Anjou-Durazzo with Hungary and the fact that the saint was a relative of Mary of Hungary (ca. 1254–1323), Queen of Naples, it may be yet another clue connecting its owner with the Neapolitan kings of that line.<sup>89</sup> Her relics were housed in the church of Santa Chiara in Naples from at least 1508, and Nicola's palace was not too distant from this church, being close to Santa Maria la Nova.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, Margaret of Durazzo, Charles'

cousin and wife, bequeathed to the cathedral of Salerno a relic of the arm of Saint Anastasia and was also in possession of a finger of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, which she gave to the Salernitan doctor Guglielmo Solimene and which was then housed in the same church.<sup>91</sup> She might also have made a gift to Nicola.

The inclusion of pieces of the dress of Catherine of Siena (1347–1380) and skin from her head with some hair attached is intriguing as well.<sup>92</sup> The saint's head had been detached from her body and sent to Siena in the early 1380s.<sup>93</sup> Although there is no source directly connecting Nicola with Catherine, it would not have been impossible for him to have obtained some of her remains. Yet another of his relatives, Giacomo di Orso di Giacomo Orsini († 1379), was the Cardinal protector of Siena and had met the young Siennese mystic, as had Alfonso Pecha in 1374.<sup>94</sup> Catherine's follower Stefano Maconi (ca. 1350–1424) became a Carthusian after assisting the dying Catherine in Rome, and the Siennese saint herself had been in contact with a monk of Santa Croce called Giovanni.<sup>95</sup> More importantly, the presence of both Bridget's and

Catherine of Siena's relics could tie whoever assembled the triptych's collection of relics to the Roman *spirituali* circle, to which both Pecha and Elzeario de Sabran definitely belonged.<sup>96</sup>

### III. The Story of the *Man of Sorrows* Icon

While not strictly pertaining to the history of Santa Croce, there is another issue that needs to be addressed: how Nicola Orsini could have obtained a Byzantine mosaic icon. It is not possible to conjecture that Raimondo took the mosaic from Sinai in 1380/81 and gave it to his father, who then presented it to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Carlo Bertelli's short recapitulation of Raimondo's life was correct according to what was known about him in 1967; however, recent scholarship has cast doubt on an event that is crucial for the earlier, pre-Italian, history of the icon. Historians have questioned the veracity of Raimondo's visit to the Holy Land. As Andreas Kiesewetter argued, there is no fourteenth-century documentation concerning such an expedition, which may have been the result of a misunderstanding because Raimondo did participate in a crusade.<sup>97</sup> Between 1375 and 1379, as an affiliate of the Teutonic Knights, he joined the Baltic crusade against the still pagan Lithuanians.<sup>98</sup> Raimondo crusaded, but in Eastern Europe. Thus it is possible that a documented crusade in Lithuania was gradually transformed into an undocumented crusade to the Holy Land, and finally into a pilgrimage. Because all sources regarding Raimondo's presence in

Palestine are late and related to Santa Caterina in Galatina, whose church is said to imitate the one in Sinai and its relics, it is worth going through them chronologically in order to reconstruct the evolution of the misunderstanding.

The first mention of an architectural relationship between the sanctuary in Galatina and the one in Sinai dates to the late fifteenth century. After arriving in Galatina on 18 December 1487, the Franciscan friar Agostino da Ponzone wrote in his diary that, according to local lore, the church built by Raimondo was similar to that of Sinai.<sup>99</sup> He also records the presence of Catherine's finger. However, nothing in the diary's wording infers Raimondo's own presence in the Holy Land. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Apulian humanist Antonio de Ferrariis, called il Galateo (1444/48–1517), stated that Raimondo had sworn to build a church identical to that of Sinai during his stay there.<sup>100</sup> No explanation was given as to why Nicola's son was at Sinai until 1723/24, when Bonaventura da Lama wrote that Raimondo went to the Holy Land as a crusader for nine years, information adopted by the subsequent literature.<sup>101</sup>

The problem of whether Raimondo actually went to the Holy Land or not created great concern among Apulian art historians. They countered by pointing out the existence of Eastern works of art and relics associated with Raimondo in Santa Caterina of Galatina and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and by arguing that the Apulian shrine itself is said to be a replica

<sup>87</sup> Jean-Paul Boyer, "Les Baux et le modèle royal: une oraison funèbre de Jean Regina de Naples (1334)", in: *Provence Historique*, CLXXXI (1995), pp. 427–452. I would like to thank the anonymous reader who mentioned this paper in his review.

<sup>88</sup> Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, p. 347, nos. 85, 8, 55. On Elizabeth see *ibidem*, no. 7; Panvinio (note 79), p. 182. On the Magdalen's relationship with the Anjou see Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 2000, pp. 320–327; Sarah S. Wilkins, *She Loved More Ardently than the Rest: The Magdalen Cycles of Late Duecento and Trecento Italy*, Ph.D. Diss., Rutgers University 2012.

<sup>89</sup> A cycle of Elizabeth's life was painted in the church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples, a church that enjoyed the patronage of Queen Mary. See Samantha Kelly, "Religious patronage and royal propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in context", in: *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. by Janis Elliott/Cordelia Warr, Aldershot 2004, pp. 27–43; Cordelia Warr, "The *Golden Legend* and the cycle of the 'Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary'", *ibidem*, pp. 155–174.

<sup>90</sup> See Paola Vitolo, "Miles Christi: san Ladislao d'Ungheria tra mito cavalleresco e culto dinastico. Il ciclo pittorico all'Incoronata di Napoli", in: *La battaglia nel Rinascimento* (note 60), pp. 43–56; 56; on the location of Nicola's Neapolitan palace see Vultaggio (note 27), p. 114.

<sup>91</sup> For Anastasia's relic see *La Cappella del Tesoro del Duomo di Salerno*, ed. by Antonio Braca, Salerno 1990, pp. 32f.; Luciana Mocchiola, "La regina Margherita d'Angiò Durazzo e l'emblema del drago", in: *La donna nel Rinascimento meridionale*, conference proceedings Rome 2009, ed. by Marco Santoro, Rome 2010, pp. 311–323; 314; *eadem* (note 60), p. 65. On Saint Catherine's finger see *La Cappella del Tesoro*, p. 40; Mocchiola, pp. 315f.; *eadem* (note 60), p. 65.

<sup>92</sup> Barbier de Montault (note 45), II p. 347, nos. 25, 27. It is uncertain whether the "Lapis super quem positum fuit caput sancte Catherine" (*ibidem*, p. 348, no. 32) refers to Catherine of Alexandria or Catherine of Siena, but the former seem more likely.

<sup>93</sup> Diega Giunta, "La prima processione in Siena con la reliquia di s. Caterina", in: *Caterina da Siena, l'uomo, la società*, Rome 1986, pp. 119–138.

<sup>94</sup> On Giacomo see *Epistolario di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. by Eugenio Dupré Theseider, Rome 1940, I, pp. 95–102, no. XXIII; Allegrezza 1998 (note 3), *ad indicem*. In 1378 Giacomo's brother Rinaldo succeeded Nicola as Rector of Tuscia with the sponsorship of the Count of Nola (*ibidem*, p. 116). On Pecha see *Epistolario*, I, p. 85; Gilles G. Meersseman O.P., *Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel Medioevo*, Rome 1973, I, pp. 563f.; Nardi (note 38), pp. 22f.

<sup>95</sup> See Tromby (note 2), VII, pp. 52–54; Le Couteulx (note 29), VI, pp. 209f.

<sup>96</sup> Meersseman (note 94), I, pp. 535–573.

<sup>97</sup> Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), p. 9, note 4.

<sup>98</sup> On Raimondo's relationship with the Teutonic Knights see Hubert Houben, "Raimondo del Balzo Orsini e l'Ordine Teutonico", in: *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture*, ed. by idem/Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Galatina 2008, pp. 195–212. Houben argues that Raimondo left Naples in 1377–1378 with the army of Guy II de Chauvigny.

<sup>99</sup> Cesare Cenci, "Itinerario in Puglia e Basilicata per la visita canonica dei minori osservanti negli anni 1487–1488", in: *Bollettino Storico di Terra d'Otranto*, IV (1994), pp. 85–106; 100: "Quam ecclesiam fecit fieri illustrissimus princeps dominus Tharenti, qui erat dominus predictae terre, ad instar (ut dicunt) ecclesie S. Catherine de Monte Sinay".

<sup>100</sup> Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo, *La Lapigia (Liber de situ Iapygiae)*, ed. by Domenico Defilippis, Galatina 2005, pp. 76f., no. 16.3: "Templum habet pulcherrimum divae Catherinae a Raimundo principe Tarentino dicatum, cum xenodochio et castellis non nullis ditatum, constructum, ut aiunt, ad exemplum templi divae Catherinae, quod est in Sina monte, ubi vir ille religiosissimus et insignis pietate votum fecit de aedificando templo. In quo monumenta sunt Ursinorum familiae, quae ibi multis annis dominata est". Poso ([note 49], pp. 204f.) considers this excerpt the first record of an official tradition dating from the beginning of the previous century.

<sup>101</sup> Bonaventura da Lama, *Cronica de' Minori Osservanti Riformati della Provincia di S. Nicolò*, Lecce 2002 (1723/24), II: *Dove si descrivono i conventi, che attualmente possiedono; colle notizie di quelle città, e ville, dove furono fabbricati*, p. 91.

of that at Mount Sinai since Agostino da Ponzzone's visit in 1487. Cosimo Damiano Poso proposed a compromise: Raimondo travelled to the Holy Land as a pilgrim soon after coming back from Lithuania.<sup>102</sup> While not impossible,<sup>103</sup> such a solution is difficult to uphold. Raimondo was in Naples by April 1379 when Queen Joanna appointed him Capitano della Terra di Lavoro,<sup>104</sup> and with the political situation quickly collapsing it is unlikely that he would have been able (or willing) to leave. He was definitely in Italy in 1381.<sup>105</sup> The presence of Eastern relics, icons, and building styles can be explained without assuming that Nicola's son travelled to Palestine.<sup>106</sup> On 19 September 1391, at Raimondo's explicit request, the sanctuary of Galatina was assigned to the Franciscan friar Bartolomeo della Verna, superior of the vicary of Bosnia, who was elected "visitatore" of the Holy Land in 1376 and thus could have had access to Eastern relics and icons.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, Raimondo's travels to the Holy Land seem to be a late concoction created in order to tie Galatina's treasures to its founder. Only a documentary find could alter this view of the situation.

Furthermore, Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo's veneration for Saint Catherine of Alexandria should be contextualized in the flourishing of her cult during the late Duecento and Trecento, which was stimulated by the sponsorship of the Anjou and the mendicant orders. While the Angevin cult of Mary Magdalen is

well known, their support of Catherine is not. I will not elaborate upon this issue here, but it is worth noting that Louis I of Anjou, Raimondo's patron, in his will of 20 September 1383 assigned two thousand florins "pour l'augmentation du luminaire, pour reparer l'église" of the Sinai, and Catherine was one of the many saints to whom he recommended his soul.<sup>108</sup> There are also some works of art related to him featuring the Alexandrine.<sup>109</sup> However, the opposing faction was equally interested in the saint. King Louis of Hungary had chosen a chapel dedicated to Saint Catherine as his burial site,<sup>110</sup> and, as his heir, Charles of Durazzo might well have followed Louis in his devotion to the saint. Margaret of Durazzo was in possession of yet another of the saint's fingers; in 1381 she and Charles were crowned Queen and King of Naples on Catherine's feast day, 25 November.

In order to explain how Nicola Orsini could have obtained the *Man of Sorrows* icon, we should first consider the Anjou's contacts with the Byzantine Empire and neighbouring kingdoms.<sup>111</sup> In the fall of 1294 Philip of Anjou (1278–1332), son of Charles II of Naples, married princess Thamar († 1309), daughter of Nikephoros Komnenos Doukas, Despot of Epirus, and Anna Palaiologina, niece of Emperor Michael VIII.<sup>112</sup> Presently the only identified work of art associated with the marriage is an elegant ivy leaf shaped locket in which the Komnenos coat of arms is paired with yet

another variation of the Angevin coat of arms (Fig. 8, no. 3).<sup>113</sup> However, there must have been other artefacts that travelled from Greece to Southern Italy thanks to this marriage – either as part of the dowry, wedding gifts, or gifts given on other occasions. Byzantine items may have also reached Naples via the Acciaiuoli family. Niccolò was close to Catherine of Valois-Courtenay (1303–1346), titular empress of Constantinople and second wife of Philip of Anjou after his divorce from Thamar.<sup>114</sup> In order to protect her claim, in 1338–1341 he led a military campaign to conquer the Principality of Achaia. Through his connections with the kings and queens of Naples, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, or even Bridget of Sweden, who sojourned in Cyprus while travelling to the Holy Land, Nicola Orsini may have had access to luxury items from Greece.

The key to understanding how the *Man of Sorrows* icon arrived in Italy is the *Saint Catherine* depicted on its back. Whoever assembled the reliquary was clearly not interested in the painting, as it ended up being hidden for centuries,<sup>115</sup> but its dating and the area it may be ascribed to are crucial for determining the mosaic's provenance. Having discarded Bertelli's hypothesis that the icon and the painting came from the Sinai, it is difficult to justify the presence of Saint Catherine on the back of the icon. The Greek inscription with the saint's name described by Bertelli would hint at an Eastern provenance, but according to Andrea Fullin

it is no longer visible.<sup>116</sup> Historical evidence failing, it is therefore necessary to look at the painting's style in order to reconstruct its provenance at least partly. Unfortunately, finding a convincing stylistic match has proved impossible for the present writer.

The features evidenced by Bertelli are still valid: the painting displays a mixture of Byzantine and European characteristics. The saint's face (Fig. 13) is oval and her eyebrows are not elegantly arched; her nose and the fold where it meets the eyebrow ridge still evoke Duecento schemes for drawing facial features. The saint's head is covered by a Madonna-like hood, a detail which is rather unusual in both the West and the Byzantine world. The folds of her blue dress are definitely not as fluid as they would be in a painting produced in the West during the Trecento. An Oriental origin for the painting seems less likely for one reason: the decoration of the panel. Not only is the diapered background traced by punches, but Catherine's whole outline, her wheel, and the low architecture behind her are dotted with them. This is not a standard decoration in Byzantine art.<sup>117</sup> In dim light the dots reflect light, conferring a shimmery, metal-like effect to the surface. All things considered, I would attribute the painting to an early fourteenth-century Italian painter influenced by Byzantine art and belonging to a slightly later generation of Italo-Byzantine artists than those who produced the *Saint Michael* in Pisa.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Poso (note 49), p. 209.

<sup>103</sup> As argued by Cassanelli (note 52), p. 179.

<sup>104</sup> *Diurnali del duca di Monteleone*, ed. by Michele Manfredi, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXI.5, Bologna 1958, p. 22; Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), p. 9, note 4.

<sup>105</sup> See *Diurnali* (note 104), p. 25; Kiesewetter 2005 (note 42), p. 9, note 4.

<sup>106</sup> As argued by Houben (note 98), p. 198; Boraccesi 2005 (note 53), p. 37; *idem* 2013 (note 53), pp. 533f.

<sup>107</sup> On Bartolomeo, see Primaldo Coco, *I Francescani nel Salento*, Taranto 1930, I, pp. 125–130; Pasquale Corsi, "I francescani osservanti della Vicaria di Bosnia in Puglia", in: *Dal Giglio all'Orso* (note 42), pp. 236–249, esp. p. 240.

<sup>108</sup> The bequest to Sinai is mentioned by Poso (note 49), p. 204, note 19; on Louis' wills see Françoise Robin, "Le duc Louis d'Anjou, un prince français et ses artistes (1360–1384)", in: *El Trecento en obras: art de Catalunya*

*i art d'Europa al segle XIV*, ed. by Rosa Alcoy, Barcelona 2009, pp. 217–241: 217, note 2, and the transcription in *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, ed. by Johann Christian Lünig, Frankfurt 1726, II, coll. 1191–1208, no. CII: coll. 1203 (Sinai), 1192 (Catherine as intercessor). On the Duke of Anjou's funerary provisions see also Marcelle Reynaud, "Foi, politique: autour de la mort des princes d'Anjou-Provence", in: *Provence historique*, CXLIII (1986), pp. 21–40, esp. p. 33.

<sup>109</sup> See Robin (note 108), pp. 225, 239f.

<sup>110</sup> See *Grégoire XI* (note 23), II, p. 414, no. 10325.

<sup>111</sup> The presence of international items in fourteenth-century Naples has been rightly stressed by Sarah K. Kozłowski, "Circulation, Convergence, and the Worlds of Trecento Panel Painting: Simone Martini in Naples", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LXXVIII (2015), pp. 205–238: 216–218. Incidentally, there were Orsini living in Cephalonia and Epirus, but they were not related to the Roman family. See Andreas Kiesewetter, "Megareites

di Brindisi, Maio di Monopoli e la signoria sulle isole ionie (1185–1250)", in: *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, LIX (2006), pp. 45–90: 69–73.

<sup>112</sup> On the marriage and the Anjou presence in the East see Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1984, II, pp. 35–62; Andreas Kiesewetter, "Il trattato del 18 ottobre 1305 fra Filippo I di Taranto e Giovanni I Orsini di Cefalonia per la conquista dell'Epiro", in: *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, XLVII (1994), pp. 177–213: 181–184, 186, 188; *idem*, *Die Anfänge der Regierung König Karls II. von Anjou (1278–1295): Das Königreich Neapel, die Grafschaft Provence und der Mittelmeerraum zu Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Husum 1999, *ad indicem*; *idem*, "I Principi di Taranto e la Grecia", in: *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, LIV (2001), pp. 53–100: 63f., 67f. On Thamar see also Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits 1250–1500*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 24–32.

<sup>113</sup> See Pierluigi Leone de Castris, in: *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti della Napoli angioina 1266–1381*, exh. cat., ed. by *idem*, Naples 2014, pp. 114–119, no. 7.

<sup>114</sup> For Niccolò's relationship with Catherine see Tocco (note 11), pp. 23–27. The Acciaiuoli family also started a Grecian branch; see Émile-G. Léonard, "La nomination de Giovanni Acciaiuoli a l'archevêché de Patras, 1360", in: *Mélanges offerts à Nicolas Iorga par ses amis de France et de langue française*, Paris 1933, pp. 513–535; Tasos Tanoulas, "Through the broken looking glass: The Acciaiuoli Palace in the Propylaea reflected in the Villa of Lorenzo il Magnifico at Poggio a Caiano", in: *Bollettino d'arte*, C (1997), pp. 1–32.

<sup>115</sup> As argued by Bertelli (note 35), p. 45.

<sup>116</sup> See Andrea Fullin, "Iscrizioni in greco", in: Leone (note 43), pp. 55–75: 56, no. I.59.

<sup>117</sup> See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Cambridge 2005, p. 632, note 653: "None of the Crusader examples uses punched decoration, a technique that emerges in Italy somewhat later, around 1300."

<sup>118</sup> Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, inv. 4944. See Lorenzo Carletti,



13 Southern Italian painter (?), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (detail of Fig. 7)

One specific detail of the painting, however, may hint at its provenance. Catherine's crown features lilies and therefore resembles an Angevin female crown. The thin object she holds in her right hand is abraded and it is hard to distinguish the details. However, it does not seem to have been a cross, as is usual in Byzantine art, but rather a sceptre featuring yet another lily on its top. Whether these elements point to an Anjou connection needs to be further investigated. If such a connection is proved, it might be relevant for reconstructing the mosaic's earlier history in which, pre-marriage agreements notwithstanding, the above-mentioned Thamar had to convert to the Latin rites and change her name. Her choice was Catherine, as the sainted Eastern princess *par excellence*. Thamar clearly must have had access to luxury items, and she might have brought the mosaic to Southern Italy. Moreover, her Angevin marriage might explain

the emphatic presence of lilies among Catherine's paraphernalia. Alternately, the painting might have been commissioned by Philip's second wife, Catherine of Valois-Courtenays.

#### IV. The Reliquary in Santa Croce

As the *Man of Sorrows* mosaic was the property of Nicola Orsini, its arrival in Santa Croce requires no explanation. However, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when it might have reached Rome, as the patronage of the Count of Nola for the Roman charterhouse spanned decades. According to the coats of arms, the silver frame was crafted after 1381, when Nicola began supporting the pretensions of the Anjou-Durazzo to the throne of Naples, and before 1399, when he died. There is generally an unspoken assumption that the frame was created a short time before the arrival of the mosaic in Santa Croce, but no evidence supports

such an idea and many years may have passed between the two events.

The difficult relationship between the Durazzo and their ally Urban VI helps in locating two different moments when the reliquary may have been presented to Santa Croce. On 15 January 1385 the Pope excommunicated Charles and his wife Margaret, and in the following years he remained hostile to their son, refusing to crown Ladislaus until his own death.<sup>119</sup> It was only thanks to Urban's successor, the Neapolitan-born Boniface IX, that the Durazzo were saved from defeat. The new Roman Pope decided to support Ladislaus' claim to the Kingdom of Naples both financially and militarily, acknowledging him as the king on 18 December 1389 and having him crowned in Gaeta the following year, on 29 May, through Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli. In 1385 the Durazzo's allies, including Nicola Orsini, were also excommunicated and the Count of Nola was only formally pardoned on 13 February 1390.<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, the Carthusians of Santa Croce supported the Roman Pope.<sup>121</sup> There is no information on how their patron's excommunication affected the monks or what kind of relationship they had with Nicola in the years 1385–1389. It is telling though, that gifts from the Count of Nola re-

sumed in 1390, after Urban's successor affirmed his support of Ladislaus. Therefore, the most likely period for the reliquary's arrival at Santa Croce is either 1381–1384 or 1390–1399, as it is dubious that in 1385–1389 the Roman Carthusians would have accepted an object that bore the Durazzo arms.

Later evidence regarding the reliquary is scarce. The first record of a "picture of the Saviour, known as the picture of divine compassion (*pietatis*)", dates to the English pilgrim William Brewyn's 1470 visit to Santa Croce and presents us with a very late *terminus ante quem* for the icon's presence in Rome.<sup>122</sup> In the 1490s or early 1500s two engravings by Israhel van Meckenem presented the basilica's mosaic as the original *Pietà* commissioned by Gregory the Great after his vision, thus connecting Nicola's gift to the legend of the Mass of Saint Gregory, i.e. the apparition of Christ as the Man of Sorrows to the sainted Pope during a mass.<sup>123</sup> Since the 1420s German sources had identified Santa Croce in Gerusalemme as the location of the miracle, although they never mentioned a picture housed in the basilica produced after Gregory's vision.<sup>124</sup>

Such a dearth of information concerning the icon derives from the way in which relics were stored and displayed in the basilica. Scholars mostly believe that

in: *Cimabue a Pisa: la pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, exh. cat., ed. by Mariagiulia Burrelli/Antonino Caleca, Pisa 2005, p. 227, no. 71.

<sup>119</sup> On the excommunication see Luigi Russo, "Il grande scisma del 1378 ed il Regno di Napoli: la prigionia di Urbano VI e l'intervento di Raimondo del Balzo Orsini. Una riconsiderazione", in: "*Il re cominciò a conoscere che il principe era un altro re*" (note 72), pp. 189–214.

<sup>120</sup> Nicola's excommunication is mentioned by *Cronicon* (note 62), p. 55; Angela Valente, "Margherita di Durazzo vicaria di Carlo III e tutrice di re Ladislao", in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, XL (1915), pp. 457–497: 497. His pardon was recorded in a lost *registro* and is referenced in an inventory of the Vatican Archive (ASV, Indice 320, p. 37).

<sup>121</sup> See Hogg (note 8), XI, pp. 10, 11; on the Carthusians' reaction to the Schism see Coralie Zermatten, "Le Grand Schisme d'Occident et ses implications dans l'ordre des Chartreux: l'obédience urbaniste et les chartreuses de Franconie de 1378 à 1410", in: *Analecta Cartusiana*, CCXCIII (2011), pp. 5–28.

<sup>122</sup> See William Brewyn, *A XVth Century Guide-Book to the Principal Churches of Rome*, ed. by Charles E. Woodruff, London 1933, p. 57; first recalled by Flora Lewis, "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images",

in: *The Church and the Arts: Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesial History Society*, ed. by Diana Wood, Oxford 1992, pp. 179–194: 186. Brewyn's testimony invalidates the hypothesis that the icon remained in Galatina up to the sixteenth century.

<sup>123</sup> For Meckenem's prints see Maryan W. Ainsworth, in: *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exh. cat. New York 2004, ed. by Helen C. Evans, New Haven/London 2004, p. 556, no. 329. On the Mass of St. Gregory see Caroline W. Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century", in: *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey F. Hamburger/Anne-Marie Bouché, Princeton 2006, pp. 208–240; Esther Meier, *Die Gregorsmesse: Funktionen eines spätmittelalterlichen Bildtypus*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2006; *Das Bild* (note 54); and on its diffusion and reception in Italy Corinna Tania Gallori, "*Apparuit ei dominus noster Iesus Christus sub effigie pietatis*": storia e immagini della Messa di san Gregorio in Italia, forthcoming.

<sup>124</sup> See Gunhild Roth, "Die Gregoriusmesse und das Gebet 'Adoro te in cruce pendentem' im Einblattdruck: Legendenstoff, bildliche Verarbeitung und Texttradition am Beispiel des Monogrammisten d.: Mit Textabdruc-

in the fifteenth century the reliquary was housed in the Jerusalem chapel, the most holy chapel of Santa Croce; however, Esther Meier argues that the relic chapel has a stronger claim.<sup>125</sup> In 1470 William Brewyn stated that the basilica's relics were preserved in both the Jerusalem chapel and "the Sacrist' chapel, which is near the pulpit (*tribunam*)".<sup>126</sup> The former included relics that had been brought from Jerusalem by the Empress and "were laid up in the altar [...] by the hands of blessed Silvester, at the request [...] of Helen", while the latter comprised the most precious treasures of Santa Croce, such as the wood of the Cross, "one of the nails [...], and many other relics of the saints". I suspect these unspecified "other relics" were those stored in the triptych of Saint Gregory, because Brewyn drew his information from various lists of relics hanging in the church, and later visitors agree that the triptych and its content were recorded in such texts. The only missing relics were those stored in this reliquary. Furthermore, the case was definitely housed in the relic chapel, along with the Cross and nail, from 1568 up to the nineteenth century.<sup>127</sup>

The issue of where the mosaic was housed brings me closer to one last point: why the triptych was a fitting gift for Santa Croce. Nicola Orsini had proved

himself attentive in choosing to present an *Officium* that perfectly matched, and completed, the basilica's liturgy. I would argue that the reliquary was an equally appropriate gift, but in order to understand why it is necessary to consider Santa Croce's liturgy and display of relics.

Brewyn also had reported that the Cross relic was shown to the faithful only "five times in the year", on the "day of the Station", that is the fourth Sunday of Lent (*Laetare* Sunday), on Good Friday, which was the oldest feast of the Cross, on the feast days of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, and, finally, on the dedication day of the Jerusalem chapel (20 March).<sup>128</sup> Later sources agree that the relics housed in this chapel were shown on specific days, and if the triptych of Saint Gregory was displayed only occasionally the lack of references before detailed guides to the basilicas of Rome were published would be understandable.

We have little information on how the relics were shown. Most studies focus on the relic of the Cross, which we know was placed on the high altar to be worshipped on Good Friday.<sup>129</sup> Scholarship addressing the triptych of Saint Gregory has taken its preservation in the Jerusalem chapel for granted and has rarely discussed this issue. The handles on its brass

base are generally believed to have been used for carrying the reliquary in processions,<sup>130</sup> but such a use is not documented. No source specifies exactly when the triptych of Saint Gregory was shown, nor how, until the nineteenth century. According to Xavier Barbier de Montault the reliquary was displayed on *Laetare* Sunday only.<sup>131</sup> The reliquary's connection with this day would be intriguing and it would help to explain many of its details. First, it would explain why many of the heads of the nails that hold together the relics' cases are rosette-shaped.<sup>132</sup> Although such nails were generally used in the Trecento, it might be relevant that *Laetare* Sunday was associated with the papal blessing of the Golden Rose in Santa Croce.<sup>133</sup> Since the Holy See had moved to Avignon, the ceremony no longer took place in the Basilica Sessoriana, but the memory of the connection was preserved. Intriguingly, a rose features prominently in the Orsini coat of arms (Fig. 6, no. 3, and Fig. 9), and since at least the sixteenth century its addition to the family armorial was linked to an Orsini being rewarded with a Golden Rose. In 1565 Francesco Sansovino connected the Orsini charge to the crusader Ramondo, who was granted the Golden Rose by an unspecified pope as acknowledgement of his military valor.<sup>134</sup> He proceeded to add other theories concerning the origins of the charge and stated that "Altri pensano che il Pontefice la [Rosa d'oro]

desse loro, & che perciò un tempo fossero chiamati Rosini", without any connection to a crusade. We have no information on earlier mythology about the Orsini coat of arms, but the day on which the reliquary was exhibited may be connected to an important moment in its donor's familial history. It definitely echoed a charge of their shield.

While the papal mass sung at the Station (or *capella papale*) was abandoned, to be later reintroduced by Pope Sixtus V, in 1470 Brewyn referred to an ostension occurring on *Laetare* Sunday.<sup>135</sup> I was able to locate a precise, if late, description of the display of relics in Santa Croce on this day. In 1845, a scandalized Michael Hobart Seymour (1800–1874) witnessed the ceremony and later published an account in several anti-Catholic journals.<sup>136</sup> According to his report, the monks, by then Cistercians, first passed through the Jerusalem chapel where they kneeled to the host placed on Saint Gregory's altar, and then celebrated a short service mass on Saint Helena's. After exiting the chapel they would kneel at the basilica's high altar where there was "a case of relics" that was "divided into about a hundred minute compartments, each compartment containing a small particle of a bone, or of a thread, or of a stone, or some such fraction of a relic, with a minute label on each with the name of the saint whose relic it was supposed to be".<sup>137</sup> The Irish min-

cken", in: *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*, ed. by Volker Honemann et al., Tübingen 2000, pp. 277–324; for the few Italian sources that identify Santa Croce as the location of the miracle see Corinna T. Gallori, "La Pietà di Bramantino, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme e la Messa di san Gregorio Magno", in: *Bramantino e le arti nella Lombardia francese (1499–1525)*, ed. by Mauro Natale, in press.

<sup>125</sup> Meier (note 123), pp. 31–37, albeit referring to the chapel as the sacristy.

<sup>126</sup> Brewyn (note 122), pp. 54f., quote from p. 54; for a more detailed discussion of the relics of Santa Croce see my forthcoming book (note 123).

<sup>127</sup> For a list of relics housed in the "oratorio sopra la tribuna", including the Cross and the triptych of Saint Gregory, see Panvinio (note 79), pp. 280–282; Marco Attilio Serrano, *De septem Urbis ecclesiis*, Rome 1575, pp. 123–125; Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stazioni di Roma*, Rome 1588, cc. 212r–213r; Giovanni Severano, *Memoria delle sette chiese di Roma [...]*, Rome 1630, I, pp. 626–634. In 1727 Gioacchino Besozzi located the reliquary in the sacristy. A few years later, his nephew Raimondo mentions that it was housed in the Jerusalem chapel, but it was back in the chapel of the relics in the nineteenth century. See Raimondo Besozzi, *La storia della basilica di Santa*

*Croce in Gerusalemme*, Rome 1750, pp. 145–150, and Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, pp. 342f.

<sup>128</sup> Brewyn (note 122), p. 54. The ritual ostension of the relics and/or the days of station are recorded by Andrea Palladio, *The churches of Rome*, ed. by Eunice D. Howe, Binghamton 1991, pp. 84f.; Panvinio (note 79), p. 283; Serrano (note 127), p. 84; Ugonio (note 127), cc. 206r, 212r; Besozzi (note 127), p. 145; Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, p. 343. On the feasts of the Cross, see Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, Leuven 2000, esp. p. 2.

<sup>129</sup> See Sible de Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross", in: *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. by Renate L. Colella et al., Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 55–73; 71f.; *idem*, "Immagini di liturgia: Sisto V, la tradizione liturgica dei papi e le antiche basiliche di Roma", in: *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXXIII (1999/2000), pp. 259–302, esp. 292; Enrico Mazza, "Il culto della croce nella liturgia del venerdì santo nell'altomedioevo", in: *La Croce: iconografia e interpretazione (secoli I–inizio XVI)*, ed. by Boris Ulianich, III, Naples 2007, pp. 29–45, esp. 29–35.

<sup>130</sup> See Bertelli (note 35), pp. 40f.; Schlie (note 54), p. 66.

<sup>131</sup> Barbier de Montault (note 45), II, pp. 342f.; see also Mario Sensi, "Imago pietatis' in ambiente francescano", in: *Il beato Antonio da Stroncone*, conference proceedings Stroncone 1996 and 1997, ed. by *idem*, Santa Maria degli Angeli 1999, III, pp. 257–338; 279.

<sup>132</sup> The rosette-heads were mentioned by Carlo Bertelli ([note 35], p. 41, note 7), who also remarked that "there is a certain pattern in the disposition of the nails".

<sup>133</sup> On the Golden Rose see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa*, Turin 1994, pp. 115–117; *idem*, *Il potere del papa: corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*, Florence 2009, pp. 347–353. Like the nails in the reliquary, the lost fifteenth-century ceiling of Santa Croce featured rosettes at the centre of each coffer (see Freiberg [note I], p. 11). This decoration was used frequently, but to those who were aware of the liturgical tradition of the basilica the ceiling would have seemed particularly appropriate for the Basilica Sessoriana.

<sup>134</sup> Francesco Sansovino, *L'Historia di casa Orsina*, Venice 1565, cc. 7r–v. The pope honouring Ramondo was later identified with Gregory IX (see Olimpio Ricci, *De' Giubilei universali celebrati negli anni santi incominciando da Bonifazio VIII. fino al presente [...]*, Rome 1675, p. 176), and the year given as 1227.

<sup>135</sup> See de Blaauw 1999/2000 (note 129), p. 292, for Sixtus V, and note 126 above for Brewyn's testimony.

<sup>136</sup> Seymour (note 79), p. 113. The letter was originally published in the *Achill Missionary Herald* and was subsequently republished with various titles, such as "A public exhibition of relics at Rome", in: *The Christian Miscellany and Family Visiter*, August 1846, pp. 253f., and October 1846, pp. 317f. On these journals see Denis G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, Stanford 1992. See also Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Les stations et dimanches de Carême a Rome*, Rome 1865, pp. 93–95, which confirms Seymour's account but gives fewer details about the ceremony.

<sup>137</sup> See Seymour (note 79), pp. 151f. (the italics are in the original).





14 Balcony for the relics' ostension and exit door from Jerusalem chapel (present-day St. Helena chapel). Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, right nave

ister does not mention a mosaic icon, yet the reliquary he describes cannot be any other but the triptych of Saint Gregory. The five principal relics of the basilica, namely Saint Thomas' finger, two thorns from the Crown, the superinscription, one nail of the Cross, and the wood from the Cross, were instead presented "from a small gallery" by "the bishop, in his mitre and full canonicals", flanked by a priest on each side. One of "the priests rung a bell; then the other priest handed one of the relics to the bishop. The bishop reverently receiving it, held it before him, and exhibited it to the assembled multitude", while one of the priests loudly identified the relic. Only the wood of the Cross was welcomed by the assembly's prostration, and the bishop himself when presented with the relic "affected to start back under a sense of surprise and awe", and removed his mitre.

While there is no previous record of the ostension of the relics in Santa Croce, it may have been performed in a similar fashion since the fifteenth century at least. The "gallery" Seymour mentions is actually one of two balconies placed near the apse of the basilica, right above the entrance and exit to the Jerusalem chapel. The one on the left is accessible through a corridor (presently open to the public), now attached to the chapel of the relics built in the 1930s by Florestano Di Fausto. The one on the right (Fig. 14) is connected to the sacristy by a staircase, and was once part of the old chapel of the relics. The balconies we see today are a product of the 1741–1744 renovation of the basilica; yet Roman liturgy was conservative and Seymour's account matches earlier evidence. Onofrio Panvinio first recorded that the relics were presented from here,<sup>138</sup> and the existence of similar balconies can

<sup>138</sup> See Panvinio (note 79), p. 270. Serrano ([note 127], p. 84) specifies that the relics ostension happened "ex eminenti loco a dextera altaris", and Raimondo Besozzi ([note 127], p. 31) confirms that use for the balcony above the Helena chapel. It is not clear in what circumstances the "gallery" on the left would have been used.

be dated to the late fifteenth century: according to Abbot Raimondo Besozzi, the original "ringhiera, donde si mostravano le Sante Reliquie" was emblazoned with the arms of Pedro González de Mendoza, who was cardinal of Santa Croce from 1478 to 1495.<sup>139</sup> The use of the balconies is not in contrast with the placing of the Cross relic on the high altar on Good Friday, as a different ceremony may have been performed on that day in order to better commemorate the Passion of Christ.

If on *Laetare* Sunday the main relics housed in the chapel of the relics were shown from the adjacent balcony, it would make sense that the reliquary – which would have been too small to be seen from a distance and too difficult to handle – was placed on the high altar. This display would explain why the mosaic was connected to the Mass of Saint Gregory. For any fifteenth-century visitor who knew the legend, the ritual of Santa Croce would have recalled the content of the story. Christ appeared to Pope Gregory during a mass, and the reigning Pope was supposed to be in Santa Croce to chant the mass on *Laetare* Sunday; and a *Man of Sorrows* was placed on the high altar of that basilica. The visual connection must have also been enforced by the knowledge that at least one part of this day's ceremonial, the papal blessing of the Golden Rose, as well as the organization of the Roman *stazioni*, was ascribed to Pope Gregory the Great. The first connection of the Golden Rose ritual to the sainted Pope can be read in a sermon of Honorius III (r. 1216–1227).<sup>140</sup> Even later the Gregorian origin of the ceremony and its relationship to the Basilica Sessoriana was known in Rome, as a letter to Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan (1401–1466) and his wife on 8 March 1456 attests.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 102, 50. Both balconies can be seen in a Vatican fresco reproduced in de Blaauw 1999/2000 (note 129), p. 290, fig. 14.

<sup>140</sup> BNCR, ms. Sess. 51. This manuscript was once part of Santa Croce's library, but was a late addition to its holdings. See Palma (note 35), p. 70, no. B.

<sup>141</sup> ASMi, *Carteggio sforzesco*, Roma, 43, fol. 89f., 8 March 1456; see Luigi



15 Luigi Capponi, *Mass of Saint Gregory* (detail), late fifteenth century. Rome, San Gregorio al Celio

Such a display of the icon would also explain why in Rome an unusual (for Italy) visualization of the Mass of Saint Gregory, in which the Pope's vision is actually an altarpiece springing to life (Fig. 15), was favoured.

Most importantly, the reliquary comprising relics from the Holy Land and a depiction of the suffering Christ would have perfectly complemented its surroundings. When placed on the high altar of Santa Croce, Nicola Orsini's gift would have been located below the niche in the triumphal arch where the relic of the superinscription was housed until 1492 and in front of the Jerusalem chapel, built with earth from the hill of the Calvary. The whole area would have resonated with references to the Passion and the Cross, references that were further emphasized later, in the 1490s, when the apse was decorated with a fresco depicting the *Finding and adoration of the Cross*.

## V. Conclusions

Starting with the building of the Certosa di San Martino, Neapolitan rulers enthusiastically supported the Carthusian Order. Following their example, many members of the court of Queen Joanna of Anjou sponsored charterhouses in their native cities. Such was the case with the Orsini and the Roman charterhouse. While the original project could not be realized, their backup choice was ambitious. Napoleone and Nicola Orsini selected one of the pilgrimage basilicas, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, a church that had enjoyed the patronage of Constantine and Helena, and where many relics of the Cross were housed. This choice marked the return of an elite patronage to the basilica after long neglect. Nicola Orsini's relationship with the Carthusians also brought Santa Croce its two late Medieval treasures: the *Officium inventionis et exaltationis sanctae Crucis* and the triptych of Saint Gregory. Both were appropriate gifts for the basilica because they could be

smoothly integrated into its cult tradition and liturgy. These gifts also implicitly inform us of Nicola's ability to obtain high-quality non-Italian products through his connections, especially if considering how both items had previous elite owners: the *Officium* bore the arms of Pope Gregory XI, while the *Man of Sorrows* mosaic might have belonged to the Anjou.

Thanks to its structural complexity and the beauty of its icon, the triptych of Saint Gregory was to become one of Santa Croce's most famous works of art and the one that has had the largest cultural impact. Due to its integration into Santa Croce's liturgy, in the fifteenth century the mosaic icon unexpectedly acquired a glorious past. Its real donor forgotten, it was connected with Gregory the Great and the legend of the Pope's miraculous mass. This connection resulted in the dedication of an altar in the Basilica Sessoriana to the sainted Pope in the early sixteenth century, a dedication that is maintained even today, albeit in association with a different miraculous Mass of Saint Gregory: the one related to the liberation of souls from Purgatory.<sup>142</sup>

*I have generally adopted the Italian spelling for names, except for those cases – mostly kings, queens and popes – where a historical English form existed. Therefore, the reader will find 'Nicola Orsini', but 'Charles of Durazzo' and 'Joanna of Naples'.*

*This article began as a chapter of my forthcoming book on the Mass of Saint Gregory in Italy, but it became too long (and off topic) to be included in the final manuscript. I would like to thank Antonia Solpietro, Sarah S. Wilkins, Stefania Buganza, Elisabetta Scirocco, Sara Rizzo, Andrea Gáldy for their encouragement and help. Niccolò Orsini de Marzo kindly discussed the heraldry displayed in the frame of the Santa Croce icon. Stephen Slater generously provided the English blazon of the arms of the Anjou-Durazzo, Jerusalem, Del Balzo-Orange, and Orsini-Montfort. Any mistake or imprecision in using heraldry terminology is of course mine. My deepest gratitude also goes to Adrian S. Hoch, Kevin McManus, and Diana Fane who helped to improve my written*

*English. Yet again Sarah Wilkins patiently answered my many questions concerning words and wording.*

*While this article was already in press, on 26 June 2016, I had the opportunity to meet with John Lansdowne, Ph.D. candidate from Princeton, whose dissertation focuses on Santa Croce's icon, and discovered he had independently reached the conclusion that Nicola Orsini was the donor.*

## Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> [...], ed. by Heribert Rosweyde <i>et al.</i> , Antwerp <i>et al.</i> 1643–1940
AO	Archivio Orsini
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino
ASMi	Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASP	Archivio di Stato di Perugia
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> , ed. by Hippolyte Delehaye <i>et al.</i> , Bruxelles 1898–1986
BNCR	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma
BR	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

## Abstract

In the late Trecento, after a long period of neglect, the Roman basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme attracted the attention of Napoleon and Nicola Orsini, who financed the creation of a Carthusian monastery. This article focuses on the Orsini family's patronage, their motivations and long-term results. The project of founding a *certosa* in Rome related to a series of charterhouses that were patronized by members of the Angevin court of Naples – as both Napoleon and Nicola were. After outlining the documentary evidence for the building enterprise up to circa 1400, the Orsini family's gifts to the basilica are considered, particularly the so-called triptych of Saint Gregory, which, thanks to a new interpretation of the arms on the frame of its central *Man of Sorrows* icon, can now be established to have been donated by Nicola Orsini. The issue of why these objects were chosen to be offered to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and how they impacted the liturgical life of the Basilica in the following centuries is addressed.

## Photo Credits

*Archivio fotografico del convento di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: Figs. 1, 6, 7, 13. – Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome: Figs. 2, 5. – Author: Figs. 3, 10, 12, 14, 15. – Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid: Fig. 4. – Sara Rizzo, <https://hime.carbonmade.com>: Fig. 8. – Archivio fotografico dell'Ufficio Beni Culturali della Diocesi di Bari-Bitonto: Fig. 9. – Archivio fotografico dell'Ufficio Beni Culturali della Diocesi di Nola: Fig. 11.*

Fumi, "Una nuova leggenda sulla rosa d'oro pontificia e il dono di questa da Calisto III fatto al duca Francesco I Sforza", in: *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XXXVII (1910), pp. 249–253.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Gallori (note 124).