1 Sassetta, Miracle of the Eucharist (detail of the Arte della Lana altarpiece from Siena). County Durham, Barnard Castle, The Bowes Museum

THE CARMELITE ALTARPIECE (CIRCA 1290–1550) THE SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF AN ORDER

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Introduction

The altarpiece is one of the most essential means of the self-representation and self-definition of any religious order. The Carmelites, who arrived in Western Europe after the establishment of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, with whom they had to compete, were soon confronted by this challenge. Even in the case of an order as open to visual expression as that of the Franciscans, the identification of a 'Franciscan' altarpiece is problematic, and the same is also true for the Dominicans and Augustinians. The very existence of what might properly be termed a Carmelite altarpiece remains to be established. Thus, I have begun by assessing the visual evidence, asking what, if anything, is specifically Carmelite. This kind of enquiry has, to my knowledge, never previously been attempted,

and I am acutely aware that this initial attempt at definition or identification contains much that is hypothetical or sparsely documented.

How should a Carmelite altarpiece be recognised, if provenance from a Carmelite church alone is insufficient? Sassetta's *Miracle of the Eucharist* (Fig. 1), a predella-scene from the triptych commissioned by the Sienese wool guild ca. 1423, depicts just such a church interior officiated by Carmelites.[1] Do the two prophets Elijah and Elisha from the triptych's pinnacles demonstrate Carmelite involvement? Contemporaneously, according to the documents, Masaccio, who was advised by the resident prior, emphasized the location of Ser Giuliano di Colino's polyptych in the Pisan Carmine by inserting two unidentified Carmelite saints in the lateral framework.[2] Did they adequately project a Carmelite message?

[1] Machtelt Israëls, "Stefano di Giovanni detto il Sassetta", in: *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello: le arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, exh. cat. Siena 2010, ed. by Max Seidel, Florence 2010, pp. 222–231, no. C17 d.

[2] Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "Masaccio and the Pisa Altarpiece: A New Approach", in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIX (1977), pp. 23–68: 28, 53, reprinted and annotated in: *eadem, From Duccio's Maestà to Raphael's Transfigura-*

To start answering these questions, the Order's main characteristics concerning cult, titular saint, feasts, founders and saints, as well as its habit and historicity will be related to altarpieces. Building on these examples an overview of Carmelite altarpieces, their programme, patronage, and artists until circa 1550 will be sketched. Retables originating south and north of the Alps will be investigated, but devotional images, manuscript illumination and seals will largely be ignored. A brief comment on the literature and difficulties of assessing the Order's altarpieces will precede the main part.

Literature

No overview of Carmelite altarpieces on a European scale before Trent has ever been done.[3] In 1977 I opened the discussion on the patronage of the Order with an analysis of Masaccio's Pisan polyptych.[4] Joanna Cannon followed in 1987 with a fundamental contribution on Pietro Lorenzetti's high altarpiece for the Carmine in Siena, which was complemented by Henk van Os and Creighton Gilbert.[5] Megan Holmes

studied the Carmelite painter Fra Filippo Lippi.[6] In 2006 Machtelt Israëls investigated Sassetta and local cult.[7] Subsequently I traced the transformation of the Duecento *Madonna del Popolo* into the *Madonna del Carmelo* in the Brancacci chapel at the Florentine Carmine.[8] Thereafter only a few studies on individual Carmelite retables have been published, by Joseph Hammond, Joanne Allen and others.[9]

Difficulties of Assessment

The number of lost altarpieces is, obviously, unknown, and the difficulties in assessing surviving or recorded Carmelite altarpieces are enormous. In the mid-thirteenth century the Order gradually migrated from the Holy Land mainly to European sea-ports and regional centres, scattering over a vast area.[10] From that time on the Carmelites were known as Fratres beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli and their Marian title was officially confirmed in 1324. Already by the mid-sixteenth century, however, the suppression and destruction of Carmelite houses had begun, drastically affecting their documentation, as their number was

much smaller than those of the two leading mendicant orders.

Arriving after their main competitors, the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars, generally meant less prominent locations and less wealthy patronage. Hurried transformation from an eremitical to a mendicant order and necessary urbanization exacerbated the Carmelites' struggle for survival. Delayed acceptance of *cura animarum* and the late admission of women further restricted expansion. Enthusiastic papal support was slow in coming, and the local clergy accepted them only reluctantly. Commonly their churches were built and furbished at least a generation later than those of the other mendicants. Apart from a papal initiative in Avignon,[11] aristocratic support for

church-building initially occurred in Paris,[12] Oxford,[13] Nantes,[14] Barcelona,[15] Naples,[16] and Vienna[17] but only exceptionally concerned altarpieces. Communal help is for example well documented in Siena and Vicenza.[18] Elsewhere, as in Florence,[19] Venice,[20] Bruges,[21] Barcelona,[22] and Frankfurt am Main,[23] confraternities and guilds contributed substantially to the decor. The Carmelites, as might be expected, tended to attract small testamentary bequests from local citizens and some bigger donations in particular from foreigners, especially travelling merchants in busy trading centres like Frankfurt and Bruges.[24]

The Carmelite Constitutions contained no regulations regarding church furnishing; only building construction was to be controlled.[25] An altarpiece always

tion: Italian Altarpieces in Their Settings, London 2005, pp. 1–71, 615–619: 6, 27; Dillian Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century: Italian Paintings*, I, London 2003, pp. 201–223.

[3] For a pioneering investigation of the Order's iconography after Trent see Cécile Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Brussels 1961. Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, I: *Ca. 1200 a. D. until the Council of Trent*, author's edition, 1975, rev. ed. Darien, Ill., 1988, chapter VIII, and III, 2: *The Catholic Reformation 1600–1750*, Darien, Ill., 1982, chapters XVIII and XIX, initiated a general survey. Only the much later Italian edition (*idem, I Carmelitani: storia dell'ordine del Carmelo*, Rome 1989–1996) reproduces some Carmelite images.

[4] Gardner von Teuffel (note 2).

[5] Joanna Cannon, "Pietro Lorenzetti and the History of the Carmelite Order", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L (1987), pp. 18–28. See also Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function*, I: *1215–1344*, Groningen 1984, pp. 90–99; Carlo Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, ed. by Mauro Lucco, Milan 1989, pp. 40–42, 135–149; Creighton Gilbert, "Some Special Images for Carmelites", in: *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. by Timothy Verdon/John Henderson, Syracuse, NY, 1990, pp. 161–207. Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, Oxford et al. 2002, pp. 56f., 331–334, in his ground-breaking study of the Order integrated some visual documentation by Pietro Lorenzetti and others.

[6] Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*, New Haven/London 1999.

[7] Machtelt Israëls, "Altars on the Street: The Wool Guild, the Carmelites and the Feast of Corpus Domini in Siena (1356–1456)", in: *Renaissance Studies*, XX (2006), pp. 180–200; *eadem* (note 1).

[8] Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "The Significance of the 'Madonna del Popolo' in the Brancacci Chapel: Re-Framing Assumptions", in: *The Brancacci Chapel: Form, Function and Setting*, conference proceedings, Florence 2003, ed. by Nicholas A. Eckstein, Florence 2007, pp. 37–51.

[9] Joseph Hammond, "Negotiating Carmelite Identity: The 'Scuola dei Santi Alberto e Eliseo' at Santa Maria dei Carmini in Venice", in: *Art and Identity: Visual Culture, Politics and Religion in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Sandra Cardarelli/Emily J. Anderson/John Richards, Newcastle 2012, pp. 219–242; *idem*, "An Old Altarpiece for a New Saint: The Canonization of St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and the Decoration of Santa Maria dei Carmini in Venice", in: *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, XXXVIII (2012), pp. 149–167. The author generously gave me access to his unpublished Ph.D. diss., *Art, Devotion and Patronage at Santa Maria dei Carmini at Venice: With Special Reference to the 16th-Century Altarpieces*, University of St. Andrews 2011. See also Joanne Allen, "The tramezzo in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence: Performance, Sacred Topography and Fra Filippo Lippi's Trivulzio Madonna" (forthcoming).

[10] Fundamental are Jotischky (note 5) and *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early*

Reflections on the Nature of the Order, ed. by Adrian Staring, Rome 1989. For a succinct synthesis see Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge et al. 2006, pp. 7–68; further Smet 1975 (note 3).

[11] Anne-Marie Hayez, "Jean XXII et Avignon: une cité épiscopale régie par un pape", in: *Jean XXII et le Midi*, ed. by Michelle Fournié/Daniel le Blévec, Toulouse 2012, pp. 131–158: 140.

[12] Paul Biver/Marie-Louise Biver, *Abbayes, monastères et couvents de Paris: des origines à la fin du XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1970, pp. 383–416. According to Richard Copsey, contemporary literary sources such as Felip Ribot should be interpreted with caution (*idem*, "Introduction", in: Felip Ribot, O. Carm., *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites*, ed. and translated by *idem*, Faversham ²2007, pp. xiiif.).

[13] Jotischky (note 5), pp. 19, 34–36.

[14] A fifteenth-century missal from Nantes now at Princeton illustrates the patronage of the Dukes of Monfort, for which see Yves Durand, *Les Grands Carmes de Nantes, 1318–1790: un couvent dans la ville*, Rome 1997, pp. 107–109; Diane E. Booton, "The Carmelite missal of Nantes (Garrett 40)", 2004, URL: http://www.princeton.edu/rbsc/fellowships/2004-05/booton.html (accessed on 7.6.2014); *eadem*, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*, Farnham 2010, pp. 1f.

[15] Balbino Velasco Bayón, *Historia del Carmelo español*, I: *Desde los orígenes hasta finalizar el Concilio de Trento: c. 1265–1563*, Rome 1990, pp. 376–380, 441f.; Jill R. Webster, *Carmel in Medieval Catalonia: The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economics and Cultures, 400–1453*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1999, pp. 101f., 170.

[16] Caroline A. Bruzelius/William Tronzo, *Medieval Naples: An Architectural and Urban History, 400–1400*, New York 2011, pp. 52, 65–67.

[17] Richard Perger, "Die Umwelt des Albrechtsaltars", in: *Der Albrechtsaltar und sein Meister*, ed. by Floridus Röhrig et al., Vienna 1981, pp. 9–20: 14.

[18] Pèleo Bacci, *Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi etc. in Siena e nel contado*, Siena 1939, pp. 83–86, 88f. For Vicenza see note 96.

[19] Giuseppe Bacchi, "La Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laudi e di S. Agnese nel Carmine di Firenze", in: *Rivista storica carmelitana*, II (1930–1931), pp. 137–151, III (1931–1932), pp. 12–39, 97–122; Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford 1992; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Oxford 1994; Nerida Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno: Plays in Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, Florence 1996, I, pp. 45–155, II, pp. 283f.; Gardner von Teuffel (note 8), pp. 45–51; Miklós Boskovits, "Maestà monumentali su tavola tra XIII e XIV secolo: funzione e posizione nello spazio sacro", in: *Arte Cristiana*, XCIX (2011), pp. 13–30: 18–20; Christine Sciacca, "The Laudario of Sant'Agnese", in: *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination. 1300–1350*, exh. cat. Los Angeles/Toronto 2012–2013, ed. by *eadem*, Los Angeles 2012, pp. 217–281.

[20] Hammond (note 9).

[21] Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev. ed. Oxford 1990 (¹1985), pp. 67–70.

[22] See note 15.

[23] Egon Wamers, "Die Geschichte des Karmeliterklosters im Mittelalter: 1246–1500", in: *Das Karmeliterkloster in Frankfurt am Main: Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. by Evelyn Hils-Brockhoff, Frankfurt am Main 1999, pp. 4–15; Andreas Hansert, "Wer waren die Stifter des Annenretabels des Meisters von Frankfurt?", in: *Der Annenaltar des Meisters von Frankfurt*, ed. by Wolfgang P. Cilleßen, Frankfurt am Main 2012, pp. 46–61: 52; Roman Fischer, "Das Frankfurter Karmeliterkloster", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum: Die Klöster des Karmelitenordens (O. Carm.) in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. by Edeltraut Klueting/Stephan Panzer/Andreas H. Scholten, Münster 2012, pp. 242–288: 269f. See also notes 53, 62, and 83.

[24] Strohm (note 21), pp. 62–70, 137–139; Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 135, 324.

[25] For construction see the 1324 Constitution in: *Monumenta historica Carmelitana*, I: *Antiquas Ordinis Constitutiones, Acta Capitulorum Generalium [...]*, ed. by Benedict Zimmerman, Lerins 1907, pp. 21–24.
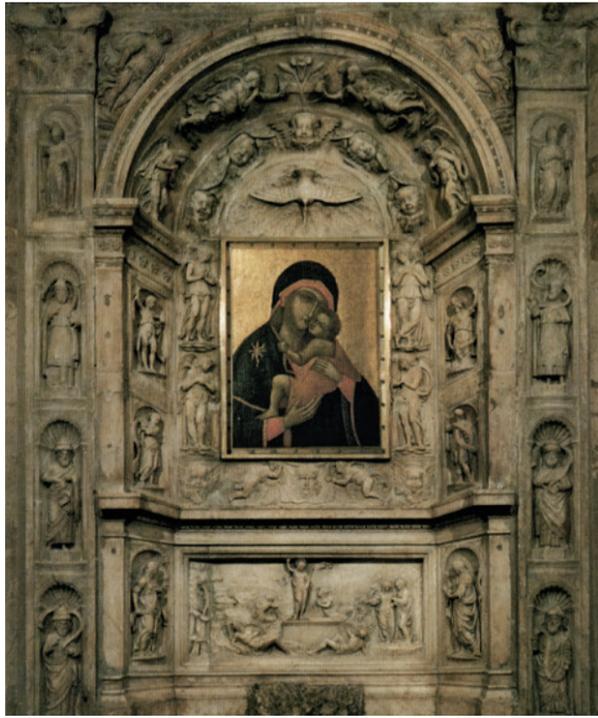
—
2 Anonymous,
La Bruna. Naples,
Santa Maria del
Carmine Maggiore

remained optional. By canon law, as with all other religious institutions, it had to be decent or appropriate, and refer in some form to the altar title.[26]

Identification of a Carmelite altarpiece is further complicated by the fact that the Carmelites had, strictly speaking, no founder-saint. In the first centuries, their only identifying figure was the prophet Elijah, who was believed to be their forefather and was often accompanied by his follower Elisha.[27] Angelus of Licata (1185–1225),[28] the Carmelites' first martyr, and Albert of Trapani (circa 1250–1307),[29] their first confessor, were canonized only in 1467 and 1457. The Order's most specific narrative, the vision of the scapular by Simon Stock, the quasi-mythical mid-thirteenth century English Prior General, was largely based on an early fifteenth-century legend popularized in the mid-sixteenth century.[30] Sermon texts barely survive.[31]

Expelled from the East by 1291, the Carmelites acquired neither a Western mother-house nor any central administration apart from the deliberations of the Prior General at the General Chapters and certain provincial visitation records, which implied less legislation and record-keeping.[32] Moreover, they lacked a guiding model for their church decor that could direct patrons, benefactors, and artists. At least by the 1520s the Carmine Maggiore in Naples, regarded as one of the Order's principal convents, was put under the General's direct supervision.[33] But only in 1639 was its venerated *Bruna* (Fig. 2), a late Duecento Madonna

panel, chosen as model for additional Marian 'icons'.[34] Before 1550 the Order produced no cardinal and only a few bishops, although some Carmelites served as papal or royal confessors and diplomats.[35]

The fact that the Carmelites' possibilities for visual self-representation and -identification were thus fundamentally limited made competition with other religious orders much harder. It provoked the Carmelites' continuous assertion and construction of their own history, rooted in biblical times and holy sites, extensive literal appeal, and polyvalent visual propaganda.

Marian Cult

What then characterizes the Carmelite altarpiece? While early editions of the Constitution, Rule, and Ordinal guaranteed liturgical uniformity,[36] music[37] and especially decor differed widely. The Rite of the Holy Sepulchre, which the monks still living in the Holy Land had taken up, together with the cult of the Virgin, the Order's titular saint, determined the Carmelites' main feasts and, crucially, their preferred imagery during their early period in the West. To this foundation new saints and themes were gradually added.

A few thirteenth-century Madonna panels, their Byzantinizing flavour alluding to the Order's origin, often of unconfirmed provenance, are the earliest survivors in Naples (Fig. 2),[38] Rome, Siena, Pisa and Florence.[39] The Byzantine Museum in Nicosia preserves an imposing Virgin retable (Fig. 3),[40] which was

—
3 Cypriot Artist, Virgin and
Child with Carmelites. Nicosia,
Archbishop Makarios III
Foundation, Byzantine Museum

[26] Julian Gardner, "Altars, Altarpieces, and Art History: Legislation and Usage", in: *Italian Altarpieces: 1250–1550. Function and Design*, ed. by Eve Borsook/Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, Oxford 1994, pp. 5–40; Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), pp. 372–398, 656–666.

[27] Both were named in the programmatic first rubric of the 1281 Constitutions, slightly varied in 1294, 1324 and 1327, for which see *Medieval Carmelite Heritage* (note 10), pp. 33–42. For more detail see below, pp. 16–19.

[28] Angelo Morabito, "Angelo da Gerusalemme", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I, Rome 1961, cols. 1240–1243, and Jotischky (note 5), pp. 192–201.

[29] Ludovico Saggi, "Alberto degli Abati", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (note 28), I, cols. 676–680, and James John Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków*, Turnhout 2008, pp. 368–370.

[30] Richard Copsey, "Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision", in: *Journal of the Ecclesiastical History*, L (1999), pp. 652–683; Andrew Jotischky, *s.v.* Simon

(Simeon) Stock, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Henry C. G. Matthew/Brian H. Harrison, L, Oxford 2004, p. 651.

[31] For an introduction see Andrews (note 10), pp. 44–46, and Peter Howard, "'The womb of memory': Carmelite liturgy and the frescoes of the Brancacci chapel", in: *The Brancacci Chapel* (note 8), pp. 177–206: 182f.; for general comment see Jotischky (note 5), pp. 333f.

[32] *Antiquas Ordinis Constitutiones* (note 25); Hans-Joachim Schmidt, "L'économie contrôlée des couvents des Carmes: le témoignage des rapports de visites dans la province de 'Germania inferior'", in: *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIᵉ–XVᵉ siècle)*, ed. by Nicole Bériou/Jacques Chiffoleau, Lyon 2009, pp. 247–270.

[33] *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Fratrum B.V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, I: *Ab anno 1318 ad annum 1593*, ed. by Gabriel Wessels, Rome 1912, p. 377. For the General responsible, Nicolas Audet, see Smet (note 3), I, pp. 154–190,

and esp. Adrian Staring, *Der Karmelitengeneral Nikolaus Audet und die katholische Reform des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Rome 1959.

[34] Pier Tommaso M. Quagliarella, *Guida storico-artistica del Carmine Maggiore di Napoli*, Taranto 1932, pp. 166f.; Emond (note 3), pp. 100f. See also notes 36, 38 and 57.

[35] Richard Copsey, "Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: The Carmelite Order's Creation of Its Legendary History", in: *Carmelus*, XLVII (2000), pp. 41–53; Andrews (note 10), pp. 29–31.

[36] Boyce (note 29), pp. 80–91.

[37] Strohm (note 21), pp. 64–70.

[38] For a popular introduction see Emanuele Boaga, *La 'Bruna' e il Carmine di Napoli*, Naples ²2001, pp. 4–21.

[39] Cannon (note 5), pp. 20f.; Michele Bacci, "Pisa e l'icona", in: *Cimabue a Pisa: la pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, exh. cat., ed. by Mariagiulia

Burresi/Antonino Caleca, Pisa 2005, pp. 59–64; *idem*, "The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West", in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. by Maria Vassilaki, Aldershot *et al.* 2005, pp. 321–336; *idem*, "Toscane, Byzance et Levant: pour une histoire dynamique des rapports artistiques méditerranéens aux XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles", in: *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIIIᵉ siècle: les programmes picturaux*, conference proceedings Athens 2009, ed. by Jean-Pierre Caillet/Fabienne Joubert, Paris 2012, pp. 235–256: 249.

[40] Still important, although unaware of the Carmelite destination, is David Talbot Rice/Rupert Gunnis/Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, London 1937, pp. 48–51, 187–189. The Nicosia *Madonna* and a *St. Nicholas* icon, thoroughly investigated in *Cipro e l'Italia al tempo di Bisanzio: l'icona grande di San Nicola tis Stégis del XIII secolo restaurata a Roma*, exh. cat. Rome, ed. by Ioannis A. Eliades, Nicosia 2009, are attributed to the same Cypriot (not Crusader)
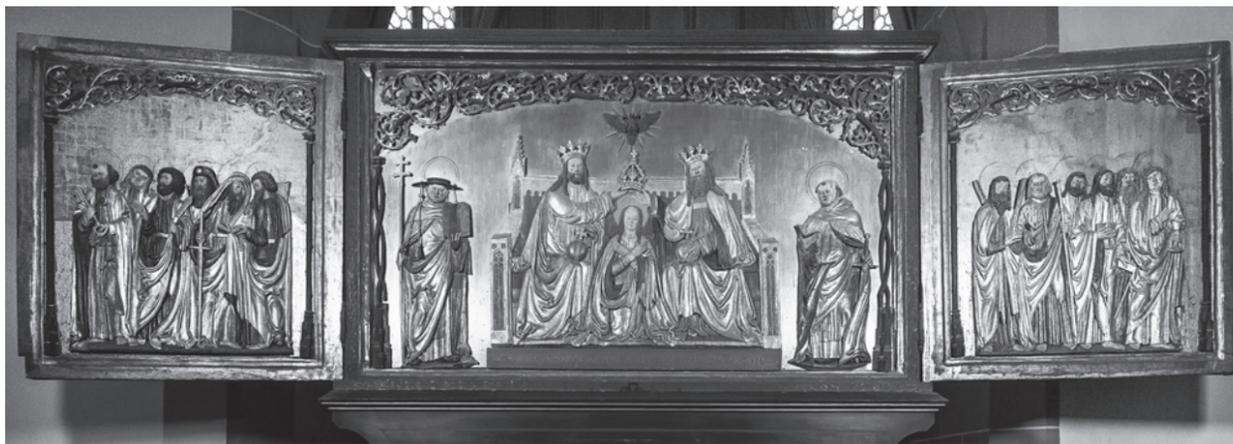
4 Anonymous, Coronation of the Virgin and saints. Mainz, Karmeliterkirche

5 Anonymous, Scenes from the Passion of Christ (exterior of the winged altar in Fig. 4). Mainz, Karmeliterkirche

destined for a Carmelite house in Cyprus.[41] It should be dated shortly after Pope Honorius IV's approval of the new Carmelite habit in 1286.[42] This consisted of a white mantle over a black robe, as worn by a group of ten friars at the Virgin's feet in the Cypriot panel. As in this case, Mary was commonly depicted crowned as queen of heaven: "Haec est regina" was the standard introit of all Carmelite festive chants.[43] For the first centuries her Assumption was celebrated

as the Order's main feast, with her Coronation as its festive climax. The Assumption, associated both with Elijah's Ascension and Christ's Resurrection, must initially have rendered the feast particularly attractive to the friars.[44] This is reflected in the crowned Virgin depicted, other than in Nicosia, in Siena (Fig. 17)[45] and Bologna (Fig. 33),[46] and more explicitly in the Coronation triptychs in Mainz, where the Coronation was combined with saints and apostles on the interior

(Fig. 4) and scenes of the Passion of Christ on the exterior (Fig. 5),[47] and in Palermo (Fig. 21).[48] In the 1430s the Albrecht Master painted a *Virgin glorified by nine angelic choirs and elect* (Figs. 6, 8, 23, 35) in a superb retable with double folding wings for Unsere Liebe Frau bei den Weißen Brüdern in Vienna.[49] An *Assumption* in the lost central shrine was originally combined with scenes from her life and Carmelite history and legend.[50] The Marian glorification, firmly rooted in medieval tradition, is strikingly underlined by scrolls with inscriptions in leonine hexameters.

Other moments of Mary's *vita* led to new feasts, titles and altarpieces. In 1490 Marco Palmezzano depicted the *Annunciation*, to which the Carmelites had dedicated a solemn octave from 1362,[51] in his high altar panel for the Carmelite church Santissima Annunziata in Forlì.[52] The *Conception of the Virgin*, another significant feast of the Order, already adopted by 1306, dominates one compartment of the elaborate St. Anne retable in Frankfurt, also of the 1490s (Fig. 7).[53] The prior Rumold von Laupach, inspired by the abbot of Sponheim Johannes Trithemius, who

artist at the end of the thirteenth century, because of their almost identical size, technique and style. For the panel's style and iconography see also Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings", in: *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. by Nicholas Coureas/John Riley-Smith, Nicosia 1995, pp. 239–274; *eadem*, "Thirteenth-Century Cyprus: Questions of Style", in: *Orient et Occident* (note 39), pp. 65–86, who discussed the island's multiplicity of iconographies and styles. Michele Bacci, "Tra Pisa e Cipro: la committenza artistica di Giovanni Conti († 1332)", in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Ser. 4, V (2000), pp. 343–386, published a case of cultural exchange, and Joanna Cannon, "Duccio and Devotion to the Virgin's Foot in Early Sienese Painting", in: *A Wider Trecento: Studies in 13th- and 14th-Century European Art Presented to Julian Gardner*, ed. by Louise Bourdua/Robert Gibbs, Leiden/Boston 2012, pp. 39–61, considered protection by and submission to the Virgin. A comparable Marian image above the *avello* of the Confraternity of Sant'Agnese in the Florentine Carmine is described in *Testi fiorentini del Dugento e dei primi del Trecento*, ed. by Alfredo Schiaffini, Florence 1954, p. 59.

[41] Jaroslav Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Questions", in: *Cyprus and the Crusades* (note 40), pp. 209–237: 218; *idem*, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned", in: *Italian Panel Paintings of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. by Victor M. Schmidt, New Haven/London

2002, pp. 122–145: 135–138; Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus: 1195–1312*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 215–219, 226f., 245, and *idem, The Latin Church in Cyprus: 1313–1378*, Nicosia 2010, pp. 17, 215f., 368–375, established Carmelite presence and pointed towards royal donation. The cost of the enormous golden *Madonna* prompts the question of patronage. For the church building near the palace see Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, London 1987, pp. 164f.

[42] Fundamental is Jotischky (note 5), pp. 45–78, with reference to *Medieval Carmelite Heritage* (note 10), pp. 49–70; see also Cordelia Warr, *Dressing for Heaven: Religious Clothing in Italy. 1215–1545*, Manchester/New York 2010, pp. 415–430; and Michel Pastoureau, *L'étoffe du diable: une histoire des rayures et des tissus rayés*, Paris 1991, pp. 18–23.

[43] Boyce (note 29), pp. 163–168.

[44] Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea con le miniature del codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, Florence/Milan 2007, p. 892, paragraph 424.

[45] The crown painted over the nimbus seems to be the artist's addition rather than a later correction. The lost central pinnacle may have depicted an *Assumption* and *God the Father*; for the reconstruction of the polyptych see note 76.

[46] John Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante, pittore da Sermoneta (1521–1575)*, Rome 1996, pp. 33f., 98–100. See also notes 99, 144, and 145.

[47] After the altar had been damaged by fire reliefs were applied to the front in 1517. This "herrlich gearbeitete Altar" was singled out in *Kunstdenkmäler zwischen Antwerpen und Trient: Beschreibungen und Bewertungen des Jesuiten Daniel Papebroch aus dem Jahr 1660*, ed. by Udo Kindermann, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2002, p. 75. The painting of 1370–1390 was probably commissioned by prior Johannes Polle, while its restoration was due to prior Dieter of Mainz according to the inscription ORATE. PRO. FRATRE. DIETHERO. MOGUNTINO. SACRE PAGINE. PROFESSORE. PRIORE. ET. FILIO. HUIUS. CONVENTUS. ANNO 1517, published by Fritz Viktor Arens, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frühmittelalterlicher Zeit bis 1650*, Stuttgart 1958, p. 535, no. 1117. See further Thomas Berger, "Mainz", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum* (note 23), pp. 464–508: 494f., and Franz-Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, Rome 1981, pp. 426 and 310.

[48] Stefano Bottari, *La pittura del Quattrocento in Sicilia*, Messina *et al.* 1954, pp. 13, 76. The triptych probably originated from the oratory of the Compagnia di Sant'Alberto.

[49] Floridus Röhrig, "Geschichte und Thematik des Albrechtsaltars", in: *Der Albrechtsaltar* (note 17), pp. 21–28; *idem*, "Tafelteil mit Bilderläuterungen", *ibidem*, pp. 35–91; Nigel Morgan, "Texts, Contexts and Images of the Orders of

the Angels in Late Medieval England", in: *Glas, Malerei, Forschung: Internationale Studien zu Ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann*, ed. by Hartmut Scholz/Ivo Rauch/Daniel Hess, Berlin 2004, pp. 211–220, 215; Barbara Bruderer Eichberg, *Les neuf chœurs angéliques: origine et évolution du thème dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, Poitiers 1998, p. 179. After the Jesuits' takeover the Marian church was popularly named after the *Neunengelchöre*. Four of the originally thirty-two pictures are lost.

[50] Despite the known provenance Carmelite aspects have long been neglected, and the episodes from the history and legend of the Order only entered the literature after their recent rediscovery.

[51] Boyce (note 29), pp. 171–174, 347, and Arie G. Kallenberg, "The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Liturgical Tradition of the Order", in: *Carmelus*, XLVII (2000), pp. 6–18: 8.

[52] Anna Colombi Ferretti/Matteo Ceriana, "Marco Palmezzano 'Annunciation'", in: *Marco Palmezzano: il Rinascimento nelle Romagne*, exh. cat. Forlì 2005–2006, ed. by Antonio Paolucci/Luciana Prati/Stefano Tumidei, Cinisello Balsamo 2005, pp. 226–229, no. 20. The church in the background may echo the building of the actual church, and the hermits may allude to the Order's past.

[53] Boyce (note 29), pp. 31, 175–178, and for the local context Hansert (note 23), pp. 47f.

6 Master of the Albrechtsaltar, Queen of Angels (detail of the Albrechtsaltar from Vienna). Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum

7 Flemish master, The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (detail of the St. Anne Altarpiece). Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum

8 Master of the Albrechtsaltar, Queen of Virgins (detail of the Albrechtsaltar from Vienna). Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum

dedicated his treatise on St. Anne to him, supervised this commission. The Carmelite wearing a beret who stands behind St. Anselm may be identified with Rumold, who was buried before the St. Anne altar.[54] Contemporaneously the communities at Palermo, Aix-en-Provence, and Augsburg also commissioned depictions of the Immaculate Virgin (Figs. 31, 36).[55]

In 1342 the Order introduced a very rare feast, the Three Maries at Christ's Tomb, focusing on Mary's parentage and the Holy Sepulchre.[56] It explains the women's prominence in the *Resurrection of Christ*, a marble relief dated circa 1510/11 and attributed to Andrea Ferrucci that forms part of the elaborate framework of *La Bruna* (Figs. 2, 9).[57] The Maries taken together with the crown, lilies, prophets and sibyls, the latter also alluding in their scrolls to the Resurrection, attest a Carmelite altar-programme. Although lilies, recalling virtue and in particular virginity, often embellish the Madonna, as in Siena (Fig. 17) or Vienna (Fig. 8),[58] and recur as *Flos Carmeli* in Carmelite liturgy,[59] they are not unique to this Order's representations, but in conjunction with other aspects they remain indicative.

Furthermore, in 1507 Juan Garcia painted *Mary's Seven Joys* together with her *Visitation*, which the Order celebrated at least since 1393, and two Carmelite figures for the high altar in Manresa, Catalogna.[60] This previously overlooked lost retable in turn was mod-

9 Andrea Ferrucci, The Resurrection of Christ (detail of the Tabernacle of La Bruna). Naples, Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore

elled on Pere Serra's surviving polyptych of 1394 in the local collegiate church, La Seu.[61]

The Carmelites were also deeply involved in disseminating the cult of Anne, Mary's mother, and her family, as the saint's entry in the ordinal of 1312 and many altar dedications prove. The above-mentioned Flemish retable of the St. Anne confraternity in Frankfurt, founded in 1479/1481, arranged sixteen pictures of her life, Carmelite history and legend on the wings around a lost sculpted St. Anne.[62] The *Visit of Anne and her parents* (Fig. 10) as well as the *Visit of Anne and her kin*

[54] See note 23 and for the beret note 150.

[55] See notes 125, 126, 152, 155, and Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg*, Munich 1994, pp. 80, 90.

[56] Boyce (note 29), pp. 75, 83, 245–250, 318.

[57] Riccardo Naldi, *Andrea Ferrucci: marmi gentili tra la Toscana e Napoli*, Naples 2002, pp. 117–141. The transfer and damage of the marble tabernacle render a precise assessment of its original form and content difficult.

[58] See notes 5 and 44. The Viennese text "alma Virgo virginum presens orna collegium et ut lilium convallium hic verno decus virginum", quoted after Röhrig (note 49), pp. 80f., addresses the Virgin as lily of the valleys.

[59] Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), p. 31; Holmes (note 6), p. 150; Copsey (note 30), p. 664.

[60] The contract is published in Joaquim Sarret i Arbós, *Art i artistes manresans*, Manresa 1916, pp. 33–36; the key passage reads as follows: "[…] mestre Johan haya a pintar cascuna de las ditas istorias del set goig

segons stan pintadas en lo retaula de la capella del sant sperit de la Seu de la dita ciutat […] dos senyals del Carme […] la visitacio". The Carmelite figures, not listed in Sarret's synthesis, should be identified either with Elijah and Elisha or Albert and Angelus. For the feast see Boyce (note 29), pp. 43, 183–193. A testamentary bequest of 1418, published by Joaquim Sarret i Arbós, *Història religiosa de Manresa: iglesias i convents*, Manresa 1924, pp. 137f., probably prompted the commission. In 1621 the convent substituted the altarpiece with a more imposing one of comparable programme. For the history of the convent and province consult Bayón (note 15), pp. 386–390, and Jill R. Webster, *Carmel in Medieval Catalonia*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1999.

[61] For Serra see Justin E. A. Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy: The Medieval Altarpiece in the Iberian Peninsula*, Louvain/Paris/Walpole, Mass., 2009, pp. 61f.

[62] See note 23. For the ensemble consult Jacob Milendunck's *Chronicon*: "[Prior Rumoldus] fieri fecit insignem et pretiosam tabulam altari superpositam imaginibus et statuis ex ligno sculptis et deauratis, repraesentantem

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10 Flemish master, Visit of St. Anne and her parents to the oratory of Mount Carmel (detail of the St. Anne Altarpiece). Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum

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11 Flemish master, Visit of St. Anne and her kin to the oratory of Mount Carmel (detail of the St. Anne Altarpiece). Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum

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12 Gerard David, Virgo inter virgines (detail of the Carmelite altarpiece from Bruges). Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

to the oratory of Mount Carmel (Fig. 11) were especially pertinent for the expelled Carmelites, as return visits could only be undertaken mentally. The subject matter of Gerard David's *Virgo inter virgines* (Fig. 12) with the Christ Child holding grapes, prophetic of his Passion, understandably appealed to the Carmelite nuns of Sion in Bruges.[63] After 1452 females, who were previously only accepted into certain confraternities, had been admitted to the Order, and the nunnery of Bruges was founded in 1488. An inventory of 1537 records the now lost wings, predella, crowning Marian statue, and curtain of this ambitious high altar ensem-

ble. It included on the predella shutter the images of St. Albert, Isenbart de Bru, the advising prior, and St. Elisabeth, homonym of their acting prioress.[64]

Because of its immense popularity *La Bruna* (Fig. 2), the Neapolitan 'icon', was inserted into the prestigious marble frame and raised on the high altar in order to increase its visibility in the early Cinquecento, when apparently an unidentified *Assumption* panel, perhaps dating from the Duecento, was removed to the chapterhouse.[65] Elsewhere, the growingly confident Order enhanced the veneration of other painted and sculpted images of the Virgin in specially designated

memorabilem illam historiam […] de ortu, parentibus et prosapia Deiparae virginis Mariae", quoted after Kurt Köster, "Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtsplaketten von St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen", in: *Städel-Jahrbuch*, n. s., IV (1973), pp. 103–120: 105, 118, and Hansert (note 23), pp. 48–51. Further literature includes: *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley/Pamela Sheingorn, Athens/London 1990, pp. 27–45; Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, University Park, Pa., 2004, pp. 85–90; Boyce (note 29), pp. 237–242.

63 Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Gerard David: Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition*, New York 1998, pp. 73–91. The research of William H. James Weale ("Gerard David", in: *Le Beffroi*, I [1863], pp. 223–234, II [1864/1865], pp. 288–297; "Le couvent des sœurs de Notre Dame dit de Sion, à Bruges", ibidem, III [1866–1870], pp. 46–58, 76–93, 213–230, 301–328; "Gerard

David", *ibidem*, III [1866–1870], pp. 334–346; *Gerard David: Painter and Illuminator*, London 1895, pp. 27–32) renders possible the reconstruction of this elaborate altarpiece in its original church setting; yet most authors, including Hans J. van Miegroet, *Gerard David*, Antwerp 1989, pp. 221f., 350, 354, paid insufficient attention to the Order. David probably also painted the miniature of the *Virgo inter virgines*, now in New York; see Ainsworth, p. 20, and Miegroet, pp. 222 and 328, with Carmelite nuns in the background, indicating their likely ownership of the miniature.

64 Weale 1864/1865 (note 63), pp. 289–293, and *idem* 1866–1870 (note 63), p. 78. The inner wings depicted the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Death of the Virgin*, and the predella a *Pietà*.

65 Gaetano A. Filangieri, *Chiesa e convento del Carmine Maggiore in Napoli*, Naples 1885, described the settings of *La Bruna* in the oratory, crypt and east

spaces as *Madonna del Carmelo*.[66] The changing emphasis of the Carmelites' Marian cult was surely linked to their incipient feast of the Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin. It developed largely during the Quattrocento and was considered at the Paduan General Chapter in 1532, officially imposed at the Venetian Chapter in 1548, and finally declared the Order's main patronal feast, the *festum fratrum*, at the Roman Chapter of 1609.[67] The slow shift from the standard Assumption (15 August) to the Order-specific Solemn Commemoration, better known as the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (16 July), attests a fundamental Carmelite redefinition. The late-thirteenth-century *Madonna del Popolo* (Fig. 13) in the Brancacci chapel in Florence provides an outstanding example of this drawn-out process of enhanced Carmelite veneration.[68] It was placed on the altar in the mid-Quattrocento and thus surrounded by the frescoes of Masaccio and Masolino, where Carmelite friars mingled with Christ's Apostles. In the Settecento she was formally addressed as *Madonna del Carmelo*, and Vincenzo Meucci's new ceiling fresco of the *Vision of the Virgin granting the scapular to Simon Stock* confirmed the Carmelites' appropriation of this transept chapel from the Brancacci.

The Transfiguration of Christ

The rite of the Holy Sepulchre focuses on Christ and the Holy Land. Among Carmelite feasts, apart from the standard Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the Transfiguration played a special role for the Order from the end of the thirteenth centu-

13 Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci chapel (general view)

14 Polidoro da Caravaggio, Transfiguration of Christ (sketch for the Carmelite altarpiece in Messina). London, British Museum, Inv. 1936-10-10-3

15 Gerard David, Transfiguration of Christ. Bruges, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk

ry, although the feast was only designated as duplex in 1457.[69] Both Elijah, their presumed founder, and Moses witnessed the Saviour's apparition at Mount Tabor. In addition, the Order's most prolific late fourteenth-century author, the Catalan Felip Ribot, argued that wilderness and solitude had intensified their contemplation of God.[70] The friars of Messina chose the Transfiguration, flanked by the Sicilian saints Albert and Angelus, for their high altar.[71] Of Polidoro da Caravaggio's monumental *ancona* of the early 1530s, which once integrated the Virgin and Child as well as Peter and Paul from a preceding altar painting, only the two Carmelite saints and preparatory drawings survive. A sketch at the British Museum still demonstrates Polidoro's initial dependence on Raphael's *Transfiguration* in Rome (Fig. 14). Gerard David's *Transfiguration* (Fig. 15) of around 1500 clad the bearded Elijah in the 'modern' Carmelite habit, clearly advertising its destination, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, the Order's friary in Bruges.[72] A century earlier in Manresa, Pere Serra also robed Elijah in Carmelite scapular and mantle in his *Transfiguration* there referring to the Order's convent nearby.[73]

end of the church; at pp. 15–19 the *Assumption*'s removal. The earthquake damage, screen removal, subsequent presbytery reorganization, and the return of *La Bruna* from a popular procession to Rome in 1500 prompted the painting's resetting.

[66] Kallenberg (note 51). Given the growing veneration, flexible terminology, and tendency to rename, it is impossible to provide the earliest 'certain' examples. The cult was particularly popular in churches originally not dedicated to the Virgin, as in Bologna or Vicenza, for which see notes 99 and 96 below.

[67] Boyce (note 29), pp. 168, 346–348, 407f.

[68] See Gardner von Teuffel (note 8) and Jotischky (note 5), p. 333.

[69] Boyce (note 29), pp. 159–161, 256f., and for an earlier occurrence Jotischky (note 5), pp. 32f.

[70] Ribot (note 12), p. 53. For preceding Carmelite writing on mountains see Jotischky (note 5), pp. 83–85, 96f., and for subsequent consideration Cynthia Stollhans, "Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Renaissance Rome", in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXIII (1992), pp. 506–525.

[71] *Polidoro da Caravaggio fra Napoli e Messina*, exh. cat. Naples 1988/1989, ed. by Pierluigi Leone De Castris, Milan/Rome 1988, pp. 103–118, and *idem*, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: l'opera completa*, Naples 2001, pp. 356–365. The two fragments in Turin and Rome together with secondary sources, drawings, oil sketches, and paintings under Polidoro's impact facilitate the reconstruction of the double-storied altarpiece. Polidoro had close personal ties to the Messinese convent, yet his relation to Giovanni Marullo, the probable benefactor of the high altarpiece, has not yet been fully clarified.

[72] The shutters were only added by Peter Pourbus in 1573. See Ainsworth (note 63), p. 44, and esp. Miegroet (note 63), pp. 62f., 287f., who referred to a lost *Transfiguration* possibly by Hugo van der Goes once in the Carmelite nunnery of Sion in Brussels, which would imply a network of interrelationships within the Order.

[73] See notes 60 and 61; for a colour reproduction Anna Orriols i Alsina, *La Seu de Manresa*, Barcelona 2006, p. 18. More commonly, Benedictine monks were localized through their habits' colour, either black, white or pink.

Prophets and Saints

The bearded *Elijah* (Fig. 16) clad in a white mantle over a dark robe with an identifying scroll, "Helias / ra[p]tus est / in celum / cur[r]u igneo", occurs probably for the first time circa 1300, together with other Carmelite figures and saints in the frescoed apse of the Genoese house, the Order's earliest known church programme.[74] A generation later another full-length *Elijah* with a different scroll, "verum tamen nunc micte et congrega ad me universum Israel notatie[que?] in montem Carmeli et prophetas Baal qadringentos quinqu[aginta?]",[75] is prominent in Pietro Lorenzetti's high altarpiece in Siena (Fig. 17). There, with his disciple Elisha (Fig. 18) and Saints Nicholas, the titular of the small church granted to the Carmelites, Agnes, and Catherine of Alexandria, he accompanies the majestic enthroned Virgin in the main storey.[76] The predella of this monumental polyptych documents Elijah's leading role as the holy hermit at the fountain and, much more importantly, the history of the Order as perceived by the Carmelites themselves, to which I shall return. Elsewhere Elijah's life was further illustrated, and events relating to his companion added. *Elisha cooking gourds* formed part of fifteenth-century altar

[74] Clario Di Fabio, "Gli affreschi di Manfredino e altri documenti genovesi di cultura figurativa 'assisiate': gli affreschi di Manfredino da Pistoia nella chiesa di Nostra Signora del Carmine a Genova", in: *Bollettino d'Arte*, XCVI (2011), 12, pp. 83–132. The inscription is based on 4 Kings, 2, 1. See note 27, Rudolf Hendricks, "La succession héréditaire (1280–1451)", in: *Élie le prophète*, II: *Au Carmel, dans le Judaïsme et l'Islam*, Bruges 1956, pp. 34–81, and Robert A. Koch, "Elijah the Prophet, Founder of the Carmelite Order", in: *Speculum*, XXXIV (1959), pp. 547–560.

[75] The quotation is from 3 Kings, 18, 19. In a polyptych attributed to Andrea di Bonaiuto and conceived under Lorenzetti's impact, Elijah holds yet another text, see Holmes (note 6), pp. 31, 36–38, while in Bartolo di Fredi's Perugian triptych he repeats Lorenzetti's inscription; see Gaudenz Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini: Ein Beitrag zur sienesischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Disentis 1994, pp. 5–12, 434f.

[76] Elisha's scroll quotes 4 Kings 2, 12: "ascendit Helias per turbinem in celum Heliseus autem videbat et clamabat pater mi pater mi currus I[srael]". Both inscriptions are restored. The reconstruction of the polyptych published by Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: i dipinti dal XII al XV secolo*, Genoa 1977, pp. 97–103: 99, which had been widely accepted (see note 5), was corrected by the 1997/98 restoration of the main components

in Siena, and consequently the display in the Pinacoteca has been adjusted. The unpublished report by Edith Liebhauser is kept in the Archivio Restauri della Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici Artistici ed Etnoantropologici per le Province di Siena e Grosseto and has kindly been made available to me by the former Soprintendente, Mario Scalini. The author of this technical report did not see the altarpiece in its wider art historical context. Examination of the wooden structure has confirmed the position of the main figures but changed that of the upper apostle pairs and the predella scenes. The four-storied polyptych was originally built of vertical planks, the lateral compartments being composed either of a single broad plank or a plank with additional narrow lateral strips, and the central one of four planks; all were aligned by dowels and joined by three horizontal battens, traces of which are clearly visible in the x-ray images and on the reverses. As the apostles' reverses lack vertical battens for fixing the lost, uppermost gables, the lateral planks must have been continuous including saints, apostles and side gables. Furthermore, the predella consisted of a single, thin board of horizontal grain applied to the front of the main vertical planks; the individual painted scenes were therefore firmly integrated into the altarpiece structure. This reconstructed wooden 'grid' allows us to securely place the surviving apostles (one pair is lost) – *Taddeus and Bartholomew* above *Elisha, Andrew and James Major*

20 Lippo di Andrea, Virgin and Child with saints. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery
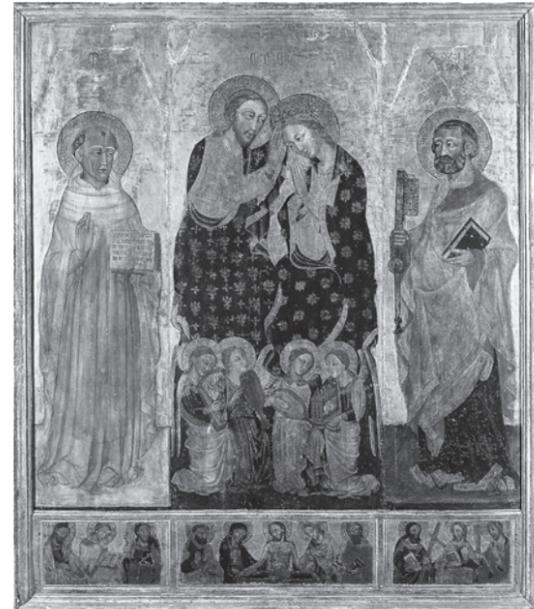
22 Pietro Lorenzetti, The Carmelites receiving the Rule from Albert of Vercelli (detail of the Carmelite altarpiece). Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale

21 Matteo di Perrucchio, Coronation of the Virgin and saints. Palermo, Diocesan Museum

ensembles in Vienna (Fig. 19) and Frankfurt,[77] as did *Elijah's diversion of the Jordan*.[78]

In Venice, the Scuola dei Santi Alberto e Eliseo, founded in 1401, was surprisingly dedicated to Albert of Trapani and Elisha, probably because the local friars claimed to possess one of Elisha's bones.[79] While Albert was paired with Elijah, the more senior prophet, in the lost organ shutters of circa 1480,[80] in Cima da Conegliano's retable of circa 1512 Elisha, wearing a turban and yellow mantle, and the saint in his Carmelite habit attend a *Lamentation of Christ*.[81] That

such brotherhoods at times played a significant role in the promotion of Albert's cult is also attested by the Florentine Compagnia di Sant'Alberto established in 1419.[82]

Although Elijah's feast entered the Carmelite calendar in the sixteenth century, the prophet, acclaimed founder and precursor of Christ, seems by then to have taken a minor role or even to have vanished from altarpieces, and his image was relegated to convent decoration. Jörg Ratgeb's colossal but severely damaged refectory cycle of 1517 in Frankfurt is a rare

witness of Elijah amidst the forefathers at Mount Carmel, near Jerusalem, and in the desert.[83] It was, like the retable of St. Anne before, financed by the popular confraternity, and its programme, inspired by the Carmelite chronicler Johannes Oudewater (Paleonydorus) of Malines is spelt out in a long Latin inscription. Comparable painting fragments can still be found in Hirschhorn near Frankfurt[84] and in Cologne.[85] The walls provided a visual stage for the Order's asserted history, and confronted the friars and their wider, lay public – *clausura* then being lax – with Carmelite ideals. Radical reform of the Order introduced by the Prior General Jean Soreth in the mid-fifteenth century must have encouraged such manifestations.[86]

Both Albert of Trapani and Angelus of Licata were venerated soon after their deaths, and their cult was actively promoted.[87] Yet, formal canonization came only in the mid-Quattrocento. Albert's *vita* was

written circa 1395 and that of Angelus probably in the 1440s. Albert's office was formally integrated into the liturgical calendar in 1411, that of Angelus only in 1457. The General Chapter of Montpellier in 1420 demanded an image of Blessed Albert in every convent church. The earliest preserved altar paintings, one dated 1420 and attributed to the Florentine Lippo di Andrea,[88] now in New Haven (Fig. 20), and the other, dated 1422, by Matteo di Perrucchio still in Palermo (Fig. 21),[89] strategically characterize the confessor with a halo and a book, and Albert's address to his public in the Palermo retable, "Venite filii, audite [...]", assertively echoes the prologue of the Benedictine Rule. Finally, in 1523 the General Vicar Audet required in his reform programme an altar dedicated to St. Albert in every church.[90]

In the late fourteenth-century Coronation retable in the Karmeliterkirche in Mainz (Fig. 4)[91] the martyr

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above *John the Baptist, Thomas* and *James Minor* above *Catherine* – as well as the five predella scenes: *Sobac's dream* under *Agnes*, *The Carmelites at the fountain of Elijah* under *Elisha*, the *Granting of the Rule by Albert of Vercelli* under the central *Virgin with Nicholas and Elijah*, the *Approval of the Carmelite Habit by Honorius IV* under *John the Baptist*, and finally the *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII* under *Catherine*. Additionally, according to the altarpiece type, for which see Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), pp. 138f., 409–411, a missing broad central pinnacle with its uppermost gable (see note 45), outer buttresses, and other framework should be reconstructed. For detailed discussion of the procedures of reconstructing a polyptych see Machtelt Israëls *et al.*, "The Reconstruction of Sassetta's Borgo San Sepolcro Altarpiece", in: *Sassetta: The Borgo San Sepolcro Altarpiece*, ed. by *eadem*, Florence/Leiden 2009, I, pp. 161–209.

[77] The text on the panel from Vienna, "afferte mihi farinam et ego infundam illam et dulcorabitur and mors in olla mors in olla vir Dei", quoted after

Röhrig (note 49), pp. 88f., is based on 2 Kings 4, 38–41. For the Frankfurt altarpiece see Hansert (note 23).

[78] For this scene, based on 2 Kings, 2, 7–9, see Röhrig (note 49), pp. 86f.

[79] Hammond, "Negotiating Carmelite Identity" (note 9), pp. 223, 226f.

[80] *Ibidem*, pp. 223f.

[81] *Ibidem*, pp. 224f., with reference to Peter Humfrey, "Competitive Devotions: The Venetian Scuole Piccole as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500", in: *The Art Bulletin*, LXX (1988), pp. 401–423: 409.

[82] Andrea De Marchi, "Filippo Lippi", in: *La Primavera del Rinascimento: la scultura e le arti a Firenze. 1400–1460*, exh. cat. Florence/Paris 2013–2014, ed. by Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi/Marc Bormand, Florence 2013, pp. 382f. In her forthcoming article Joanne Allen, however, argues that Lippi's panel occupied a screen altar. I am grateful to the author for having given me access to her manuscript.

[83] Ursula Harter, "Die Kunstdenkmäler des Karmeliterklosters", in: *Das Karmeliterkloster in Frankfurt* (note 23), pp. 16–44, 39–44; Fischer (note 23), pp. 277f.; Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff/Roswitha Mattausch-Schirmbeck, *Jörg Ratgeb's Wandmalereien im Frankfurter Karmeliterkloster*, Frankfurt am Main 1987.

[84] Ulrich Spiegelberg, "Hirschhorn", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum* (note 23), pp. 340–365: 357, and Edeltraut Klueting, "Illustrierte Geschichte: Die Bildprogramme von Kreuzgang, Kapitelsaal und Refektorium ausgewählter Klöster der Niederdeutschen Provinz des Karmeliterordens", in: *Vita Regularis*, forthcoming.

[85] *Eadem*, "Köln, Waidmarkt", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum* (note 23),

pp. 386–421: 391, and Frank Günther Zehnder, *Katalog der Altkölner Malerei: Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums*, Cologne 1990, pp. 89f., for two fragments.

[86] Klueting (note 84) and Jotischky (note 5), pp. 40–44.

[87] See notes 29 and 28.

[88] Holmes (note 6), pp. 39–42.

[89] See note 48.

[90] Saggi (note 29), col. 680, and Staring (note 33), p. 39.

[91] See note 47 and Fritz Arens, "Karmeliterkirche", in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Mainz*, I: *Kirchen St. Agnes bis Hl. Kreuz*, Munich 1961, pp. 455–493, 481f.

24 Fra Filippo Lippi, Madonna of Humility and saints. Milan, Musei del Castello Sforzesco, Pinacoteca

25 Bartolomeo Cavazza and Agostino Zoppo, Saints Sebastian, Albert and Job. Padua, Santa Maria del Carmine

Angelus is apparently paired with Albert of Vercelli.[92] The latter was Patriarch of Jerusalem and, while not a member of the Order, around 1208 composed the Carmelite Rule, to which the tablets of law in his left hand allude.[93] Lorenzetti depicted him prominently as the protagonist in the central scene of the predella (Figs. 17, 22). A century later, in the already mentioned altarpiece from Vienna, Angelus (Fig. 23), handling a large sword, stands among the martyrs to the Virgin's right.[94] In the small panel of circa 1430 by the young Fra Filippo Lippi the two 'saints' Albert of Trapani and Angelus of Licata, perhaps united for the first time with St. Anne and angels, accompany a *Madonna of Humility* (Fig. 24).[95] Filippo, the Order's greatest artist, never, it seems, produced another Carmelite retable.

After canonization both saints received standard attributes – a lily for Albert and a sword for Angelus, in addition to either a book or a cross – and acquired great visual popularity, particularly in southern Italy – Polidoro da Caravaggio's pictures from Messina have already been cited. In northern Italy, in Vicenza, a testamentary bequest for an altar of St. Albert in San Giacomo is documented for 1462, soon after his canonization.[96] In Padua, the friars promptly initiated the dedication of a family chapel to him, which the patron refurbished in 1539 with a sculpted altar by Bartolomeo Cavazza and Agostino Zoppo displaying his life-size statue in the centre (Fig. 25).[97] By 1500 Albert of Trapani, the mendicant saint, rather than
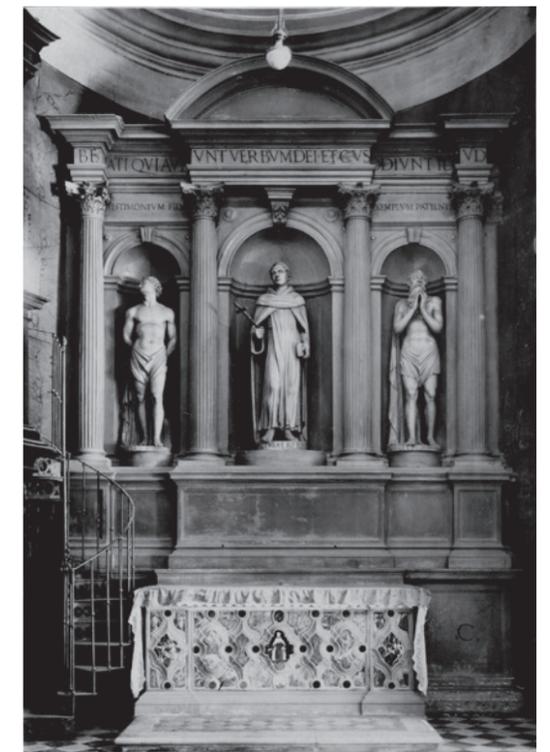
the prophet Elijah, assumed the status of 'founder', comparable to Francis and Dominic. In 1499 the high altar of the Carmelite nunnery in Bruges was dedicated to both the Virgin and Albert,[98] yet no church of the Order appears to have been consecrated to him alone. He once again identified the Order in Siciolante's great Carmelite *pala* of 1548 in Bologna (Fig. 33).[99]

[92] A restoration report to confirm the saints' identification was unavailable.
[93] According to Adrian Staring, *s.v.* Alberto patriarca di Gerusalemme, in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I, Rome 1961, cols. 686–690, the Order celebrated him from 1504; however, Vern L. Bullough, *s.v.* Albert of Jerusalem, St., in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Detroit, Mich./Washington, D.C, ²2003, I, p. 222, states that his feast had already been introduced by 1411.
[94] Röhrig (note 49), p. 76, transcribes the texts as follows: "ense mente perforata nobis assis laureata and in cades palma exaltata victrix vobis assum grata".
[95] See note 82.
[96] Giovanni Mantese, *Memorie storiche della chiesa vicentina*, III, 2, Vicenza 1964, p. 999, for the bequest, and Gian Piero Pacini, "Il vescovo 'scaligero' di Vicenza Giovanni Sordi e la costruzione della chiesa di San Giacomo di Galizia: nuova parrocchia del borgo di Portanova a Vicenza", in: *Chiesa, vita*

religiosa, società nel Medioevo italiano: studi offerti a Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, ed. by Mariaclara Rossi/Gian Maria Varanini, Rome 2005, pp. 471–486, for the convent history.
[97] Cesira Gasparotto, *S. Maria del Carmine di Padova*, Padua 1955, pp. 216–219, and Erice Rigoni, *L'arte rinascimentale in Padova: studi e documenti*, Padua 1970, pp. 301–317.
[98] Weale 1866–1870, "Le couvent" (note 63), pp. 51, 54, and for Albert's depiction in the predella *ibidem*, II, p. 293.
[99] On this altarpiece see note 46 and below, pp. 32 and 39. On the church see Igino Benvenuto Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese di Bologna*, Bologna 1932–1938, I, pp. 269–279, II, pp. 381–390; Enrico Secondin/Giorgio Ronchi, *Basilica di San Martino Maggiore in Bologna: Santuario della Madonna del Carmine*, Bologna 2010. However, the distinguished convent still lacks a serious monograph.

The Habit

The habit, fundamental to any order's identification, plays an exceptionally important role in Carmelite history. In 1286 Honorius IV approved the change from dark stripes to a plain whitish mantle over a black robe (Figs. 3, 17). The difficulty or cost of weaving seven stripes or bars, and occasional public ridicule of the *pallium barratum* may have induced the alteration of the Order's habit, a very rare event.[100] The papal decree of 1286 allows us to date certain depictions and, indirectly, to interpret Carmelite intentions, assertions and contradictions. In his Sienese predella Lorenzetti deliberately painted the monks in the scenes *The Carmelites at the fountain of Elijah* and *The Carmelites receiving the Rule from Albert of Vercelli* (Figs. 17, 22) in heavy striped garments appropriate for the historical epoch. The third previously overlooked occurrence of the old habit in the enigmatic fifth scene will be discussed in detail below. A century later the Albrecht Master in Vienna used a striped habit to transfer *Elisha cooking gourds* (Fig. 19) and the *Approval of the Carmelite Rule by Honorius III* in 1226 (Fig. 26) into the historical past.[101] Lorenzetti clearly characterized Elijah (Fig. 17) and Elisha (Fig. 18) as Carmelite ancestors by portraying them as bearded prophets in white capes over dark robes. The 'modern' Carmelite friar was in contrast tonsured and clean-shaven with mantle, scapular and habit (Fig. 24).

Choice of habit in the different images signals questions of the patron's briefing and the artist's freedom. Why did Lorenzetti depict horizontal stripes when vertical ones seem to have been common? Equally, why did the Albrecht Master introduce bright red stripes and vary the colour of the tunic from black to

—
26 Master of the Albrechtsaltar, Approval of the Carmelite Rule by Honorius III (detail of the Albrechtsaltar from Vienna). Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum

brown and red? How historically accurate and consistent were these interpretations? In 1483 Baptista Mantuanus, Vicar of the reformed Mantuan congregation, rejected the black cloak, decreed by Sixtus IV, because the familiar white one associated the brothers directly with the Virgin, their titular, and Elijah, their founder.[102] In 1524, according to the Prior General Nicolas Audet, the cut of the reformed friar's habit was more important than its colour, as long as it was made of cheap cloth.[103] Comparable concern is documented among observant Franciscans.[104] Shortly afterwards, a grey tunic was specified for reformed Carmelites in Italy and a black one elsewhere.[105] However, tolerance clearly had limits. In 1684 the Neapolitan Carmelites insisted that Mattia Preti, who had inadvertently reversed the Order's colours in his canvas of *St. Simon Stock*, correct it "alla Carmelitana".[106] 'Correct' dress obviously preoccupied 'historic' and 'modern' Carmelites. Transposing a historical action into the modern world by use of the contemporary habit permitted a more direct appeal to the present-day or future worshipper, cleric and lay, as attested in Gerard David's *Transfiguration* (Fig. 15) for Bruges.

Carmelite History and Legend

Representation of their habit allowed the Carmelites to accentuate different historical epochs and shift swiftly from Western mendicant friars to hermits at Mount Carmel and back to biblical founders in the Holy Land. Yet the habit, however important, formed only one aspect of a much larger problem of self-representation. In the early centuries of their existence the Carmelites constantly tried to communicate their Order's asserted history to their members and the outside world, defending themselves against critics and mendicant competitors alike.[107] Yet by its very nature the altarpiece permitted only a limited amount of Carmelite propaganda. Lorenzetti's high altarpiece (Fig. 17) of 1329 is a rare, if not unique case combining the Carmelite patrons with well-informed advisors, local benefactors, an artist of the highest quality,

the most modern type of altar-painting, and a visual programme that triumphantly unified written sources and contemporary history. Pietro composed a predella with a continuous narrative of the Order's alleged history from *Sobac's Dream*, to *The Carmelites at the Fountain of Elijah*, *The Carmelites receiving the Rule by Albert of Vercelli* (Fig. 22), to the *Approval of the Carmelite habit by Honorius IV* in 1286 concluding with the recent *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII* in 1326 (Fig. 27). The original sequence, re-established after the 1997/98 restoration, correctly follows historical chronology.[108] The final scene, heretofore generally understood as the *Approval of the Carmelite Rule*, was renamed as *A pope (Honorius III?) issues a bull to a Carmelite delegation* prior to restoration and later reinterpreted as John XXII's confirmation of the Rule.[109] In fact the pope hands to the kneeling friars a document inscribed "in nomine Domini nostri / Johanes episcopus ser/ [ussa = vus] s[ervorum] dei / dilictis fili[i]s fra/t[r]ibus ordinis / carmelite", identifying through its standard curial formula both sender and recipient (Fig. 28).[110] The scene demonstrably relates to the bull *Super Cathedram* reissued by John XXII in 1326, which granted the Carmelites the same rights and privileges as the Dominicans and Franciscans.[111] The three popes who hover above John XXII, each holding a bull, therefore represent his predecessors' previous confirmations. Pietro may well have composed this image under the impact of the *Approval of the Franciscan Rule* in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi, familiar to him af-

[100] For the change of the habit see the literature in note 42.

[101] Röhrig (note 49), pp. 90f., and Artur Rosenauer, "Zum Stil des Albrechtsmeisters", in: *Der Albrechtsaltar* (note 17), pp. 97–122: 120.

[102] Kaspar Elm, "Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung der Eremiten- und Bettelorden des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Geschichtsschreibung und*

Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter, ed. by Hans Patze, Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 371–397: 371.

[103] On this subject see Smet (note 3), p. 160, and *Acta Capitulorum* (note 33), pp. 372–374.

[104] Servus Gieben, "Per la storia dell'abito francescano", in: *Collectanea Franciscana*, LXVI (1996), pp. 431–478.

[105] Smet (note 3), pp. 162 and 172, with reference to *Acta Capitulorum* (note 32), p. 390.

[106] *Mattia Preti: i documenti / Mattia Preti: The Collected Documents*, ed. by John T. Spike, Florence 1998, p. 227, and *Mattia Preti: catalogo ragionato dei dipinti / Mattia Preti: Catalogue of the Paintings*, ed. by idem/Michèle K. Spike, Florence 1999, pp. 218–220.

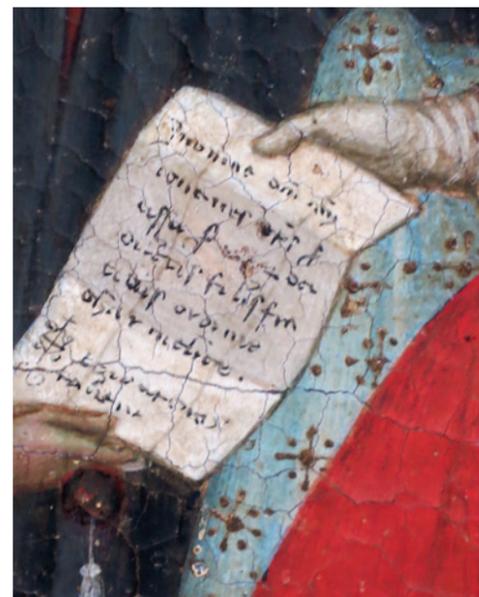[107] Jotischky (note 5), pp. 166–189, and Andrews (note 10), p. 59.

[108] See note 76 for the reconstruction.

[109] Cannon (note 5), p. 23, and Chiara Frugoni, *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Antella 1988, pp. 9–13, followed by Alessio Monciatti, "Pietro Lorenzetti", in: *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. by Chiara Frugoni, Florence 2002, pp. 13–

117: 63–68; Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut, "Don de la Règle et légitimité: la 'Pala del Carmine' de Pietro Lorenzetti", in: *Iconographica*, III (2004), pp. 38–47, accepted the reinterpretation but not the corrected sequence of scenes.

[110] Quoted after Thomas Frenz, *I documenti pontifici nel Medioevo e nell'età moderna*, Città del Vaticano 1989, p. 16 (Stuttgart ¹1986). However, Lorenzetti's formal layout differs from the traditional one, implying that neither advisor nor painter ever saw an original bull.

[111] *Bullarium Carmelitanum* […], ed. by Eliseo Monsignano, I, Rome 1715, pp. 66f.; *Medieval Carmelite Heritage* (note 10), pp. 90, 97, 170f., and Jotischky (note 5), p. 25.

ter his extensive work there.[112] His brother Ambrogio contemporaneously frescoed the closely related *Ordination of Louis of Toulouse* in San Francesco in Siena.[113] If Pietro had modified an earlier version of the *Approval of the Carmelite Rule* this would explain certain ambiguities or inconsistencies in his *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII*: in 1326 the friars would no longer have worn the *pallium barratum*, and the Order of the Templars, depicted standing to the right of the pope, had already been suppressed.[114]

A 'traditional' *Approval of the Carmelite Rule* was painted by the Albrecht Master in Vienna a century later (Fig. 26). At about the same time Masaccio frescoed the lost *Sagra* of 1422 and Fra Filippo the *Reconfirma-*

tion of the Order in the Florentine cloister, although the latter's poor condition makes certain identification impossible.[115] The Carmelites' insistence on the presence of Pope John XXII in their altarpiece is unexpectedly reinforced by a Sicilian retable of circa 1530 that includes a cognate story with the identifying caption "comu Papa Giovanni confirma la religione della Virgine Maria"; I shall return to that painting.[116] In Siena the *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII* (Fig. 27) forms the last event of an over-arching programme that was essentially spelt out in the *Rubrica Prima* of the Constitutions, preserved since 1281 and slightly updated in 1294 and 1324.[117] It aimed at a self-explanatory definition of the Order, its title and

27, 28 Pietro Lorenzetti, The reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII (details of the Carmelite Altarpiece). Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale

its history, understandable for any novice or lay person. Thus the Sienese altarpiece commissioned circa 1327 promptly provided a superb visual manifesto of self-identification and -justification, permanently erected on the friars' main altar, with the cycle of the Order's foundation as its most innovative feature.

Carmelite imagery reveals awareness of their main competitors' programmes. The Franciscans recounted their founder's life and miracles in wall paintings in his burial church in Assisi, while the Dominicans formulated their founder's biography together with affirma-

tion of their institution on his *arca* in Bologna.[118] After 1327, when they received the custody of Augustine's body in Pavia, the Augustinian friars depicted his *vita* and their Order's unification in 1256 in the Eremitani in Padua.[119] The Carmelites, lacking a 'conventional' founder, concentrated instead on their foundation – persuasively laid out by Pietro Lorenzetti. Only Guariento's fresco of the *Augustinians' unification by Alexander IV*, an exceptionally rare visual record, can be directly compared to Lorenzetti's panel of the *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII*. In Siena and its surrounding region the mendicant orders attempted energetically to outdo one another with ever more imposing altarpieces. Both the Carmelites' intense competitiveness and also their limitations emerged when they nominated the feast of St. Nicholas, their church's titular, as the ceremonial occasion to be attended by the town's government because they simply did not yet possess any local blessed or *santo novello*.[120]

After the Order's notable success in its battle for recognition in 1326, the 'altarpiece agenda' could gradually move from acute political propaganda to history and spirituality more broadly defined, which may partly explain the subsequent rarity of foundation narratives. Isolated episodes occur later in compartments, wings or lunettes. They become tokens of Carmelite history within an otherwise extensive visual programme that focuses, understandably for an altarpiece, on the cult of the Virgin, Christ and saints. This is well demonstrated by the paintings in Vienna (Fig. 26) and Frankfurt (Fig. 11), or by Veit Stoß' carved altar panel of 1520–1523 from Nuremberg, now in Bamberg (Fig. 29).[121] There, the fragmentary

[112] Bruno Zanardi, *Il cantiere di Giotto: le storie di san Francesco ad Assisi*, Milan 1996, pp. 128–130.
[113] Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Pietro Lorenzetti: A Chronology", in: *Art Bulletin*, LXVI (1984), pp. 183–211: 199.
[114] Sophia Menache, *Clement V*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 205–246.

[115] Holmes (note 6), pp. 42–50, 68–79, entitled the latter scene, following Vasari, *The Confirmation of the Carmelite Rule*.
[116] See below, p. 28.
[117] For the *Rubrica Prima* see *Medieval Carmelite Heritage* (note 10), pp. 33–43, 41f.; Copsey (note 35), p. 46; Jotischky (note 5), pp. 106–111, 328, 331.

[118] Serena Romano, "The Arca of St Dominic at Bologna", in: *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the Congress Amsterdam 1996*, ed. by Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel, Dordrecht *et al.* 1999, pp. 499–513.
[119] Louise Bourdua, "De origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum: Guariento and the Eremitani in Padua", in: *Papers of the British School at Rome*, LXVI (1998), pp. 177–192, and Jotischky (note 5), p. 263.
[120] Alessandro Bagnoli/Max Seidel, "Il Beato Agostino Novello", in: *Simone Martini e 'chompagni'*, exh. cat. Siena 1985, ed. by Alessandro Bagnoli/Luciano

Bellosi, Florence 1985, pp. 56–72, and Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States*, London/New York 1996, p. 283.
[121] On this altarpiece see Günther Bräutigam, "Ehemaliger Hochaltar der Karmeliterkirche in Nürnberg", in: *Veit Stoß in Nürnberg: Werke des Meisters und seiner Schule in Nürnberg und Umgebung*, exh. cat. Nuremberg 1983, ed. by Rainer Kahsnitz, Munich *et al.* 1983, pp. 333–350; Reiner Hausherr, "Der Bamberger Altar", in: *Veit Stoß: Die Vorträge des Nürnberger Symposiums*, ed. by Reiner Kahsnitz, Munich 1985, pp. 207–228; Robert Suckale, "Das ehemalige

lunette of *Elijah fed by an angel* was probably paired with a scene of Elisha (its content is not recognizable in the surviving contract drawing, Fig. 30), and the roughly sketched statues standing above the lunettes in the drawing were presumably intended as Elijah and Elisha. Together with the *Adoration of the Christ Child by the Virgin*, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and the three typological scenes in the predella, the *Creation of Eve*, the *Expulsion of Adam and Eve* and the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, they form a rather traditional Carmelite programme.[122] The Order's foundation history was, together with Elijah's diminished role, increasingly relegated to other, more appropriate spaces, accessible to both clergy and laity, and to painting in fresco and stained glass.

Carmelite Invention of History: The Virgin's Miraculous Intervention

An almost totally forgotten group of Sicilian Marian dossals from about 1500 of which three examples still survive in Carmelite churches,[123] in poor condition and of mediocre quality, illustrates the Carmelites' continuing manipulation of historical narrative (Fig. 31). Panel type and composition were deeply rooted in long-standing traditions of icons and vita retables, of which the Carmelite painting in Nicosia of the 1290s (Fig. 3) is an outstanding early example. Combining Byzantine and Western characteristics, the enthroned Virgin, robed entirely in gold, is flanked by sixteen Marian miracles. One depicts Carmelites at an altar invoking the Virgin's aid to open the city gates in order to protect them from their enemies, perhaps an

allusion to events after their expulsion from the Holy Land. Latin captions, directly addressing friars, pilgrims, men and women, clarified the story of Mary's intervention but are now almost illegible.[124] In a canvas by Tommaso di Vigilia and his workshop in Palermo, once signed and dated 1492, the Madonna is framed by eight stories, whose subject matter is summarized in the now lost inscription: "hanc visionem vidit atque approbavit Joannes papa vicesimus secundus".[125] Additional vernacular captions in another exemplar of

Hochaltarretabel der Nürnberger Karmeliterkirche und sein altkirchliches Programm", *ibidem*, pp. 229–244; Rainer Kahsnitz, *Carved Altarpieces: Masterpieces of the Late Gothic*, London ²2006 (Munich ¹2005), pp. 402–419. See also below, notes 141 and 143.

[122] Kahsnitz (note 121), pp. 402 and 407, and Suckale (note 121), pp. 241f.

[123] Two of these, by Tommaso di Vigilia and an anonymous master, in Palermo and Corleone respectively, are discussed below; for the third example see note 126.

[124] Since the 1937 study by Talbot Rice/Gunnis/Talbot Rice (note 40)

the captions have not been more fully deciphered. Adrian Staring, "The Miracles of Toulouse, 1264–1265", in: *Carmelus*, XXXVIII (1991), pp. 128–154, investigated another case of Marian miracles associated with Carmelites, which were visually recorded circa 1500.

[125] Maria Concetta Di Natale, *Tommaso di Vigilia*, Palermo *et al.* 1974, pp. 23f., figs. 23–29, explained the painting's poor condition by its typical history: increased veneration led to rich silver cladding, which after theft prompted drastic restoration in 1868. Di Natale identified the scenes according to the earlier description of Gioacchino Di Marzo, *La pittura in Palermo nel Rinascimento: storia e documenti*, Palermo 1899, pp. 102–107.

the same retable group in Corleone (Fig. 32), which is dated to the 1530s and whose overall arrangement differs only slightly, explain the programme in more detail.[126] In the centre the Immaculate Virgin nurses the Christ Child in heaven, with the prophets Elijah and Elisha hovering above and four Carmelites, including Albert, Angelus, and Simon Stock, occupying the landscape below. The side narratives, focusing on Mary and John XXII, were almost certainly based on a forgery first promulgated in fifteenth-century Sicily. The Carmelites calculatingly attributed this invented privilege, the so-called Sabbatine Bull, to John XXII and dated it 1322, because this particular pope had reconfirmed the Order.[127] The White friars, supporters of papal policy in general, esteemed John as their champion. He repeatedly numbered Carmelites among his intimate councillors and personally erected a choir chapel dedicated to St. Agnes in their convent church in Avignon.[128] The Sabbatine Bull, visually exploited in these dossals, relates a Marian vision of John XXII where she promised to free all souls clad as Carmelites from purgatory on the first Saturday after their death, just as Francis was believed to save all souls in Franciscan habits after the 1216 plenary indulgence of Portiuncula.[129] One scene in Tommaso di Vigilia's retable in Palermo, depicting a Carmelite in front of an altar offering a veil to prospective nuns, presumably alludes to Jean Soreth, the Carmelite Prior General, who ad-

mitted nuns into the Order in 1452.[130] The Corleone panel even includes Simon Stock, who is said to have received his scapular directly from the Virgin. Perhaps the Dominican episode of *Reginald being given the habit by the Virgin*[131] or, rather, the later, more popular one of *St. Dominic receiving the rosary from the Virgin*[132] prompted the invention of this Carmelite image. Combining forged privileges with new imagery, the Carmelites confidently attempted to carve out a pre-eminent position among the other religious orders. Freedom from Purgatory, achieved through the Virgin's advocacy, was, of course, a universal preoccupation: here the Carmelites encountered competition from other mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans.[133] The extensive imagery initiated by the spurious Sabbatine Bull in Sicily successfully extended to mainland Italy and beyond well into the seventeenth century.

Carmelite Altarpiece Patronage

Financial support for Carmelite altarpieces was probably less generous than that for altarpieces in other mendicant houses. Yet certain exceptions can be traced, which, tellingly, tended to include donor portraits. At the time of Pietro Lorenzetti's Sienese polyptych, according to Jacob Milendunck, the Order's much respected mid-seventeenth-century historiographer and prior of Cologne (1646–1649), Johannes Walrami de Sublobiis donated a remarkable, now lost

[126]   Teresa Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia*, II: *La Sicilia occidentale: 1484–1557*, Naples 1998, p. 128, who, however, does not transcribe the captions. In vol. I, *La Sicilia orientale*, Naples 1993, pp. 192f., fig. 189, she mentions a third version of this iconography at Catania, painted by Andrea Pastura in 1501.
[127]   Ludovico Saggi, *La 'Bolla Sabatina': ambiente, testo, tempo*, Rome 1967.
[128]   See note 35 and Beryl Smalley, "John Baconthorpe's Postill on St. Matthew", in: *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, IV (1958), pp. 91–145: 92. Prior General Guiu Terrena was one of John XXII's closest theological advisors (oral communication by Patrick Nold, May 2014). The Order's special relationship to John XXII has not yet been adequately considered. For the papal chapel see note 11.
[129]   See the summary by Machtelt Israëls, "Iconography", in: Rachel Billinge, "Saint Francis before the Pope: The Granting of the Indulgence of the Portiuncula", in: *Sassetta* (note 76), II, pp. 499f.

[130]   See Di Natale (note 125), Pugliatti (note 126), and Jotischky (note 5), pp. 41f.
[131]   *Ibidem*, p. 57, and Romano (note 118), p. 509.
[132]   Copsey (note 35), p. 53.
[133]   For broader context see the contribution by Pierroberto Scaramella, *Le madonne del Purgatorio: iconografia e religione in Campania tra rinascimento e controriforma*, Genoa 1991; Christine Göttler, *Die Kunst des Fegefeuers nach der Reformation: Kirchliche Schenkungen, Ablass und Almosen in Antwerpen und Bologna um 1600*, Mainz 1996, pp. 195–212; Marilyn Dunn, *The Vision of St. Fursey and the Development of Purgatory* (= *Fursey Occasional Paper*, II), Norwich 2007; Robert N. Swanson, "The Burdens of Purgatory", in: *Medieval Christianity*, ed. by Daniel E. Bornstein, Minneapolis 2009, pp. 353–380; and John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge, Mass./London 2013, pp. 133, 241–243.

32 After Tommaso di Vigilia, Madonna del Carmine. Corleone, Chiesa del Carmine

tabula for the *altare maius* of Cologne's convent at the Waidmarkt.[134] Before he became prior in Cologne (1327–circa 1331), at the oldest and most important convent in the German speaking countries, Johannes Walrami de Sublobiis had trained at Paris university and acted as Provincial of the Upper German Province; subsequently he was elected Provincial of the united German Province.[135] As Milendunck reports, the prior was depicted at the foot of the Crucifix in the centre of the retable. Reliquaries in several rows as well as Apostles and Saints presumably filled the sides and wings.[136] In addition, Johannes Walrami donated Cross relics mounted in a separate silver cross, which was originally kept at the screen's Cross altar.[137] His pioneering example was followed by other members of the Order and eventually by the laity. Circa 1515–1520 an unidentified Carmelite was portrayed in the large Passion triptych, now in the Domschatzkammer in Aachen, which once embellished the same Cross altar.[138] Contemporaneously the nuns of Bruges included images of their prior and Saints Albert and Elisabeth, the latter referring to their prioress, in the

predella of their high altarpiece painted by Gerard David.[139] The nuns, together with a subsequent prior and other citizens, financed distinct parts of the altar ensemble over several decades, a standard procedure for a poor convent. A similar practice is documented for the Minors in Sansepolcro in central Italy.[140] In Bruges Gerard David, who did not charge the nuns for painting the central compartment, instead portrayed his wife and himself as donors (Fig. 12). It was claimed that Veit Stoß carved the sumptuous altarpiece for his son's convent in Nuremberg (Figs. 29, 30) for less than half the commercial price.[141] Severe financial difficulties also determined the slow execution of the high altarpiece in Manresa in the Catalan hinterland, initially commissioned circa 1418 *modo et forma* after Pere Serra's retable of 1394 for La Seu.[142] The completed wooden structure, unsuccessfully allocated to a local painter in 1487, was delivered to the Castilian painter Juan Garcia in 1507, and Joan Gason finally gilded the framework and added the communal arms in 1520. Garcia's contract is an exceptionally rare example for a Carmelite high altarpiece, and Stoß' contract draw-

33 Girolamo Siciolante, Virgin with Child and saints. Bologna, San Martino Maggiore

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[134] Hans Vogts, "Zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Kölner Karmeliterklosters", in: *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, XIV (1932), pp. 148–185: 148f., 168, referred to this retable basing himself on Carmelite sources in the Stadtarchiv of Frankfurt, however without precise citation; followed by Emilia Schlatmann, "St. Maria vom Berge Karmel", in: *Kölner Kirchen und ihre mittelalterliche Ausstattung*, II, Cologne 1996 (= *Colonia Romanica*, XI), pp. 55–58. Klueting (note 85) did not mention this lost but historically important altarpiece in her essay; subsequently she generously provided me with a scan of the relevant part of Jacob Milendunck's unpublished *Chronicon Carmeli Coloniensis*, Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Karmeliterbücher, 47, fol. 444r–449r. Fol. 447r directly concerns the high altarpiece: "Praefato summo Altari deinde novam insignem et pretiosam tabulam imponi procuravit Reverendus Pater Joannes Walrami de Sublobiis, qui olim fuit utriusque Germaniae provincialis, usque ad annum 1348; a quo anno post factam provincie divisionem fuit prior coloniensis mortuus anno [*cancelled* 1359] 1356: cuius picta effigies ad pedem Crucifixi in medio tabulae interioris supplex cernitur. Hac tabula duplicatis alis lateralibus et que pro festorum diversitate explicari possit instructa est: intus optime deaurata, atque coloribus fulgentibus, gemmas, lapidesque pretiosos repraesentantibus affabre picta: exhibent sacrosancta redemptionis nostrae mysteria, nec non Apostolorum aliorumque sanctorum imagines splendidas: impositae quoque et inclusae sunt huic tabulae plurimae reliquiae sacrae, potissimum capita

sanctarum virginum et martyrum a societate S. Ursulae pannis sericis et acupictis involuta, et per 4or [*sic*] ordines, seu series in transversum ductae summam, mediam et infimam, distributa."
[135] Klueting (note 85), pp. 19, 21, 57, 411, 473, and Adalbert Deckert, "P. Johannes Walrami de Sublobiis, O. Carm.: Ein Sohn der Stadt Köln", in: *Carmelus*, L (2003), pp. 179–181, with reference to Lickteig (note 47), pp. 34, 126, 128, 170, 425.
[136] For the reconstruction see below, p. 37.
[137] Vogts (note 134); Klueting (note 85), pp. 396, 407.
[138] Klueting (note 85), pp. 408–410, introduced Anton Woensam as the artist and speculated about the Carmelite depicted – presumably the prior or provincial at the time. The study by Marita to Berens-Jurk, *Der Meister des Aachener Altars*, Diss. Mainz 1999, was not accessible to me.
[139] Weale 1864/1865 (note 63), p. 293.
[140] *Sassetta* (note 76), I, pp. 53–267. There, too, the wooden structure was completed before painting began, and distinct donations were paid for both.
[141] Kahsnitz (note 121), pp. 402f. For the convent history see Christian Kruse, "Nürnberg", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum* (note 23), pp. 568–584, and for the prior and economic circumstances *Acta des Karmelitenprovinzials Andreas Stoß (1534–1538)*, ed. by Adalbert Deckert/Matthäus Hösler (= *Archivum historicum Carmelitanum*, V), Rome 1995.
[142] See notes 60 and 61.

ing in Cracow (Fig. 30)[143] is, as far as I am aware, the only preserved one for a Carmelite commission. In San Martino in Bologna the Malvezzi family financed Siciolante's colossal *pala*, which is signed and dated 1548 and set into an imposing frame-architecture by Andrea da Formigine and his workshop (Fig. 33).[144] Matteo Malvezzi had unsuccessfully approached Michelangelo in Rome already by 1528 to create a traditional *Madonna enthroned with four saints*. In Siciolante's presentation drawing in Paris[145] the ambitious lay patron is absent, but he joins the main protagonists in the painting eventually produced, situated at the left border of the picture next to the statuette of his name saint Matthew in the sculpted frame, with his name spelt out on a parapet, while his arms are displayed in the predella relief.

Other outstanding visual documentation can be found. The heraldry on the outside wing (Fig. 19) of the Viennese high altarpiece identifies the benefactor as Oswald Oberndorffer, the financial officer of Archduke Albrecht IV.[146] Albrecht in turn was portrayed as King of Austria protected by the Virgin of Mercy in the Angels' compartment (Fig. 6).[147] Queen Elisabeth, it seems, was associated with the *Holy widows and women*.[148] Exceptionally, after their takeover of the Viennese convent in 1554, the Jesuits largely respected the existing altarpiece, eliminating the unfitting Carmelite

34, 35 Master of the Albrechtsaltar, Visit of Mount Carmel and Queen of Church Fathers (details of the Albrechtsaltar from Vienna). Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum

[143] Kahsnitz (note 121). The drawing, now at the Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Cracow, has been separated from the written contract, which is still preserved in Nuremberg.
[144] Hunter (note 46) with reference to Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Oxford 1981, p. 42, and Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Il carteggio*, ed. by Giovanni Poggi/Paola Barocchi/Renzo Ristori, III, Florence 1973, p. 272.
[145] Hunter (note 46), pp. 259f., 279.
[146] Perger (note 17), pp. 9f.
[147] The text "curam habens singulorum sortem tene angelorum" and "mater omnium bonorum hic assisto custos horum" is quoted after Röhrig (note 49), pp. 68f.
[148] Perger (note 17), pp. 10, 16f., and Röhrig (note 49), pp. 25 and 82f., for the text "palmam praefers singularem ut in terra habemus parem nec in coeli curia" and "sicut palma virorum omni tempore conservans sic vobiscum sto in fidei permanens".

36, 37 Nicolas Froment, Triptych of the Burning Bush with open wings and with closed wings. Aix-en-Provence, Cathedral
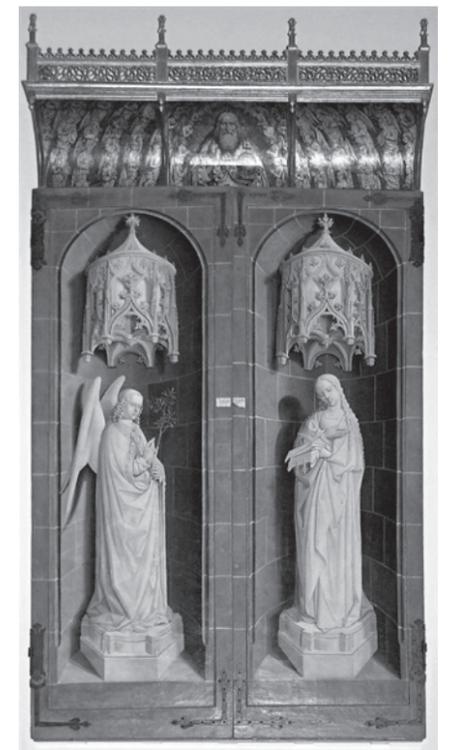
images by overpainting them (Fig. 34).[149] The didactic text and complex visual layout of this sophisticated altar programme strongly imply erudite advice given to the anonymous artist. In fact, the responsible coordinator can most likely be identified among the Carmelites who stand in their magisterial berets behind the Church fathers (Fig. 35).[150] The Vienna convent had itself possessed a *Studium generale*, which in 1386 was integrated into Vienna University. Konrad Mosbach,[151] the learned prior at the time, would be the obvious candidate to have worked out this programme with the Albrecht Master, in agreement with their financial benefactor. Clergy as well as laity engaged in

this commission all seem to be visually documented here.

A surprising example of royal patronage is the famous triptych of the *Burning Bush* (Figs. 36, 37) painted in 1475/76 by Nicolas Froment for René d'Anjou, who erected it in the side chapel he had destined for the burial of his entrails in the Carmelite church of Aix-en-Provence.[152] Why should René have opted for the Grands Carmes and, more importantly, why should he have chosen *Moses' Vision of the Virgin and Child in the Burning Bush*? René and his second wife, Jeanne Laval, both prominently portrayed in the triptych wings with the arms and heraldry of the King

[149] Perger (note 17), p. 14, and Röhrig (note 49), p. 21. At about the same time Lorenzetti's *Madonna* and central predella scene were taken to a country church and overpainted, for which see notes 5 and 76.
[150] Lickteig (note 47), pp. 180f., 431f. The text "doctrix disciplinae dei nostrae assis aciei" and "ut vitis fructifera doctrinae hic do pocula", quoted after Röhrig (note 49), pp. 78f., appropriately refers to Mary instructing.

[151] On this subject see Perger (note 17), pp. 17f., and Lickteig (note 47), pp. 431, 446.
[152] *Le triptyque du* Buisson Ardent, ed. by Yves Cranga/Marie-Claude Léonelli, Arles 2011, includes a restoration report of the retable, exhibited in Aix Cathedral; further Michel Laclotte/Dominique Thiébaut, *L'école d'Avignon*, Paris 1983, pp. 245–247.

and Queen of Jerusalem and the Two Sicilies, presumably associated themselves with the Holy Land, from which the Carmelites originated.[153] As early as in the 1440s and 1450s René had supported the Order's houses in Angers and Loudun.[154] Most likely the local friars insisted on the altar's dedication to the Virgin's Immaculate Conception, at the time a much disputed doctrine, which the Carmelites, together with the Franciscans, strongly defended against the Dominicans.[155] Could the Carmelites, perhaps assisted by a royal confessor, have suggested to René the unusual Old Testament's foreshadowing of the Virgin's Son, appropriately framed by twelve Jewish kings and overseen by God the Father and the angels' choir?[156] Earlier, the Viennese retable had also associated Mary with the Burning Bush.[157] On the other hand, the saints represented on the wings – Mary Magdalene, Anthony Abbot, Maurice to the left as well as John the Evangelist, Catherine of Alexandria and Nicholas of Bari to the right – had probably been selected by the royal couple as their personal protectors; the places of devotion for the saints Mary Magdalene, Maurice, and Nicholas – respectively Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-

Baume, Angers, and Bari – were, after all, within their dominions. Inscriptions on the picture frame summarize the programme and plead to the Virgin for the soul's salvation, recalling the text on the earlier tomb of René and his first wife, Isabelle de Lorraine, in Angers Cathedral.[158] Froment's altarpiece in the Grands Carmes of Aix certainly became the centrepiece of René's royal *memoria* in Provence.

My last, somewhat more problematic case foregrounds another fundamental point. From circa 1505 three Fugger brothers, Georg, Ulrich and Jacob, envisaged a magnificent burial chapel in Sankt Anna in Augsburg (Fig. 38).[159] The chapel's Carmelite setting has, however, not been sufficiently acknowledged because the intense negotiations between the friars and the powerful merchants have been consistently underestimated, although it was common practice at the time.[160] Moreover, the analysis of the chapel is complicated by the historical circumstances: the leading protagonist, prior Johannes Starck, was expelled in 1514; his successor resigned in 1523, the convent was suppressed in 1534, and the church thereafter was repeatedly damaged by wars, so that the original aspect of the chapel

38 Augsburg, Sankt Anna, Fugger Chapel
(general view)

[153] Jean-Michel Matz, "René, l'Église et la religion", in: *Le roi René dans tous ses États (1409–1480)*, ed. by *idem*/Élisabeth Verry, Paris 2009, pp. 125–147, and Françoise Robin, "Le décor d'une vie princière", *ibidem*, pp. 149–183; the latter wrongly located René's tomb and altarpiece in the presbytery.

[154] Christian de Mérindol, *Le roi René (1409–1480): décoration de ses chapelles et demeures*, exh. cat., Paris 1981, p. 27.

[155] Pierre-Joseph de Haitze, *Les curiosités les plus remarquables de la ville d'Aix*, Aix 1679, pp. 151–154, reported the dedication. Cf. Cyrille Devillers, "Signification du buisson ardent", in: *Le triptyque* (note 152), pp. 95–137: 133; not all aspects of the Devillers' interpretation can be shared. For the feast compare note 53.

[156] See *Le triptyque* (note 152); Enriqueta Harris, "Mary in the Burning Bush: Nicolas Froment's Triptych at Aix-en-Provence", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, I (1937/38), pp. 281–286; Ewald M. Vetter, "Maria im brennenden Dornbusch", in: *Das Münster*, X (1957), pp. 237–253, who wrongly linked the triptych with the Carthusians.

[157] Röhrig (note 49), pp. 52f.

[158] The texts below and above the central image read respectively "rubum quem viderat Moises incombustum conservatam agnovimus tuam laudabilem virginitatem scta dei genitrix" and "qui me invenerit inveniet vitam

hauriet salutem a domino sa(p?)" (Devillers [note 155], pp. 101 and 121). For the inscriptions below the painted *Roi mort* and above the royal effigies consult Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1973, pp. 87–89.

[159] Bushart (note 55); Erwin Naimer, "Augsburg", in: *Monasticon Carmelitanum* (note 23), pp. 159–166; Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: St. Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, University Park, Pa., 2004, pp. 29f., 85–90. Here, the White Friars had added the dedication to Saint Anne to the old Marian title at the church's reconsecration in 1485.

[160] Otto G. Oexle, "Adel, Memoria und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Bemerkungen zur Memorial-Kapelle der Fugger in Augsburg", in: *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVᵉ au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, conference proceedings Paris/Versailles 1996, ed. by Chantal Grell/Werner Paravicini/Jürgen Voss, Bonn 1998, pp. 339–357, focused on the Fugger, yet the Order was equally concerned with *memoria*. Benjamin Scheller, *Memoria an der Zeitenwende: Die Stiftungen Jakob Fuggers des Reichen vor und während der Reformation (ca. 1505–1555)*, Berlin 2004, first analized the changing relationship. Despite ample documentation many problems remain unresolved. For a well-known case of manipulation see Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), pp. 372–398, 656–666.

39 Albrecht Dürer, Resurrection of Christ. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. 3126

40 Albrecht Dürer, Samson conquering the Philistines. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. KdZ 4080

is not fully documented.[161] The statues on the altar, a *Christ in Pietà* held up by an angel and flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, directly reflect the altar title, *Corpus Domini*, which, once again, the Order probably proposed, having celebrated the feast since 1306.[162] The predella nowadays displays *The carrying of the Cross*, *The deposition from the Cross* and *Christ in Limbo*, without any reference to the lay patron or the Order. Yet, Fugger heraldry occurs repeatedly elsewhere, and the Carmelites' crowned *Immaculate Virgin* decorates the keystone of the chapel. Instead of eponymous, regional

or Carmelite mediating saints, four unusual epitaphs record the deceased donors and represent, in the form of monumental marble reliefs almost certainly designed by Albrecht Dürer, *The Resurrection of Christ* and *Samson conquering the Philistines* (Figs. 39, 40).[163] Here, as earlier in Aix or later in Nuremberg,[164] the friars presumably insisted on this medieval typological juxtaposition, which alludes to their roots in the Holy Land. Two of the Order's most significant feasts, the *Ascension of Christ* and the *Assumption of the Virgin*, were depicted on the open shutters of the organ that was perma-

nently mounted above the epitaphs on the chapel wall, which at the same time forms the inner church façade (Fig. 38).[165] Only at that height and in minute scale were the painted portraits of Jacob Fugger, Emperor Maximilian and other contemporaries permitted. If the iconographical programme of the Fugger chapel was largely controlled by the Order and indeed insistently characterized by Carmelite spirituality, should the *Fronleichnamsgruppe* on the altar also be classified as Carmelite? Could 'neutral' altarpieces therefore be spiritually defined by their specific context? This fundamental question leads, of course, to a whole range of different aspects better analysed elsewhere.

Material and Formal Diversity of Carmelite Altarpieces

Despite certain common themes the very wide geographical spread of the various houses and their benefactors produced astonishing diversity in the Order's altarpieces. Regional traditions and personal preferences as well as the availability of different materials and artistic skills determined their individual appearance. This is well illustrated by two contemporary, Gothic examples, which both originated, not casually I believe, from leading artistic centres south and north of the Alps: Pietro Lorenzetti's many-storied polyptych in Siena (Figs. 17, 18, 22, 27) and the winged retable donated by Johannes Walrami de Sublobiis in Cologne, which once contained, in the city's

best religious and cultural tradition, reliquary heads or busts apparently in three rows.[166] However the most important source for this early fourteenth-century high altarpiece, Milendunck's mid-seventeenth-century description, is ambiguous; furthermore, the impact of the recent reform, which changed both the location and orientation of the main altar and subsequently enlarged its dedication, on the retable of circa 1330 is uncertain. Any reconstruction therefore remains hypothetical. According to the chronicler's description, Redemption was accentuated without specific reference to Mary, the titular of the altar, convent and Order – only Franz Vriendt's substitute, the lost *Assumption of the Virgin* of 1669, stressed her presence.[167] The identifying Carmelite figures Elijah and Elisha must be assumed among the "aliorum [...] sanctorum imagines splendidas". The form of the original architectural framework can perhaps be inferred from exceptionally preserved works executed in Cologne either in the years before 1330, such as the reliquary cupboards of the *Domsakristei*, or shortly afterwards, such as the choir screen paintings in the Cathedral, the *Klarenaltar* from the local Franciscan nunnery, or the high altarpiece from the Cistercian monastery of Marienstatt.[168] The two Carmelite paintings are defined to a striking degree by local tradition: Sienese artists introduced the many-storied polyptych, a formal structure often favoured but never exclusively chosen by the mendicants, to Tuscany.[169] They greatly refined the narrative

[161] Bushart (note 55), pp. 18–20, and Lickteig (note 47), pp. 204f., 207, 212– 214, 366.
[162] See Bushart (note 55), pp. 199–230, 422, for the originally oriented altar and its title; Boyce (note 29), pp. 83, 220–227, for the feast; Israëls (note 1), pp. 230f., and *idem* (note 7), for Carmelite involvement at Siena.

[163] Bushart (note 55), pp. 115–172, and Scheller (note 160), pp. 70–80. For Dürer's authorship compare Berit Wagner, "Through the Eyes of the Related Arts: Dürer as Designer", in: *Albrecht Dürer: His Art in Context*, exh. cat. Frankfurt, ed. by Jochen Sander, Munich/London/New York 2013, pp. 277–279.
[164] Suckale (note 121), pp. 241f.

[165] Bushart (note 55), pp. 233–237, 240–244, 263f. Hermann J. Busch/Isolde Lübbeke, "Augsburg, Grabkapelle der Fugger in St. Anna", in: *Die Bemalten Orgelflügel in Europa*, Rotterdam 2001, pp. 72–74, commented on name saints of the lost outer shutters.
[166] See notes 5 and 76 and p. 23. Aegidius Gelenius, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine Coloniae Claudiae Agrippinensis Augustae Ubiorum urbis libri IV*, Cologne 1645, reprinted with comment by Heinz Erich Stiene, Cologne 2005, pp. 481–484, specified the church's relics but not their placement. Hans-Joachim Kracht/Jakob Torsy, *Reliquiarium Coloniense*, Siegburg 2003, were unaware of Milendunck's chronicle.
[167] Vogts (note 134), p. 181.
[168] Anton Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kultur: Zwischen Antike und Aufklärung*, Darmstadt 1995, pp. 154–198; Alexandra König, *Die Anfänge der Kölner Ta-

felmalerei*, Diss. Heinrich-Heine Universität Düsseldorf 2001, pp. 93–115, 125–163, 223–251, URL: http://docserv.uni-duesseldorf.de/servlets/DocumentServlet?id=2614 (Zugriff am 26.9.2014); Christa Schulze-Senger/Wilfried Hansmann, *Der Clarenaltar im Kölner Dom: Dokumentation der Untersuchung, Konservierung und Restaurierung*, Worms 2005; Annegret Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden: Zum Bildgebrauch zwischen sakralem Zeremoniell und Stiftermemoria 1250–1430*, Petersberg 2000, pp. 33–36; and Norbert Wolf, *Deutsche Schnitzretabel des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2002, pp. 61–68, 112–121.
[169] Cf. Joanna Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, New Haven/London 2013, pp. 341–344, published while this research was already advanced.

predella and its detailed story-telling. In Cologne it is instead the visible integration of numerous relics of Saint Ursula and her companions in the winged retable that is characteristic for the provenance – relics must of course have been particularly welcomed by the Carmelites given the difficulty with their asserted forefathers. In Siena it was the town's pronounced Marian cult combined with the Order's deep devotion to Mary that motivated patron, benefactor and artist alike. Both Carmelite altar ensembles once shared great material splendour, especially emphasized by Milendunck and still evident in Siena.

The fragments from the elaborate stone altar of the Grands Carmes in Metz set up in the late fourteenth century (1375–1400) must stand in for the sculpted works that once existed in great number in France, Spain and England.[170] The Viennese ensemble of circa 1436–1439 (Figs. 6, 8, 19, 23, 26, 34, 35) contrasts with Stoß' altar-relief of 1520–1523 for Nuremberg (Fig. 29), with the intended composition and framework still outlined in its contract drawing (Fig. 30). Here, as also reported for Bruges (Fig. 12), crowning statues completed the monumental altarpiece.[171] Another pair of Renaissance works, Polidoro da Caravaggio's triptych for Messina (Fig. 14), and Siciolante's unified *pala* (Fig. 33) in Bologna, show comparable formal diversity. On the other hand, a group of Sicilian dossals (Figs. 31, 32) of circa 1500 demonstrates continuity extending back to an ancient panel format and a narrative mode with explanatory captions already employed in the Duecento in the panel in Nicosia (Fig. 3). Evidently, although the Order's patronage of altarpieces began slowly, numerous major artists produced outstanding altarpieces for Carmelite houses, which have until now barely been connected with the Order and never been assessed as a group.

The Carmelite Altarpiece: An Outline History

To sum up my observations, based on the most comprehensive survey to date of largely surviving and documented works, Carmelite altarpieces appear recognizable from their beginnings around 1290, although their specific content, form and material would vary over time. Many-storied polyptychs and winged retables, in contrast to ordinary smaller Marian panels, remained, apparently, exceptional throughout the fourteenth century, as the Order obviously lacked appropriate saints, monumental buildings, and sufficient financial support. In the Trecento the Carmelites successfully concentrated on more conventional, literary means to defend their alleged history and spirituality. Not accidentally they often identified figures and scenes by inscriptions. Reacting more and more to patrons' and benefactors' customary demands, from the time of the canonization of Saints Albert and Angelus to the mid-sixteenth century the production of altarpieces for Carmelite churches did flourish, and in the early seventeenth century new cults led to another highpoint of Carmelite altar furnishing.

The Order may have been hesitant in exploring new visual means of communication, yet Lorenzetti's superb Sienese polyptych of 1329 (Figs. 17, 18, 22, 27) should caution against any quick general assessment. The painter gave visual form to the most comprehensive and up-to-date Carmelite programme, which includes the Order's titular saint, its favoured prophets and locally venerated saints as well as the most detailed surviving history of its foundation, before it was coherently expressed in writing. While the Sienese commune strikingly helped the *fratres* finance their "tabula honorabile et valde pulcra",[172] who actually conceived this extraordinary pictorial Carmelite *manifesto* has not yet been discovered.

Common themes can be established in Carmelite altarpieces. Their recognition rests largely on the Order's cult, its titular, feasts, prophets and saints, as well as its habit and historicity. The subject matter was to a very considerable degree, as might be expected, conditioned and modified by regional custom and individual patronage. The Order's general approach was conventional, contemplative, and retrospective, and its imagery repeatedly evoked biblical times and places (Figs. 15, 19, 34, 36, 40). Continuing medieval tradition into the Renaissance, the friars exploited typology and enlarged their identifying imagery, emphasizing Old Testament prefigurations. At the same time they deeply respected ancient Marian icons (Figs. 2, 3) in their possession and gradually updated their settings. Devoted for several centuries to Mary, the Carmelites eventually created a patronal feast specific to the Order, the Solemn Commemoration of the Madonna of Mount Carmel, which their images of the *Madonna of Mount Carmel* obviously supported. In addition, they introduced two Marian visions, which, although suspiciously similar to older mendicant ones, directly concerned their Order, *The Virgin freeing souls from Purgatory* (Figs. 31, 32) and *The Virgin granting the scapular to Simon Stock*. Both scenes skilfully transformed legend into history. Characteristically in Bologna the Order renewed both the high altarpiece (Fig. 33) and the prominent church organ, which can still be seen and heard *in situ*.[173] This rare survival points towards an important but largely lost interaction that is widely recorded also in the case of other churches.[174]

High altarpieces predominantly promulgated Carmelite concerns, because the Order, reluctant to concede *ius patronatus* of the main altar, itself controlled their programme and appearance.[175] It was Johannes Walrami de Sublobiis, the Paris-schooled Provincial,

who donated the great altar of Cologne, the prior and master of theology of Manresa, who stipulated the *retaula* with Juan Garcia, and Andreas Stoß, the prior and doctor of canon law of Nuremberg, who commissioned his father Veit to produce the altar reliefs (Figs. 29, 30). In Vienna the university-trained prior must have planned the highly sophisticated programme of the main altar ensemble (Figs. 26, 34, 35) in collaboration with the artist and the benefactor. As advisors, the friars further influenced many notable retables in side chapels. The erudite prior Rumold von Laupach conceived the programme of the altarpiece of the St. Anne confraternity in Frankfurt (Figs. 7, 10, 11).

By the late fifteenth century, when Carmelite convents could still offer patronal opportunities for aspiring families, the White friars had caught up with other mendicant houses in attracting prosperous supporters (Figs. 36, 38). Carmelite altarpieces could resemble in form and even content those of other religious institutions and their assertive benefactors – the *Madonna and saints* never lost its popular appeal (Figs. 17, 20, 24, 33). Regional style determined to a decisive degree the formal appearance of the Order's altarpieces and therefore also assimilated them to those of other patrons, be they clerical or lay, corporate or individual. The Order's self-identification through constructed historicity was difficult to communicate in altarpieces, especially to lay congregations. The status of Elijah, the Order's presumed founder, complicated his visual representation on the altar, and any request for relics of the Carmelite ancestors must have been problematic. The friars could not capitalize on the names of modern founders as was the case for the Franciscans and Dominicans;[176] only the Augustinians found themselves in equal difficulty. During its first centuries

[170] *Les premiers retables (XIIᵉ–début du XVᵉ siècle): une mise en scène du sacré*, ed. by Pierre-Yves Le Pogam/Christine Vivet-Peclet, exh. cat., Paris 2009, p. 226.
[171] For Stoß' altarpiece in Nuremberg see the literature cited in note 121,

and for the reconstruction of Gerard David's Bruges altarpiece see Weale 1866–1870, "Le couvent" (note 63), p. 78.
[172] Quoted after Bacci (note 18), p. 84.

[173] Oscar Mischiati, "L'organo della basilica di S. Martino di Bologna: capolavoro di G. Cipri", in: *L'Organo*, I (1960), pp. 213–256; for the broader context see Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), pp. 480–569, 673–678.
[174] In 2006 I organized a study day at Villa I Tatti, Florence, on the re-

lationship between organs and altarpieces; its proceedings remain unpublished.
[175] Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), pp. 372–398, 656–666.
[176] Charles de la Roncière, "Orientations pastorales du clergé, fin XIIIᵉ–

the Order possessed, apart from few blessed and little-known legendary figures, no canonized saints who could have readily been selected as name saints, stimulating altar dedications and determining altarpiece programmes; only in the mid-fifteenth century did they reach a level of patronage comparable to that of their competitors.

As far as is known at present, the Order, thinly spread out all over Europe, only rarely profited from networking. A tendency to recruit novices locally and limit the friars' mobility may have added to the restriction. Nevertheless, the Florentine convent most likely recommended its artist, Masaccio, to the Pisan house within the same province. In comparable manner the brothers of Hirschhorn presumably directed the fresco painter Jörg Ratgeb to nearby Frankfurt. Other religious institutions regularly communicated with one another and potential donors of altarpieces by referring *modo et forma* – in the manner of – to already existing, familiar models of programme, retable type, composition, materials, and even quality of execution.[177] Tellingly, within the borders of one city, Bruges for example, the male and female convents of the Order could easily communicate and possibly ask the painter Gerard David, who had previously delivered the *Transfiguration* (Fig. 15) to the latter, to base his *Virgo inter virgines* (Fig. 12) for the former on that by the Master of the St. Lucy Legend of 1489 in the male house. Comparably, in 1507 Joan Garcia was contracted to compose his Carmelite retable in Manresa after Pere Serra's at the local Seu. The most striking case of *modo et forma* can probably be found in Sicily, where the Or-

der commissioned numerous Marian dossals, which all visually authenticated the Sabbatine Bull (Figs. 31, 32).

More fundamentally, few other orders underwent so many far-reaching modifications, which naturally impacted on the Carmelite altarpiece. Emigration to the West, the change from eremitical to mendicant, urban life, the substantial adjustment of the Rule, and the substitution of their striped habit with a black robe, scapular, and white mantle transformed Carmelite existence. With the gradual shift of the main patronal feast from the standard Assumption of the Virgin to the more specific Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin of Mount Carmel the Order, represented initially by the prophet Elijah and subsequently the mendicant St. Albert, profoundly modified its own liturgy. All these changes, which at times contributed to an impression of the Order's altarpieces lacking conviction, can at a deeper level help explain why Carmelite altarpieces only reached for limited periods the consistent prominence acquired by retables of other religious institutions. Despite the Order's persistent attempt to define itself visually in its altarpieces, in comparison to its competitors' self-presentation Carmelite imagery is at times less distinguished and therefore more difficult to identify – after all they lacked the Dominicans' numerous saints and the Franciscans' extensive stories for any detailed iconic or narrative display.[178] However, even the much better represented and more widely studied altar ensembles of the two dominant mendicant orders have not yet been sufficiently investigated across Europe over several centuries to allow a broad assessment and an appropriate comparison of

their visual traditions and general contributions to art. Yet Pietro Lorenzetti, Masaccio, Nicolas Froment, Gerard David, and Veit Stoß produced masterpieces for the Order which compare with any contemporary production.

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Abstract

The present article aims to outline a history of the Carmelite altarpiece from the diaspora of the Order from the East in the late thirteenth century until the Council of Trent. After their establishment in the major Western European cities, the Carmelites had to compete with the other mendicant orders in attracting civic and individual patronage. Altarpieces formed an essential part of their historical self-representation and construction of identity, and consequently these paintings and sculptures document the substantial modifications the Order underwent during the first centuries of its existence in the West, including the adjustment of their Rule, the change of habit, and the introduction of new feasts and saints. Not disposing of a true founder saint such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the Carmelites consistently promoted the cult of Mary and emphasized their semi-legendary origin in the Holy Land through the cult of their alleged forefathers, the prophets Elijah and Elisha, which, from the fifteenth century onwards, were gradually replaced by the 'new' Carmelite saints Angelus of Licata, Albert of Trapani, and Simon Stock. First depending mainly on Marian icons, from the thirteenth century onwards the Carmelites promoted the production of a series of outstanding altarpieces. Although the Carmelite altarpiece as a concept remains elusive, this first systematic survey of the European artistic patronage of the Order before 1550 intends to prepare the ground for its better understanding.

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[177] For the concept of *modo et forma* see Gardner von Teuffel (note 2), *ad indicem*.

[178] Gilbert (note 5) and Cannon (note 169), pp. 355–359, focusing on the Dominicans in central Italy during two centuries only.