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## **Locating Albert: the first Carmelite Saint in the works of Taddeo di Bartolo, Lippo di Andrea, Masaccio and others<sup>1\*</sup>**

*Lacking an undisputed founder, the Carmelites, in competition with other mendicant orders, promulgated the cult of their early confessor Alberto degli Abati of Trapani (c.1240-1307). Their concentration on Albert's legend, iconography, relics, liturgical feast, anniversary masses, and venerated sites eventually resulted in his canonization (1457). The original locations of the first images of Albert, which provided the Order with important propaganda tools, are investigated. The possibility that these sites, initially of popular devotion, became, after Albert's canonization, altars dedicated to the new saint is examined.*

The study of the Carmelite Order, in contrast to that of the other main mendicant orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, has been comparatively neglected by earlier scholarship<sup>2</sup>. The Carmelites, who migrated to Western Europe from the Holy Land in the mid-thirteenth century, transformed themselves from an eremitical-monastic order into an urban mendicant order. As they did not possess a single founder, they claimed the Prophets Elijah and Elisha as forefathers, and asserted their origin in the Holy Land in biblical times. This extraordinary claim has attracted historians' wider interest. However, historians' concentration on Carmelite origins resulted in less attention being paid to their European existence. The Carmelites although officially acknowledged by the papacy in the West, struggled in competition with the other mendicant orders. It is in this context that the introduction of the mendicant Alberto degli Abati of Trapani (ca. 1240-1307) became meaningful. The Order's first real saint, he was soon assigned the status of "modern" founder-figure, comparable to Francis and Dominic. For over a century the Order had slowly, but persistently promulgated the cult of the Sicilian confessor. Their insistence on image, vita, relics, feast, masses, and sites of veneration eventually led to the oral concession of his canonization in 1457, and its formal ratification in 1476. Thereafter his proper feast liturgy was established, and altars and chapels were officially consecrated to him. In this drawn-out process Albert's image, be it painted, sculpted, or even printed, played an important role for the Carmelites as a tool of visual communication with their own members,

their patrons and benefactors, and the wider competitive world.

I first introduce the earliest surviving altar-painting with a full-length figure of Albert, generally attributed to Lippo di Andrea, a follower of Agnolo Gaddi. This Florentine triptych is significantly dated 1420, the same year the Carmelites' General Chapter at Montpellier decreed that an image of Blessed Albert should be placed in every convent. After a brief discussion of earlier lost representations of Albert, I shall consider the crucial fifteenth-century period leading up to his canonization, and investigate the reaction to his official recognition. In 1524, the General Vicar, Nicholas Audet, at the General Chapter in Venice, expressly demanded an altar of Saint Albert be located in every Carmelite church to further promote his cult.

The Florentine altarpiece, now in poor condition, of mediocre quality and unknown provenance, is in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>. It depicts the standing Albert and Peter to the Virgin's right, and Paul and Anthony Abbot to her left; God the Father and an Annunciation group fill the gables. The friar is clearly identified by the (renewed) inscription, *S(AN)CT(U)S ALBERTUS*, his white mantle over a black tunic and scapular, and his attributes, a lily and closed book<sup>4</sup>. Like the others, Albert has a halo, although the Chapter decree of 1420 correctly specified *imago Beati Alberti cum radiis*, an important distinction of status to which I shall return<sup>5</sup>. Apart from the triptych's style and date, the painter's extensive contemporary activity in the Florentine Carmine for both clergy and laity – he frescoed the new sacristy for the friars and the old one for the Nerli family – renders the attribution to Lippo di Andrea very likely<sup>6</sup>. Taken together, the painter's presence and the decree of 1420 demanding an image of Albert in every convent, strengthen the proposed provenance of this altarpiece from the Florentine Carmine as the Order's major convent in the Tuscan Province<sup>7</sup>. Most provincial chapters took place in Florence, then one of the leading artistic centres in Italy. In addition, the large building, more substantial than almost all of the Order's other churches, attracted varied lay patronage, often in the form of alms and small bequests for masses, burial, altarpieces, and chapels, from its predominantly artisan neighbourhood in Oltrarno<sup>8</sup>.

The altar for which Lippo's altarpiece would originally have been destined within the Carmine cannot be easily determined. Yet it can reasonably be assumed that it was associated with the altar at which Saint Albert's cult was later firmly established, and it is likely that this location was identical with the original site of his veneration in this church. It is therefore plausible that Lippo di Andrea's triptych could have embellished an altar later known as that of Saint Albert. One

crucial difficulty in this investigation concerns the fact that canon law normally requires an altar to be consecrated to a canonized saint, and not a blessed<sup>9</sup>. As the Sicilian friar was only canonized in 1457, the altarpiece of 1420 cannot, it seems, have originally been conceived for an altar dedicated to Albert. Could we therefore be dealing with a rare exception? The Order's attitude towards Albert's somewhat inappropriate halo and misleading identification by inscription, which recur in the subsequent altar-paintings by Matteo di Perrucchio (fig. 2), Masaccio (fig. 3) and Fra Filippo Lippi (fig. 4), at first instance favours the case for an exception, as both halo and inscription were probably quietly supported by the Order, keen to promote the would-be saint, and that it was tolerated by the diocesan bishop. However rare preserved legislation, by the Franciscan General Chapter of 1307 and the diocese of Nocera Umbra of 1369, insisted on correct distinction between a blessed and a saint<sup>10</sup>. The much better known case of the Franciscan Observant Bernardino of Siena demonstrates that a halo was mostly added to his image only after his canonization in 1450<sup>11</sup>. As canon law directly controls altar consecration, but does not, or only indirectly, concern itself with accreted altar images, I should argue not for the exceptional, but the traditional procedure being followed in this case, even if Albert was already widely regarded as a saint. He was initially venerated through prayers, masses and an image at an already consecrated altar; only after his canonization was his new title added to the existing, older altar dedication. Soon the new saint determined the altar's popular name and eventually consigned the original titular saint to oblivion.

An important stage in the development of a new official imagery can be demonstrated by the example of the new seal of the Master-General. A badly damaged impression with a now largely lost legend shows the Virgin and Child set within a gothic architectural surround flanked by standing figures in niches (fig. 5). The presence of Albert – the most likely identification of one of the side saints in the abraded wax impression – would obviously have necessitated a new seal design. The owner of the seal kneels in a separate niche in the register below<sup>12</sup>. This seal was originally attached to a document of 1422, which identifies its owner as Giovanni Grossi (Jean Grossi from Pamiers), General of the Order from 1411 until 1430. As Grossi was himself responsible for both the introduction of Albert's feast in 1411 and of his *imago* in 1420, it is quite likely that he also introduced Blessed Albert into the design of the General's official seal<sup>13</sup>. The Order's preoccupation with self-representation in its seal imagery is once again demonstrated in 1524, when General Prior Nicholas Audet decreed that the General Chapter's new seal should display Saint Albert, the Virgin, and the Precursor, John the Baptist, in the main field with six kneeling Carmelites below<sup>14</sup>.

Surprisingly the only identified, large image which precedes Lippo di Andrea's altarpiece, was frescoed 1406-1408 by Taddeo di Bartolo, not in a convent church, but in the secular palace of the Sienese government, in a space linking the Sala del Mappamondo with the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico (fig. 6)<sup>15</sup>. A detailed (now invisible) inscription, *SANCTUS ALBERTUS ORDINIS SANTE MARIE DE MONTE CARMELO*, defines the venerated friar as a member of the Carmelite Order<sup>16</sup>. That Albert's iconographical type is here already fully developed – Carmelite habit, lily and book with halo and inscription – suggests that by then comparable images of the would-be saint already existed elsewhere. The most likely place where it could be seen would obviously have been in the local Carmelite convent of San Niccolò.

Little guidance can be gleaned from the Order's earlier handling of Albert's images since his personal life and miracles are almost unknown. No fourteenth-century images of Albert have apparently survived. Albert's *vita*, written in the 1390s and edited for print by Johann Maria de Poluciis in Venice in 1499, and the Bollandists' entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*, published in 1735, indicate several pre-1400 images and chapels in the main Sicilian convents, in Agrigento, Piazza Armerina, Trapani, Palermo, and Catania<sup>17</sup>. Historians in general, and the Order's own chroniclers in particular, reporting after Albert's canonization, tend to refer with hindsight to Saint Albert. This renders the modern historian's task of differentiation considerably more difficult. In this context the *cappella Sancti Alberti* at Agrigento, which the *vita* listed as one of the earliest chapels dedicated to him, is probably to be interpreted as the site of one of his miracles, which prompted lasting local veneration<sup>18</sup>. The chapel was to be given an *imaginem argenti*, a figure cast of silver, or perhaps more likely, a panel clad with silver. At least one preserved altarpiece of 1422 by Matteo di Perrucchio of the *Virgin's Coronation* with Albert and Peter, originates from Palermo (fig. 2)<sup>19</sup>. There the blessing Albert holds an open book inscribed with the words *VENITE FILII, AUDITE...* strategically addressing his congregation and assertively echoing the prologue of the Benedictine Rule.

Albert slowly began to build a posthumous reputation for sanctity. Yet for obvious reasons very few relics were exported to mainland Italy by the early fifteenth century. Where they arrived, as in Florence and Genoa, they helped to stimulate veneration and the foundation of confraternities<sup>20</sup>.

Around 1350 the Order formally began Albert's promotion; in 1375 the General Chapter assessed the cost of his canonization process, and in 1387 and 1399 supplicated the pope<sup>21</sup>. Albert's conventional *vita* of ca. 1395, mentioned his vision of the Virgin at his death and described a humble preacher, an efficient healer and a man who calmed storms and rough seas, an obvious advantage in Sicily<sup>22</sup>.

He was born ca. 1240 in Trapani and buried with considerable public ceremony at Messina in 1307. Apart from a trip to the Holy Land Albert spent his entire life on the island as friar, prior and provincial – surely a major reason for neglect elsewhere. This insularity explains why his canonization was presented by the Sicilian Province, the General Prior, Jean Soreth, and the Order's cardinal-protector, Guillaume Estouteville, Cardinal titular of San Martino ai Monti, the Carmelite house at Rome. This canonization was finally granted in 1457 by Calixtus III, a Borgia with personal and political links to Naples, Aragon and Sicily<sup>23</sup>.

In 1411 the General Chapter at Bonn introduced Albert's duplex feast on 7 August, the ancient feast day of Saint Donatus, which in turn was gradually phased out<sup>24</sup>. The Sicilian was to be celebrated as a confessor, with texts from the common until his proper office was composed in 1462. Once again, Blessed Albert appears to have been prematurely treated as a saint, a practice sharply criticized by Jacob Milendunck, the Order's much respected, mid-seventeenth-century historiographer<sup>25</sup>. In 1399 and 1450 the Order also entered the feasts of the Prophets Elisha and Elijah into their liturgical calendar, as characteristically, they never renounced their claims to antiquity<sup>26</sup>.

In Florence the first recorded masses for Albert, together with those for Andrew and Anthony Abbot, were stipulated by the wealthy lay man Forte di Piero da Vico di Valdelsa in 1417 and confirmed as fulfilled by the friars in 1423 and 1439<sup>27</sup>. However, the dedication of Forte di Piero's chapel to Saint Andrew, who is not painted by Lippo di Andrea, almost certainly excludes Lippo's triptych from being linked to Forte's altar (fig. 1). More convincingly, Lippo's altarpiece of the Virgin flanked by Albert, Peter, Paul, and Anthony Abbot originally stood on the altar commonly identified as that of Saint Albert. Until its destruction in 1568 this altar was located at the mid-fourteenth-century screen, to the left of the central opening, facing the high altar<sup>28</sup>. According to a seventeenth-century Carmelite source Saint Albert's altar belonged to Ser Paolo di Lorenzo Dieciaiuti, whose tomb slab was nearby. In his testamentary bequest of 1473 Ser Paolo had requested a mass celebrating the Virgin's Nativity, implying an original Marian altar title<sup>29</sup>. It may well have been the Order itself that founded this screen-altar, mentioned in 1445 and 1447, and handed its patronage over to Ser Paolo some time before 1473<sup>30</sup>. The Order kept the patronage of the other inner screen-altar to the right, dedicated to Saint Angelo, the Order's first martyr, who was canonized shortly after Saint Albert in 1467<sup>31</sup>. Regrettably, no contemporary altarpiece, although likely, is securely documented for Saint Angelo's altar. Together the new Carmelite titular saints would have predominantly addressed the friars *in coro*, or in the upper

church, to which the laity had access outside liturgical services.

If Lippo di Andrea's triptych was indeed destined for Albert's screen altar in 1420, as seems most probable, then the altar's original titular should be expected among the main saints of the altarpiece. While the Virgin proposed above, is possible, Saint Peter in place of honour is another candidate. As the first Apostle, he was much respected by all exempt mendicants and in particular the pro-papal Carmelites at Florence, as the extensive programme of the Brancacci chapel, which was entitled to Peter by its founder, soon confirmed<sup>32</sup>. Identical altar dedications in the same church did occur. In Lippo's altar-painting Albert was appropriately paired with Anthony Abbot, the hermit, recalling the Order's past at Mount Carmel, and Paul, who would have been appreciated by the altar's subsequent patron, Ser Paolo di Lorenzo Dieciaiuti. Unusually, he would have taken over Lippo di Andrea's triptych, which, if so, could have been identical with the *tavola*, finally removed from the altar of the Dieciaiuti before the screen's demolition in 1568<sup>33</sup>.

In 1426, shortly after the introduction of Albert's image in Florence, Ser Giuliano di Colino degli Scarsi commissioned Masaccio to paint a double-storied polyptych for his family burial chapel in the Pisan Carmine under the guidance of its prior, Maestro Antonio di Matteo<sup>34</sup>. This trained theologian, experienced administrator, and vicar of the same Tuscan Province, must have long been in direct contact with the Florentine house, which may well have recommended the young artist. At Pisa Masaccio depicted a haloed Carmelite friar without any distinctive attribute (fig. 3), who can however, because of the stylistic and iconographic closeness to Fra Filippo Lippi's Albert with the lily in the *Trivulzio Madonna* of ca. 1430, be identified with the Sicilian (fig. 4)<sup>35</sup>. Fra Filippo, himself a Carmelite and familiar to Masaccio from his activity in the Florentine convent, may even have participated in the execution of the Pisan altarpiece. The other bearded Carmelite in Masaccio's polyptych, probably once paired with Albert, cannot be certainly identified; of the other frame-figures only two church-fathers remain. The decree of 1420 demanding an image in every convent rendered Albert's inclusion in the otherwise traditional altarpiece programme very topical. Although Masaccio's small pilaster-figure occupied a subordinate place within the framework, in contrast to Lippo di Andrea's large Florentine picture (fig. 1), it was nevertheless easily visible to both, friars and lay congregation in Ser Giuliano's altar-chapel, located to the right of the central screen opening. The notary's altarpiece presumably offered to the poor convent the first best opportunity to acquire an image, whatever its size, of Blessed Albert, which would simultaneously identify the church's resident

Order. The polyptych's main programme was the Virgin and Child with Peter and John the Baptist to her right and Julian and Nicholas to her left, a *Crucifixion* and further Apostles above and a narrative predella below. The prior might have suggested Christ's Precursor and once again Peter, who gained additional, local relevance in Pisa through San Piero a Grado, the site of Peter's landing in Italy<sup>36</sup>. The name saints of Ser Giuliano and his parents, Colino and Cola, point firmly to the lay patron, who entitled his family's burial chapel to Saint Julian. This altar-chapel, whose reconstruction can be based on documents, contemporary building practice and liturgical usage, was erected against the simple screen-wall<sup>37</sup>. It consisted of a cross vault resting on columns, and was fully furnished with altar, altar-step, *paliotto*, altarpiece, curtain, bench, burial slab and low stone surround. The assertive notary presumably had himself portrayed with his nephew in the central predella panel. A resident of the Carmine neighbourhood, with some professional and familial links to the Order, it was understandable that he initially selected the humble Carmelite church for his prestigious chapel, although he himself was, as *priore* of the Commune and *operaio* of the Cathedral, finally buried in the Cathedral<sup>38</sup>. The Carmelite Order still offered ample opportunities for lay patronage, while the lay patron could define his impact, dominant or modest<sup>39</sup>. Nowadays Ser Giuliano's *cappella* is however barely known for the historical circumstances of its commission, and predominantly celebrated for the Florentine Renaissance painter's achievement.

Fra Filippo, the young Carmelite friar, painted at least one small devotional panel of Albert<sup>40</sup>. An uncommon low-dossal shape with Albert may have been the only Carmelite altarpiece conceived by him (fig. 4)<sup>41</sup>. The *Trivulzio Madonna*, now at Milan, groups young boys, or perhaps angels, together with Saints Anne, Angelo and Albert. Anne, the Virgin's mother, has been celebrated with a duplex feast since the Ordinal of Sibert of Beka of 1312<sup>42</sup>. Angelo, born at Jerusalem in 1185, and a member of the convent next to the church of Saint Anne, was martyred in Licata in 1220. Like Albert, he was much venerated in Sicily, his *vita* was written probably in the 1440s, his feast entered in the liturgical calendar in 1457, and his canonization was approved in 1467<sup>43</sup>. The dossal's almost exclusively Carmelite programme, which precociously paired the Order's two future saints, strongly suggests a Carmelite patron and setting. The patron may cautiously be identified with the Florentine *Compagnia di Sant'Alberto bianco* or *dei fanciulli*, founded in 1419 and housed in an oratory adjacent to the Carmine, which by 1495 possessed a *quadro di Sant'Alberto*, an unframed panel of Saint Albert<sup>44</sup>.

It seems characteristic of the Order's unsettled situation in the first half of the



fifteenth century that Fra Filippo painted their two future saints on panels and at the same time frescoed scenes of the Order's past life at Mount Carmel on the cloister walls at Florence<sup>45</sup>. Comparably Masaccio depicted Albert in his Pisan polyptych, and with Masolino frescoed Carmelite friars in the Brancacci chapel, who freely mingled with Peter and the other Apostles in Antioch and Jerusalem. Masaccio also added one very recent event to the Florentine cloister decoration, the now lost *Sagra*, the Carmine's consecration in 1422<sup>46</sup>. Furthermore, contemporary performances of Christ's Ascension in the church indirectly appealed to the Prophet Elijah, the Carmelites' alleged forefather<sup>47</sup>. The Order thus seems to claim both modern, mendicant saints and ancient, eremitical origins in the Holy Land. This association must have provoked intensive dispute and opposition within and outside the Order.

Yet, when Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici described his native town and its cult in the late 1440s, he traced so little information about Albert, that he could only include a rather generic legend, while the Carmelites, in a competitive climate, desperately promoted their friar as devout worshipper and leader<sup>48</sup>. Ultimately, Albert never became a popular name saint like Francis or Dominic. Not even the Sicilian Nicola Calciuri, who joined the Florentine convent in the same years, could provide much more substantial news about his compatriot<sup>49</sup>. Fra Nicola repeated the story of Albert's birth, his parents' prayer to the Madonna of Trapani and his entry into the local convent, and related the confessor's vision together with those of Simon Stock and Pope John XXII.

For Le Selve, a very small convent in the Florentine hinterland, founded in 1343, Neri di Bicci produced a now-lost, winged tabernacle in 1454-1456, which he described in detail in his *Ricordanze*<sup>50</sup>. There *Santo Elia e Santo Alberto* in one shutter and *Santo Eliseo and Santo Agniolo di Gierusalem* in the other were paired. The two founder prophets and would-be saints flanked the Virgin, titular of Order, church and altar. Remarkably, the friars had stipulated Neri to insert the small panel, a *quadretto*, of a *Nostra Donna col Bambino... dipinta alla grecha molto anticha*. This half-length image in Byzantinizing style supposedly back-dated Neri's altar-painting and alluded to the Carmelites' contentious origin in the East. Following the tradition of convents founded considerably earlier at Naples, Pisa, Rome, Siena, or Florence, which had successfully imported or claimed to have imported Marian icons from Byzantium, the Carmelites of Le Selve now in the mid-Quattrocento erected their treasured Marian image permanently on the high altar. There the anachronistic assemblage of Virgin, prophets, and future saints must have prominently expressed the Order's major contemporaneous concerns. Because the fri-

ars themselves were too poor to fully compensate the artist, Tommaso di Lorenzo Soderini, a major patron of the Florentine Carmine, finally paid for the tabernacle<sup>51</sup>. By the end of the century Le Selve acquired in addition a statue of Saint Albert, and under Strozzi patronage, a chapel entitled to him with a retable of Saints Albert and Lawrence.

Apart from the Florentine houses it was the Sienese convent of San Niccolò, in the same Carmelite Province, which stood out not so much for its size but rather its personnel and the artistic patronage it had attracted. Nowadays it is famous for Pietro Lorenzetti's magnificent high altarpiece of 1329 (fig. 7), which the friars financed with a communal subsidy<sup>52</sup>. The many-storied polyptych prominently depicted the Virgin, the two founder-prophets and, exceptionally, the Order's most up-to-date foundation history, Nicholas, and two female saints. Some minor components were lost during the painting's removal from the church in the early Cinquecento. When and how was Albert's cult introduced in this Sienese church? When, in 1329 the Sienese Commune inquired about the *santi novelli* of the mendicant orders, the Carmelites could not name any saint, well-established or recent – the desired promotion of Blessed Albert not yet having sufficiently advanced – and they fell back on Nicholas, the titular of their convent<sup>53</sup>. A century later in 1429, according to a mid-eighteenth-century Carmelite source, a Giovanni di Cola di Bindo donated land to fund annual masses at the feasts of Albert and Stephen at the altar named after Saint Albert<sup>54</sup>. The location of this altar in the modest, single-nave church was not defined. Following the same source, in 1496 a different lay patron, Bartolomeo di Giovanni d'Antonio Sargioli, left his inheritance to the convent, with the obligation to make, *fare*, that is presumably to construct and furnish, Saint Albert's chapel and officiate an annual mass<sup>55</sup>. Regrettably, the location remained, once again, unspecified. Can this testamentary bequest be linked to the wooden statue of Saint Albert originally holding a lily and book, still preserved in the church (fig. 8)<sup>56</sup>? This accomplished figure of a middle-aged, bare-foot, tonsured friar, correctly dressed in the Carmelite habit with scapular, has been attributed to Neroccio di Bartolomeo. Furthermore, in 1500 an indulgence was granted to a confraternity in honour of Saint Albert<sup>57</sup>. To render any such reconstruction of Albert's cult at Siena more complicated, Francesco Bossi in his 1575 visitation of the Carmelite convent church did not *expressis verbis* record an altar dedicated to Saint Albert, despite his known thoroughness as the apostolic visitor<sup>58</sup>. Nor did he list the statue of a Carmelite, although he referred to several altar-sculptures. Perhaps Neroccio's medium-sized statue was then safely stored in a cupboard and displayed on an altar only on special occasions. Bossi instead singled out a relic of Saint Albert in the sacristy and described Saint Stephen's

altar at the inner façade to the right of the main church entrance. As the feasts of Stephen and Albert were, it seems, celebrated together in 1429 at Saint Albert's altar, it is not impossible that Bossi's altar of Saint Stephen was in fact identical with the earlier recorded altar of Saint Albert, given the Carmelites' ambiguous practice of naming altars after Albert without them being necessarily consecrated to him. Whether the patron of Saint Stephen's altar, identified by the apostolic visitor as Giovanni de Ciolis in 1575, was in any way related to the above mentioned Giovanni di Cola di Bindo or even to Bartolomeo di Giovanni d'Antonio Sargioli, remains very doubtful<sup>59</sup>. On the altar itself Bossi noted an «icona ... cum figura beatae Virginis magnae devotionis et aliorum sanctorum in tabulis depicta». This Marian image, which was locally held in great devotion, can confidently be identified with the *Madonna dei Mantellini*, probably created by a Pisan master in the 1260s (fig. 9)<sup>60</sup>. This Madonna was apparently, like the *Nostra Donna* in Neri di Bicci's tabernacle, integrated into a polyptych with several saints *in tabulis*, or different compartments, which could well have included Albert and Stephen. The altar-painting was in 1598 replaced by Francesco Vanni's *Einsatzbild* (in-set image) which once more inserted the venerated *Madonna dei Mantellini*, not into an altar-panel, but into a large canvas representing Saints Albert, Stephen, Martha and Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 10)<sup>61</sup>. Its two components survive, now separated, in Siena's Pinacoteca Nazionale. Albert stands at the left side, turns towards the central Stephen, and points with his hand decisively to the Madonna above, who is further accentuated by *putti* lifting the baldachin curtains and holding her crown. Saints Catherine and Martha at the right side were presumably included because of their connections to the Holy Land. The programme of Vanni's ensemble unites once again in striking manner fundamental aspects of the Carmelite cult, and locates the site of Albert's veneration in San Niccolò. Whether this site at the church entrance was the earliest one, can no longer be determined through lack of documentation. The Sienese example of Albert's cult at Saint Stephen's altar strengthens the Florentine proposal, that the veneration of Blessed Albert started there at an altar originally dedicated to another saint. At San Niccolò, on the altar to the left of the church entrance Francesco Bossi reported the Carmelites' other much esteemed *icona*, the *Madonna di San Luca* or so-called *Mater Decor Carmeli*, a fourteenth-century Byzantine work, then flanked by statues of Saints Luke and Anthony Abbot<sup>62</sup>. At some stage in the mid-sixteenth century the friars most likely arranged the pairing of their treasured Marian "icons" on the two altars at the inner church façade. In the 1590s they presumably updated Saint Stephen's altar in the spirit of the Counter Reformation, choosing a native artist, who had already created altarpieces for most of the rival religious institutions in town. For

the Sieneſe Carmelites Vanni conceived a visionary event in which Saint Albert recommends their *Madonna dei Mantellini* to the other ſaints, the friars, and their lay congregation.

In a laſt push to promote Albert’s impending canonization, the Order itſelf muſt have commissioned the rather mediocre, mid-fifteenth century Italian woodcut of Albert and widely diſtributed its cheaply produced, ſingle-sheet print (fig. 11)<sup>63</sup>. It characterizes the humble friar exceptionally by rays inſtead of a halo, with a crucifix in his right hand and a lily and closed book in his left. To leave the viewer in no doubt, the image carries at the top the (now almoſt illegible) inſcription BEATUS ALBERTUS DE TRAPANO VIRG. Prints were of courſe a means of propaganda, uſed contemporaneouſly with great ſucceſs by other mendicant orders for their *santi novelli*, among others Niccolò da Tolentino, Bernardino of Siena and Catherine of Siena. Here, once again, the Carmelites were following a well-trodden path.

Albert’s hard-won canonization prompted aſtoniſhingly few new altarpieces. In the immediate aftermath, at leaſt, very few documents and ſurviving works have ſo far been traced. Presumably Sixtus IV’s neceſſary ratification in 1476 of Calixtus III’s oral conceſſion in 1457 ſlowed down viſual implementation of the new ſaint. Perhaps more importantly, certain reform-minded factions within the Order, who favoured the friars’ ſpiritual return to their beginnings at Mount Carmel, apparently objected to the “modern” ſaint<sup>64</sup>.

At San Martino Maggiore in Bologna, in the neighbouring Province, it was a lay patron, Ser Giacomo di Baſilio Ringhieri, who bequeathed in 1470 land for the upkeep of his family chapel, «pro dote et dotis nomine altaris capelle Sancti Alberti». For this altar Michele di Matteo in 1469 ſigned and dated a double-ſtored polyptych (fig. 12)<sup>65</sup>. Indicatively Saint Albert with lily and book now occupies the place of honour to the Virgin’s right, accompanied by James, the patron’s name ſaint, John the Evangelist, and the John the Baptist. If the recent polyptych re-conſtruction can be truſted, for the firſt time Saints Dominic and Francis, Albert’s competitors, were preſent among the ſaints in the upper gallery, while further Carmelite figures in the predella completed the programme. It appears plauſible that the Carmelites of San Martino granted this chapel to Ringhieri under the condition that its altar was officially entitled to their new ſaint. As happened in comparable manner at Florence and Siena, it may be aſſumed that the altar was named after Albert already by 1422<sup>66</sup>. According to a later Carmelite ſource maſſes were alſo celebrated there by 1438. The continuity of the altar title is ſub-

sequently demonstrated by Cesare Gennari's canvas of 1669, depicting Saint Albert now paired with Saints Andrea Corsini and Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, both canonized in the Seicento. Albert's altar seems always, despite its later refashioning and the enlargement of the church building, to have been located near the church entrance, which again, as at Siena, made its altarpiece easily accessible to everybody<sup>67</sup>. At San Martino it is in the colossal high altar-painting of 1548, which Girolamo Siciolante and the Formigine produced for its lay patron, Matteo Malvezzi, that Saint Albert acts founder-like, identifying the resident Carmelite Order (fig. 13)<sup>68</sup>. In this role he could be compared to the Prophet Elijah in Pietro Lorenzetti's great Sienese polyptych (fig. 7). However as Elijah, believed to be forefather of the Order, was, unlike St Augustine, the presumed ancient founder of the Augustinian friars, not charismatic enough to satisfy his Order's acute demands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he indirectly prepared the ground for the Carmelites' introduction of their mendicant saint and new representative. Because Elijah and Albert incorporated opposed historical and spiritual concepts, they were rarely included within the same altar-image, although the Order was certainly familiar with anachronistic compositions.

When, or indeed if, Albert entered the liturgical calendars of the other mendicant orders or religious institutions, like Saint Francis in the Dominican calendar, I have been unable to discover. Equally, it appears unclear whether he joined saints in non-Carmelite altarpieces. Nevertheless some growing public recognition of the Order can be observed. In the *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, which has been attributed to Lippo Memmi and dated around 1323, for Santa Caterina, the Dominican house at Pisa, the presence of a Carmelite friar among the attendant clergy and laity may well refer to his Order's house in town<sup>69</sup>. More specifically, in the early 1440s the haloed Albert, identified by the colours of his habit, participates in Fra Angelico's frescoed *Crucifixion* in the chapterhouse of San Marco at Florence, where he mingles, kneeling behind Saint Francis, with biblical figures and other mendicant, monastic, and secular saints (fig. 14)<sup>70</sup>. The inclusion of the would-be saint in this congregation by the painter-friar is remarkable. Fra Filippo Lippi frescoed Albert, strikingly in the Pieve of Prato, perhaps in reference to his own Order<sup>71</sup>. As mentioned earlier, Taddeo di Bartolo included the haloed Albert opposite (the now invisible) Saint Dominic on the walls of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico in 1406-1408 (fig. 6). Appropriate for the government's main meeting rooms, an overarching programme of saints attempts to integrate the Sala del Mappamondo and the Chapel. The Virgin, Siena's patroness, flanked by the city's patron saints, is additionally accompanied by saints and blessed specially venerated at Siena. Albert now assumes an acknowledged status as the representative of one

of the city's main mendicant orders.

In 1524, Nicholas Audet, the Carmelites' Vicar General and future General Prior, decreed in Venice that a chapel be dedicated to Saint Albert in every convent<sup>72</sup>. On the one hand this decree confirms already existing chapels and on the other, tellingly implies the lack of sufficient, appropriately consecrated sites in the Order's churches. The Sienese convent was apparently one such example. As stated above, Audet also determined that Saint Albert together with the Virgin, John the Baptist, and six Carmelite friars ought to form part of the General Chapter's seal image, again insisting on the saint's official status, *cum imagine... sancti patris nostris Alberti*<sup>73</sup>.

Carmelites communicated by word and image, but the Order was not learned, nor indeed particularly concerned with visual imagery. It used images when suggested by its chapters or required by its local patrons and benefactors. By the end of the Quattrocento more images were displayed on altars and walls, but surprisingly no scenes from Albert's life or his posthumous miracles seem to have survived, or rather, been depicted in the first place. This contrasts strongly with Saint Francis, who prompted innumerable narratives. Despite the Order's gradual transformation, Albert's official acknowledgement in 1457, and its growing adoption of mendicant practices, the Carmelites were continuously exposed in their attempt to marry their modern concepts, and day-to-day existence with their claims to a biblical past. This tension is hinted at by the ambiguous decree of 1524. Subsequently, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the emergence of heroic saints of the stature of Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross, and Tuscan competitors like Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Albert was definitively relegated to the background and ceased to be regarded as the Order's eminent representative.

- 1 \* I should like to thank Gerardo de Simone for the invitation to contribute to this issue of «Predella» and guest editor, Diane Cole Ahl. Thanks are also due to Julian Gardner, Joanne Allen, Roberto Cobianchi, Angela Dressen, Nerida Newbiggin, Linda Pisani, Brenda Preyer, Stefania Ricci, Simone Sartini, and Gail Solberg.
- 2 For a recent introduction see C. Gardner von Teuffel, *The Carmelite altarpiece (circa 1290-1550): The self-identification of an order*, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes», 57, 2015, pp. 3-41; summarized in *Historiography and Identity: Responses to Medieval Carmelite Culture, Vita Regularis*, ed. by J. Röhrkasten and C. Zermatte, Vienna-Zürich 2017, pp. 109-123. For a fundamental contribution see A. Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2002. *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order*, ed. by A. Staring, Rome, 1989 provided an important modern edition of the early sources. *Santi del Carmelo*, ed. by L. Saggi, Rome, 1972 considered the Order's hagiography. J. Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków*, Turnhout, 2008 synthesized its liturgy. J. Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, vol. 1: *Ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent*, Darien, Illinois, 1975, rev. ed. 1988, chapter 8, and vol. 3, 2, *The Catholic Reformation 1600-1750*, 1982, chapters 18 and 19 gave a historical overview and a general, but uncritical survey of "Carmelite ornamentation". Only the later Italian edition *I Carmelitani: Storia dell'Ordine del Carmelo*, vol.1, *Dal 1200 ca. fino al Concilio di Trento*, Rome, 1989, vol. 2, *Il Periodo post-tridentino 1550-1600*, Rome, 1990 and vol. 3, *La Riforma cattolica 1600-1750*, Rome, 1996 illustrated some "Carmelite" images.
- 3 M. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*, New Haven-London, 1999, pp. 39-42.
- 4 For Albert's iconography see Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 16-21; L. Saggi, "Alberto degli Abati", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome, 1961, 1, cols. 676-680; idem, *Santi del Carmelo*, cit., pp. 154-156, and Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy*, cit., pp. 368-372; for his cult in Sicily see D. Scandariato, *L'iconografia di Sant'Alberto degli Abati dal XV al XVIII secolo*, in *S. Alberto degli Abati: Carmelitano-Patrono di Trapani*, atti del convegno, Rome, 2006, pp. 53-89.
- 5 G. Wessels, *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum B.V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1318 ad annum 1593*, Rome, 1912, p. 165; further note 4.
- 6 S. Chiodo, *Lippo d'Andrea: problemi di iconografia e stile*, in «Arte Cristiana», 90, 2002, pp. 1-16, and N. A. Eckstein, *Painted Glories: The Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven-London, 2014, pp. 56, 63, 80-84.
- 7 *Atti dei capitoli provinciali di Toscana dei Carmelitani, 1375-1491*, ed. by A. Sabatini, Rome, 1975. L. Pisani, *Pittura tardogotica a Firenze negli anni trenta del Quattrocento: Il caso dello Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese*, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 45, 2001 (2002), pp. 1-36, 8, already placed the Yale triptych in the Florentine Carmine, but wrongly assumed a transept location.
- 8 For a skillful synthesis see Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., passim, and *La Chiesa di Santa Maria del Carmine a Firenze*, ed. by L. Berti, Florence, 1992.
- 9 J. Gardner, *Altars, altarpieces, and art history: Legislation and usage*, in *Italian Altarpieces: 1250-1550. Function and Design*, ed. by E. Borsook and F. Superbi Gioffredi, Oxford, 1994,

pp. 5-39, 10-12; further see A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Rome 1988, trans. *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 85-103.

- 10 See G. Abate, *Memoriali, statuti ed atti di Capitoli Generali dei Frati Minori*, in «Miscellanea Francescana», 33, 1933, pp. 15-45, 320-336; 34, 1934, pp. 248-253, p. 30, no. 2 for the 1307 decree: *Item memoriale eisdem, quod si quos defunctos non canonizatos habent in provinciis suis depictos cum diademate vel corona sanctorum, picturas huiusmodi quantum ad diademata et coronas faciant omnino deleri; nec ullo modo talia de cetero fieri patiantur*; and M. Sensi, *Sinodi e visite pastorali in Umbria nel '200, '300 e '400*, in *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia dal XIV alla metà del XVI secolo*, ed. by G. De Sandre Gasparini, A. Rigon, F. Trolese, and G. M. Varanini, atti del VII convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, Brescia, 1987, Rome, 1990, 1, pp. 337-372, no. 59 for the diocesan statute: *quod nulla imago sanctorum praeter approbata ab ecclesia debeat in ecclesia retineri cum corona rotunda... si tamen aliquis per christi fidelibus censeatur beatus depingi valeat cum corona in modum stellarum*. I owe these references to Julian Gardner.
- 11 M. Israëls, *Absence and resemblance: Early images of Bernardino da Siena and the issue of portraiture (with a new proposal for Sassetta)*, in «I Tatti Studies», 11, 2007 (2008), pp. 77-114, and R. Cobiانchi, *Fashioning the imagery of a Franciscan Observant preacher*, in: «I Tatti Studies», 12, 2009, pp. 55-83.
- 12 G. C. Bascapé, *Sigillografia Ecclesiastica*, Milan 1978, p. 183, initially mentioned the seal of General Giovanni Grossi at Florence, but did not reproduce it. Stefania Ricci generously directed me to a seal impression in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), *Fondo Sigilli staccati*, n. 166, which was originally attached to a document dated 8.10.1422, in which the Master General, at the invitation of Alfonso of Portugal, makes arrangements for the forthcoming General Chapter at Lisbon: the seal is described as *In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostri generalatus officii presentibus est appensum*. The fragmentary seal measures approximately 65 x 35 mm. I thank Dr. Simone Sartini of the ASF for his kind permission to publish this seal image.
- 13 For 1411 see note 24, for 1420 note 5, and for a brief biography see A. Staring, *Jean Grossi*, in *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité*, vol. 6, Paris, 1967, col. 1058. Bascapé, who might have studied the seal impression in better condition, first identified the lateral figures with due care as Saints Albert and Angelo.
- 14 See Wessels, *Acta Capitulum*, cit., p. 378, and Bascapé, *Sigillografia*, cit., p.190. The seal's legend should read *SIGILLUM CAPITULI GENERALIS ORDINIS BEATAE MARIAE DE MONTE CARMELI*. A. Staring, *Der Karmelitengeneral Nikolaus Audet und die katholische Reform des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Rome 1959, pp. 79-90, characterized Audet's reforms, which motivated the seal's introduction.
- 15 See G. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and work*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1991, Ann Arbor, 1993, pp. 173-184, 963, 975, 1012-1013 for the 1406 fresco contract and wider historical context. I thank the author, who is completing a monograph on the artist, for many helpful discussions.
- 16 The inscription was recorded by E. Cianetti, *Il Campo di Siena e il Palazzo Pubblico*, Florence,



1921, p. 35.

- 17 See note 4, *Vita Sancti Alberti confessoris Ordinis Carmelitarum, de Abbatibus ordinis Carmelitarum*, ed. by F. van Ortroy, in «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 17, 1898, pp. 318-36, J. M. Poluciis, *Vita S. Alberti de Abbatibus de Drepano Siciliae*, Venice, 1499; F. Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum carmelitanum*, II, Antwerp, 1680, pp. 624-645, nos. 2162-2231; *Acta Sanctorum, Augusti*, vol. 2, Antwerp, 1735, p. 217.
- 18 For Agrigent consult the *Vita Sancti Alberti*, cit., p. 332. For a more detailed discussion see now J.-M. Sansterre, *Signes de sainteté et vecteurs de Virtus dans les miracles posthumes du Carme Albert de Trapani relatés aux XIVe -XVe siècles*, in «*Analecta Bollandiana*», 133, 2015, pp. 433-441.
- 19 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 9, 19.
- 20 For Florence see Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., 1999, p. 39, and Genoa, *Vita Sancti Alberti*, cit., p. 331.
- 21 Wessels, *Acta capitulorum*, cit., pp. 76, 102, 124.
- 22 *Vita Sancti Alberti*, cit., pp. 331-36 and note 4.
- 23 For the 1457 concession see *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, ed. by E. Monsignano, Rome, vol. 1, 1715, p. 250:
- «quod de Beato Alberto de Drepano Insulae Siciliae, dicti Ordinis, dum in humanis ageret, professori, in cuius honorem et reverentiam plura Altaria et Ecclesiae, ut idem Prior asseruit, aedificatae fuerunt, ac ejus crebrescentibus miraculis publicè longo tempore per Christi fideles, tam in eorumdem Fratrum, quam etiam in aliis Ecclesiis, nulla tamen secundum ritum Romanae Ecclesiae praecedente Canonizatione, preces et suffragia persolvuntur publicè; Eadem reverentia et devotio, ut praemittitur, sinè alicujus peccati labe et transgressionis nota, ac conscientiae scrupulo per eos, atque alios Christi fideles fieri possit, et continuari, quousque per Ecclesiam aliud solemnius decernatur...»; and for the 1476 ratification pp. 314-315; cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 2, p. 217.
- 24 See note 4, and Kallenberg, *Fontes*, cit., pp. 46-47.
- 25 Kallenberg, *Fontes*, p. 47, referred to Milendunck.
- 26 Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy*, cit., pp. 365-368, 353-360.
- 27 Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., p. 54; Holmes, *Carmelite Painter*, cit., pp. 39, 54, 252 note 57, 268 note 76. Brenda Preyer kindly controlled the documentation in the Corporazioni Religiose Sopresse dal Governo Francese 113, vol. 13, f. 60, in the ASF for me. For the masses of 1423 and 1439 see J. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, London, 1993, p. 519.
- 28 U. Procacci, *L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771*, in «*Rivista d'Arte*», 14, 1932, pp. 141-232, 144, followed by Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., p. 27, and Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 56, 59-60. For the 1568 removal see the Corporazioni Religiose, cit., Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, p. 65, and *Il convento del Carmine di Firenze: caratteri e documenti*, ed. by P. Giovannini, S. Vitolo, Florence, 1981, p. 107. For recent screen bibliography consult M. B. Hall, *The Tramezzo*

in the Italian Renaissance, Revisited, in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. by S. E. J. Gestel, Cambridge, Mass. 2006, pp. 214-232. Joanne Allen generously allowed me to read her unpublished manuscript entitled *The tramezzo in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence: performance, sacred topography and Fra Filippo Lippi's Trivulzio Madonna*.

- 29 Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., pp. 39, 65.
- 30 G. Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, Florence, 1762, vol. 10, part 2, p. 58.
- 31 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 19-21; *Saggi, Santi del Carmelo*, cit., pp. 172-175; Boyce, *Liturgy*, p. 376-379; Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, cit., pp. 192-201. For the location of Angelo's altar see note 28.
- 32 A. Molho, *The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in its Iconography and History*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 40, 1977, pp. 50-98; A. Debold-von Ritter, *Studien zum Petruszyklus in der Brancacci Kapelle*, Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1970, publ. Berlin 1975; Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy*, cit., pp. 211-214 stressed the importance of the feasts of Peter and Paul for the Carmelite Order. For later fifteenth-century veneration of Peter in the Carmine see N. Newbigin, *Playing in the Piazza: Peter, Paul and Santa Maria del Carmine*, in *The Brancacci Chapel: Form, Function and Setting*, Acts of an international Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, 2003, ed. by N.A. Eckstein, Florence, 2003, pp. 139-155, followed by Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 175-199; more in general see *The Brancacci Chapel*, cit., followed by Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 39-40, 93-107, 109-149.
- 33 See Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., p. 65.
- 34 C. Gardner von Teuffel, *Masaccio and the Pisa Altarpiece: A new Approach*, in «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», 19, 1977, pp. 23-68, reprinted and annotated in: Eadem, *From Duccio's Maestà to Raphael's Transfiguration: Italian Altarpieces in their Settings*, London, 2005, pp. 1-71, 615-619; J. Beck, *Masaccio: The Documents*, New York, 1978; R. Bellucci and C. Frosinini, M. Parri, *The Pisa Altarpiece*, in C. B. Strehlke with C. Frosinini, *The Panel Paintings of Masolino and Masaccio: The Role of Technique*, Milan, 2002, pp. 165-201; D. Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, 1, London, 2003, pp. 201-223. A. De Marchi and M. Mazzalupi, *La Pala d'Altare: Dal Polittico alla Pala Quadra, dispense del corso tenuto nell'a. a. 2011-2012*, Florence, 2012, pp. 66-77 convincingly (in large part) reconstructed the polyptych type and tentatively adjusted the composition, followed by Linda Pisani, who briefly discussed her observations with me in spring 2015.
- 35 See most recently Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., p. 21. The attribution to Lippi was first suggested by A. Rosenauer, *Filippo Lippi giovanissimo*, in *Mosaics of Friendship: Studies in Art and History for Eve Borsook*, ed. by O. Francisci Osti, Florence, 1999, pp. 175-185.
- 36 For Peter and the Carmelites see note 32, and for San Piero a Grado, N. Bériou, *Saint Pierre, patron special de Pise au XIII siècle par la volonté de l'archevêque Federico Visconti*, in *La figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del Medioevo*, ed. by L. Lazzari, A. M. Valente Bacci, Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione dello *Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus*, Viterbo e Roma 2000, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001, pp. 228-247, esp. 232-237.
- 37 No documentation for the Pisan screen apart from that for Ser Giuliano's cappella has

- come to light; a deep screen proposed by Hall, *Tramezzi*, cit., p. 224, should be excluded in this modest building. Equally, a double-bayed altar chapel suggested by De Marchi, *Pala d'altare*, cit., pp. 70-71 is not convincing. For the type of altar chapel or canopied wall altar see most recently J. Cannon, *Visual Riches, Religious Poverty: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, New Haven-London, 2013, p. 253.
- 38 Gardner von Teuffel, *Masaccio and the Pisa altarpiece*, cit., subsequently M. Battistoni, *Giuliano di Colino degli Scarsi Operaio del Duomo di Pisa (1435-1456)*, Pontedera, 1999 and E. W. Rowland, *Masaccio: Saint Andrew and The Pisa Altarpiece*, Los Angeles, 2003, pp. 69-73.
- 39 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 28-37, 39.
- 40 Ruda, *Fra Filippo*, cit., pp. 52, 317-318.
- 41 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., p. 20 with reference to A. De Marchi, *Filippo Lippi*, in *La Primavera del Rinascimento: la scultura e le arti a Firenze. 1400-1460*, exh. cat. (Florence, 2013 and Paris, 2013-2014), ed. by B. Paolozzi Strozzi and M. Bormand, Florence, 2013, p. 382ff.
- 42 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 9, 11.
- 43 See note 31.
- 44 Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., p. 65. N. Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno: Plays in Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, 2 vols., Florence, 1996, p. 501, noted a payment for a lock and key for the *uscio* di Sant'Alberto, probably for a door leading to the *compagnia's* oratory.
- 45 Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., pp. 68-79, and Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 40-41. For didactic aspects see Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, pp. 11, 13, 18-19.
- 46 Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., pp. 42-50, and Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 42-45.
- 47 Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno*, vol. 1, pp. 45-155, vol. 2, pp. 283-657.
- 48 *Codice Rustici. Dimostrazione dell'andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai di Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici*, Florence, 2015, vol. 1 Facsimile, fol. 61v; vol. 2: Saggi, ed. by E. Gurrieri, and *Edizione Critica*, ed. by K. Olive and N. Newbigin, p. 149. I owe this reference to Nerida Newbigin.
- 49 Nicola Calciuri, *Vita Fratrum del Sancto Monte Carmelo*, ed. by Graziano di S. Teresa, in «Ephemerides Carmeliticæ», 6, 1955, pp. 241-531, 399-409.
- 50 B. Santi, *Le Ricordanze: (10 marzo 1453-24 aprile 1475)*, Pisa, 1976 (1977), pp. 19, 35, 54, and E. Borsook, *Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e delle Selve di Filippo Strozzi*, in «Antichità Viva», 9, 3, 1970, pp. 3-20, Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., p. 56.
- 51 Santi, *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 35 and Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, cit., pp. 66, 203-204.
- 52 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., passim.
- 53 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., p. 25.

- 54 S. Recupero, *I Carmelitani a Siena: Note storiche*, in «Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Diocesano di Siena», 4, 2002-2003, pp. 345-420, 366-367, 394. This important article is based on Eadem, *Aspetti del culto e dell'iconografia della Vergine presso l'Ordine Carmelitano: il caso senese*, tesi di laurea, relatore Fabio Bisogni, Università degli Studi, Siena, 2002-2003, which is not yet publicly available.
- 55 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., pp. 367, 403.
- 56 L. Martini, *Un "Sant'Alberto carmelitano" di Neroccio di Bartolomeo de' Landi*, in «Prospettiva», 109, 2003 (2004), pp. 76-82.
- 57 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., p. 405.
- 58 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., pp. 351, 368ff., esp. 412-418. For Alfonso Binnarini's exactly contemporary apostolic visitation of San Lorenzo in Florence see C. Gardner von Teuffel, *The altarpieces of San Lorenzo: Memorializing the Martyr or accommodating the parishioners?*, in *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, ed. by R.W. Gaston and L.A. Waldman, Villa I Tatti. The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence, 2016, pp. 184-243, 222-227.
- 59 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., pp. 415, 366, 367.
- 60 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., p. 415. For the *Madonna dei Mantellini* see M. Bacci, *Toscane, Byzance et Levant: pour une histoire dynamique des rapports artistiques méditerranéens aux Xlle et Xllle siècles*, in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au Xllle siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, ed. by J-P. Caillet and F. Joubert, Paris, 2012, pp. 235-256, 249.
- 61 J. Marciari, *Francesco Vanni: Artistic vision in an age of reform*, in J. Marciari and S. Boorsch, *Art in Late Renaissance Siena*, New Haven-London, 2013, pp. 1-31, 18-21. For the Order's tradition of reframing "icons" see Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 13-14, 39.
- 62 Recupero, *I Carmelitani*, cit., pp. 361, 415, and J. Cannon, *Pietro Lorenzetti and the history of the Carmelite Order*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 50, 1987, pp. 8-28, 20.
- 63 For the inscription see W. L. Schreiber, *Kassetten-Holzschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen in Frankreich, Deutschland, Oesterreich, Schweiz, Holland, Italien, England und Amerika*, Strasbourg, 1931, p. 13; for context *Xilografie Italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi*, exh. cat. (Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 1987-1988), Ravenna, 1987, p. 76; and R. Cobianchi, *Printing a new saint: woodcut production and canonization of saints in late medieval Italy*, in *The Saint Between Manuscript And Print*, ed. by A. Frazier, Toronto, 2015, pp. 73-98, 81.
- 64 For an initial overview see Smet, *The Carmelites: A History*, cit., 1, pp. 72ff.
- 65 C. Cavalca, *La pala d'altare a Bologna nel Rinascimento: opere, artisti, e città 1450-1500*, Milan, 2013, pp. 263, 329-331, 379.
- 66 E. Secondin and G. Ronchi, *Basilica di San Martino Maggiore in Bologna: Santuario della Madonna del Carmine*, Bologna, 2010, pp. 165-167; however, this distinguished convent still lacks a serious monograph.

- 67 For the building's history see I .B. Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese di Bologna, vol. 1: Secoli VIII–XIV*, Bologna, 1932, pp. 271–279, and ibidem, vol. 2: *Secoli XV–XVI*, Bologna 1938, pp. 381–397, and the at times confused discussion of Secondin and Ronchi, *Basilica di San Martino*, cit.. The altar's location to the left of an entrance door may explain the saints' unusual formal composition.
- 68 Gardner von Teuffel, *Carmelite altarpiece*, cit., pp. 8, 21, 32, with reference to J. Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante, pittore da Sermoneta (1521-1575)*, Rome, 1996, pp. 33ff., 98-100.
- 69 Cannon, *Visual Riches*, cit., pp. 148-150.
- 70 W. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, New Haven-London, 1993, p. 186, instead identified Albert as Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. For the prescribed contemporary Cistercian habit see J.M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Écclésiastique*, Louvain, 1933–1941, vol. 4, 1936, p. 225.
- 71 Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, cit., pp. 163, 187.
- 72 Saggi, *Santi del Carmelo*, p. 155 and Staring, *Der Karmelitengeneral*, cit., p. 39, with reference to Audet's *Isagogicon preciosissimis comparandum gemmis, ad reformationem vitae regularis et sanctimoniae patrum Carmeli montis*, c. 2 para. 41.
- 73 See note 14.



Fig. 1: LIPPO DI ANDREA, *Virgin and Child with Saints*, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery (foto Yale University Art Gallery)



Fig. 2: MATTEO DI PERRUCCIO, *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints*, Palermo, Diocesan Museum (foto Enzo Brai)



Fig. 3: MASACCIO with FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, *Saint Albert*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (foto Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz)





Fig. 4: FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, *Trivulzio Madonna*, Milan, Musei del Castello Sforzesco, Pinacoteca (foto Comune di Milano)



Fig. 5: *Seal of Master General Giovanni Grossi OCARM*, Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Sigilli Staccati no. 166 (foto ASF)



Fig. 6: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Saint Albert*, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Mappamondo (foto Gail Solberg)



Fig. 7: PIETRO LORENZETTI, *Carmelite Altarpiece* (partial reconstruction), Siena, Pinacoteca (foto Lensini)



Fig. 8: NEROCCIO DI BARTOLOMEO, *Saint Albert*, Siena, San Niccolò (foto after L. Martini, Un "Sant'Alberto carmelitano" di Neroccio di Bartolomeo de' Landi, in «Prospettiva», 109, 2003 (2004), p. 77)



Fig. 9: Pisan Master, *Madonna dei Mantellini*, Siena, Pinacoteca (foto Christa Gardner von Teuffel)



Fig. 10: FRANCESCO VANNI, *Saints Albert, Stephen, Martha and Catherine of Alexandria*, Siena, Pinacoteca (foto after J. Marciari, *Francesco Vanni: Artistic vision in an age of reform*, in J. Marciari and S. Boorsch, *Art in Late Renaissance Siena*, New Haven-London, 2013, p. 19)



Fig. 11: Mid fifteenth-century Italian Woodcut, *Blessed Albert*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (foto Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

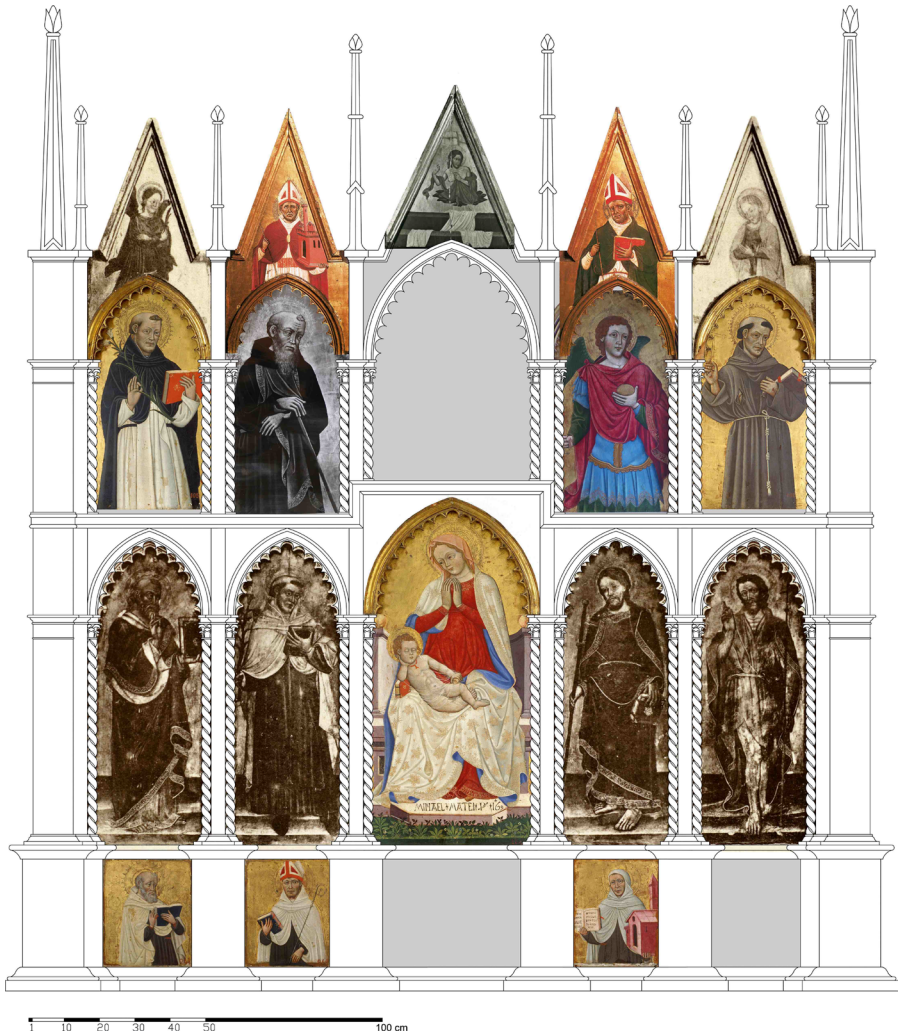


Fig. 12: MICHELE DI MATTEO, *Ringhieri Polyptych* (reconstruction after C. Cavalca, *La pala d'altare a Bologna nel Rinascimento: opere, artisti, e città 1450-1500*, Milan 2013, p. 263)



Fig. 13: GIROLAMO SICIOLANTE, *Virgin with Child and Saints*, Bologna, San Martino Maggiore (foto Christa Gardner von Teuffel)



Fig. 14: FRA ANGELICO, *Saint Albert*, Florence, San Marco, Chapterhouse (foto Christa Gardner von Teuffel)