Cathedral And Commune In Medieval Lucca: The Facade Of San Martino

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Cathedral And Commune In Medieval Lucca: The Facade Of San Martino

Abstract
The richly decorated façade of the cathedral of San Martino in Lucca is both a masterpiece of Tuscan medieval art and a witness to the political and social developments of its era. Created between the late twelfth and the mid-thirteenth century, its rise paralleled that of Lucca as an independent city-state and the transfer of power from the city’s bishop to its citizens. This dissertation interprets the façade and its decoration as a direct response to these changes. It begins with a summary of San Martino’s history and a detailed examination of the documents pertaining to the cathedral opera, the administrative body overseeing the façade’s construction. Based on this material, it proposes that San Martino’s bishop and canons should be seen as the façade’s principal intellectual designers and shows how these individuals used this monument to maintain their institution’s centrality in Lucca’s public life and to overcome the internal divisions that threatened their city’s stability. Communicating through architectural form, intarsia, and sculpture, San Martino’s clergy encouraged Lucca’s citizens to understand their city as a sacred space, deployed ornamental imagery calculated to appeal to a broad swath of the population, and presented images of saints that served as models of both episcopal and lay behavior. Looking at San Martino in this way allows us to recognize the local character and originality of Lucchese art and architecture, as well as the interdependence of religious and political life in medieval Italy.

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CATHEDRAL AND COMMUNE IN MEDIEVAL LUCCA: THE FAÇADE OF SAN MARTINO

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Jamie Ann Sanecki
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ABSTRACT

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Jamie Ann Sanecki

Robert A. Maxwell

The richly decorated façade of the cathedral of San Martino in Lucca is both a masterpiece of Tuscan medieval art and a witness to the political and social developments of its era. Created between the late twelfth and the mid-thirteenth century, its rise paralleled that of Lucca as an independent city-state and the transfer of power from the city’s bishop to its citizens. This dissertation interprets the façade and its decoration as a direct response to these changes. It begins with a summary of San Martino’s history and a detailed examination of the documents pertaining to the cathedral opera, the administrative body overseeing the façade’s construction. Based on this material, it proposes that San Martino’s bishop and canons should be seen as the façade’s principal intellectual designers and shows how these individuals used this monument to maintain their institution’s centrality in Lucca’s public life and to overcome the internal divisions that threatened their city’s stability. Communicating through architectural form, intarsia, and sculpture, San Martino’s clergy encouraged Lucca’s citizens to understand their city as a sacred space, deployed ornamental imagery calculated to appeal to a broad swath of the population, and presented images of saints that served as models of both episcopal and lay behavior. Looking at San Martino in this way allows us to recognize the local character and originality of Lucchese art and architecture, as well as the interdependence of religious and political life in medieval Italy.
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267. Communal seal of Lucca, Archivio Capitolare, Lucca
Introduction

Giovanni Sercambi (1348–1424), a Lucchese apothecary and the author of a chronicle of his hometown, tells us that “discord was born in Lucca” in 1214 (fig. 1). He describes the following skirmish between the city’s nobles and the Popolo, a group of wealthy but politically disenfranchised citizens led by the consuls of the Court of Merchants. The cause of the conflict was the selection of a new podestà, the city’s highest political officer. The Popolo, successful in electing their favored candidate, gather in the church of San Giusto, while the nobility rallies its supporters to take up arms and attack them. At the same time, the nobles assemble with the former podestà in the cathedral of San Martino to appoint an alternate leader. The violence spreads into the streets and the Popolo race to San Martino, intent on killing their opposition. But at that moment, the cathedral’s canons emerge, bearing relics and crosses, and they surround the old podestà and his supporters, preventing a massacre and allowing Lucca’s nobility to flee to safety outside the city.¹

This vignette captures the political tensions that animated the city of Lucca at the turn of the thirteenth century. Like most other towns across central and northern Italy, Lucca was in transition. In the early Middle Ages, the upper half of the Italian peninsula had become part of the Holy Roman Empire. The vast distance that separated the emperor north of the Alps from the cities of Italy meant that bishops were usually the local civic leaders, either through formal grants of juridical powers and designation as

count, or as the *de facto* result of their wealth, education, and spiritual authority. This changed in the eleventh century, when groups of oath-bound citizens, usually of elite backgrounds, began to assume governmental leadership of their cities. The authority of these nascent city-states, known as “communes,” was officially recognized by the Peace of Constance in 1183, through which Emperor Frederick I acknowledged the local jurisdiction of communes throughout the regions of Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna.

Three years later, in a separate decree, he granted similar recognition to the commune of Lucca. There were also more visible signs of the Lucchese commune’s growing power at the end of the twelfth century. In 1197, the commune’s leaders established the first civic palace at the very center of town, next to the massive church of San Michele in Foro, also used as their meeting site. Thus, both the contours and the topography of political power in Lucca were shifting, with the bishop and his clergy on the losing side.

Nevertheless, this was also a period in which ecclesiastically sponsored art flourished. When Lucca’s citizens clashed in San Martino in 1214, the impressive façade that greets visitors today was only partially complete (fig. 2). Begun in the late twelfth century and joined to an older, eleventh-century basilica, this structure gave a new face to the city’s foremost institution. This dissertation is an in-depth study of this façade, addressing its architectural form and the elaborate sculpture and intarsia that adorn it. It interprets this monument as a direct response to Lucca’s political and social transformation in the decades around 1200. The canons of San Martino, who in Sercambi’s account use sacred objects to curb political violence, also turned to monumental art to intervene in civic life. The façade of the cathedral represents their attempt to maintain their institution’s centrality in Lucca’s public sphere and to overcome
the internal divisions that threatened their city’s stability. Through it, they constructed their city as a sacred space, deployed ornamental imagery with special appeal to Lucca’s citizens, and presented images of saints that served as models of both episcopal and lay behavior.

This study of San Martino has several goals. First, it seeks to highlight the artistic culture of an often overlooked Italian city. Lucca was vitally important to the religious and economic life of Europe in the Middle Ages. Located on the Via Francigena connecting France and Rome (fig. 3), Lucca was a well known stopover for pilgrims on their way to the Eternal City, as well as a destination in its own right due to its possession of the *Volto Santo*, a miraculous wooden crucifix housed in the cathedral (fig. 4). Its bishops played leading roles in the reform movement of the eleventh century, with one ascending to the papacy under the name Alexander II (1061-1073). Lucca was also at the forefront of the financial and industrial developments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The city operated an active mint from the Lombard period on, and its bankers were some of the most advanced in Europe. Its artisans were pioneers in the textile industry, mastering the dyeing and weaving of luxurious silk fabrics before any other town in Latin Europe, while its merchants formed an alliance with Genoa and brought these wares to every corner of the Mediterranean.

Artistic production flourished alongside these cultural achievements. San Martino was one of numerous churches renovated over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of which were given impressive façades and endowed with richly sculpted furnishings. Yet most of Lucca’s medieval art and architecture has received rather limited attention from art historians. There are probably several reasons for this. First, the majority of the
city’s medieval monuments fall between two major stylistic movements in art history. Scholars of Romanesque art, concerned with explaining the revival and development of monumental sculpture, have viewed Tuscany as a latecomer to this phenomenon and the region’s art as derivative of styles originating in Lombardy and Provence. Art historians focused on later eras have seen Lucca’s monuments as a mere prelude to the works of Nicola Pisano, often credited with ushering Italian sculpture towards the Renaissance. In this way, Lucca has served merely to bookend narratives of stylistic renaissance and renewal, rather than as a subject of investigation in its own right.

Second, Lucca has also been overshadowed by neighbors, including Florence and Siena in the Renaissance and Pisa in the Middle Ages. Pisa in particular has provided the standard by which Lucca’s monuments have been judged. The façades of Pisa Cathedral (fig. 5) and San Martino bear an undeniable resemblance to each other and the two churches were established and grew according to parallel timelines: both were founded in the early Middle Ages and rebuilt as imposing Romanesque structures in the eleventh century, with work beginning on San Martino in 1060 and on Pisa Cathedral in 1063–1064. Both churches were also updated with their present façades in the second half of the twelfth century. But despite having had similar chronologies, it is Pisa Cathedral that has become the textbook representative for the art and architecture of medieval Tuscany. This is probably due in part to the stunning baptistery, campanile, and Camposanto that surround the cathedral and further attest to the city’s artistic capacities (figs. 6–7), as well

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3 In some studies, determining the relationship between Lucca’s monuments and the work of Nicola Pisano is explicitly cited as the reason for the investigation; see Mario Salmi, Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany (Florence: Rinascimento del Libro, 1928), 7–9; August Schmarsow, S. Martin von Lucca und die Anfänge der toskanischen Skulptur im Mittelalter (Breslau: Schottlaender, 1890), 8–9.
as to the medieval Pisans’ enthusiasm for promoting their accomplishments in verse and chronicles and the presence of several named artists active at the cathedral complex. Lucca’s secondary status in the historiography of Tuscan art is signaled by the term, “Pisano-Lucchese,” which early twentieth-century art and architectural historians used to describe the style of art and architecture produced in and around the two cities.\(^4\)

Notwithstanding the efforts of Lucchese scholars to identify a pure Lucchese style of Romanesque architecture, Lucca’s relationship with Pisa remains a central theme in the literature.\(^5\) For example, in the most recent monograph devoted to San Martino’s façade, Gabriele Kopp views the monument as a rejoinder to the cathedral renovation in Pisa, reading it in relation to the cities’ political rivalry.\(^6\)

Lucca undoubtedly benefited from the availability of well trained masons and sculptors working nearby, and intercity competition was surely one factor that motivated San Martino’s canons to give their cathedral a new façade. But San Martino also displays a number of characteristics that do not find precedent in Pisa: the triple-arched entrance portico, the abundant and lively ornament covering the three galleries, and the amount of space devoted to depicting the cathedral’s patron saints, including an ambitious equestrian statue of St. Martin, are all unique and are considered here as innovations that are much better explained with reference to very local traditions and concerns.

Shifting focus away from Lucca’s artistic debts to Pisa and considering San Martino in relation to Lucca’s political, religious, and social history adds a new

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dimension to the way this monument has been viewed. As with much Italian art, analyses of San Martino have focused overwhelmingly on questions of authorship and stylistic influence. The presence of a sculpted depiction of one of the façade’s master masons or architects, identified as “Guidetto,” along with documentary references to Lombard masters like Guido Bigarelli da Como, has encouraged art historians to attempt to identify the individual contributions of each of these artists to the façade. This concern with attribution dominates each of the three previous monographs on San Martino, beginning with the first scholarly study of the site by Enrico Ridolfi in 1882 and continuing in the two modern volumes devoted to the topic. The first, written by Clara Baracchini and Antonino Caleca in 1973, includes only a brief discussion of the medieval façade within an overview of the church’s entire history and remains valuable for publishing the first photographic campaign of the monument. The second, by Kopp, is the most thorough consideration of San Martino’s façade. While providing a limited discussion of San Martino’s political context and the iconography of certain sculptures, most of this study aims to define the phases in the façade’s construction and identify the workshops and masters active in each one through a rigorous examination of sculptural style and documentary evidence. The examination of style and attribution also prevails in shorter discussions of San Martino, while a related body of literature traces the careers of the sculptors who worked at the cathedral and at other sites in Tuscany.

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8 Enrico Ridolfi, L’arte in Lucca studiata nella sua Cattedrale (Lucca: B. Canovetti, 1882).
10 Kopp, Die Skulpturen.
Aside from these contributions, this dissertation is also intended to make a case for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between religious authority and civil society in communal Italy, one that runs counter to the standard account of the communes’ development as a triumph of secularization. While historians acknowledge that early civic leaders often worked together with bishops to defend their city’s interests, the established narrative of the late twelfth century on highlights the communes’ struggle to take over the powers of uncooperative bishops. Many studies foreground the conflicts between bishops and communal governments over issues like taxation of the clergy and the bishop’s jurisdictional right in a city’s rural territory and emphasize the establishment of civic palaces as a sign of the commune’s growing authority. Peaceful
relationships between the two parties are frequently mentioned only in passing or dismissed as an “ephemeral” achievement, and in general, the continued influence of religion and the church in communal politics is given little consideration.¹⁴ Thus, one historian of the Italian commune has declared that “in the communes before all states in Europe government and politics were altogether secularized.”¹⁵

This picture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy owes much the conditions under which its history has been written. Disciplinary divisions between historians of the church on one hand and political and economic historians on the other have perhaps hindered scholars from producing works that investigate the ties between these different spheres. Moreover, the history of medieval Italy has also been shaped by modern political values.¹⁶ As George W. Dameron has noted, Italian scholars in the wake of the Risorgimento (the nineteenth-century movement that led to Italy’s unification as a modern nation-state) often regarded the church as a negative force in Italian history, a view that colored their portrayal of earlier eras.¹⁷ Likewise, the city-states of medieval and Renaissance Italy have also had a particular resonance for American scholars, who have tended to see them as the forerunners of modern democracies.¹⁸ This inclination to view the communes as exemplars of republican values that were somehow “ahead of

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¹⁴ Waley, The Italian City-Republics, 92.
¹⁵ Jones, The Italian City-State, 425.
¹⁶ David Abulafia, introduction to Italy in the Central Middle Ages, 1–5.
their time” may well explain historians’ traditional resistance to granting the church any significant role in this narrative.19

This emphasis on the secular aspects of the Italian communes is also reflected in art historical studies. It is widely acknowledged that the communes’ formation acted as a catalyst for artistic production.20 In most accounts of this era, the protagonists are the laity; made wealthy by economic revival and emboldened by their new governing powers, they had the means and the motivation to commission monuments that beautified their city and increased their prestige. Much attention, therefore, has focused on their roles as patrons of both civic and ecclesiastical projects. For example, scholars have explored how communal leaders involved themselves in city planning by establishing statutes for the construction and maintenance of urban fixtures like fortifications and fountains.21 Art historians have also analyzed individual monuments sponsored by city governments, like the Porta Romana in Milan, as expressions of local identity and civic ideals.22

Even in studies of sacred art and architecture, laicization is a key theme. It is a commonplace in the literature of this field to observe that the cathedral was increasingly a

The civic, as well as a religious monument. Several studies have pointed out the ways that the laity and their political concerns infiltrated the space of the cathedral, making it the storehouse for the commune’s war carriage and battle standard and assuming leadership over construction projects and renovations in administrative offices known as opera.23 Sometimes the laity left particularly clear signs of their involvement, as at the Cathedral of Pisa, where a façade inscription records the citizens’ participation in the church’s rebuilding following a series of Pisan naval victories, as well as at the Cathedral of Piacenza, where the columns feature reliefs depicting the trades of the guilds who sponsored them. Even where civic patronage is not documented, however, it is often argued for or assumed. This has been in case in the scholarship on the sculpted façade programs of the baptistery of Parma, as well as the church of San Zeno in Verona (figs. 8–9).24 The latter, which pictures the saint handing the battle standard to the commune’s militia, arranged in two groups on either side of him, has been interpreted as the commune’s sanctification of its own beginnings.

More recent scholarship suggests that this narrative of communal art is missing an important component—that is, how bishops and cathedral chapters responded to this social and political transformation and to their changing position in the urban hierarchy. If

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historians and art historians alike have stressed the secularity of communal government, the leading roles the laity played in civic leadership and art patronage, and the hostility between church and government leaders, scholars are now recognizing the close links between religion and the political developments of this period. Studies by George Dameron, David Foote, and Maureen Miller all acknowledge the close relationships between bishops and communes that existed well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their studies present evidence of this alliance in the way that bishops helped cities increase their territory and administer it and in how the evolving architecture of the bishop’s palace expressed his continued public role as a moral and spiritual leader. Michele Pellegrini and Raffaele Savigni have produced local studies of Siena and Lucca that trace the ways that bishops and cathedral chapters engaged with urban politics. The religious lives of the citizens of Italian cities have also received more serious consideration. Augustine Thompson has produced a wide-ranging overview of religion in the communes, arguing for seeing the Italian city as a united spiritual and political entity, while James M. Powell has argued that the communes were “essentially the expression of a religious culture” stemming from the era of church reform and the desire to purify and improve society on a grand scale.

A close examination of the façade of San Martino provides an opportunity to integrate these new perspectives into a study of monumental art. The first two chapters of this dissertation lay the groundwork for this discussion. The first provides an overview of the relationship between Lucca and its cathedral from San Martino’s foundation through the completion of the façade project, introducing the historical figures, holy objects, and hagiographical texts that its medieval canons inherited as part of their institutional memory. The next chapter is devoted to the façade project itself. It offers a description of the façade, a summary of the three chronological phases of its completion, and a discussion of the artists and workshops active at the site. It also proposes that San Martino’s canons should be viewed as the façade’s primary designers, based on a detailed analysis of the records of the Opera of Santa Croce preserved in Lucca’s Archivio di Stato. This opera, like most others that formed across Italy around this time, appears to have been a lay-officiated institution that managed the financial and administrative aspects of construction projects at the cathedral. Tracing the development of the opera from its origins in the late twelfth century, however, reveals the existence of a second, older opera, called the Opera of San Martino, which operated alongside the first until the two were merged in 1274. The leaders of the Opera of San Martino were likely the master masons who directed the cathedral workshop, livin on the canons’ property and sharing daily meals with them for decades at a time. Given this close relationship between the canons and the artists who actually executed the façade, I argue that it was these clergy members who had the most influence in determining the façade’s appearance. This conclusion allows us to interpret this monument as a vehicle through

which San Martino’s canons and bishop appealed to the laity, uniting Lucca’s citizens into a community centered at the cathedral. The investigation into San Martino’s opera conducted in this chapter also contributes to a fuller picture of the development of this institution that, while ubiquitous across northern and central Italy, is still not fully understood.

The remaining three chapters follow the chronological phases of the façade’s completion, each focusing on an example of how San Martino’s clergy used this monument to craft their institution’s identity, strengthen its ties with the city, and unify the populace. The third chapter analyzes the cathedral’s portico and its sculpted decoration. This structure was not a standard feature of church architecture in the region, and I propose that its inclusion here was a deliberate reference to the Temple and Throne built by King Solomon in Jerusalem. These buildings were appropriate models for the cathedral, because like them, San Martino claimed to be a home of divine presence and of an anointed king, a status that rested on its possession of the Volto Santo. By enclosing this miraculous image of Christ made and translated from Jerusalem within a building that echoed Jerusalem’s principal structures and decorating it with sculpture that further emphasized the genealogical and typological ties between Solomon and Christ, San Martino’s canons presented their church as the successor to these Old Testament sites, and by extension, their city as a new Holy Land. Conferring this identity on Lucca both elevated the city above the competing claims of their neighbors and encouraged its citizens to view themselves as part of a sacred community with Christ himself as their true sovereign.
The fourth chapter examines the second phase of the façade’s construction, which produced the three stories of arcaded galleries within the first decades of the thirteenth century. One of the most conspicuous features of these galleries is the wealth of sculpted and inlaid ornament that adorns them, distinguishing this edifice from its closest model, Pisa Cathedral, as well as from other churches in Tuscany. While most previous studies have attributed the ornament to the artistic idiosyncrasies of a single artist or workshop, my discussion argues for seeing this aspect of the façade as the result of a conscious engagement with another facet of Lucca’s local visual culture: the luxurious silk fabrics that Lucchese artisans produced from the late twelfth century on. Borrowing the visual qualities of these fabrics, as well as specific motifs and design principles allowed the patrons to recall the connotations that these textiles had for contemporary viewers, such as wealth, refinement, and power and to associates these qualities with the cathedral itself. This textile-inflected visual language also helped the cathedral appeal to viewers across the city’s social divisions, from the elite who were consumers of silk products to the merchants and artisans who produced and marketed them, and the many less skilled laborers who also participated in the industry; all, in different ways, could see their identity reflected back at them in the façade’s ornament, increasing the sense that San Martino was an institution to which everyone in the city belonged.

The fifth and final chapter analyzes the sculptures of San Martino’s patron saints that were a main component of the decoration added to the façade in the 1230s, with particular attention to the free-standing sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar on the portico’s exterior. Although images of patron saints were a favorite subject for the adornment of church façades in Italy, this work’s near life-size depiction of a saint in the
round, isolated from any larger narrative context was unprecedented, and I suggest that it was conceived with two goals. First, along with the relief sculptures of St. Martin and St. Regulus surrounding two of the cathedral’s portals, it improved the public image of Lucca’s bishops by associating them with these saintly exemplars at a time when tensions between Lucca’s citizens and their clergy were especially pronounced. Second, the statue also transformed St. Martin from the patron saint of the episcopacy into a true patron saint of the city by exploiting the connotations of sculptural form and the timely allure of his act of charity to forge a connection with Lucca’s citizens. The success of this endeavor is attested by the sculpture’s afterlife: from at least the early fourteenth century, it was the centerpiece of an annual civic ritual in which it was dressed by Lucca’s government leaders. While this ceremony demonstrates the laity’s eventual control over a main cult of the city, I argue that their appropriation of an older episcopal symbol to legitimize their position also bespeaks the enduring influence that the cathedral and its clergy had in Lucca’s civic sphere.

The picture of San Martino’s façade that emerges from this investigation is less that of a structure unified by a single program and more of an edifice that was shaped by its patrons’ attempts to reach out to their audience in different ways over several decades. Drawing on the saints and holy objects that had shaped their institution’s history, as well as on new developments in the city’s visual culture, the cathedral’s canons used this monument to recast their institution’s identity and to counter the tensions that threatened to pull Lucca’s citizens away from their church and from each other. Looking at San Martino in this way allows us to recognize the local character and originality of Lucchese
art and architecture, as well as the interdependence of religious and political life in medieval Italy.
Chapter 1
A History of Lucca and its Cathedral

By the time the façade project began in the late twelfth century, San Martino had been at the center of Lucca’s religious and civic life for at least six centuries. This chapter traces its history up to the early thirteenth century and introduces the saints, clerics, and laity who shaped this institution.

1. Roman and Early Medieval Lucca

Lucca originated as an Etruscan or Ligurian settlement located in northwest Tuscany on the banks of the Serchio River. Latin sources first mention Lucca as a Roman colony in 180 BC, and as a municipium ninety years later. Roman Lucca was a quadrilateral walled city with a standard grid plan that was well preserved in later eras (fig. 10). Its boundaries coincided with the present-day Via della Rosa in the east, Via degli Angeli in the north, Via Galli Tassi in the west, and Corso Garibaldi in the south. Via Fillungo marks the cardo maximus, the city’s main north-south artery, while Via San Paolino/Santa Croce corresponds to the decumanus maximus, the principal street running from east to west. The forum sat at the intersection of these two streets on a site now occupied by the church of San Michele in Foro. The outlines of a Roman amphitheater, placed outside the northern wall, are indicated by Via Anfiteatro, and remains of a theater have also been found near the church of Sant’Agostino.

Little is known about Lucca’s early Christian community. The earliest reliable reference to Lucca’s church occurs in 343–344, when a Bishop Maximus of Lucca is recorded attending the Council of Sardica. In addition, sarcophagi from the fourth and fifth century and Latin epigraphs dating as early as 536 provide further testimony that Christianity was well established in Lucca in late antiquity.

One of the foundational figures of the Lucchese church was St. Fridian. Known from Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*, as well as the three versions of his *Vita* written in Lucca before the mid-eleventh century, Fridian was an Irish prince who entered Italy on a pilgrimage to Rome and lived as a hermit on Monte Pisano before being elected bishop of Lucca around 560. His *Vita* portrays him as an ideal bishop who serves in his post for twenty-eight years and protects both the physical and spiritual wellbeing of his people; in his most celebrated miracle, he diverts the path of the Serchio River, saving Lucca from a disastrous flood (figure 11). St. Fridian is also remembered for his active program of church building. Tradition credits him as the founder of twenty-eight churches throughout the diocese, one for each year of his episcopate. His *Vita* identifies only one of these churches by name, a basilica dedicated to SS. Vincent, Laurence, and Stephen, located north of Lucca outside the city walls (figs. 12–14). Serving as St. Fridian’s burial place and rededicated in the saint’s honor after his death, the church of San Frediano soon

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32 Ibid., 45–52.
became a wealthy and powerful institution, endowed with a monastery as early as 685 and later with a community of Augustinian canons, first attested in 1046.  

San Frediano’s status, however, would remain secondary to that of another of St. Fridian’s foundations, the church of San Martino, located in Lucca’s southeast corner (fig. 15). St. Fridian’s patronage of San Martino is not attested in any version of his Vita, but rather in San Martino’s documentary and material records. An account of the translation of the relics of St. Regulus, probably written in the eighth century, identifies St. Fridian as San Martino’s builder. In addition, until the eighteenth century, San Martino housed the remnants of an early Christian altar bearing an incised design of a gemmed cross, as well an inscription naming St. Fridian as the patron, dating to the sixth or seventh century. Whether or not St. Fridian’s foundation of San Martino represents historical truth, it was clearly an established part of the institution’s history from an early era.

All traces of the original church of San Martino have been eliminated by later renovations, and nothing is known of its form or appearance. San Martino’s position within the hierarchy of Lucca’s ecclesiastical institutions is also unclear. It seems that San Martino was not initially Lucca’s cathedral. Most scholars believe that this status

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34 Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich, 25; Zaccagnini, Vita Sancti Fridiani, 37.
36 The inscription was recorded by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors and read: DISPONENTE EPISCO FRYC, IANO / VALERIANVS PRESBYTER ALTARE / CVM COLVMELLIS SVIS FECIT. See Baracchini and Caleca, Il duomo di Lucca, 10; Graziano Concioni, “San Martino di Lucca: La cattedrale medioevale,” Rivista di Archeologia, storia, costume 22 (1994): 9; Zaccagnini, Vita Sancti Fridiani, 41–42.
belonged to the adjacent church dedicated to SS. Reparata and John the Baptist, where excavations have revealed the remains of an early Christian baptistery beneath a twelfth-century baptismal font (figs. 16–18). Nonetheless, San Martino took on this role within a few centuries of its foundation and is first documented as the seat of Lucca’s bishop in a charter of 724–725.

St. Fridian’s establishment of San Martino coincided with the beginning of the Lombard Kingdom in Italy, which elevated Lucca’s status and increased the wealth and power of its church over the next two centuries. The Lombards made Lucca their capital in Tuscany, installing a duke there by 576 and building his residence outside the walls to the west of the city. They also erected a royal palace and mint just south of the Roman forum, near the present site of the church of San Giusto. The Lombard families that settled in the region cultivated a close relationship with the Lucchese church. They were avid church builders, and sources record a substantial increase in new ecclesiastical foundations, including monasteries and hospitals, within Lucca and its territories in the eighth century. These properties gradually came under control of the bishop and significantly enlarged the church’s patrimony. The Lombards also filled the ranks of


40 Belli Barsali, Lucca, 10–11; Duane Osheim, An Italian Lordship: The Bishopric of Lucca in the Late Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 10–11; Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich, 27–36.
Lucca’s clergy; between the early eighth century and 1023, almost every bishop of Lucca belonged to one of the region’s most powerful Lombard families.\textsuperscript{41}

One of these bishops initiated several lasting changes to San Martino’s cult and appearance. Giovanni I (780–801) was an ambitious acquirer of relics and architectural patron, so much so that a recent study has called him “the exemplary dominus et constructor of early medieval Tuscany.”\textsuperscript{42} Giovanni obtained the relics of St. Pantaleon of Nicomedia, installing them in Santa Reparata, as well as those of St. Regulus, a sixth-century archbishop of Africa who fled to Tuscany to avoid the Arians and was beheaded at the command of the Ostrogoth king, Totila.\textsuperscript{43} These he placed in San Martino. The Translatio Sancti Reguli recounts Giovanni discovering St. Regulus’s relics in nearby Populonia and remodeling San Martino’s east end to accommodate them.\textsuperscript{44} It states that he built a confessio, an annular crypt, where he interred St. Regulus’s relics and placed an altar in his honor, while directly above was an altar dedicated to St. Martin, moved from its previous location in the middle of the choir. The new sanctuary was decorated in marble and adorned with an elegant screen, bearing a dedicatory inscription.

\textsuperscript{41} Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000 (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), 56.
\textsuperscript{42} Benjamin Brand, Holy Treasure and Sacred Song: Relic Cults and their Liturgies in Medieval Tuscany (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 22.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 25.
\textsuperscript{44} “In ecclesia denique beati Martini, quam sanctus Fridianus eiusdem civitatis episcopus olim aedificaverat, praememoratus praesul Iohannes faciens confessionem ex marmoreis lapidibus totam decoratatam, ibi corpus venerandum praemorsus, duo altaria desuper consecrat, unum inferius in honorem ipsius sancti Reguli, aliud autem superius ad honorem beati Martini, quod de medio choro, in qui prius fuerat, in hunc locum transmutavit. Fecit et pulchros cancellos in circuitu sancta sanctorum, in quibus ea quae diximus sese fecisse scribere curavit.” Simonetti, “Note sulla tradizione agiografica,” 130. A discussion of the text is also provided in Bertini, Memorie e documenti, 387–90.
As one version of the *Translatio* states, the model for the new shrine to St. Regulus was the tomb of St. Peter in Rome.\(^{45}\) Benjamin Brand has recently argued that this design was likely politically motivated.\(^{46}\) Giovanni’s episcopate witnessed the incorporation of the Lombard Kingdom of Italy into the Carolingian Empire under Charlemagne, whose close ties to the papacy probably encouraged Lucca to strengthen its relationship to the Roman church. Giovanni’s turn towards a papal architectural prototype can thus be read as a savvy negotiation of shifting political boundaries.

Brand also notes how Giovanni’s activities reshaped Lucca’s sacred topography.\(^{47}\) Newly endowed with precious relics, the complex formed by San Martino and Santa Reparata now had a devotional allure that could compete with the shrine of San Frediano. In addition, Giovanni’s manipulation of St. Fridian’s relics illustrates his concern with elevating Lucca’s episcopacy by associating it with this established cult. Giovanni had St. Fridian’s remains exhumed and re-interred in a crypt he built beneath San Frediano that was very similar in form to the *confessio* at San Martino.\(^{48}\) A new *Vita* of St. Fridian was written around the same time that included an account of Giovanni’s translation of the relics to their new shrine, creating an enduring connection between him and the saint.\(^{49}\) In this manner, Giovanni promoted St. Fridian’s cult while also placing it firmly within episcopal control.

\(^{45}\) “Post haec autem diligentissime et cum omni studio et universo populo Lucensi fabricavit ecclesiam et confessionem simile Beati Petri Apostoli Urbis Romae.” This reference to Old St. Peter’s occurs in a manuscript preserved in the Vatican archives and is transcribed in Bertini, *Memorie e documenti*, 386.


\(^{47}\) Ibid., 25–26.


Along with enriching and renovating Lucca’s existing ecclesiastical foundations, Giovanni also established new ones, commencing a spate of building in the area around San Martino that Iacopo (801–818), his brother and successor as bishop, continued. Giovanni founded a church dedicated to the Lord and Savior located directly across from San Martino, first documented in 797. In 805, Iacopo built two new churches, one dedicated to Santa Maria ad Praesepe, near San Martino’s south side, and another to the Virgin and St. Peter, which faced the cathedral and possessed a hospital. Iacopo continued his building activities throughout his episcopate, founding the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, a church dedicated to the Resurrection, Holy Cross, and Mount of Olives, and a female monastery dedicated to Santa Lucia near the old Roman forum. He also restored the church of Santa Maria ad Praesepe founded by his brother. Lucca’s bishops had thus filled the area around San Martino and Santa Reparata with a number of subsidiary sanctuaries by the early ninth century.

This arrangement, however, did not persist for very long. In 828, San Pietro in Vincoli was destroyed and the church dedicated to the Lord and Savior was torn down in 930. Hansmartin Schwarzmaier has suggested that this destruction might reflect the settlement of San Martino’s environs by the cathedral canons, who were rising in wealth and status at exactly this time. Consisting mostly of the sons of Lucca’s nobility and elite legal professionals, San Martino’s canons are first documented in 685, yet they only began accumulating their own property and sources of financial support in the ninth and

50 For a discussion of this period of construction, see Concioni, “San Martino,” 15–18; Almerico Guerra and Pietro Guidi, Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il secolo XII (Lucca: Coop. Tipografica Editrice, 1924), 94–101; Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich, 40–43.
52 Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich, 46–61.
tenth centuries, forming a corporate community distinct from the bishop. Their main source of income was from pious donations, often from very high-profile donors, including King Hugh of Italy (924–47) and the leaders of the new March of Tuscany, formed under Count Adalbert I (ca. 820–86) in the mid-ninth century. The cathedral chapter’s close ties to these early Tuscan margraves is attested by the burial of Adalbert II (ca. 875–915) and his wife Bertha in San Martino, their tombs marked with inscriptions still preserved in the southern corner of the counterfacade (fig. 19). Strengthened by powerful backers and tightly linked to Lucca’s urban society, San Martino’s canons would play a key role in events at the cathedral—religious, political, and artistic—in the centuries to come.

2. The Age of Reform

The eleventh and early twelfth century was a tumultuous period in Lucca. The movement for church reform and the struggles between papacy and empire played out in Lucca at a local level and led to conflicts between the bishop, cathedral chapter, and townspeople. Despite this upheaval, artistic and cultural production flourished, largely guided by two bishops, Anselm I and Rangerius (1096–1112). Their activities, among those described in this section, defined San Martino’s history and identity far beyond their years in office.

54 Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich, 46–61. On the formation of the March of Tuscany, see Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, 59–60.
In the eleventh century, the Lucchese bishopric’s close ties to the region’s elite families were broken a series of foreign bishops appointed to lead the local church. The first of these was Giovanni da Besate (1023–56), a member of a prominent episcopal family in Milan who was probably placed in the office by Emperor Henry II.\textsuperscript{56} In addition to sponsoring the construction of new churches throughout Lucca’s diocese and bringing the relics of the martyr St. Lucine from Rome to Lucca, where he buried them in San Martino’s northwest corner, Giovanni II also made the first attempts at reforming the cathedral chapter. He encouraged the canons to live communally, give up their personal property, and practice celibacy, and his efforts in this direction can be characterized as both moderate and unsuccessful. In a letter to San Martino’s canons of April 24, 1048, Giovanni II notes that while he had provided them with living quarters next to the cathedral so that all those who might wish to adopt common life could do so, only four members had accepted his offer. Further correspondence from Pope Leo IX (1049–54) to the chapter in 1051 confirms the canons’ resistance to reform, indicating that many were still married and “living in luxury.”\textsuperscript{57}

Giovanni II was succeeded by another Milanese cleric, Anselm da Baggio, who became Lucca’s bishop in 1057.\textsuperscript{58} Four years later, he was elected to the papacy over the imperially supported anti-pope, Honorius II, and took the name Alexander II. He retained his position as bishop of Lucca and followed the example of his immediate predecessor

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\textsuperscript{57} For the letters of 1048 and 1051, see Guerra and Guidi, \textit{Compendio di storia ecclesiastica}, 138–39; Scott, “The Cathedral Chapter,” 134.

\textsuperscript{58} On Anselm I, see Brand, \textit{Holy Treasure}, 87–97; Guerra and Guidi, \textit{Compendio di storia ecclesiastica}, 143–49; Scott, “The Cathedral Chapter,” 141–43.
by translating relics, patronizing building projects, and pursuing clerical reform. Early in his episcopate, Anselm interred the relics of St. Senesius in the basilica of San Pietro Maggiore in Lucca. Shortly after he became pope, he brought those of his papal namesake, Pope Alexander I, to Lucca and probably remodeled the church of Sant’ Alessandro to house them (fig. 20). He also continued Giovanni II’s lenient attitude towards the reform of San Martino’s canons. He organized the chapter, capping its membership at thirty and delineating the hierarchy of its members, and wrote letters to them denouncing the sale of church property and the practice of simony. But he also appears to have respected their established way of life and did not force them to live communally or speak out against clerical marriage.

Where Alexander II outshone almost all of his forerunners in Lucca was in the attention he lavished on the city’s cathedral. He launched a major renovation between 1060 and 1070, attested by several sources. The first of these is the cathedral fabric itself (figs. 21–22). To the left of the northern portal on the west façade is a dedicatory inscription dating to the thirteenth century, thought to reproduce an eleventh-century original. It states: “The radiant gables of this lofty temple were constructed under Pope Alexander II, to the care of which [temple] and for the prelate’s use, he himself built the surrounding buildings—houses, chapels, and a hospital—over which he established [his]

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60 Scott, “The Cathedral Chapter,” 141–43.
earthly authority under pain of excommunication. In 1060 its foundations were laid, and it stands consecrated, having been completed ten years later.”

Other documents also speak of the reconstruction. In the *Vita metrica S. Anselmi*, written by the bishop Rangerius in the early twelfth century, the author instructs the reader to look upon the cathedral and to “marvel at its columns, which in rows of two lead down both sides [of the church]. Admire the stone building, which a hand learned in the art of beauty placed [there] under a new Solomon, and which made this work in a great but short time under Alexander II, [who was] ruling both Rome and Lucca.”

Tolomeo da Lucca, the city’s earliest chronicler, likewise credits Alexander as an architectural patron. The very first entry in his *Annales*, written around 1307, recounts the bishop’s ascension to the papal throne and his renovation of San Martino: “1063: The Lucchese bishop, named Anselm, […] was elected pope and named Pope Alexander II, who three years earlier had enlarged and much improved the church of San Martino.”

While these sources name Alexander II as the project’s only overseer, others emphasize the roles that particular canons played in the work’s execution. The *Sermo in
dedicatione Sancti Martini, which commemorates San Martino’s consecration in 1070 and was probably also written by Rangerius, begins by addressing the cathedral canons as “most dear brothers.” It then praises those of the chapter who “in the name and honor of St. Martin completed such work so quickly and with such devotion,” echoing the Vita metrica’s remarks on the speed with which the renovation was completed. Finally, the appendix to the Legend of the Volto Santo, omits any mention of Alexander II whatsoever, naming instead San Martino’s archpriest and archdeacon, Lamberto and Blancardo, as those who guided the reconstruction from its foundation through its completion.

Because of these references to the canons, as well as the language of the façade inscription and the Vita metrica, which emphasizes the cathedral’s construction “under” rather than “by” Pope Alexander II, some scholars have argued against the pope’s involvement and credit only Lamberto and Blancardo. Brand presents a more reasonable interpretation of the sources, noting that as pope, Anselm I was absent from Lucca for much of his episcopate. Thus, while he may have initiated the project and influenced its design, he must have entrusted much of its day-to-day management to the

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64 This observation is Brand’s (ibid., Holy Treasure, 91). The Sermo in dedicatione is preserved in Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, P+, fol. 132. An edited version is provided in Pietro Guidi, “Per la storia della Cattedrale e del Volto Santo,” Bollettino storico lucchese 4 (1932): 182–84. The relevant passage reads: “Haec, fratres karissimi, pro dedicationis honore communiter dicta sint; nunc de vestra Gloria specialiter aliquid perstringendum. Gloriam vestrarn dicimus et utinam vere et spiritualiter dicere valeamus. Sed specialis Martini gloria spiritualis et illorum qui eius nominis et honori tantum opus tanta caeleritate consumarunt, tanta devotione dedicarunt.”

65 Nam tempore Lamberti archipresbiteri et Blancardi archidiaconi qui fratres uterine viri sapientes et religiosi Deo et homini acceptissimi funditus presentem ecclesiam edificaverunt et ad honorem beati Martini.” Graziano Concioni, Contributi alla storia del Volto Santo (Pisa: ETS, 2005), 29. For a discussion and English translation of the passage, see Brand, Holy Treasure, 91.

more senior members of the cathedral chapter.\textsuperscript{67} This view also accommodates the testimony of the façade inscription, \textit{Vita metrica}, and \textit{Annales} of Tolomeo da Lucca, which very clearly associate the cathedral’s rebuilding with the memory of Anselm’s leadership.

These quibbles have not stopped scholarship from viewing the eleventh-century cathedral of San Martino as a reflection of Anselm I’s politics. While very little of this structure survives in the fabric of the present church, the \textit{Vita metrica}’s description of a stone building supported by two rows of columns on each side evokes a large, five-aisled basilica. This impression is bolstered by an anonymous fifteenth-century writer who witnessed the dismantling of the structure to produce the church’s current three-aisled, late Gothic interior; the observer states that the church previously had five aisles and compares its plan to that of Pisa Cathedral.\textsuperscript{68} This has led some authors to speculate that the church consciously recalled the early Christian basilicas of Rome, an appropriate choice for a cleric leading the churches of Rome and of Lucca simultaneously, as well as a declaration of papal strength in the face of challenges from the Holy Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{69}

Alexander II’s relic translations at San Martino have been interpreted along similar lines. As recounted by the \textit{Sermo in dedicatione}, Anselm had the bones of SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria brought from Rome, and he placed them on the right side of the eastern sanctuary.\textsuperscript{70} As Brand notes, the relics’ placement made them a pendant to the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[67] Brand, \textit{Holy Treasure}, 91.
\item[69] Silva, “\textit{Dilexi decorem domus tuae},” 31; Silva, “La ricostruzione,” 263–76.
\item[70] “Ut autem etiam de thesauris nichil minus esse potuisset, vel ad illa quae in tabernaculo per Moysen, vel quae in templo sunt reposita per Salomonem, Roma detulit memoratus pontifex et pr(ae)libate aecclesiae
\end{footnotes}
body of St. Lucine, which Giovanni II had placed to the left of the main altar. In this manner, the concentration of shrines to four Roman martyrs reinforced the “philo-Roman” overtones of the architecture and asserted the primacy of the reformed papacy.\footnote{Brand, \textit{Holy Treasure}, 87–93.}

Upon Alexander II’s death in 1073, his nephew, Anselm II became Lucca’s new bishop.\footnote{On Anselm II, see Guerra and Guidi, \textit{Compendio di storia ecclesiastica}, 150–64; Scott, “The Cathedral Chapter,” 144–50.} Although prepared for the role by his uncle, Anselm II lacked the ambitions of his predecessor, as well as the willingness to compromise with San Martino’s canons. Shortly into his episcopate in 1073, he fled Lucca for a more sheltered life in a French monastery, only returning to his post the following year because of papal orders. Once there, he pursued reform of the cathedral chapter far more zealously than either Giovanni II or Anselm I, insisting that the canons adopt common life, practice celibacy, and give up their privately held property. Letters from Pope Gregory VII to the canons in 1077 and 1078 reveal that they refused to obey these orders, leading the pope to excommunicate them and threatening any Lucchese citizens who supported them with the same sentence.\footnote{Scott, “The Cathedral Chapter,” 147.}

Despite this judgment and strong papal support, Anselm II’s position only grew more tenuous as the discontent of the canons combined with Lucchese citizens’ increasing demands for civic autonomy. Because of his position as spiritual advisor to Matilda of Canossa, leader of the March of Tuscany from 1076 to 1115, Anselm II was opposed by many who were hostile to the March’s power. In 1080, this portion of Lucca’s population took advantage of the larger conflict between papacy and empire,

\textit{obtulit sanctorum corpora Iasonis et Mauri et eorem matris Hylariae et ea in dextro latere honorifice reposuit.” Guidi, “Per la storia,” 183.}
joined forces with the army of Henry IV, and forced Anselm II to flee the city. The following year, the emperor arrived in Lucca and appointed Pietro, one of the rebellious canons of San Martino, as bishop. Although fighting continued in Lucca between those who supported Pietro and those who remained loyal to Anselm II, Pietro remained in office until 1086 or 1087, while Anselm died in exile in Mantua in 1086.

After Anselm II’s death, Lucca gained a new bishop named Gottifreddo, but very little is known about him, including the length of his episcopate. By 1096, however, Rangerius was already in office, a position that he would hold for the next fourteen years. Rangerius’s origins are unclear, though many scholars support the idea that he was from southern France and shaped by the environment of Cluniac monasteries. In any case, he was both a strong papal ally and extremely well educated, versed in scripture, as well as hagiographic and literary traditions. These qualities are signaled by his appointment as bishop by Pope Urban II (ca. 1068–99), as well as his authorship of De anulo et baculo, a polemical poem against lay investiture written for Matilda of Canossa. Assuming leadership of a church and city ripped apart by the conflicts of previous years, Rangerius was committed to rebuilding a strong episcopacy, attested by his extraordinary literary output. Between 1096 and 1099, he wrote the Vita metrica S. Anselmi, a 7,300-line poem that celebrated Anselm II as a saint and martyr of church reform, and as Gabriella

75 Guerra and Guidi, Compendio di storia ecclesiastica, 167–68.
76 Savigni, Episcopato e società cittadina, 121–22. Guerra and Guidi promote an alternative view that Rangerius was a local figure and member of San Martino’s chapter (ibid., Compendio di storia ecclesiastica, 173).
Severino has argued, went beyond traditions of hagiography to present an epic history glorifying the triumphant papacy of Urban II.\(^78\) He also authored at least three other texts probably intended for a more local circulation: a new version of the *Translatio Sancti Reguli*, the *Sermo in dedicatione Sancti Martini*, and the *Translatio Sanctorum Reguli, Iasonis, Mauri, et Hilarie*, which commemorated his own reorganization of San Martino’s relics.\(^79\)

These writings exhibit Rangerius’s concern for repairing the bonds between Lucca’s cathedral and the city. In the *Vita metrica*, he described the time of St. Fridian as the city’s “golden age,” but praised the years following it as a “silver age,” when “the clergy and people, joined as if mind to body, strove to sanctify its streets.”\(^80\) Rangerius pursued this ideal of episcopal leadership and unity of church and city through practical measures. He obtained confirmation from Pope Paschal II (1099–1119) of San Martino’s traditional authority over the churches of Lucca, as well as its rights to portions of the offerings made to the *Volto Santo* and at other churches in the diocese.\(^81\) He also reaffirmed the Lucchese church’s ties to the elite families who were episcopal tenants; both of these actions helped place the church on a firmer financial and social footing.\(^82\) Finally, Rangerius also began issuing some acts from San Martino’s cloister, rather than his episcopal palace, which as Savigni has noted, helped to reestablish an image of bishop


\(^{79}\) For a discussion of Rangerius’s works and an argument for his authorship of the *Translatio Sancti Reguli*, see Brand, *Holy Treasure*, 97–101. Both the *Sermo in dedicatione* and the *TranslatioSanctorum Reguli, Iasonis, Mauri, et Hilarie* are transcribed in Guidi, “Per la storia,” 182–86.


\(^{81}\) Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina*, 174–75.

\(^{82}\) Ibid., 188–89.
and chapter as one authoritative body, working together in the governance of their church.  

Another theme of Rangerius’s episcopate was emphasizing Lucca’s long-standing relationship with papal Rome, understandable given the bishop’s politics and events at San Martino in the previous decades. The most obvious manifestations of this concern are his celebration of Anselm I’s achievements in both the *Vita metrica* and the *Sermo in dedicatione Sancti Martini*. But his writings also show his efforts to elevate other expressions of Lucca’s *romanitas*. In the *Vita metrica*, he states:

> Peter’s seat in Rome [is] preeminent throughout the world, but Lucca [is] not inferior in its sacred seats. Rome was loftier than any city in its power and wealth, illustrious in its title and throne of faith. Lucca was bright and leading by the path of light, called by the nobility of Rome. The nobility of faith from the first tradition gave form to the Lucchese church. It conferred festal traditions and stations unknown to all other churches.  

Here, Rangerius anchors Lucca’s likeness with the papal city in its distinctive stational liturgy, which reproduced the liturgical customs of the Lateran with more faithfulness than any other Italian city. In this way, he continued shaping an image of Lucca’s church based on papal models begun by Giovanni I and Alexander II.

Along with renewing the social bonds of bishop, cathedral chapter, and citizens, and promoting Lucca’s Roman character, Rangerius’s writings also constructed a past for San Martino dominated by the pious bishops who had endowed the city with the saintly

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83 Ibid., 251–53.
85 Benjamin Brand, “Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca, 1275–1500” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2006), 44, ProQuest (3214180).
protectors whose bones resided in the cathedral. By revising the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* and writing the *Sermo in dedicatione*, he ensured that the memory of Giovanni I and Anselm I would remain attached to the cults of St. Regulus and SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria. More daringly, he also inscribed himself into this history. In 1109, he rearranged San Martino’s interior, destroying the crypt built by Giovanni I and moving St. Regulus’s relics to the right of the main altar dedicated to St. Martin. At the same time, he moved those of SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria to the left of the main altar, and he documented his actions in the *Translatio Sanctorum Reguli, Iasonis, Mauri, et Hilarie*. In it, he describes the crypt as having fallen into disrepair and become a site for idle gossip, inappropriate for the sanctity of Regulus’s relics. While there may have been some truth to this, the arrangement of altars that resulted from this change suggests that Rangerius had other motivations. Whereas the earlier placement of St. Lucine to the left of the main altar and SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria to the right gave the church a distinctly Roman focus, the new setup instead recalled the city’s three most celebrated bishops: St. Fridian, who had founded the cathedral and dedicated it to St. Martin; Giovanni I, who brought St. Regulus’s relics to Lucca; and Anselm I, who had procured the three Roman martyrs. Just as important, Rangerius linked himself to these men by manipulating the relics and recording the event in a new text. In this way, he underlined and extended a lineage of model bishops who exhibited their concern for Lucca by providing and caring for the bodies of its heavenly patrons.

86 Guidi, “Per la storia,” 184–86.
87 “Sed dum per negligentiam custodum et importunitatem pulsantium sacra illa intentio solveretur et locus ille iam non tam rarus fieret pietati, quam frequens et pervius vanitati, visum est his, quorum intererat, viam et occasionem confabulationi claudere et corpus sanctum [S. Reguli] de tenebris ad lucem revocare.” Ibid., 185.
It was thus Rangerius, more than any other individual, who shaped the written record of Lucca’s history at the turn of the twelfth century. Despite his foreign origins and his support of the papacy and the March of Tuscany, it seems that the cathedral chapter accepted his contributions: the *Translatio Sanctorum Reguli, Iasonis, Mauri, et Hilarie* is preserved in thirteenth-century manuscripts in Lucca, suggesting that much later generations saw his work as authoritative and worth maintaining as part of local tradition. Likewise, the *Sermo in Dedicatione* appears in a mid-twelfth-century Passionary in the archives of the cathedral chapter. The canons, moreover, recited this text each year at the night office on the annual commemoration of San Martino’s dedication. There was one notable exception, however, in the local legacy of Rangerius’s work. Despite his exaltation of Anselm II in the *Vita metrica*, this bishop was totally absent from San Martino’s institutional memory; his feast day, March 18, was never even noted in Lucca’s liturgical calendar. This omission suggests that San Martino’s canons remained active participants in selecting which aspects of Rangerius’s work to incorporate into their traditions, celebrating Giovanni I and Anselm I as sources of local pride, while ignoring the one bishop whose violation of their autonomy had gone a step too far.

2.1 The *Volto Santo*

Rangerius’s episcopate coincided with the first historical references to one more treasure of the Lucchese church, the *Volto Santo*. This object would be increasingly important to the city’s religious and civic identity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

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89 Ibid.
becoming the focus of the lay confraternity, appearing on Lucchese coinage, and being honored with a spectacular procession each year. While chapter three goes into more detail about the *Volto Santo*’s iconography, its written tradition, and the rituals surrounding it, the section below introduces the sculpture and the complicated issues surrounding its date and origin.

Today, the *Volto Santo* is kept in a small shrine made by the Lucchese sculptor Matteo Civitali in 1484, located about halfway down San Martino’s nave to the north of the central aisle (fig. 23). Standing about eight feet tall and nine feet wide, the sculpture depicts Christ on the cross wearing a tunic that reaches down to his feet, with long sleeves and a belt tied at the waist.  

Christ is shown with his head tilted slightly to his right and his eyes open and downcast, directed towards viewers below. He has long hair that extends across each of his shoulders and a forked beard. The sculpture’s surface is strikingly dark and almost monochrome: the hair and tunic are the same shade of deep brown, while the flesh is a lighter brown and gilding punctuates the tunic’s belt and bottom hem. It is likely that the sculpture has been repainted many times and that the tunic was originally brightly colored. Antonino Caleca, able to examine the sculpture up close, detected shades of pink on the body parts, red on the lips, and a smoky, bluish color on the tunic; in contrast, Arthur Kingsley Porter noted traces of red paint that he believed indicated the tunic’s original color.  

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90 Antonino Caleca gives the exact measurements as 245 cm x 278 cm. Ibid., “Il Volto Santo, un problema critico,” in *Il Volto Santo. Storia e culto*, ed. Clara Baracchini and Maria Teresa Filieri (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1982), 66.

91 Ibid., 66–67; Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (1928; repr., New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969), 10. The idea that the *Volto Santo* was repainted many times is also suggested by Boncompagno da Signa. In his *Rhetorica antiqua*, written around 1215, he states the following in response to a jurist who mocks the *Volto Santo*: “You say that it is recolored every year for the purpose of appearing more beautiful.” For the original source, see Gustav Schnürer and Joseph M. Ritz, *Sankt Kümmernis und*
of the statue’s construction. The work is made of three pieces of wood, one for each arm, and another for the head and body. The eyes are made of glass paste and fabric lines parts of the tunic beneath the paint. Holes left by nails that once attached a fabric border are visible on the bottom hem, and there are remnants of fabric with silver thread on the ends of the belt.

The Volto Santo’s fame rests largely on the legend that surrounds it, recorded in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century. Narrated by a deacon named “Leboinus,” the Legend of the Volto Santo relates how a pious “subalpine bishop” named Gualfredus made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. While there, an angel appears to him in a dream, informing him that next door is a sculpture of Christ made by his follower, Nicodemus. The angel explains that after Christ’s Ascension, Nicodemus carried the memory of Christ’s appearance with him and made a sculpture of the Savior, “not by his art but by divine.” Nicodemus then gave the carving away to a man who venerated and protected it in his house, where it remained hidden.

Upon waking, Gualfredus locates the Volto Santo, and he and his companions place it on a boat and let divine providence decide where to take it. The boat reaches the port of Luni on the western coast of Italy. The town’s inhabitants, accustomed to piracy,
attempt to raid the ship, but the boat evades them and will not allow itself to be captured. In nearby Lucca, a bishop named Giovanni also receives a message from an angel while he sleeps, telling him of the boat and the miraculous sculpture it carries. Giovanni sets out for Luni with his clergy and the devout citizens of Lucca, and the boat approaches them and allows them to take possession of the Volto Santo. Giovanni gives the Lunesi a vial of Christ’s blood contained within the Volto Santo and carries the sculpture itself to Lucca, placing it in San Martino, “near the door on the south side.” Leboinus ends his account by noting that these events took place in 742.

Despite this claim that the Volto Santo arrived in Lucca in the eighth century, references to the sculpture only appear around the turn of the twelfth century. King William II of England (1087–1100) is recorded as swearing oaths “by the Holy Face of Lucca.”94 In 1107, Pope Paschal II writes to the bishop and canons of San Martino concerning the division of offerings left to the Volto Santo, and these offerings are mentioned again in a document of 1109.95 In addition, an inventory of San Martino’s altars and relics written before Rangerius’s reorganization in 1109 mentions one altar “before the Face” (“ante Vultum”) and another “before the old Cross” (“ante Crucem veterem”).96 These references have still not been adequately explained. Pietro Guidi, who published a summary of the document, argued that both altars honored the Volto Santo using two interchangeable names and that they marked the Volto Santo’s current and former locations in the cathedral.97 Alternatively, Chiara Frugoni has speculated that the document could indicate that there were originally two relics, a wooden and an image of

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95 Ibid., 229–30.
96 Guidi, “Per la storia,” 175–77.
Christ’s face on a cloth similar to the Veronica or Mandylyn, whose cults gradually merged into one. In either case, the inventory presents another piece of evidence supporting the existence of the Volto Santo’s cult in the early twelfth century.

The cluster of references to the Volto Santo around 1100 and the total lack of any mention of the object before this time strongly suggest that its cult came into existence not long before the late eleventh century. Regardless, the early literature on the Volto Santo accepts Leboinus’s Legend at face value, regarding the sculpture as a work carved by Nicodemus and brought to Lucca from Jerusalem in the eighth century. This position was no doubt influenced by the fact that these studies were written primarily by Lucchese clerics who needed to defend a cult that they and their parishioners still honored.

Modern art historical scholarship on the crucifix began with a short essay by Luigi Dami in 1921. The author published the first photographs of the Volto Santo stripped of the crown, belt, skirt, and shoes with which it was normally displayed. The images were accompanied by a short note, in which Dami dated the crucifix to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and attributed it to Italian sculptors, comparing it to works by the circle of Benedetto Antelami in northern Italy, as well as a wooden Deposition group from Volterra.

After Dami made images of the Volto Santo more widely available, many scholars weighed in on its date and place of manufacture, though never reaching a clear

100 This observation has also been made by other scholars. See Concioni, Contributi, 11–12; Stefano Martinelli, “Lo status quaestionis bibliografico sul Volto Santo: punti fermi e problemi aperti,” in Bozzoli and Filieri, Scoperta armonia, 120.
consensus. Erwin Panofsky argued that the *Volto Santo* could not have been created before the late eleventh century and probably came to Lucca around the time of the first Crusade.\(^\text{102}\) Adriano Bernareggi dated the work between the eighth and eleventh century.\(^\text{103}\) He compared the iconography to Syrian Crucifixion scenes, but suggested that the carving was done in northern Spain or southern France, referring to examples of wooden figural sculpture such as the reliquary of Ste.-Foy in Conques and other Crucifixes from Catalonia and Roussillon in which Christ wears a tunic (figure 24).\(^\text{104}\) Porter supported this attribution to Catalonia, noting that certain technical details are also found in Spanish examples, including the glass paste eyes and linen preparation of the painting surface. He dated the work to the late eleventh century.\(^\text{105}\) Salmi concurred with this date, but favored an origin in Roussillon.\(^\text{106}\) Against these interpretations, Gustav Schnürer and Joseph Ritz maintained that the Leboinus Legend contained a kernel of historical truth and argued that the *Volto Santo* was in fact an older work that first reached Lucca in the eighth century.\(^\text{107}\) Recognizing the similarity with Catalonian sculptures, they viewed these works as preserving the iconography of earlier Visigothic sculptures and suggested that the *Volto Santo* might have been made in Visigothic Spain.

In 1936, Géza de Frankovich proposed a new idea about the *Volto Santo* that has had a long life in later scholarship. Reorienting attention back to the sculpture’s stylistic qualities, he argued for attributing the work to a follower of Antelami based on the


\(^{104}\) Ibid., 143–54.

\(^{105}\) Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 8–11.

\(^{106}\) Salmi, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 78.

\(^{107}\) Schnürer and Ritz, *Sankt Kümmernis*, 149–58.
carving of the drapery folds and dating it between 1180 and 1190.\textsuperscript{108} Faced with the documentary references to the \textit{Volto Santo} from the early twelfth century, De Frankovich also argued that San Martino must have possessed an similar crucifix that had become worn out and damaged and was thus replaced by the present sculpture shortly before 1200.\textsuperscript{109} He considered the earlier \textit{Volto Santo}—presumably lost—to have been an eastern work brought to Lucca in the eighth century, as the Legend attests, and believed that the artist of the newer sculpture copied the appearance of Christ’s face from the first version, since he judged this area to have a more archaic character than that rest of the work.\textsuperscript{110}

Although De Frankovich’s conclusions were based solely on his assessment of style and raise questions about how San Martino’s clergy could have substituted a cult object connected to Nicodemus and Christ with a new sculpture without inciting doubts from the laity, the idea of two \textit{Volto Santos} has been widely accepted. Later studies incorporating this view include that of Antonio Pedemonte, who argued that there were originally two separate cults in San Martino, one dedicated to the Holy Cross, and another to the \textit{Volto Santo}. The two were unified in the present object, which he viewed as combining sculptures of two eras: the head, carved in early Christian Syria or Palestine, and the body, carved in the second half of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{111} Reiner Haussherr also embraced the view that the current \textit{Volto Santo} replaced an older one and was not made earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, as did Herbert Kurz,

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 20–29.
\textsuperscript{111} Antonio Pedemonte, \textit{Ricerche sulla primitiva form iconografica del Volto Santo. Lettura tenuta il 25.2.1938. Lucca: 1939. I was unable to obtain this source; the description here is based on the summary provided in Martinelli, “Lo status quaestionis,” 125–26.
who published a study of the iconography and historical origins of the earlier sculpture. In his view, the original *Volto Santo* was introduced in Lucca in the eleventh century in the context of church reform, while the *Volto Santo* of today emerged around 1200 in response to the growing cult of the Veronica in Rome. In their monograph on San Martino, Baracchini and Caleca united the idea of two *Volto Santos* with a reinterpretation of other historical documents. Citing the inventory that mentions the altars dedicated to the “Face” and the “old Cross” from the early twelfth century, they read these as references to the current *Volto Santo* and an earlier Crucifix, whose cult was later combined with the *Volto Santo*’s. They differed however, in their dating of the present sculpture, viewing it as the work of a Lombard sculptor made during the episcopate of Anselm I, whom they propose as the originator and promoter of the *Volto Santo*.

The theory of the *Volto Santo*’s remaking in the twelfth century received new support with the results of a technical investigation of a similar sculpture, a wooden crucifix picturing Christ in a tunic displayed in the cathedral of Sansepolcro near Arezzo (fig. 25). Long assumed to have been modeled on the *Volto Santo* of Lucca, dendrochronology revealed that the sculpture was far older than previously thought: the work was dated between 675 and 845, except for the left arm, which was dated between 904 and 1018. Anna Maria Maetzke published these results in a monograph in 1994.

Rather than opening the possibility that the *Volto Santo* of Lucca could also prove to be

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older than expected if similar investigations were conducted—and in fact, in line with the
date of the *Volto Santo*’s arrival in Lucca reported by Leboinus—this new information
was combined with De Frankovich’s theory of two *Volto Santos*. Maetzke proposed that
the early crucifix in Arezzo must have been the original *Volto Santo* of Lucca, which the
clergy of San Martino gave to Arezzo and replaced with the current sculpture around
1200.\textsuperscript{115} In a later study, Maetzke bolstered her argument by presenting a document
recording the sale of a Crucifix showing Christ in a tunic to the “brothers of the town of
Arezzo” in 1179, regarding the text as proof of the first *Volto Santo*’s transfer.\textsuperscript{116} As
Stefano Martinelli notes, however, Maetzke published this document without specifying
its archival source, which other scholars still have not been able to identify, leaving these
claims open to question.\textsuperscript{117}

In the years since the restoration of the Sansepolcro crucifix, scholars have
combined the new information it yielded with older ideas about the *Volto Santo* and have
continued to propose a diversity of opinions regarding the object’s date and the origins of
its cult. In a volume of conference proceedings from 2003, Romano Silva suggested that
the Sansepolcro crucifix could be the “old Cross” mentioned in the list of San Martino’s
altars in the early twelfth century, while viewing the *Volto Santo* now in San Martino as a
reinterpretation of this earlier work and dating it between 1060 and 1070.\textsuperscript{118} The same
volume included the opposing view of Heinrich Pfeiffer, who argued for the possibility
that the *Volto Santo* could actually be an early Christian work from the East, based his

\textsuperscript{115} Ib., 29–30.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., “Il ‘Volto Santo’ di Sansepolcro: Documentata riscoperta del più antico Crocifisso monumentale
dell’Occidente,” in *La bellezza del sacro: Sculture medievali policrome* (Arezzo: Camera di Commercio
Industria, Artigiano, Agricoltura di Arezzo, 2002), 12.
\textsuperscript{117} Martinelli, “Lo status quaestionis,” 127n37.
assessments of its stylistic congruity with other works of this time.\(^{119}\) Guido Tigler dates the *Volto Santo* to the twelfth century and accepts that there was probably an earlier version, while Arturo Quintavalle agrees with Baracchini, Caleca, and Silva in placing the *Volto Santo’s* origin in the time of Alexander II, seeing its revival of the early Christian iconography of the Crucifixion as consistent with the ideology of church reform.\(^{120}\)

Alongside the controversies over the *Volto Santo* itself are those concerning the date and authorship of its written Legend. Francesco Paolo Luiso provided the foundational study of the manuscript tradition of the Legend in 1928. He identified six manuscripts, all in preserved in libraries north of the Alps and all dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which he called the “first family of codices” of the Legend of the *Volto Santo*.\(^{121}\) Each contains the account of “Leobinus,” followed by an appendix containing the writings of Pseudo-Athanasius on the Christ of Beirut. He also noted another group of manuscripts preserved in Lucca, dating between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, containing the Leboinus Legend with a different appendix recounting miracles worked by *Volto Santo* in Lucca.\(^{122}\) Luiso considered this appendix to have been

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\(^{121}\) Francesco Paolo Luiso, *La Leggenda del Volto Santo storia di un cimelio* (Pescia: Benedetti & Niccolai, 1928), 31–40. The six manuscripts are: Bibliothèque municipale, Douai, cod. 842 (twelfth century) and cod. 865 (thirteenth century); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, cod. lat. 792 (twelfth century); Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, cod. Cheltenham 336 (thirteenth century) and cod. 7797–7806 (thirteenth century); and Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, BVC, Ms 1876 (end of thirteenth century).

\(^{122}\) Ibid., 41–53. The manuscripts containing the Leboinus Legend in Lucca are: Biblioteca Statale, Lucca, Ms 527 (fifteenth century) and Ms 110 (fourteenth century); Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Ms 497 (fifteenth century) and Feliniana, Ms 626 (thirteenth or early fourteenth century; see Concioni, *Contributi*, 17, 19–20 on the differences of opinion over date); and Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Ms 110 (fourteenth century).
written in Lucca in the early fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{123} He did not present specific arguments about the date or authorship of the Leboinus Legend, simply noting that it had been widely disseminated outside of Italy by the twelfth and thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{124}

Many scholars accept Luiso’s conclusions regarding the relative chronology of the Leboinus Legend and appendix of miracles, with most placing the composition of the Leboinus Legend in the early twelfth century. Moreover, Diana Webb has presented strong reasons for thinking that Rangerius or someone close to him was the author of the Leboinus Legend. Notably, this text—unlike the appendix of miracles that follows it—is written in Leonine \textit{cursus}, a Latin prose style introduced by John of Gaeta (Pope Gelasius II from 1118 to 1119). Its use was limited to a small, highly literate papal circle to which Rangerius belonged, having dedicated to his \textit{De anulo et baculo} to this pope.\textsuperscript{125}

Schwarzmaier has also noted that the Legend reprises elements of the \textit{Translatio Sancti Reguli} now attributed to Rangerius; in particular, the account of the ninth-century bishop named Giovanni who learns of the Volto Santo in a dream recalls the manner in which Lucca’s Giovanni I is reported to have obtained St. Regulus’s relics.\textsuperscript{126} Finally, codifying or reinventing the history of one of San Martino’s treasured objects fits into Rangerius’s larger project of hagiographical writing and raising the profile of local relic cults.

Nevertheless, opinions still vary over the Legend’s author and the chronology of its parts. Frugoni argues that the Leboinus Legend was written after the appendix of miracles, while Michele Camillo Ferrari suggests that the text could draw on an earlier

\textsuperscript{123} Luiso, \textit{La Leggenda}, 51.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Schwarzmaier, \textit{Lucca und das Reich}, 343–44.
version of the Legend from the ninth or tenth century that no longer survives.\textsuperscript{127} Most recently, Brand has rejected the attribution of the Legend to Rangerius, preferring to ascribe it to a canon of San Martino.\textsuperscript{128}

There is clearly much about the *Volto Santo* that remains a mystery and will continue to be unresolved until scholars perform a technical investigation of the sculpture and produce a critical edition of the Legend.\textsuperscript{129} What is important here is that, whichever position one takes on the sculpture’s origin, the sculpture known today as the *Volto Santo* was the focus of a well established cult and a widely circulated written Legend by the time the façade project began in the late twelfth century.

3. The Communal Era

The late eleventh-century conflicts between church, empire, bishop, and city in Lucca also mark the origins of what would be the central phenomenon of the next two centuries, the establishment and growth of the city commune. In reward for their alliance in 1080, Henry IV (1056–1105) granted Lucca’s citizens several privileges the following year.\textsuperscript{130} The diploma he issued forbid the construction of fortifications within the *sei miglia*, the six-mile area surrounding Lucca that had customarily constituted the city’s territory. It also decreed that no one should destroy the city’s walls or threaten its


\textsuperscript{128} Brand, *Holy Treasure*, 131–32. It should be noted, however, that Brand’s objection to Rangerius’s authorship is based on the passage mentioning the roles of S. Martino’s archpriest and archdeacon, Lamberto and Blancardo, in connection with the cathedral’s rebuilding, rather than Alexander II. This passage occurs in the appendix of miracles, which is generally already ascribed to the community of canons, not to Rangerius.

\textsuperscript{129} Martinelli notes that a non-invasive investigation of the *Volto Santo* was recently carried out and will likely yield new data on the sculpture (ibid., “Lo status quaestionis,” 119).

\textsuperscript{130} On the diploma of 1081, see Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina*, 35–40; Chris Wickham, *Courts and Conflict*, 20.
residences, prohibited any royal palace from being built in the city, exempted Lucchese citizens from paying tolls between Pavia and Rome and around Pisa, and gave them market rights at Borgo San Donnino and Parma. Addressed solely to the citizens of Lucca, the document marked the beginning of the city as a political autonomy acting in its own interests.

As it is rare to find documents that clearly record a commune’s origin, scholars often point to the first mention of consuls, leaders who represent and advocate on a city’s behalf, as signs that a communal government had been established. For Lucca, consuls are first recorded in 1119, when three appear as witnesses to a sale of land recorded in the episcopal palace. Despite the lack of detail in this and other records and the complete absence of public documentation from the city of Lucca in the early communal period, Chris Wickham has argued on the basis of prosopographical research that the city was clearly acting as a corporate body from the last two decades of the eleventh century and that its judicial and political leaders were consistently drawn from certain social strata.

Lucca’s magistrates and consuls throughout the twelfth century were mostly iudices and causidicii, literate men with legal training. These men were also strongly linked to San Martino’s clergy. They regularly oversaw court cases for Lucca’s churchmen, and many were frequent witnesses for the cathedral chapter and the bishop’s closest

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134 Ibid., 56–62.
dependents, indicating a close and cooperative relationship between church and city leaders that was common in early communes.\textsuperscript{135}

It is also likely that the cathedral chapter and Lucca’s civic officials were united by family ties. In most cities, cathedral canons were drawn from the same local, high-standing families as consuls and other communal leaders, and Savigni has compiled evidence that this was probably the case in Lucca.\textsuperscript{136} At the same time, leadership of the Lucchese church also took a more local turn. Between 1118 and 1300, every bishop about whom we have information, with one exception, was elected from within the cathedral chapter and most were from Lucca.\textsuperscript{137} Thus, unlike decades earlier, there seem to have been tight bonds between the bishops and canons at San Martino and between them and those in positions of civic authority.

Several more signs of the commune’s development appear towards the end of the twelfth century. With the Peace of Constance of 1183, Emperor Frederick I formally recognized the legitimacy of the northern Italian communes. Three years later, he confirmed Lucca’s civic autonomy, granting city officials all jurisdicational authority in the \textit{sei miglia}.\textsuperscript{138} In 1187, the first reference to a \textit{podestà} in Lucca appears.\textsuperscript{139} This position existed in most communes by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and was

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{138}] Savigni, \textit{Episcopato e società cittadina}, 81.
\item[\textsuperscript{139}] On the history of the \textit{podestà} in Lucca, see Salvatore Bongi, \textit{Inventario del regio Archivio di Stato in Lucca} (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 1876), 2:303–12. On the office of the \textit{podestà} more generally, see Waley, \textit{The Italian City-Republics}, 66–73.
\end{itemize}
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a response to the divisions and factionalism that often erupted into violence and threatened the city’s peace. The individual appointed to this office was usually an outsider from another region or town and served a limited term in which he was tasked with maintaining order and enforcing the local laws fairly.

By the following decade, Lucca’s *Popolo*, the wealthy merchants and artisans previously excluded from communal offices, were taking the first steps towards organizing themselves and exerting pressure on established leadership. Sercambi reports that there were divisions between Lucca’s four quarters in 1195 (figure 26), and Tolomeo da Lucca states that the first armed societies of the *Popolo*’s militia formed in 1197. In the same years, documents also make the earliest references to a corporation of artisans, the Compagnia delle Sette Arti, which included blacksmiths, stone masons, bricklayers, and carpenters and met in the church of San Bartolomeo in Silice. Sercambi records further clashes between the *Popolo* and civic leaders in 1209, 1214, and into the 1220s. While the *Popolo* achieved temporary victories from these uprisings, they would not come to dominate civic offices until the second half of the thirteenth century.

A visual indication of the commune’s growing power was the establishment of a communal palace by 1197. Located on the north side of the church of San Michele in Foro, which also served as a meeting space for the city’s consuls, the new palace was

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built on the site of the former Roman forum, suggesting continuity between the new form of government and the civic heart of the Roman city (figs. 27–28). The first palace was reconstructed in the late thirteenth century. In October 1277, the prior and canons of San Michele obtained permission to build a staircase providing direct access from the church to the palace “which they intended to build” for the city’s officials, and by 1297, the leaders of the Popolo are documented meeting in the “new” palace. An illustration in Sercambi’s chronicle provides a schematic representation of what the arrangement of the palace and church may have looked like, showing a staircase leading from the church’s left portal to the palace’s arched entrance (fig. 29). Though the civic palace provided Lucca’s leaders with dedicated headquarters, the space was never publically owned. Rather, the commune remained the tenants of San Michele’s canons until 1370, when city officials adopted the “Augusta,” part of the fortress built by the lord Castruccio Castracani in the early fourteenth century, as their new meeting site.

The communal palace was not the only construction project in Lucca at this time. The late twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed intense building activity, encompassing both civic and religious structures. Between roughly 1195 and 1220, the city built new walls, which replaced the Roman fortifications and expanded the Lucca’s area on three sides, incorporating sizable settlements that had existed outside the walls since the eighth century. While Lucca’s southern limits remained fixed, the eastern

146 Il Palazzo Pubblico, 19; Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, 216.
border was moved to coincide with the present Via del Fosso/Via della Zecca, the west with Via Pallone, and the north with the position of the sixteenth century walls, still intact. The thirteenth-century walls were largely demolished in later centuries, but a few remnants survive, including a stretch of masonry incorporated into the city’s later walls near the church of San Frediano, and two of the medieval city gates, the Porta dei Borghi and Porta SS. Gervasio and Protasio (figures 30-33).

Almost all of Lucca’s churches were significantly renovated or rebuilt in this period, including San Frediano (1112–40), San Michele in Foro (ca. 1143), San Salvatore in Mustiolo (ca. 1180–1200), SS. Giovanni and Reparata (1187), Santa Maria Corteorlandini (1188), San Cristoforo, Santa Maria Forisportam, San Giusto (all late twelfth–early thirteenth century), and San Pietro Somaldi (1203) (figs. 34–37). It was in this context of large-scale urban renewal, rising social tensions, and struggles for political power that the new façade of San Martino was also initiated. This project, its chronology, and the people behind it are the subjects of the next chapter.

148 For a more complete overview of the construction history of all of Lucca’s surviving churches, see Belli Barsali, *Lucca*, 57–257.
Chapter 2
The Façade

This chapter provides an overview of the façade of San Martino as a basis for the analysis of specific elements presented in the following three chapters. It begins with a description of the façade and then discusses the phases of its execution and their dates. The next section summarizes the scholarship on the façade, which has centered on attributing it to individual artists and workshops, while the final section offers a detailed look at the documents pertaining to the opera backing the façade’s construction.

1. Description

On the ground story, San Martino’s façade consists of a portico that creates a shallow, sheltered space before the church’s entrances (figs. 38–42). Three rounded arches supported by compound piers provide access to the portico from the west and give the façade a marked asymmetry: the southern arch abutting the campanile is significantly smaller than the central and northern arches. This discrepancy in size is most likely due to the fact that the façade’s dimensions were predetermined by the existing buildings. The length of the façade from north to south, as well as the position of the three portals had to match those of the eleventh-century church to which the façade was attached. The presence of the eleventh-century campanile to the southwest further limited the available space. The reduced size of the southern arch, joined directly to the campanile, was thus a clever solution that allowed the portico’s arches to frame the church’s portals while still working within the constraints imposed by the existing buildings.

149 Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 7.
On each side of the façade, an arch joins the portico to the cathedral and allows visitors to access the portico from the north and south sides. Above each side of the northern arch is a sculpted bust. That on the exterior portrays a figure with shaggy hair wearing a classicizing garment fastened above each shoulder, while the bust on the interior depicts a bishop wearing a miter (figs. 43–45). Local tradition has identified the figures as Matilda of Tuscany and Alexander II since at least the nineteenth century, and it is generally believed that they were not made for this particular location on the façade. Art historians have not confirmed the identity of the figures, nor put forth a compelling argument for their original setting.

Inside the portico, a barrel vault covers the space. As Kopp notes, this vault was coated by concrete in the twentieth century, precluding a closer examination of this masonry, as well as a discussion of the original roof of this structure.

The portico is enlivened by the inclusion of different colors of stone, as well as by sculpture. Throughout the piers, spandrels, and voussoirs, the masonry alternates between white marble and a light gray stone, giving the portico a subtly striped appearance similar to that of other Tuscan buildings in Pisa, Pistoia, and Florence. Many of the portico’s architectural elements are also adorned with relief sculpture. The outermost moulding of the three arches is carved with a motif combining leaves and volutes, while the circular moulding between the two archivolts of the central and northern arches display sculpted vine scrolls (figs. 46–9). The same element on the smaller, southern arch is ornamented with a deeply carved pattern of repeating chevrons, which is also used on the two colonnettes directly below, giving this arch a unified appearance (figs. 50–51).

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150 Ibid., 32–33; Ridolfi, L’arte in Lucca, 101.
151 Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 17.
northern arch, one of the colonnettes on the supporting piers is decorated with diagonal ridges suggesting spirals. The same design appears on the upper quarter of the colonnette on the arch’s opposite side, but the lower portion is carved with a pattern of interlocking rings, suggesting that the piece was completed by two different artists or that the design plans changed in the course of production (figs. 52–54). The colonnettes of the central arch are similarly uncoordinated. On the north side, this element is adorned with a vine scroll, while on the right, the colonnette displays a dense web of roundels, each containing a different animal, human, or mythical creature (figs. 55–58).

Two larger engaged columns are placed on the exterior face of the two piers supporting the central arch (figs. 59–60). On both, a sculpted band sets off the column’s lower third. The southern column is covered with foliate and vine scroll designs (figs. 61–62), while the northern column is decorated with sculptures depicting biblical subjects. The lower portion of the northern column depicts the Fall of Man described in the book of Genesis (fig. 63). Despite the significant wear to the sculpture and repairs made in stucco, several details of the scene remain visible. Adam and Eve stand to either side of a gnarled tree. Adam is portrayed as a muscular nude, while Eve in shown with her long hair blowing wildly on each side of her head (figs. 64–65). The serpent winds around the tree’s trunk and dangles an apple towards Eve, while behind her stands the devil, represented as a satyr-like figure with furry legs, claws, and horns.

Above this scene, the rest of the column portrays the Tree of Jesse, a visualization of Isaiah’s prophecy that “there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse” (Isaiah 11:1). Jesse is shown sleeping, lying just above the band separating the two parts of the column, and a vine shoots forth from his chest, forming a web over the column’s surface
Sixteen figures sit in the branches, with scrolls identifying most as Christ’s ancestors (figs. 67–69). The Virgin is enthroned in the top position, and just above her, Christ appears in a half-length image within a mandorla, held aloft by two angels (fig. 70).

In addition to the sculpture decorating the columns and arches of the portico, each pier has carved composite capitals, with a few bearing isolated figural sculpture. The exterior face of the northern capital includes a small figure climbing a branch (fig. 71), while the interior side of the capital on the southern pier of the portico’s central arch shows six figures of equal size spaced evenly across the sculptural field (figs. 72–73). Read from the viewer’s left to right, they have been identified by Walther Biehl and Gabriela Kopp as Ecclesia, the Virgin, the Prophet Isaiah, the Queen of Sheba, King Solomon, and Synagoga.152

The portico’s ground story also includes several pieces of sculpture carved in the round. Lions attacking prey jut out from the springing of the arch on the exterior of three piers; that on the northernmost pier is an eighteenth-century replacement of a medieval original (figs. 74–76).153 On the southernmost pier adjoining the campanile is a human figure instead of a lion, squatting as if supporting the weight of the arch on his shoulders (fig. 77). In addition, six bulky brackets project from the wall above the arches. The three to the viewer’s left are carved with human figures, looking down on visitors below, while the three to the right are each decorated differently (figs. 78–82). From left to right, their

designs include a pair of intertwined dragons, a man wrestling a bear, and a figure blowing a horn. The pair of cornices to the right of the central portico supports a sculptural group that depicts the saint to whom the cathedral is dedicated: it shows St. Martin of Tours in the most celebrated episode of his life, slicing his cloak in two to share with a beggar (fig. 83). The current sculptures are casts of the medieval originals, which have been installed inside the cathedral on the counterfaçade for reasons of preservation (fig. 84).\footnote{The replacement and conservation of the original sculpture is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.}

Towering above the portico, the rest of the façade consists of three stories of arcaded galleries (fig. 85). In the second story, the columns at the north and south ends of the façade become gradually shorter, and the arcade in the third gallery above is reduced to only six arches so that the façade echoes the profile of the church with its raised clerestory and slanted roof over the aisles on either side of the nave. Although we cannot be certain, it seems unlikely that the façade was designed to end abruptly with the flat roofline of the third gallery. The planners probably intended to add a fourth story in the shape of a gable that might have projected above the height of the nave, giving San Martino an appearance similar to other churches in town, including San Michele in Foro, San Pietro Somaldi, and San Maria Forisportam (figs. 86–87).\footnote{Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 7.}

All three of the galleries are extensively ornamented (fig. 88). The wall behind the arcades continues the grey and white striping of the portico, the voussoirs in each arch alternate between green and white stone, and the spandrels are filled with green and white intarsia. Many of the columns display a variety of sculpted and inlaid designs, interspersed with others made of green or pink stone. The column in the first story closest
to the *campanile* also bears a sculpted depiction of a man in a cap and knee-length tunic (fig. 89). He holds a scroll with an inscription that records the date of this portion of the façade and praises the architect or master mason, Guidetto: “1204. The right hand of the chosen Guidetto placed [these columns] of such beauty.”

Ornamental marble and architectural sculpture are also found within San Martino’s portico, where the entrance wall with its three portals constitutes the last major zone of decoration. The wall’s white marble masonry is broken up by stripes of green and pink stone, placed at regular intervals, as well as by a blind arcade of seven arches, made of pink marble. At the springing of each arch, a three-dimensional sculpture of a lion stands on a plinth projecting from the wall. A strip of intarsia roundels, most of which are modern additions, runs across the wall just above eye level.

A significant amount of relief sculpture surrounds all three portals. The tympanum over the central portal portrays Christ in Majesty supported by two angels, while the lintel depicts the twelve apostles with the Virgin standing at the center (figs. 90–92). The figures’ names are abbreviated in inscriptions below. The apostles are distinguished by individualized hairstyles, facial hair, and drapery, and several turn towards each other and gesture, as if interacting naturally. Evangelist symbols appear to each side of the tympanum. On the left is an angel representing Matthew, and on the right, an eagle representing John.

156 “Mill(e) CC / III. Condi / dit ele / cti ta(m) pul / chras / dextra / Guidecti.” Ambrosini, “Le iscrizioni,” 8; Albert Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur. Die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 2:968–70. Both authors judge the implied object modified by “pulchras” to be “columnas.” Dietl notes that earlier scholarship preferred “aedes,” but thinks it more likely that “columnas” would be omitted for reasons of space and meter.
There are two registers of relief sculptures on each side of the central portal (figs. 93–94). The upper register depicts four scenes from the life of St. Martin of Tours, each with an inscription on the lower border identifying the subject.157 Beginning on the left, the first scene shows St. Martin bringing a dead man back to life. Identified as a monk by his heavy cowl and hood, Martin stands at the foot of the man’s bed with two companions. The composition is balanced at right by three friends or family members of the deceased who stand behind him. The subject of the next relief is Martin’s consecration as bishop of Tours. At the center, Martin, who now wears ecclesiastical vestments, bends forward as the miter is placed on his head. The cycle continues to the right of the central portal with a scene of a miracle in which a globe of fire appears above Martin’s head while he is celebrating Mass. St. Martin stands and raises his hands behind an altar draped with an elegantly patterned textile and is assisted by two clerics on each side. The final scene shows Martin performing an exorcism; dressed as bishop with his miter, stole, and crozier, Martin is again accompanied by two clerics and extends his hand towards one of two figures at right, above whom is the small, winged demon that Martin has extracted. In the register below the St. Martin scenes are the Labors of the Months, placed within a framework of arches. To follow the progression of the months chronologically, the viewer must read these from right to left, an arrangement that Romano Silva has argued was chosen to orient the months to the cardinal directions.158

Like the central portal, the smaller ones to the north and south also have sculpted tympana and lintels. The southern portal shows two events in the life of St. Regulus (figs.

95–96). In the lintel, Regulus and his followers confront a group of Arians, portrayed wearing knee-length garments, with some balancing spears over their shoulders. Regulus holds a scroll with an inscription asserting his orthodox position on the Trinity, while the Arians’ leader counters this claim with a scroll proclaiming their view of Christ as solely divine.\textsuperscript{159} In the tympanum above, Regulus is shown being beheaded. Clasping his hands in prayer, St. Regulus bends forward in a curve that echoes the shape of the tympanum. At the right stands his executioner, holding his sword in one hand. On the opposite side of the façade, the northern portal shows several episodes from the life of Christ (figs. 97–98). The lintel displays a short infancy cycle that includes the Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi within an extremely spatially compressed space. Above, the tympanum is devoted to the Deposition; Nicodemus embraces Christ’s body while Joseph of Arimathea removes the nails from Christ’s feet. To the left are the three Maries, and to the right, other followers of Christ.

2. Chronology

Previous scholarship has established that construction of the façade proceeded in three major phases, beginning with the erection of the portico, followed by the three arcaded galleries, and then the decoration of the entrance wall and three portals.\textsuperscript{160} The inscription of Guidetto with the date 1204 provides a \textit{terminus ante quem} for the completion of the ground story of the portico. Assuming that this piece of sculpture was put in place around the time of the date inscribed on it, then the portico below must have

\textsuperscript{159} “Ego Regulus asse ro semper / fuisse D(ominu)m patrem et / filium et Spirit(u)m S”; “Nos Arians dicimus / filium Dei / initium in divinitate / abuisse.” Ambrosini, “Le iscrizioni,” 10.

\textsuperscript{160} The most thorough assessment of chronology is provided by Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 39–120.
been finished slightly earlier, around the turn of the thirteenth century. When work began on this structure is less clear. A couple of scholars have dated the portico to the early twelfth century. Baracchini and Caleca interpret a bull of Pope Eugenius III prior to 1154 that mentions an “atrium” at San Martino as referring to the present portico and date the structure to the first half of the twelfth century. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti has also argued that the present portico, which she dates to ca. 1150–1170, incorporates pieces of an earlier structure made at the beginning of the twelfth century. These views, however, do not correspond with the majority of evidence discussed below regarding the portico’s date, and neither has been accepted by more recent scholarship.

More reliable information on the date of the portico can be found in documents pertaining to the cathedral opera. A contract preserved in Lucca’s Archivio di Stato, discussed at more length at the end of this chapter, mentions the existence of an “opera of the frontispiece of the church of San Martino”—in other words, an administrative office devoted to the construction of San Martino’s façade. Two separate copies of this document exist, differing only in date: one is dated January 17, 1190 and the other January 17, 1196. While Kopp prefers the earlier date, regarding the later one as a scribal error, there is no consensus among scholars as to which date might be more accurate. Regardless, the documentation of an office devoted specifically to the cathedral façade sometime in the 1190s provides strong evidence for work on the façade being in progress.

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163 See Kopp’s refutation of Baracchini and Caleca (ibid., *Die Skulpturen*, 54).
in this decade, and on this basis, both Joachim Poeschke and Guido Tigler date the execution of San Martino’s portico between ca. 1190 and 1204.\textsuperscript{164}

Another factor pertinent to the date of the portico is San Martino’s relationship to Pisa Cathedral. As noted in the introduction, the latter monument is widely acknowledged as the primary model for San Martino. This is clear from the many similarities between the two façades, including the alternating bands of white and light gray masonry, the upper stories of arcaded galleries, and the design of the columns flanking the central portal at Pisa and the portico’s central arch at San Martino; at both sites, the lower third of the columns is set off by a sculpted band, classicizing vine scrolls are used as ornament, and the columns are topped by sculptures of lions (figs. 99–100). The earliest scholars of San Martino also detected the hands of artists who worked at Pisa Cathedral and the adjacent baptistery, a judgment that more recent studies have supported.\textsuperscript{165} Kopp, for instance, argues that several sculptures at San Martino were made by a Pisan sculptor. These include the column decorated with vine scrolls on the southern pier of the portico’s central arch, as well as the two lions on either side of this arch, the two busts on the northern entrance to the portico, and the three northern brackets.\textsuperscript{166} She also proposes that at least some of these elements should be attributed to a “Master Guido” named as the artist of one of the lion sculptures at Pisa in an inscription removed from the façade and now in the Camposanto.\textsuperscript{167} Tigler, though not attributing these sculptures to this specific

\textsuperscript{166} Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 58–60.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 60.
artist, concurs that these pieces were the work of a sculptor or group of artists from the workshop at Pisa Cathedral.  

Based on these observations, it makes sense to assume that work on San Martino’s portico shortly followed the completion of the façade of Pisa Cathedral. This assumption does not add great specificity to the portico’s date, however, because the date of Pisa’s façade can likewise only be dated to a fairly broad range. The present façade is the product of an enlargement of the Romanesque church, which was begun in 1064 and consecrated in 1118. Archaeologists have identified the foundation of the original façade about fifteen meters behind the present one, at the same location as a visible change in the masonry of the cathedral’s walls (figs. 101–102). Several recorded dates offer a general timeframe for the façade project. The first is the inscription on a pulpit made for the cathedral by the sculptor Guglielmo, dating this work to 1159–61/62 (fig. 103). The same Guglielmo, along with several other artists, is contracted to work for the cathedral opera in Pisa in 1165. Although the nature of the work is not specified, it is likely that it was the façade project, and Antonino Milone has argued that Guglielmo led one of the workshops that executed the façade sculpture based on stylistic similarities with the pulpit. It is thus very likely that the façade was in progress in the 1160s. Milone favors extending the time frame for the façade sculpture even earlier; seeing correspondences between the façade and the ground story of the baptistery, begun in 1152, he proposes the

168 Tigler, “Maestri lombardi,” 868–70.
170 Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Il pergamo di Guglielmo per il Duomo di Pisa, oggi a Cagliari (Pontedera: Opera della Primaziale Pisana, 2000); Poeschke, Die Skulptur, 141–43; Tigler, Toscana romanica, 51–52.
1140s through 1160s as a date range for most of the façade sculpture, while other scholars place the beginning of work on the façade around 1150.\textsuperscript{172}

The façade at Pisa was likely completed around 1180, based on records of an inscription on the bronze doors that the artist Bonannus made for the main façade, which were destroyed in a fire in 1595.\textsuperscript{173} If the time frame for the Pisa façade is thus ca. 1150–80, and some artists who worked on the façade migrated to Lucca around the time the project was finished and found work at San Martino, then the date for the portico can reasonably be extended earlier than the first mention of the “\textit{opera} of the frontispiece” in 1190/96. A date range for the portico from ca. 1180 to ca. 1204 also corresponds to Kopp’s dating of the structure to the last quarter of the twelfth century based on stylistic comparisons to Pisa Cathedral and monuments in other regions of Italy.\textsuperscript{174}

After the portico was completed, construction proceeded immediately on the galleries above. The inscription of 1204 again provides an approximate start date for this section of the church, and it is likely that work continued into the second decade of the thirteenth century. On June 8, 2011, a “Master Guido, \textit{marmolarius} of the church of San Martino of Lucca” was contracted to supervise a renovation of the church of Santo Stefano in Prato, with the stipulation that he be allowed to return to Lucca four times per year to continue work there.\textsuperscript{175} Most scholars believe that this Master Guido is the same

\textsuperscript{173} Milone, “Il duomo e la facciata,” 198; Peroni, “Architectura e decoração,” 15.
\textsuperscript{174} Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 73.
\textsuperscript{175} “Et quandocunque Prepositus, vel ejus capitulo, sive consules vel potestas Pratentium, aut Operarius dicti Operis ipsum magistrum pro faciendo dictum opus inquisierint, promisit venire et stare atque operare in illo opere donec Operarius dicti Operis ipsum tenere voluerit; salvo tamen quod sit licitem dicto magistro ire Lucam IIII vicibus in anno, expensis illius Operis in eundo et redeundo, et non plus.” Gaetano
one who signed the façade at San Martino, since aside from sharing the same name, the artist named in the contract is identified as coming from the workshop of San Martino and both the façade signature and the contract suggest an individual capable of being the primary designer of a complex architectural project.\(^{176}\) The reference to Guido’s need to return to Lucca regularly indicates that work on the galleries at San Martino was probably still ongoing in 1211, and his absence from the site late in the project may also explain why the uppermost story of the façade was never completed. Based on the information provided by the inscription and contract, the time frame from ca. 1204 to ca. 1215 for the galleries seems appropriate.

The final portion of the façade to be executed was the decoration of the entrance wall within the portico. An inscription to the right of the central portal credits two opera leaders (operarii), Benelatus and Aldibrandinus, with overseeing this work in 1233 (fig. 104).\(^{177}\) 1233 therefore provides an approximate start date for the marble decoration of the entrance wall, as well as the sculpture surrounding the central and southern portals; based on similarities of both style and subject matter, the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar on the portico’s exterior has also been placed in this phase. These elements have been attributed to a family of Lombard stone masons from the region of Como who are well documented as working in Lucca between 1238 and 1257–58, the years of the deaths

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Milanesi, ed., _Nuovi documenti per la storia dell’art toscana dal XII al XV secolo_ (Florence: Libreria Antiquaria G. Dotti, 1893), 6–8.

\(^{176}\) Concioni, “San Martino,” 47–53; Alick M. McLean, _Prato: Architecture, Piety, and Political Identity in a Tuscan City-State_ (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 93–97; Salmi, “La questione dei Guidi,” 86–87. Kopp is more cautious on this point, concluding that we cannot know for certain whether we are dealing with the same individual (ibid., _Die Skulpturen_, 85–87).

\(^{177}\) “+H (oc) OP(us) CEP(it) FIERI A BENELATO ET ALDIBRA(n)DO OP(er)ARIIS A.D.M.CC.XXX.III.” Kopp, _Die Skulpturen_, 146n250.
of the two of the last known members of the family.\textsuperscript{178} 1260 can thus be viewed as a rough date for the completion of this work.

The final piece of the façade to be added was the northern portal with the sculptures of Christ’s Infancy and the Deposition. The scene of the Deposition in the tympanum was ascribed to Nicola Pisano by Giorgio Vasari, and Nicola’s connection to the San Martino workshop is further supported by the fact that he is named in the will of Guidobonus Bigarelli, one of the Lombard masters as San Martino.\textsuperscript{179} Most modern scholars accept this attribution and based on comparison with Nicola’s other works, place the portal’s execution either just before or after his pulpit for the Pisa Baptistery, dated by inscription to 1259.\textsuperscript{180}

To summarize, the construction of San Martino’s façade was completed in several phases between the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth century: the portico was executed between ca. 1180 and ca. 1204, the galleries were made between ca. 1204 and ca. 1215, and the entrance wall with its sculptures was added between ca. 1233 and 1260.

3. Workshops and Masters

The central issue in the study of San Martino’s façade has been identifying the individual artists and workshops involved in each of its phases. This question has been complicated by the many inscriptions and documents in and around Lucca that refer to stone masons named “Guido” or variations of the name, including “Guidetto” and

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 96–99.
\textsuperscript{180} Poeschke, \textit{Die Skulptur}, 2:68–69. An opposing view is that of Joseph Polzer, who denies the attribution to Nicola and dates the portal to c. 1300 (ibid., “The Lucca Reliefs and Nicola Pisano,” \textit{Art Bulletin} 46, no. 2 (1964): 211–16.)
“Guidone.” The majority of publications on San Martino attempt to connect documents and inscriptions that might refer to the same individual, attribute elements of the façade to these artists, and plot out the potential familial and workshop relationships between them. While art historians have yet to reach an agreement on this subject, this section summarizes the arguments they have put forth.

In his study of San Martino, Ridolfi considered Guidetto, the artist mentioned in San Martino’s façade inscription, to have been one of the authors of the façade. Noting the diminutive form of Guidetto’s name, the youthful appearance of his supposed self-portrait, and the impressive scale of the façade project, he proposed that this artist was part of a father-and-son team that worked on the structure together.\textsuperscript{181} Ridolfi identified a “Master Guido” named in an inscription at the church of Santa Maria Corteorlandini in Lucca as Guidetto’s father. He suggested that this master, like Guidetto, depicted himself at San Martino and viewed the crouching figure on the pier beside the campanile as his self-portrait. Ridolfi ascribed the portico’s smallest arch to the older mason and the completion of the portico and the galleries to Guidetto, whom he believed departed Lucca to work in Prato by 1211. Ridolfi also argued that Guidetto might have been the same artist as “Guido da Como” who is named in an inscription on a pulpit made for San Bartolomeo in Pantano in Pistoia in 1250 (figs. 105–106).\textsuperscript{182} Regarding the sculptures of the central and northern portals at San Martino, Ridolfi interpreted the inscription of the \textit{operarii} Benelatus and Aldibrandinus as referring to the artists of these works and

\textsuperscript{181} Ridolfi, \textit{L’arte in Lucca}, 81–91.
\textsuperscript{182} On this pulpit, which as currently reconstructed includes pieces of sculpture from 1239 and 1250, see Poeschke, \textit{Die Skulptur}, 1:155–56; Tigler, \textit{Toscana romanica}, 283–86.
considered the sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar to be the product of an anonymous late fourteenth-century artist.\textsuperscript{183}

Few of Ridolfi’s views were accepted by later scholars. Eight years after his study, Schmarsow reexamined the same issues in his own monograph on San Martino. In his view, the portico and the galleries were too different to have been made by the same artist or by a father and son team. He believed that the portico was already in progress and being worked on by sculptors with disparate styles and training when Guidetto arrived at the site and completed the portico and the gallery levels.\textsuperscript{184} Like Ridolfi, he saw Guidetto as the same artist mentioned in the Prato contract and in the inscription of the pulpit in Pistoia. Schmarsow added the baptismal font in Pisa Baptistery signed by “Guido Bigarelli” in 1246 to this artist’s oeuvre as well (fig. 107).\textsuperscript{185} He also believed that this sculptor continued to oversee the workshop at San Martino during the execution of the portals and identified the tympanum and lintel of the central portal as his work, along with the two Evangelist symbols above. Schmarsow attributed the relief scenes of St. Martin and the Labors of the Months to a different anonymous Lombard master, the sculptures of St. Regulus to a younger follower of Guidetto, and St. Martin and the Beggar to this workshop.

\textsuperscript{183} Ridolfi, *L’arte in Lucca*, 92–93, 97–98.
\textsuperscript{185} Most current scholarship regards the artist of the pulpit in San Bartolomeo in Pantano and the baptismal font in Pisa as the same individual, referred to interchangeably as “Guido Bigarelli,” “Guido da Como,” or “Guido Bigarelli da Como.” For an overview of this issue, see Valerio Ascani, “Bigarelli,” in *Enciclopedia dell’Arte Medievale* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 3:508–13; Isa Belli Barsali, “Guido Bigarelli,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1968), 10:393–95
In a short article published in 1914, Mario Salmi sought to bring clarity to what he called “the question of the Guidi.”\textsuperscript{186} He argued that there were three artists named Guido working in and around Lucca in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The earliest was the master named in the inscription at Santa Maria Corteorlandini in 1187, whom Salmi viewed as a local figure, but did not connect to the cathedral workshop. Rather, he attributed the portico to two anonymous workshops with different styles: one linked to Pisa and Pistoia, and another with Byzantinizing features, more related to the style of Biduinus in Tuscany and the workshops of Wiligelmus and Niccolo in northern Italy. Salmi identified Guidetto as the second of the “Guidi,” viewing him as the director of the workshop responsible for San Martino’s galleries and the master named in the Prato document of 1211. Guido Bigarelli da Como, the sculptor of the Pisa baptismal font and the Pistoia pulpit, was the third artist with this name. Salmi believed that he developed in Lucca and had followers there. In his later publication on Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany, Salmi attributed the central portal to him and the rest of the portal sculptures to two anonymous masters who worked alongside him.\textsuperscript{187} He attributed the scenes of St. Martin to one of these masters, whom he believed was also familiar with the work of Benedetto Antelami, and assigned the sculptures of St. Regulus to another. He considered this latter artist as more accomplished and capable of greater realism and suggested that he could be Guidobono di Lanfranco, recorded as Guido Bigarelli’s brother.

Walther Biehl put forth a different interpretation of the façade’s authorship in his study of Tuscan sculpture.\textsuperscript{188} His account emphasized the importance of artists from the

\textsuperscript{186} Salmi, “La questione dei Guidi,” 81–90.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., Romanesque Sculpture, 118–19.
\textsuperscript{188} Biehl, Toskanische Plastik, 67–83.
workshop at Pisa at all points of the façade’s construction. He argued that Guidetto came from Pisa, comparing capitals and consoles from the interior of Pisa Baptistery with sculptures of the gallery at San Martino. He also attributed the portals and their surrounding sculptures to two different masters: one who executed the central portal and St. Regulus scenes, whom he believes worked on the sculptures of St. John the Baptist at Pisa Baptistery (figure 108), and another responsible for the St. Martin scenes and St. Martin and the Beggar. Unlike Salmi, he judged the latter artist as more talented and capable of producing more lifelike figures.

Pietro Guidi was the next scholar to give his attention to the problem of the Guidi. In a short article in 1929 he compiled references to several artists named in various documents issued at San Martino. In a short introduction to the texts, he suggested that a “Master Lombardo,” whom the documents mention as leader of the cathedral workshop for several decades in the thirteenth century, should be given credit for overseeing much of the work on the portals, even though his name is not found in any inscriptions at San Martino, nor is it recorded elsewhere in Tuscany. In this way, Guidi drew attention away from Guido Bigarelli in favor of a previously unknown artist.

Although Guidi added considerable documentary evidence to the question of which artists were active at San Martino during the façade’s construction, scholars did not immediately incorporate this material into discussions of the monument. The next significant analysis of San Martino was provided by Annarosa Garzelli in her volume on Tuscan sculpture in 1969. Her conclusions regarding the façade departed from earlier

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190 Ibid., 211.  
191 Garzelli, Sculture toscane, 37–46.
assessments. In her view, Guidetto only directed work on the portico, and the inscription in the galleries commemorated his contribution after the fact. Guido Bigarelli then took over the project, beginning with the cornice at the top of the portico and continuing through the completion of the galleries, as well as the portals. He executed the two Evangelist symbols, while three anonymous artists in his workshop made the rest of the portal sculptures.

In Baracchini and Caleca’s monograph on San Martino, the authors view the façade as the product of three distinct workshops, each responsible for a successive phase of the project. Within the first workshop, which produced the portico, they identify two anonymous masters. They characterize one as coming from the circle of Wiligelmo in northern Italy and see the column with the Fall of Man and Tree of Jesse as this artist’s work, along with the capital and lion sculpture directly above it and parts of the central and northern arch. They view the other artist as originating in Puglia and executing the column with vine scrolls on the southern pier of the central arch, the smaller arch, and the first bust of St. Martin. After a break in work, the upper portion of the portico, including the cornice that runs along the top, was completed by the second workshop directed by Guidetto; the same group of artists also executed the galleries. Unlike most scholars, they group sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar in this phase, attributing it to an anonymous master who worked alongside Guidetto. The third workshop on the site worked on the portals. Baracchini and Caleca argue that the design of the entrance wall, as well as the execution of Evangelist symbols and the architrave of the central portal should be

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attributed to Guido Bigarelli, while the rest of the sculpture should be seen as the work of Lombardo, the artist recovered through Pietro Guidi’s documentary research.

In Kopp’s study of San Martino, the author agrees with viewing the façade’s three phases as the products of three different workshops, though her interpretation of the individuals involved in each phase differs somewhat from Baracchini and Caleca’s. Kopp calls the first workshop of the façade “the workshop of Guido,” identifying the director of this workshop with an artist named in an inscription originally on the façade of Pisa Cathedral. She attributes to this artist the column with the vines scrolls, the lions on each side of the portico’s central arch, and the two busts now installed on the north portal. Kopp identifies a second artist in this workshop with a recognizable style, whose work she compares to monumental sculpture in Modena and Verona. She ascribes the column with the Tree of Jesse, the colonnette to its right decorated with foliage, the colonnette with roundels, and the three brackets sculpted with human figures on the northern half of the portico to this artist. In her view, the first workshop executed most of the portico, but the second workshop, supervised by Guidetto, completed it. Kopp identifies the three brackets on the right half of the portico, as well as the cornice and the sculpted vine decoration of the central arch as Guidetto’s work, and thinks that he and his workshop continued to work at the site through the completion of the galleries.

Kopp terms the third workshop at San Martino “the portal workshop.” In her assessment of his phase, she combines stylistic analysis with documentary evidence in a more thorough manner than previous scholars, though she notes that most of her

\[194\] Ibid., 41–45, 77–95.
conclusion are subjective and cannot be verified. Kopp argues that the unity of the central and southern portals’ design, as well as the stylistic coherence of these zones and the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar suggests that they were conceived by one person. She proposes that Lombardo, identified as the operarius in several documents, was probably this designer, and also attributes to him the tympanum of the central portal and the two Evangelist symbols. She sees the scenes of St. Martin and the Labors of the Month as the work of a second artist, noting that these sculptures are distinguished by a taste for symmetry and strict frontality. Kopp argues that this sculptor was likely familiar with Pisan models, including the scenes of the Labors of the Month surrounding the east portal at Pisa Baptistery (fig. 109), but that his style also includes features of north Italian sculpture. On this basis, she suggests that he might be identified with Guidobonus Bigarelli, half-brother of Guido Bigarelli, who is believed to have arrived in Lucca from Lombardy around the middle of the thirteenth century and appears in Lucchese documents between 1246 and 1258. Finally, Kopp attributes the scenes of St. Regulus and the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar to a third artist. Because she judges this work more advanced and daring than the other sculptures, she suggests that the sculptor might be a younger artist named Guido, whom documents identify as Lombardo’s son.

In the years since the publication of Kopp’s monograph, Graziano Concioni has increased the material available on the artists present at San Martino by compiling additional documentary references to these individuals, building on Guidi’s work from several decades earlier. Although he is solely concerned with written material and thus does not make attempts to connect the names in the documents he publishes with specific

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features of the cathedral façade, the sources lead him to one conclusion about the façade’s authorship that differs from many earlier interpretations. Concioni, more than many art and architectural historians, supports the idea of Guidetto as the main designer of the portico and galleries, notwithstanding the many stylistic variations in the execution of these areas. His argument about Guidetto notes that the diminutive form of this individual’s name does not appear in any other documents or inscriptions and was probably altered in this instance simply to fit the verse’s meter. He then remarks that the name “Guido” or “Guidone” appears four times in documents issued at San Martino between August 23, 1191 and September 7, 1209 and gives several reasons for thinking that these all refer to the same individual who signed San Martino’s façade: the acts are issued in San Martino’s cloister or chapter house and involve San Martino’s canons, suggesting a collaborative and trusting relationship between them and Guido; they consistently describe Guido as the “master of the opera of San Martino”; and the time frame in which these references occur coincides with the date of his inscription on the façade and falls between the earliest reference to the Opera of the Frontispiece in 1190/96 and the Prato contract of 1211. Concioni therefore argues that we should see Guido as the leader of the San Martino workshop, as well as the façade’s designer.

The most recent studies of San Martino continue to focus on differentiating the hands at work on the various parts of the façade and associating them with regional styles and named artists. Carlotta Taddei and Guido Tigler both accept the three-phase construction of the façade, with each phase involving different groups of artists. Both regard the portico as being executed by several artists with different stylistic tendencies.

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Taddei compares some pieces of sculpture to the school of Niccolo and the workshop of San Zeno in Verona and others to local artists, including Biduinus and the sculptor responsible for the lintel of SS. Giovanni and Reparata, made in 1187 (figs. 110–11). Tigler identifies four distinct hands at work, two local, one Pisan, and one Emilian. Taddei and Tigler also accept the attribution of the galleries to Guidetto, and like many previous scholars, assign the sculptures of the central portal to Guido Bigarelli. Taddei identifies two other anonymous artists at work in the portal sculptures, one responsible for the St. Martin scenes and Labors of the Month, and another for the St. Regulus reliefs. Tigler instead proposes that the portal sculptures were executed by two workshops that were stylistically related, though still distinct. He argues that the St. Martin reliefs were sculpted by an associate of Guido Bigarelli, while the St. Regulus sculptures and the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar were done by two other artists, each capable of achieving greater drama and realism in their work. He does not attempt to match any of these hands with the artists identified in documents.

In addition to these two studies, the authorship of the portal zone has also recently been examined by Laura Cavazzini. While recognizing that archival documents suggest Lombardo as the leader of the San Martino workshop, she nevertheless attributes all of the façade sculptures to Guido Bigarelli.

Clearly, the question of which artists and workshops contributed to the façade at San Martino has generated many subjective and often conflicting interpretations. Nevertheless, a few points of agreement have been established. Stylistic differences between the three chronological phases of the façade suggest that different groups of

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artists were involved in each. Many scholars have found the sculptures of the portico to be stylistically diverse, suggesting a workshop with artists from several regions and with different training. The portal sculptures, on the other hand, have a stylistic unity marked only by small differences from one architectural element to another. These works have consistently been connected to Guido Bigarelli and other Lombard artists connected with him, all documented as present at San Martino, even if scholars have disagreed about which specific pieces might be attributed to him, the number of individual hands at work, and the relative talents of each. More productive, in my view, than revisiting these questions of attribution, is to examine the organizational bodies that funded and oversaw the façade project and their relationship with workshop leaders. This is the subject of the next section.

4. Opera

As the previous chapter discussed, for most of San Martino’s history, its bishops were the protagonists who exerted control over the cathedral fabric—they established the church and initiated renovations, expansions, and reorganizations of its liturgical space. By the end of the twelfth century, however, this situation had changed. The individuals whose names appear in connection to the facade project are no longer the leaders of the Lucchese church, but members of several opera. Literally meaning “the works,” the term “opera” was interchangeable with “opus” or “fabrica” and could designate both the activities of construction or renovation as well as the administrative office dedicated to
managing these projects, headed by officials known as “operarii.” The earliest opera appears in Pisa in the late eleventh century, and the institution becomes a standard feature of cathedral administration in Italian cities by the twelfth and thirteenth century.

Scholarship has tended to see the rise of opera as a symptom of the development of the commune and the laity’s acquisition of greater civic authority. In a foundational study, Nicola Ottokar viewed the cathedral opera as the organ through which the laity gained control of their most important churches, transforming them into expressions of civic pride. He argued that the development of individual opera followed one of two paths. In some cases, as with the rebuilding of Florence cathedral begun in 1296, the decision to reconstruct or renovate an ecclesiastical structure was made by government authorities, and so the opera originated as, and always remained, a lay institution. In other cases, such as the rebuilding of Pisa Cathedral, the project was initially managed by the clergy. The opera thus began as part of church administration and only later came under the laity’s control. Ottokar viewed these “ecclesiastical opera” as indicative of an earlier stage of communal development and their eventual transfer to the laity the result of growing civic consciousness.


Ottokar, Studi comunali, 170–76; Mauro Ronzani, “Dall’edificatio ecclesiae all’Opera di S. Maria”: Nascita e primi sviluppi di un’istituzione nella Pisa dei secoli XI e XII,” in Opera. Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all’inizio dell’Età Moderna, ed. Margaret Haines and Lucio Ricetti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996), 1–70.
Later studies of the opera, including Carlo Maccari’s compilation of examples from medieval and Renaissance Tuscany and the proceedings from a conference held in 1991, have emphasized that the institution’s history is considerably more varied than the picture that Ottokar presented. It is, in fact, difficult to make generalizations about the opera as an institution because each example followed such a distinct path of development. Nevertheless, there remains a strong tendency to equate the appearance of an opera with the clergy’s loss of control over the cathedral building and its transformation from a sacred to a civic space.

In the case of San Martino, this view of the opera, while not wholly incorrect, does not adequately capture the complexity of the interactions between clergy, workmen, and laity who contributed to the façade’s completion. To date, there has not been a thorough discussion of the cathedral opera in Lucca, although Concioni has taken considerable first steps in this direction. In his long essay on San Martino, he has published several of the most important documents pertaining to the opera’s development and compiled a catalogue summarizing all references to every architect and artist active at the cathedral. Many of the original documents for this history are contained within two volumes in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca assembled by nineteenth-century antiquarians, as well as miscellaneous documents scattered between this archive and the Archivio Capitolare. Because this material provides the best insights we have into the

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204 See especially Haines and Ricetti’s introduction for a discussion of the state of the field and conclusions from the conference (ibid. introduction to Opere, ix-xxiii). See also Carlo Maccari, “Le Opere del Duomo in Toscana,” Fede e Arte 8 (1960): 286–301.
205 See for example the discussions of the opera in Brand, Holy Treasure, 111; Braunfels, Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst, 151–55; Silva, “Dilexi decorem,” 23–24; Vroom, Financing Cathedral Building, 65–68.
207 Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Opera di S. Croce, no. 2 (“Tomo Primo de’ Contratti attenenti all’Opera di S. Croce, segnato A+. Dall’anno 1181 all’anno 1292”) and no. 3 (“Contratti attenenti all’Opera di S. Croce.
roles of the various parties involved in the façade’s construction, it is discussed in some
detail in the pages that follow.

The earliest reference to an opera connected to the cathedral of San Martino in
Lucca occurs on May 1, 1180. In his will, Baldicione, a priest and canon of San Martino,
leaves twenty soldi to the opera of the campanile of San Martino.\textsuperscript{208} Based on the
language, however, it is not clear whether the donation was intended to support ongoing
construction work on the campanile, or whether it was destined for an office managing
this construction.

A document from the following year provides the first clear reference to such an
office. The act, dated January 3, 1181, records an agreement between the consuls of a
“Confraternity of Santa Croce” and the canons of San Martino regarding the division of
lay donations.\textsuperscript{209} It establishes that on the feasts of St. Regulus, the Exaltation of the
Cross, the dedication of the cathedral, and St. Martin, as well as on Holy Saturday and the
litanies in May, each operarius—presumably, one representing the Confraternity and one
representing the canons—is allowed to set up a table for collecting donations, which are

\textsuperscript{208} The key passage here is: “Item volo et iudico atque dispono […] opere campanilis suprascripte eccl. sol.
XX.” Concioni, Ferri, and Ghilarducci, \textit{Lucensis Ecclesiae Monumenta}, 3:364; Pietro Guidi and O. Parenti,
\textsuperscript{209} Archivio di Stato, Lucca, \textit{Opera di Santa Croce}, no. 2. The act begins on the verso of an unnumbered
folio and continues onto fol. 1. Concioni, “San Martino,” 37–38n10; Concioni, Ferri, and Ghilarducci,
to be divided in half between the two parties.\textsuperscript{210} On the Exaltation of the Cross, however, the operarii of Santa Croce are entitled to two-thirds of the donations collected on the table, while one-third should be given to the “old operarius” of San Martino.\textsuperscript{211} The fact that Lucca celebrated two feasts in honor of the cross, the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14 and the Invention of the Cross on May 3, might explain the two apparently contradictory statements regarding the division of donations on the feast of the Exaltation.\textsuperscript{212}

The act goes on to decree that the consuls of the Confraternity of Santa Croce should receive all candles donated, except for those from particular territories in Lucca.\textsuperscript{213} Furthermore, during other festivals at San Martino, the operarius of the Volto Santo may set up a table in the church and keep whatever donations he is given, but on other days, he must place the table outside the church. The “same operarius of Santa Croce” may also collect offerings in a bowl on Sundays and collect alms on Christmas and Pentecost after the oblation, but is forbidden from collecting donations in any manner during masses for the dead.\textsuperscript{214} Finally, those wishing to make a will, whether parishioners of San

\textsuperscript{210} “Talis convention et ordinatio facta fuit et tale pactum scilicet quod in quattuor sollemnitatibus videlicet Sancti Reguli, Exaltationis sancte Crucis, Dedicacionis ecclesie Sancti Martini, et die sollemnitatis sancti Martini item die sabbati sancti et liteniarium madii ponant uterque operarii vel unus pro utroque mensam in ecclesia et quod ibi Deus dederit sine fraude in comune habeant per medium.” Ibid.

\textsuperscript{211} “In festo vero Exaltationis S. Crucis operarii S. Crucis habeant duas partes mense tertia vero partem antiquus operarius Sancti Martini.” Ibid.


\textsuperscript{214} “In aliis festivitatis eccl. Sancti Martini operarius Sancti Vultus ponat in ecclesia mensam si vult et quod ei Dominus dederit habeat; alis vero diebus nullo modo in ecclesia ponat sed extra si vult. In dominiciis autem diebus liceat ei habere per ecclesiis cum bacino sed die Nativitatis Domini et Pentecostes post factam obligationem idem operarius Sancte Crucis vadat per ecclesias si vult. In exequiis mortuorum nullo modo mensam ponat nec per ecclesiis bacinum portet aut quicquam petat.” Ibid.
Martino or pilgrims, should consult with a priest regarding the needs of the *Opera* of Santa Croce.\(^{215}\)

Based on this agreement, Concioni has proposed that the *Opera* of Santa Croce originated as a subsidiary of the Confraternity of the same name. He points out, for instance, that although the document addresses the rights of both the Confraternity and the *Opera* of Santa Croce, as well as their numerous *operarii*, all of these parties are represented by the Confraternity of Santa Croce’s three consuls.\(^{216}\) He also suggests that the Confraternity and *Opera* probably had different purposes, with the Confraternity managing the cult of the *Volto Santo* and associated celebrations, and the *Opera* responsible for maintenance of the cathedral and its auxiliary buildings, as well as new construction projects, in keeping with the use of this term in other contexts.\(^{217}\)

The Confraternity’s role in this regard is in fact confirmed by an earlier document, which marks the first record of the organization’s existence. On May 6, 1177, Preitis del fu Petri Corbi establishes an annual donation of one bushel of grain collected from his lands for the benefit of his soul, as well as that of his wife and parents, to “God and to the Holy Cross that can be seen in the city of Lucca in the episcopal church of St. Martin.”\(^{218}\) The document later specifies that this gift will remain within the property and control of the rectors of the Confraternity of Santa Croce for the duration of his life and after his death, and that this same Confraternity will be responsible for the annual commemoration

\(^{215}\) “In testamentis autem fachiendis parochiani ecclesie Sancti Martini et peregrini comoniti a sacerdote de Opera Sancte Crucis testamentum quod fecerint sit ecclesie.” Ibid.


\(^{218}\) “Manifestus sum ego Preitis qd. Petri Corbi per hanc cartulam pro anime mee et Avelme uxoris mee et parentum meorum remedio dono et trado atque offero tibi Deo et Sancte Cruci que videtur esse infra lucensis civitatem in ecclesia Sancti Martini lucensis episcopatus unum starium de grano.” Archivio di Stato, Lucca, *Opera di Santa Croce*, no. 2, fol. 2v; see the summary and excerpts of this document in Concioni, Ferri, and Ghilarducci, *Lucensis Ecclesiae Monumenta*, 3:358.
of the donors’ souls. From this record, it is clear that the Confraternity of Santa Croce emerged as a way of managing lay donations to the *Volto Santo* and was a legal body with its own property by the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The document of 1181 also reveals that there was another *opera* under the name of San Martino associated with the canons; it was the *operarius* of this organization that received half of the donations on the major feasts and a third on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. That this official is referred to as the “old *operarius* of San Martino” suggests that the *Opera* of San Martino was an older, established institution that probably predated the Confraternity and *Opera* of San Croce. The need to make a formal agreement between the canons and the Confraternity further indicates that the latter represented a change in the way that donations had traditionally been handled and may have threatened the canons’ claims to this source of income.

Various documents issued over the next century attest to the continued existence of both the *Opera* of San Martino and the *Opera* of San Croce, each with its own leaders. In the case of the former, these texts allow us to trace an almost unbroken succession of *operarii* up to the end of the thirteenth century. A “Master Guidone in the *Opera* of the church of San Martino” is documented for the first time in 1191 in the list of witnesses to an act involving the cathedral chapter, and several more references to this individual suggest that he was the *Opera*’s leader through the first decade of the thirteenth

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219 “Quatus omne suprascriptam ius et actio atque repetitio de predictis teris et grano deinceps in vita mea et post obitum meum sint in proprietate suprascripte Sancte Crucis et potestate rectororum fraternitatis eiusdem Sancte Crucis qui pro tempore fuerint et habeant et recolligant inde unum starium de grano de suprascripto redditu seu redditu seu recoltu annuati pro luminaria […] et ita ut rectores fraternitatis predicte Sancte Crucis et luminarie omni anno faciant vel fieri faciant anniversarium pro animabus nostris.” Archivio di Stato, Lucca, *Opera di Santa Croce*, no. 2, fol. 2v.
century. He was succeeded by Pratese del fu Gianni, who is first mentioned as the *operarius* of the *Opera* of San Martino in 1209 and is documented regularly in this role up to 1236. The position of *operarius* then passed to Lombardo del fu Guido from 1238 to 1259 and to Gianni di Bovo or di Bono from 1263 to 1297.

Different sources lend insight into developments in the *Opera* of Santa Croce in the same time period. By the 1190s, this organization had established another subsidiary *opera* to work on San Martino’s façade—the previously mentioned “*Opera of the Frontispiece*” first mentioned on January 17, 1190/96. The act records Studiatus del fu Viviani and Martinus Speciarius, “consuls in the *Opera of the Frontispiece of the church of San Martino*” renting out two pieces of land belonging to the *opera*. The *Opera of the Frontispiece* is mentioned a second time in a document dated July 14, 1212. On this occasion, Bene del fu Abbatis, the “custodian and rector of the *Opera and frontispiece of the church of San Martino*,” on behalf of his “associates, rectors, and brothers” in this organization, invests Perfectus del fu Fridiani with two pieces of land with vineyards and olive groves, obligating the recipient to give five pounds of oil to the opera each year. The records indicate that there was a dedicated administrative body, involving the laity,

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222 Ibid., 63–71, 95–104.
that had some hand in managing the façade project, and that this *opera* owned property
and had a developed structure of leadership with consuls, rectors, and custodians, even if
the precise responsibilities of these officers is unclear. Having a subsidiary *opera*
dedicated to one aspect of the cathedral was not a unique arrangement. In Florence, for
instance, the *Opera* di San Giovanni, in charge of the baptistery, included an *opera*
specifically dedicated to mosaic work.\textsuperscript{225}

The documents of 1190/96 and 1212 are the only references to the *Opera* of the
Frontispiece, but the façade inscription of 1233 provides evidence of the *Opera* of Santa
Croce’s continued involvement in the façade project [fig. 26]. Three years later, a
document names Aldibrandino Spetiale del fu Monaci as an *operarius* of the *Opera* of
Santa Croce, probably indicating the same “Aldibrandinus” named in the inscription and
signaling the *Opera* of Santa Croce’s contribution to the later stages of the façade’s
decoration.\textsuperscript{226}

By the second half of the thirteenth century, the *Opera* of Santa Croce had
established its headquarters on the canons’ property. On April 13, 1258, the canons
established a perpetual lease for Guidotto del fu Giunta and Bonanno del fu Bonaccolli,
“*operarii* and custodians in the *Opera* and *Luminaria* of Santa Croce and San Martino,”
renting them a piece of land with a small house, walls, and another house located
between the canons’ court and residences.\textsuperscript{227} They required that the *opera* construct a
double-storied house in this location in which the upper story would be used by the

\textsuperscript{225} Ottokar, *Studi comunali*, 165–66.
\textsuperscript{226} Archivio di Stato, Lucca, *Opera di Santa Croce*, no. 2, fol. 11. Kopp also makes the connection between
the inscription and the document of 1236 (Ibid., *Die Skulpturen*, 54–55).
\textsuperscript{227} Archivio di Stato, Lucca, *Diplomatica, S. Croce*, April 13, 1258. See the summary in Concioni, “San
Martino,” 70.
Opera and Luminaria,” while the lower would be used by the canons. A ladder, owned by the canons, would facilitate movement between the two spaces, and the operarii would be required to pay the canons twelve denari each year on the feast of St. Martin for use of this space. The reference to the Opera of Santa Croce and San Martino together here is unusual, and there is no mention of Master Lombardo, who is otherwise well documented as the operarius of the Opera of San Martino at this time. Later documents of 1266 and 1273 record the leaders of the Opera of Santa Croce paying the canons the agreed-upon sum as rent for their house; the latter adds the detail that this “new house” is located next to San Martino’s campanile, suggesting that the Opera may have moved from its earlier headquarters.228

These documents create a sense that the Opera of Santa Croce was growing in importance, and that the distinction between this organization and the Opera of San Martino may have become more blurred. Indeed, these impressions are confirmed by a pair of lengthy acts issued in 1274, in which San Martino’s bishop and chapter give up their authority over the Opera and merge the Opera of San Martino with that of Santa Croce. Although these texts post-date the completion of the cathedral’s façade, the level of detail with which they delineate the functioning of the opera from this point forward makes them useful for inferring the situation in prior years.

The first document, dated August 31, 1274, records an agreement between the priest Paganus, representing the chapter and bishop of San Martino, and Pesciatinus del

fu Bonavite and Datus Spetius del fu Bartholomei, *operarii* and administrators in the *Opera* and Confraternity of Santa Croce.\(^{229}\) Like the earlier act of January 1181, much of the document’s contents pertain to the *Opera* and Confraternity’s rights to the collection of candles and wax votives, as well as their responsibilities for providing lighting during various feasts and celebrations, but certain clauses also address the *Opera*’s role in maintaining the cathedral fabric. The document states that the chapter and bishop cede to the *Opera* all rights they have to the work on the roof, *campanile*, and timbers of San Martino, as well to all the property, goods, and income of the *Opera*.\(^{230}\) It then goes on to lay out the terms of employment for the leader of these works, identified as the Lombard master Gianni di Bono.\(^{231}\) Master Gianni is to hold the position of *operarius* for the remainder of his life and should not be removed from this office against his will. Should he choose to leave this role, however, all of his property will pass into the ownership of


\(^{230}\) “Item suprascriptus presbiter Paganus pro se ipso et sindicatus nomine pro predictis ut dictum est dedit tradidit et cessit atque mandavit predictis operariis pro ipsa Opera recipientibus ut dictum est omnia iura, actiones et rationes que et quas dictum capitulum et canonaci et episcopatus habent seu ad eos pertinent aliquo iure in opere tecti et campanilis et lignaminum dicte ecclesie Beati Martini cuius modo est operarius magister Ianni lombardus et super omnibus bonus et rebus mobilibus et immobilibus et iuribus et adfectis, intratis et decimis quibuscunque dicit operis et omnia bona, possessiones et iura et affectus et redditus et introitus et decimas predicts operis et ad dictum opus spectantia similiter dedit, tradidit, cessit et mandavit.”

\(^{231}\) “Item tamen quod predicticus magister Ianni sit et esse debeat operarius dicti operis donec vixerit nec de dicta opera possit dispodestari invitus. Verum se ipse magister Ianni consenserit omnia deveniant et devenire debeat et Operam et Fraternitatem etiam in vita magistri Ianni. In illa tamen concessione non intelligantur concessa vel data illa staria sedecim grani et victualia cotidiana et fercula que predictus magister Ianni recepit et recepere debit a Lucano capitulo suprascripto in vita sua tantum. Nec domus capituli scilicet domus que fuit magistri Ianni predicti que est (vacat) nec domus ubi moratur uxor magistri Ianni predicti que est supra stabili domini Ugolini Lucani canonici nec terrenum quo est subitus scholas in quo terreno moratur etiam uxor magistri Ianni vel aliqua alie domus Lucani capituli: domum vero seu terrenum et curiam in quo habitat magister Ianni predictus quo terrenum et domus est sputum solarium domus Opere et Fraternitatis predicte cum puteo quo est in ipsa curia concessit et dedit ipsis operariis recipientibus ut dictum est et voluit predictus presbiter Paganus in ipsa concessione et datione contineri debere. Ita tamen quod dictum capitulum et canonaci et eorum familia possint uti dicta curia et puteo in eorum necessitatibus et factis sine obstaculo: verum actum et pactum est inter predictas partes quod nulla mulier possit stare vel habitare in dicto terreno eisdem operariis concessa a predicto Pagano et etiam quo dicta domus non possit locari ad certum tenpus vel in enfiitosim dari seu concedi alicui persone vel alio modo alienari set possit et debeat teneri ad utilitatem et pro utilitate dicte Operis et Fraternitatis tantum.” Ibid.
the *Opera* and Confraternity of Santa Croce, except for the sixteen bushels of grain, as well as the daily food and meals that Gianni has received from the chapter of San Martino and should continue to receive for the rest of his life. In addition, certain properties owned by the chapter would also not become the property of the *Opera* and Confraternity; these include an empty house above the stable of the canon Ugolino and land on which Gianni’s wife is residing. In contrast, the house where Master Gianni is living, located under the attic of the house of the *Opera* and Confraternity of Santa Croce, with a well in the curia, would belong to the *Opera* and Confraternity should Gianni leave. The parties agree, however, that the canons and their families will still be able to use this well, that no woman will be allowed to live on this property, and that the house will not be rented out, but shall remain in the exclusive use of the *Opera* and Confraternity. Finally, clauses towards the end of the document establish that the *Opera* and Confraternity of Santa Croce will be responsible for overseeing and financing any necessary maintenance to the cathedral and *campanile* of San Martino, their bells and roofs, and the living quarters of the canons, while the chapter agrees to provide for Master Gianni’s burial, provided that he consents to the terms set forth in the document.\(^{232}\)

The terms of Gianni’s employment with the newly independent *Opera* of Santa Croce were settled in a second agreement between the Lombard master and the same two

\(^{232}\) “Item quod predicti operarii faciant et fieri facere teneantur suntibus et expensis dicte Opere et Fraternitatis omne id et totum quod necessarium et utilem fuerit fieri facere in ecclesia santi Martini et in campanili ipsius ecclesie et in campanis et tectis ipsius ecclesie et canpanilis et in sedibus necessariis tam canonacis quam aliiis infra dictam ecclesiam et in celostris necessariis super quibus ardere debent cerei et candele ante altaria et super altaribus dicte ecclesie. Et hoc ultimum capitulum intelligatur habere locum post mortem predicti magistri Ianni et non ante nisi predictus magister Ianni predicte concessioni consentiret et concederet et daret omnia iura que habet in predicta Opera predictis Pesciatino et Dato operariis et administratoribus suprascriptis vel eorum subcessoribus aut aliiis pro ipsa Opera.” Ibid.
operarii, dated November 30, 1274.\textsuperscript{233} This act, which takes place in the Opera’s headquarters next to the campanile, confirms Gianni’s election as head operarius for the rest of his life, with his housing, meals, and expenses provided for by the Opera.\textsuperscript{234} Notably, it also declares the Opera of San Martino, “of which the same master Gianni is operarius,” to be merged with the Opera di Santa Croce “according to the wishes of the chapter.” The document continues, describing Gianni’s responsibility for using the Opera’s income to support construction work on the cathedral and campanile, his acceptance of the position, and his agreement to provide his fellow operarii with an annual account of the Opera’s income and expenses.\textsuperscript{235} It then outlines the structure of leadership shared by Pisciatinus, Datus, and Gianni, stating that Pisciatinus and Datus should remain in their position as operarii, consulting with Gianni, requesting accounts from him, and approving his work. At the end of their terms, they must also, together

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\textsuperscript{234} “Ex huius publici instrumenti clareat lectione quod Pisciatinus condam Bonavite et Datus spetiarius filius Bartholomei operarii Opere que dicitur Sancte Crucis volentes ipsi opere providere ad honorem Dei et beati Martini patroni et protectoris Lucani comunis et venerabilis signe sancte Crucis elegerunt comuni concordia in operarium maiorem ipsius Opera magistrum Ianni condam Boni ad quem magistrum Ianni pervenient et pervenire debeant bona et proventus omnes ipsius Opere et qui sit et esse debet operarius perpetuos donec vixerit et habeat et habere debeat ipse et sua familia omnia victualia et expensas et domos ipsius Opere et alia pro victualibus necessaria de bonis et proventibus ipsius Opere Sancte Crucis et etiam Opere Sancti Martini cuius Opere Sancti Martini ipse magister Ianni operarius est et que Opere Sancti Martini ad unum opus reducta est cum dicta Opera Sancte Crucis de voluntate Lucani capituli ut continetur manu Bartholomei notarii.” Ibid.
\textsuperscript{235} “Et quod residuum citius convertat et convertere teneatur et debet idem magister Ianni in refectione et constructione et hedificatione dicte ecclesie Beati Martini et Sancte Crucis et campanilis singulis annis continue. Qui vero Magister Ianni audita predicta electione de se facta acceptavit eadem et promisit et convent dictis operariis recipientibus vice et nomine dicte Opere servire perpetuo dicte Opere pro se et personaliter et etiam sua familia et continue laborare et laborari facere ad utilitatem ipsius Opere per se et suam familiam sine fraude et omne id et totum quod ad suas manus pervenerit de bonis et proventibus ipsius Opere salvabit et custodiet et conservabit ad utilitatem et proficitum ipsius Opere nec de eo furtum, fraudem aut subtractam aliquam facie taut fieri permittet et pro singulis annis rationem reddet duabus vicibus in anno predictis Pisciatino et Dato operariis dicte Opere vel eorem successoribus de omni et toto eo quod ad eius manus pervenerit de dicta Opera vel eius occasione et de omni et toto eo quod acquisierit vel habuerit unicumque quia totum id quod habet et possidet et quod acquisierit et possidebit vel quocunque iure ad eum pervenerit vult et ex nunc offert quod sit ipsius Opere et ad utilitatem ipsius Opere debeat pervenire.” Ibid.
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with Gianni, appoint two new operarii to replace them, “according to the customs of the past.” Finally, the act specifies the Opera’s responsibility to support Gianni’s wife, Marchesana, in the event of the master’s death and ends with a lengthy inventory of the Opera of Santa Croce’s property.

What, then, can we conclude from all of this material, and how should it shape the way we view and interpret San Martino’s façade? It seems that initially, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, there were two opera involved with the cathedral: the Opera of Santa Croce, which was linked to the Confraternity of the same name and which managed the donations to the Volto Santo intended to support the cathedral’s maintenance and façade project (the latter managed under the Opera of the Frontispiece), and the Opera of San Martino, an older organization more closely linked to the cathedral canons. United under the name, the “Opera of Santa Croce,” in 1274, the two institutions appear to have maintained separate leadership until that point. Moreover, although most of the documentation related to both opera does not explicitly spell out their respective roles, it does reveal certain patterns that let us draw conclusions about each group’s contribution to the façade.

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236 “Verum actum est inter ipsum magistrum Ianni et dictos Pisciatinum et Datum quod predicti Pisciatinus et Datus remaneant et remanere debeant in eorum officio operarie usque ad illud tempus ad quod electi fuerint et in isto tempore sint et esse possint operarii ad coadiuvarandum et consulendum tantum dicto magistro Ianni in his que utilia fuerint Opere et ad petendum rationem ab ipso magistro Ianni et ad ipsam rationem ascultandam et approbandam si eis videbitur. Et quod predicti Pisciatinus et Datus circa finem temporis eorum officii operarie possint et debeant eligere una cum magistro Ianni predicto alios duos operarios secundum consuetudinem retroactam et alii similiter in fine eorum officii et sic singulis annis in futurum.” Ibid.

237 “Verum se ipse magister Ianni premortus fuerit domine Marchesane uxori sue predicta eius uxor habeat et habere debeat donec vixerit victum et vestitum et alia necessaria de bonis et prorinjectus ipsius Opere donec vixerit et etiam habitationem domus in qua convenienter habitare possit cum sua camereria.” Ibid. For the inventory, see Concioni, “San Martino,” 95–97.
With regards to the Opera of San Martino, being operarius of this organization seems to have been equivalent to being a head craftsman or the leader of the cathedral workshop. Gianni di Bono, the new operarius mentioned repeatedly in the agreements of 1274, was clearly a stone mason, as documents almost always identify him as a stone carver from the region of Como in Lombardy.\textsuperscript{238} Master Lombardo, the previous operarius, was also clearly an artisan of some sort and is the individual some art historians wish to credit as the leader of the workshop responsible for the portal decoration. Several documents attest to his involvement in various types of artistic or architectural projects. In 1242, for example, he acknowledges payment from the canons for his work building a new sacristy for San Martino, and in 1244, he is documented taking on an apprentice and collaborating with the painter Berlinghiero Berlighieri to design paintings for a room within the canonry. There are also several instances in which he obtains construction materials, including wood in 1250 and 1251, pink marble in 1246, and mortar in 1253.\textsuperscript{239} It is thus difficult to specify his exact trade, but it seems likely that he was a master craftsman who designed and oversaw projects in a variety of media.\textsuperscript{240}

Likewise, as Concioni has argued, the Master Guidone mentioned in the Opera of San Martino in 1191 was probably the same “Master Guidetto” credited in an inscription on San Martino’s façade in 1204, suggesting his role as leader of the façade workshop and quite possibly its architect in the early stages of the project.\textsuperscript{241} While documents provide little information about Master Pratese, who served as operarius between Guido and

\textsuperscript{238} Concioni, “San Martino,” 90–104.

\textsuperscript{239} Ibid., 63–64, 66.

\textsuperscript{240} Tigler sees Lombardo as an architect, while Kopp attributes some of the façade sculptures to him, implying work as a sculptor (Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 99–120; Tigler, “Maestri lombardi,” 907–8). Concioni does not specify his trade, but does suggest that the design for the portals should be attributed to him (ibid., “San Martino,” 68).

Lombardo, it seems likely that he was also a master artisan like the others who filled this position.

All of these leaders of the Opera of San Martino seem to have had close relationships with the cathedral clergy. As Concioni notes, from the time of Master Guido on, they appear regularly as witnesses to acts involving the canons, and occasionally, the bishop.\textsuperscript{242} The documents of 1274 also reveal that Master Gianni was living right next to the canons in the house belonging to the Opera of Santa Croce and receiving daily meals from them, and that both of these practices would continue, even under the new conditions of his employment. Master Lombardo is known to have lived and worked on the canons’ property as well. On October 12, 1238 the canons gave him the use of houses and shacks next to the campanile, possibly the same ones later occupied by the Opera of Santa Croce.\textsuperscript{243}

The operarii of the Opera of Santa Croce, on the other hand, were never identified as artisans involved in the cathedral workshop. Documents also never record them appearing alongside the leaders of the Opera of San Martino as witnesses to the canons’ legal transactions, nor dealing directly with the artisans working at the cathedral. The operarii of this organization were always lay, and moreover, these offices were consistently, if not exclusively, filled by \textit{“speciarii,”} dealers of spices who also functioned as apothecaries. A “Martinus Speciarius” appears as a consul in the Opera of the Frontispiece in 1190/96, and several other members of this profession are recorded as operarii in the Opera of Santa Croce throughout the thirteenth century, including

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., 51–53, 105.  
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid., 63.
“Aldibrandinus Spetiale” in 1236, “Bonanno Spetiario” in 1266, “Guido Spetiario” in 1273, and “Datus Spetiarius” in 1274.\(^{244}\)

There were probably several reasons for spice traders’ involvement in this role. For one thing, they were nearby. Apothecaries had done business in the area around San Martino since at least the early twelfth century; an inscription of an oath dated 1111 requiring spice traders and moneychangers to conduct their trades honestly survives in a thirteenth-century copy on the church’s façade (figs. 112–13).\(^{245}\) Accustomed to dealing with weights and measures and doing complex mathematical calculations to determine the price per unit of their wares, these men also had the business skills to be adept managers of lay donations.\(^{246}\) Finally, their involvement in the opera may also have been good for business. Spice dealers frequently sold other common substances, including wax, and so they were likely the purveyors of the candles and oil that the laity donated to both the Opera and Confraternity of Santa Croce.\(^{247}\)

The picture that emerges, then, is of the Opera of Santa Croce, along with the Opera of the Frontispiece, as lay organizations that provided much of the financial backing for San Martino’s new façade through their administration of pious donations. If

\(^{244}\) Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Opera di Santa Croce, no. 2, fol. 11, 14v, 15, 20v; Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 54–55.

\(^{245}\) “+AD MEMORIA(M) HABENDA(M) ET IUSTITIA(M) RETINENDA(M) CURTIS / ECCLESIE BEATI MARTINI SCRIBIMUS IURAM(EN)TUM QUOD CAMBIATORES / ET SPECIARIII OM(NE)S IUSTIUS CURTIS TEMPORE RANGERII EP(ISCOP)I FECERUNT / UT OM(NE)S HOMINES CU(M) FIDUCIA POSSINT CA(M)BIARE VENDERE ET EMERE / IURaverunt OM(NE)S CAMBIATORES ET SPECIARIII QUOD AB ILLA HORA / IN ANTEA NEC FURTUM FACIENT NEC TRECCAMENTU(M) NEC FALSI-TATE(M) INFRA CURTE(M) SANTI MARTINI NEC IN DOMIBUS ILLIS IN QUIBUS HOMINES HOSPITANTUR. HOC IURAM(EN)TUM QUI IBI AD / CAMBIUM AUT AD SPECIES STARE VOLUERINT / SUNT ETIA(M) INSUPER QUI SEMPER CURTEM ISTA(M) CUSTODIUNT ET QUOD MALEFACTU(M) FUERIT EMENDARE FACIUNT AN(NO) D(OMI)NI MCXI / ADVENIENS QUIQUA(M) SCRIPUTURA(M) PERLEGAT ISTA(M) ET QUA CONFIDAT ET SIBI NIL TIMEAT.” Ambrosini, “Le iscrizioni,” 13–14.


\(^{247}\) Ibid., 119–22.
they did fund much of this project, it also makes sense that they would eventually push for greater control over the cathedral fabric, which they gained in 1274. But prior to that, over the entire period of the façade’s construction, it was San Martino’s canons that were most closely involved with the masters who oversaw the cathedral workshop as leaders of the Opera of San Martino. It was thus their vision and priorities that must have shaped the design of the façade and its sculptures most strongly, in conjunction with a series of master craftsmen or architects who lived alongside them for decades at a time and were intimately familiar with their ways of life and capable of giving form to their ideas.²⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the canons probably did not relinquish all of their influence over future building projects even when the Opera of Santa Croce assumed authority in 1274. It was, after all, their trusted associate, the leader of the Opera of San Martino that became the head operarius of the new organization, which also remained a tenant on the canons’ property. This makes it hard to imagine that the clergy would not retain at least an informal say in architectural matters in the years to come.

With this clear image of the façade’s patronage in mind, the next three chapters turn to an analysis of the project itself. In each chapter, the goal is to consider how San Martino’s clergy used this monument to influence the way the laity related to their cathedral, conceived of their city, and understood their responsibilities to each other.

²⁴⁸ Concioni comes to the same conclusion from his review of the documents (ibid., “San Martino,” 105–6).
Chapter 3
Making the City Sacred: San Martino as Temple and Throne of Solomon

Introduction

In the twelfth century, as the newly autonomous cities of northern Italy sought to define their urban identity, one of the models they turned to most frequently was Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{249} Simultaneously the domain of the Old Testament kings, the place where Christ had lived and died, and the likeness of the heavenly kingdom that awaited believers at the end of time, Jerusalem was the ideal prototype of a sacred city, one that proved particularly potent when western Europeans enjoyed freer access to the city and its monuments during the era of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187).\textsuperscript{250}

Italian cities forged links to Jerusalem in a number of ways. One of the most well-known examples is the church of Santo Stefano in Bologna, reconstructed after a fire had destroyed much of the city’s fabric in 1141 (figs. 114–15). The highlight of the church complex, the chapel of San Sepolcro, provides one of the most complete replicas of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, reproducing many of the church’s architectural features, including the twelve supports of the interior colonnade and the ambulatory surmounted by a gallery, as well as the tomb aedicule.\textsuperscript{251} These connections between Jerusalem and Bologna were continued in the adjacent buildings, as well as throughout the city. The


\textsuperscript{250} On the multi-layered aspects of Jerusalem’s significance, see Bianca Kühnel, From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (Rome: Herder, 1987); Sylvia Schein, Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

complex at Santo Stefano also housed a column believed to have been used at the Flagellation, a basin in which Pontius Pilate was said to have washed his hands, and a chapel dedicated to Santa Croce, containing copies of Calvary and the True Cross. The *Vita* of St. Petronius, written in 1180, presents other churches in Bologna as imitations of further sites in the Holy Land. Thus, by replicating the sacred city’s topography, Bologna fashioned itself as a “New Jerusalem.”

A similar strategy of creating connections to Jerusalem through architectural copying was employed by the designers of the cathedral complex in Pisa. The twelfth-century baptistery, like Santo Stefano, was modeled on the Anastasis rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher, though here the architect’s adherence to the model was especially rigorous: in addition to copying the ambulatory and gallery, as well as the interior arcade with twelve supports, the baptistery also reproduces the Anastasis rotunda’s round, rather than octagonal, floor plan and originally, its double-shelled conical roof.\textsuperscript{252} The reasons for this precise reference were both political and spiritual: the building’s relationship to the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem honored the leading role Pisan citizens had played in liberating the city in the Crusades, while also associating the sacrament of baptism with Christ’s death and Resurrection.\textsuperscript{253} Pisa’s claims to be a new Holy Land would be bolstered further in the last decade of the twelfth century, when the city’s archbishop, Ubaldo Lanfranchi, launched an unsuccessful campaign to retake Jerusalem from the


\textsuperscript{253} Bodner, “The Baptistery of Pisa,” 104.
Muslims and returned to Tuscany with fifty-three ships filled with earth from Mount Calvary, to be enshrined later by the monumental Camposanto north of the cathedral.\(^{254}\)

Other cities in Italy crafted ties to the holy city in less dramatic ways. Medieval chroniclers of Florence and Milan, for example, wrote that these cities possessed twelve gates; this was not true for either city, but it increased each place’s resemblance to Jerusalem.\(^{255}\) In one case, connections to Jerusalem were the very reason for a city’s existence. Medieval citizens of Sansepolcro traced their town’s foundation to two pilgrims who returned from the Holy Land with relics from the Holy Sepulcher and received a divine vision ordering them to establish a shrine to the relics in the eastern corner of Tuscany.\(^{256}\) By the eleventh century, a basilica dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher and the four Evangelists had been established, and Jerusalem’s role in the city’s formation remains evident in its name up to today. Even in cities without specific historical or architectural links to the Holy Land, liturgy provided another way to craft metaphorical relationships. Most staged Palm Sunday processions that reenacted Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem the week before his death. After processing to a church outside the walls, designated to represent the Mount of Olives, citizens and clergy would return, bearing olive branches or flowers and singing, and reenter their city, which had become Jerusalem, at least in a symbolic sense, through their ritual actions.\(^{257}\)

In Lucca, the city’s connection to Jerusalem rested on its possession of the *Volto Santo*. As recounted in the Legend of Leboinus, the sculpture had been kept in Jerusalem


\(^{255}\) Ousterhout, “Flexible Geography,” 401.


since its creation by Nicodemus until it was discovered and guided to Lucca by divine will. For medieval Christians, who believed that holiness could reside in material objects, the sanctity of the Volto Santo’s original location accompanied it to Lucca, making the Tuscan town into a New Jerusalem in much the same way that the Holy House of the Virgin made Loreto a locus sanctus, or that, on a smaller scale, the rocks and dirt that pilgrims carried away from the Holy Land ensured that the site’s miraculous properties would follow them wherever they traveled. Leboinus clearly stresses the Volto Santo’s transformative effect on Lucca. Describing how the Lucchesi rushed to greet the sculpture upon its arrival, he compares the event to Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem: “And like the Jewish children at the entrance of Christ to Jerusalem, they sang together: ‘Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, hosanna in excelsis,’ and led by the Holy Spirit, they added: ‘Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world; have mercy on us, King of Israel.’” The passage implies that this image of Christ had turned Lucca into a new holy city and had made Lucca, like Jerusalem, a place where Christians could witness material traces of Christ’s presence on earth. Moreover, in portraying the Lucchesi greeting the statue as “King of Israel,” the text also hints that this king’s new domain had become a new Israel, and its citizens, a new chosen people.

When the canons of San Martino redesigned the cathedral’s façade at the end of the twelfth century, the Volto Santo and its connection to Jerusalem were one of the traditions that guided their choices. This chapter will explore how certain elements in the early stages of the façade’s construction—namely, the portico and its sculptural

259 “Sicut quondam pueri hebreorum Domino advenienti ad passiorem concordi voce cantabant: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini osan(n)a in excelsis. Sanctoque Spiritu docti adiciebant: Ecce angnus Dei ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, miserere nobis rex Israel.” Concioni, Contributi, 24.
decoration—gave material form to the idea of Lucca as a New Jerusalem. Drawing on local texts that presented the cathedral as the work of a “new Solomon,” the makers of the façade designed a structure that evoked the buildings of the Old Testament king in Jerusalem, turning the church’s entrance into a typological frame for the Volto Santo within. In this way, architecture and sculpture, along with the written legend quoted above and Lucca’s ritual life, announced how the Volto Santo had reshaped Lucca into a new Jerusalem, at once a new dwelling place for divine presence and the realm of a new king.

1. San Martino’s Portico: Form, Function, and Iconography

The portico added to San Martino at the end of the twelfth century was not a new feature for this church. The cathedral had historically possessed a portico before its entrance. One is mentioned in a document of 767, and other sources indicate that this structure was destroyed sometime in the early tenth century and rebuilt by 928. A portico was also included in the eleventh century building renovated under Alexander II. A list of San Martino’s altars written between 1071 and 1109 includes an altar dedicated to St. Edmund located “above the portico.” This likely refers to a second-story chapel housing the relics of the saint that Abbot Baldwin of Bury St. Edmund had donated to San Martino on his way to Rome in 1071.

Despite these precedents, incorporating a portico into the new façade’s design was not a foregone conclusion. Although porticoes occasionally appear in Italian church architecture—for example, at the church of San Clemente in Casauria near Pescara (fig.

—they were not a typical feature in Tuscany. No other church in Lucca had one, nor were there any in Pisa. Smaller porches were a common element of northern Romanesque church facades; they appear at the cathedrals of Modena, Ferrara, Piacenza, and Parma, as well as at the cathedral and the church of San Zeno in Verona (figs. 117–18). These porches, however, consist of a gabled canopy projecting before a single portal, supported by columns resting on beasts or atlantes and usually incorporating a second story. They are therefore markedly different from the triple-arched structure spanning the width of the nave at San Martino. When the designers of Lucca’s cathedral decided to build this structure, then, they must have done so realizing that it would distinguish the church from others in the region.

The one place in Italy where porticoes were a common element of church facades was city of Rome. Old St. Peter’s had a portico along the façade that formed part of an atrium, and this feature was later copied at the eleventh-century abbey of Montecassino (fig. 119). In addition, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, numerous churches in Rome were renovated to include this feature: porticoes were added to the façades of at least twenty-seven churches between ca. 1100 and 1217. Nine of these porticoes still survive, albeit under more modern renovations, including at the church of

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Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and San Lorenzo fuori le mura (figs. 120–21). Providing a covered vestibule before the church’s entrance along the entire main façade, these structures are the closest analogs to the portico at San Martino, notwithstanding some small differences in form; most of the Roman porticoes project from the church façade and are attached to it by a slanted roof, rather than supporting the façade’s superstructure as at San Martino, and many have columns supporting a straight entablature rather than an arcade. They likely served a variety of functions. First, they would have acknowledged the prestige of Old St. Peter’s through the imitation of architectural form. Second, because the majority of the Roman churches given new porches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were involved in Rome’s stational liturgy, Nancy Spatz has argued that these structures framed and drew attention to the processions and ceremonies that took place as clerics moved from church to church.265

The portico at San Martino may have been motivated by similar concerns. As a church that had long sought to emphasize its relationship to Rome and the papacy through its crypt modeled on Old St. Peter’s, its possession of the relics of Roman martyrs, and its connection to Pope Alexander II, the addition of an architectural element with Roman and papal overtones would have reinforced this institutional identity. San Martino also practiced a stational liturgy modeled closely on Rome, and its portico would have monumentalized the dramatic entrances and exits of the clergy. This is not to mention the many more mundane needs that the structure might have fulfilled, such as providing shelter for pilgrims visiting the Volto Santo and for the money changers and other merchants who did business before the cathedral.

In addition to these factors, a portico was likely attractive to the canons at San Martino because of its iconographic potential to evoke certain buildings of the Old Testament. As Richard Krautheimer articulated long ago, medieval writers indicate an acute awareness of the “content” of architecture, or the symbolic import of particular building forms. By replicating selected features, such as the shape, measurements, or dedication of venerated prototypes like the church of the Holy Sepulcher, building designers could transfer some of the sanctity and meanings of these holy sites to other buildings, as at Santo Stefano in Bologna and the Pisa Baptistery discussed above.  

In the case of San Martino, the likely models for the portico were the buildings constructed by King Solomon in Jerusalem. In the scriptural account of Solomon’s building activities, porticoes are a conspicuous feature of both his Temple and Palace. The Book of Kings describes a “portico at the front of the main hall of the Temple” that “extended the width of the Temple, that is twenty cubits, and projected ten cubits from the front of the Temple” (1 Kings 6:3). Further on, the text also relates how Solomon built the Palace from which he dispensed justice, stating that “in front of it was a portico, and in front of that were pillars and an overhanging roof” (1 Kings 7:6). The portico of Solomon’s Temple also appears in the New Testament as the meeting place of Christ’s disciples after the Ascension, as described in the Acts of the Apostles: “Now many signs

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267 Previous authors have also proposed a connection between the portico and Solomon’s Temple. Giovanni Pozzi interprets the portico, along with the Jerusalem cross inlaid on the façade wall, and the pavement panel depicting the Judgment of Solomon as references to the Temple; see Giovanni Pozzi, *Templum Salomonis: Simboli e misteri intorno alla Cattedrale di Lucca* (Lucca: Edizioni S. Marco Litotipo, 2011), 51–87. Tigler also mentions the portico as an allusion to the Temple of Solomon, noting the sculpture of Solomon on the capital inside the portico, and suggests that the reference is made because of the portico’s function as a site where the bishop administered justice (ibid., “Maestri lombardi,” 877–78).
and wonders were done among the people through the apostles. And they were all together in Solomon’s Portico” (Acts 5:12).

For Italians living at the end of the twelfth century, their conception of these Solomonic buildings described in Scripture must have also shaped by the contact that Europeans had with the monuments of Jerusalem during the Crusades. When they arrived in the Holy Land, the Crusaders interpreted the al-Aqsa mosque on the Temple Mount, built in the eighth century under the Umayyads, as a Solomonic structure, referring to it either as Solomon’s Temple or Solomon’s Palace, and designating it the court of the Latin Kings, and later, the headquarters of the Knights Templar. The importance of the portico as the building’s identifying feature is demonstrated by pictorial representations of the Holy Land. Several maps of Jerusalem depict the “Temple of Solomon” in the upper right quadrant, with the long arcade of the portico setting the structure apart from the city’s other buildings and labeled as the “claustrum salomonis” or “claustrum templi salomonis,” reflecting twelfth-century theologians who saw the portico of Solomon’s Temple as the precedent for the monastic cloister (fig. 122).

By reproducing this architectural feature at San Martino, the façade’s designers suggested the cathedral’s identity as a new Temple or Palace of Solomon. That the structure might refer to two distinct models would likely not have raised any questions for contemporary viewers. As Krautheimer notes, it was not unusual for a single architectural detail to accommodate multiple symbolic connotations, and as we will see,

Solomon’s Temple and Palace were equally suitable typological models for portraying San Martino’s significance as the site of the Volto Santo.²⁷⁰

The portico’s references to Solomonic buildings were augmented by some of its sculptures, in particular, the abundance of lions. On the exterior, the front end of a lion, portrayed with deeply carved eyes and mouths, carefully delineated muscles, and animal or human prey between its paws, is placed above the capitals on each side of the central arch. A third lion appears above the capital of the northern pier; this one depicts a lion standing above a gargoyle and is a modern replacement of a medieval original. This scheme of decoration was carried on inside the portico on the decoration of the façade wall, executed in the 1230s. A small plinth protrudes from the springing of each arch of the blind arcade, and on each of these plinths is a sculpture of a lion, for a total of eight within the portico. As the only sculptures inside the portico that project from the wall and are carved in the round, they are a prominent feature of the space, particularly when standing at one end of the portico, looking through it lengthwise.

Sculpted lions were a common decorative motif on church façades in Italy, although they are not typically as numerous as at San Martino. They often appear on the bases of columns framing a church’s main portal, as in several examples from Emilia-Romagna and Apulia (fig. 123).²⁷¹ In Tuscany, pairs of lions are also found at the tops of columns flanking a church’s main entrance, as at Pisa Cathedral and at San Michele in Foro, San Giusto, and SS. Giovanni e Reparata in Lucca (fig. 124). Such lions have been interpreted as apotropaic, intended to protect the sacred space of the church, and as

elements of Solomonic iconography.\textsuperscript{272} Lions were strongly associated with the Old Testament king. They appeared on the bronze basins Solomon made for the Temple (1 Kings 7:29), as well as on Solomon’s throne. The Book of Kings recounts the building of Solomon’s throne, describing it as being made of ivory and gold and elevated on six steps, with a lion at the end of each step; one lion also appeared beside each of the throne’s armrests (1 Kings 10:18–20).

The steps and lions became identifying features of Solomon’s throne as it was depicted in medieval art, appearing in examples of diverse media, including the illuminations of the \textit{Liber ad honorem augusti}, as well as the sculpture of the central portal of Strasbourg Cathedral, where Solomon’s Throne appears in the gable (figs. 125–26).\textsuperscript{273} A single pair of lions built into thrones was also sufficient for evoking the model of the Old Testament king and associating contemporary monarchs and popes with his power, piety, and wisdom (figs. 127–28).\textsuperscript{274} Moreover, it was not uncommon for medieval representations to conflate the Solomon’s Throne with its architectural setting inside the palace.\textsuperscript{275} For example, thirteenth-century paintings inside the bishop’s chapel at the cathedral of Gurk in Switzerland show the Virgin and Child on Solomon’s Throne, depicted as a structure with six steps and lions on each end of the steps and by each


\textsuperscript{274} Iafrate, \textit{The Wandering Throne}, 216–24.

armrest (fig. 129). The throne is also placed under an arcade of seven arches, with a scalloped arch at the center, calling to mind the portico and canopy of Solomon’s Palace. This iconographic tradition thus provides a context for the mixing of elements of Solomon’s Throne and Palace within the portico at San Martino.

Other elements of sculpture at San Martino that might have evoked Solomonic models are the two columns attached to the piers supporting the portico’s central arch, as other scholars have suggested. In scripture, Solomon has the artist Hiram cast two massive bronze pillars that he erects outside the portico of his Temple and refers to as “Jachin” and “Boaz” (1 Kings 7:15–22). References to these columns were widespread in medieval church architecture, though their iconography was diverse. At the cathedral of Würzburg, a now dismantled portico contained two columns with inscriptions labeling them “Jachin” and “Boaz”; these columns have knotted shafts, reflecting one common conception of the Solomonic models (fig. 130). Another iconographic convention portrayed the columns as spiral in shape and often decorated with vine motifs. A third way of portraying the columns of the temple was to place two columns of any type on either side of a church’s main portal, leaving them either freestanding or attached to the façade but serving no structural function (fig. 131). In some examples, as at the cathedral of Piacenza, the columns are drastically out of proportion with other elements

\[\text{footnotes}^{276}\text{ Pozzi,}\text{Templum Salomonis,}\text{ 68; Tigler,}\text{ “Maestri lombardi,”}\text{ 868.}\]
\[\text{footnotes}^{277}\text{ Iafrate,}\text{The Wandering Throne,}\text{ 39–40; Stefania Tuzi,}\text{Le Colonne e il Tempio di Salomone. La storia, la leggenda, la fortuna}(\text{Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2002}),\text{ 29–72.}\]
\[\text{footnotes}^{279}\text{Tuzi,}\text{Le Colonne,}\text{ 41–59, 63–72.}\]
\[\text{footnotes}^{280}\text{Ibid.,}\text{ 30–32. Max Seidel has argued that the columns flanking the central portal at Pisa, which fit into this category of non-structural columns, evoked those of the Temple (ibid.,}\text{“Building a Cathedral,”}\text{ 49).}\]
of façade decoration, recalling the enormous scale of the Solomonic examples (fig. 132). The columns on the façade of San Martino fall into this third category. Affixed to the exterior face of two piers, they have no structural purpose, supporting only the two lion sculptures and not the arch itself.

Through architecture and sculpture, then, the portico at San Martino associated the cathedral with the Solomonic structures of Jerusalem: the Temple, which housed the material signs of God’s covenant with the Israelites and which was the exclusive home of divine presence and the domain of high priests, and the Throne, from which ruled an anointed king and judge. In turning to these Old Testament prototypes, the canons of San Martino were, on the one hand, drawing from a very widespread set of theological ideas that viewed Solomon’s Throne and Temple as the typological models for the Christian church. For instance, in his ninth-century commentary on the Book of Kings, Rabanus Maurus stated that “the Throne is the Church in which our Solomon promulgates his judgments,” linking the judgments handed down by the Old Testament king with that of each soul carried out by Christ. In a similar manner, Honorius of Autun linked the church building with the Temple, stating, “our church takes its form from the Temple that Solomon built.”

It was not unusual to find direct references to Solomon’s Temple in ecclesiastical architecture, as the previous discussion of the symbolism of lions and columns has pointed out. Allusions to the Temple also occurred in the liturgy. The ceremony for the dedication of churches, for example, involved the singing of Psalm 24,
the same phrase sung when the Ark was carried into Solomon’s Temple for the first time.\textsuperscript{283}

Thus, any church could be the typological counterpart to Solomon’s Temple and Throne. But at San Martino, the Solomonic references of the sculpture and architecture likely had more specific resonances. As the first chapter of this dissertation noted, Rangerius had described Alexander II as a “new Solomon” for his role in renovating San Martino in the \textit{Vita metrica S. Anselmi}, invoking a common trope for honoring ecclesiastical patrons in the Middle Ages. Although this text did not enjoy much of an afterlife among the community of clerics at San Martino, Rangerius also embedded allusions to Alexander as a new Solomon in another text that was far more valued, the \textit{Sermo in dedicatione Sancti Martini}. This sermon, commemorating Alexander II’s consecration of San Martino in 1070 contains no less that three references to King Solomon. The text begins by recounting San Martino’s rebuilding in 1060 and praises the people of Lucca for their financial support, stating that their donations “nearly equaled the riches of Solomon.”\textsuperscript{284} After describing the grandeur of the cathedral’s consecration ceremony, Rangerius then celebrates Alexander II’s decision to institute an annual feast commemorating this event, stating that he possessed “the highest wisdom, like Solomon.”\textsuperscript{285} Finally, Rangerius notes Alexander II’s translation of the relics of SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria on the same occasion, stating that the pope did this “so that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{283} Spatz, “Church Porches,” 314.
\item \textsuperscript{284} “In quo Lucensis qui tunc erat populi liberalitas paene stupenda est et summis laudibus extollenda, quae in uno eodemque opere et populi per desertum gradiientes studium in oblatione tam paene secura est et Salomonis divitias in tempore sic equavit.” Guidi, “Per la storia,” 182–83.
\item \textsuperscript{285} “Ut autem posteritas quoque de tanta solmnitate semper aliquid beneficii sortiretur, statuit pontificis summa prudentia, ad Salomonis similitudinem, omni anno octo diebus hanc cælebritatem recoli et cælibritatis ipsius usque ad octavum diem officium fieri infra muros ipsius civitatis, extra vero per plebes una die ad memoriam solemniter revocari.” Ibid., 183.
\end{itemize}
[the cathedral’s treasures] would be no less than those placed in the Tabernacle by Moses or in the Temple by Solomon.” In this way, the model of the Old Testament king underlies the entire text celebrating San Martin’s dedication, an event that was a touchstone in the formation of the cathedral’s identity. The repeated associations between Alexander II and Solomon helped perpetuate this bishop’s memory as a wise civic and spiritual leader, while the comparison between saintly relics and the treasures of the Tabernacle and Temple suggest that the cathedral served the same function as these two Old Testament structures, as a storehouse for the material evidence of God’s covenant with a chosen people.

Canons of San Martino could not help but be familiar with this sermon. They recited it during the night office on October 6, the anniversary of San Martino’s consecration. It is therefore not hard to imagine that this tradition of viewing their church as the product of a new Solomon would have informed their design for the cathedral’s new façade. In fact, there is further indication that Solomonic models continued to be central to San Martino’s identity even beyond the era of the façade’s completion. In the 1470s, when the cathedral’s current intarsia pavement was installed under the direction of the sculptor Matteo Civitali, the project’s planners adhered to a common repertoire of ornamental imagery, with the exception of one extra-large panel located at the dead center of the cathedral’s plan. For this, they chose to depict the Judgment of Solomon (fig. 133). Placed in the nave, where members of the laity could

286 “Ut autem etiam de thesauris nichil minus esse potuisset, vel ad illa quae in tabernaculo per Moysen, vel quae in temple sunt reposita per Salomonem, Roma detulit memoratus pontifex et pr(ae)libate aeccelesiae obtulit sanctorum corpora Iasonis et Mauri et eorum matris Hylariae et ea in dextro latere honorifice reposuit.” Ibid.
287 Brand, Holy Treasure, 98.
approach, examine, and walk on it, this panel would have called to mind the typological connections between the church and the Solomonic buildings of the Old Testament for anyone already familiar with these concepts, as well as Lucca’s own “new Solomon” who had played such an important role in the cathedral’s history.288

All of this visual and literary material from Lucca provides good reasons for trusting the apparent references to Solomon’s Temple and Throne in San Martino’s portico. There was likely more than one motive for recalling these Old Testament structures. As several scholars have noted, it is not unusual to find Solomonic references, such as depictions of the king himself or pairs of lions, around medieval church portals.289 The area before the church entrance was often the site of trials and other types of legal ceremonies, like marriage, and the Solomonic imagery helped to signal this zone’s judicial function and create a comparison between the bishop who presided over these ceremonies and the wise and just biblical king. These functions may well have been one reason for the iconography at San Martino. Furthermore, considering the cathedral’s history and written traditions, the church’s portico could also have served as a double reference, recalling not just Solomon, but also Alexander II, remembered for exemplifying Solomon’s virtues and already called to mind elsewhere in the portico by the façade inscription. Probably more important than either of these factors, however,

was the suitability of the Solomonic models for signaling the church’s importance as a house for its most venerated object, the Volto Santo.

2. Housing the Volto Santo: Sanctuary of a New Priest and Throne of a New King

In order to understand how the design of San Martino’s façade relates to the Volto Santo, it is necessary to take a closer look at the sculpture’s iconography. It is widely accepted that the Volto Santo represents Christ as rex et sacerdos, or king and priest, an identification that rests on two aspects of the sculpture’s dress: the long, belted tunic and crown.⁹ The robe is the defining feature of the Volto Santo’s iconography and represents a variation on an eastern type of the Crucifixion.⁹¹ Assumed to have originated in Palestine, this formula for the Crucifixion shows Christ hanging on the cross wearing a sleeveless colobium, as demonstrated by the Crucifixion scene in the Rabula Gospels of 586, the earliest example of the iconography (fig. 134). The garment’s purple color, as well as its two gold stripes running vertically down the front, mimic the dress of Roman and Byzantine emperors, alluding to Christ’s status as “King of kings, and Lord of lords” (Revelation 19:16). Although this model of the Crucifixion would eventually become less popular in the west in favor of the “Hellenistic” type, showing Christ nude except for a loincloth, it remained widespread throughout the early Middle Ages, appearing in the wall paintings of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome and on the cover of the

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Fieschi Reliquary now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as in several Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts (figs. 135–36).

For Ernst Kantorowicz, the *Volto Santo*’s garment had an identical meaning as the purple *colobium* in these earlier depictions. He stated that “a Romanesque type of crucifix, known as the *Volto Santo* and showing the crucified with an imperial diadem on his head and the purple around his shoulders, renders perhaps the briefest iconographic formula of at once the regal and the sacrificial characters of the God-man.”²⁹² In other words, he viewed the *Volto Santo*’s dark tunic as the purple robe of an emperor, which together with the “imperial diadem” signified Christ’s royal status, while the cross recalled his sacrifice.

For most scholars, however, the *Volto Santo*’s robe has been interpreted as a priestly, rather than royal garment. The keys to this interpretation are those features that distinguish the robe from the *colobium* in the portrayals noted above: the long sleeves, and more importantly, the gilded belt, which is knotted at the waist with two long ends that trail down the front of the robe, ending just before its gold hem. Reiner Hauss herr first connected this garment to that worn by Christ at the Second Coming, as revealed to John and recorded in the Book of Revelation: “I turned around to see the voice that was speaking to me. And when I turned I saw seven golden lampstands, and among the lampstands was someone like a son of man, dressed in a robe reaching down to his feet and with a golden sash around his chest” (Revelation 1:12–13).²⁹³ According to

Hausserr, the *Volto Santo* is not simply a Crucifixion, but rather, a depiction of Christ at the Apocalypse. Following the explanations of early Christian writers like Tertullian, who wrote that Christ “after his Resurrection was ‘clad with a garment down to the foot’, and named the Priest of God the Father unto eternity,” Hausserr interprets the *Volto Santo*’s robe as that of a priest. In this way, the *Volto Santo* communicated visually the notion expressed in the Letter to the Hebrews that Christ was a High Priest in the manner of the Old Testament; just as Aaron and Melchizedek had been chosen by God to offer prayers and sacrifices on behalf of their community, Christ was chosen to sacrifice himself for the salvation of all mankind.

If the *Volto Santo*’s robe signified Christ’s priestly or sacrificial role, it was its crown that emphasized his royal status. Although the crown is not an integral part of the sculpture, and the current ceremonial crown dates only to 1655, there is much evidence that a crown of some sort was a key part of the *Volto Santo*’s iconography by about 1200. In the earliest written description of the sculpture, found within Boncompagno da Signa’s *Rhetorica antiqua*, produced before 1215, the author states that the *Volto Santo* wore “a crown inserted with precious stones.”

The illuminations in a manuscript belonging to the Confraternity of Santa Croce also suggest that this was the case. The volume was produced around 1309 and was used

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by the lay confraternity dedicated to the Volto Santo. It contains the confraternity’s statutes, records of the organizations approval by the bishop in 1308, a summary of the Legend of the Volto Santo prepared by Johannes Castagnacci, indulgences granted to worshippers of the Volto Santo by several popes, instructions to members on how to preach to the public on days of processions, and three illuminations (figs. 137–39).

Two of these images depict the Volto Santo and are useful for being among the earliest portrayals of the Volto Santo in a Lucchese context, as well as for giving some indication of the sculpture’s setting within San Martino prior to Civitali’s fifteenth-century chapel. In one, two laymen, probably leaders of the confraternity, lead a procession of clerics to the Volto Santo in its chapel, portrayed as a gabled structure of black and white marble. Inside the arched entrance, the Volto Santo appears atop an altar, wearing a crown adorned with a cross and small circles suggesting gems. A second miniature is entirely devoted to a larger view into this same chapel. Here the Volto Santo is shown crowned, just as before, while a group of worshipers kneel and pray to the left, with one coming forward to kiss the statue’s foot, and at right, a tonsured cleric—perhaps Leboinus or a contemporary cleric of San Martino—sits holding a book and gesturing to the crucifix with his right hand.

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299 The contents of the codex are summarized and transcribed in Luiso, La Leggenda, 55–64, 81–106.

300 Scholars have often commented on the total absence of images of the Volto Santo in other Lucchese manuscripts; see Gigetta Dalli Regoli, “Testimonianze relative al ‘Volto’ e alla ‘Croce’ nei manoscritti miniati luccesi,” in Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medioevale, 95–108; Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, “La festività dell’ ‘Exaltatio Crucis’ nei Passionari luccesi del XII secolo,” in Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medioevale, 109–21.

301 Several authors identify the figure as Leboinus (Luiso, La Leggenda, 63; Paoli and Simonetti, “L’iconografia del Volto Santo,” 49–50).
crown was an everyday feature of the sculpture, a normal aspect of its appearance during private devotion before the work and the regular processions of the Confraternity of Santa Croce, and not just limited to major feasts.

Lucchese coinage provides even earlier evidence for the royal aspects of the *Volto Santo’s* iconography. Between the early thirteenth century and the eighteenth century, the *Volto Santo’s* image appeared on coins struck by Lucca’s mint, which the city had operated continuously since Lombard times. The earliest example occurs on a silver *grosso* generally agreed to date to the reign of Emperor Otto IV, who confirmed the privileges of the Lucchese mint in 1209 (figure 140). On one side of the coin, the head of Christ is shown frontally, wearing a simple crown, and an inscription running around the outer edge identifies the *Volto Santo* as the image’s subject: “S. VVLT(US) DE LVCA.” Changes to this design amplified the *Volto Santo’s* royal appearance later in the century. A gold *grosso*, issued by Lucca in the 1250s, again shows the crowned head of the *Volto Santo* identified by the same inscription (fig. 141). Here, however, Christ appears in profile. As Max Seidel and Romano Silva have noted, the pose echoes the way emperors were presented on coins of the Roman Empire. This design, together with the more basic decision to depict the *Volto Santo* on Lucchese coins, opposite the monogram of the Holy Roman Emperor on the obverse side, contributed to fashioning the sculpture of Christ as the city’s true sovereign.

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The Volto Santo thus presented Christ as both priest, or a mortal, sacrificial victim, and as a divine sovereign. It is these aspects of the Volto Santo’s iconography that render intelligible the references to Solomon’s Temple and Throne on San Martino’s exterior. Just as the Temple established by Solomon in Jerusalem had been the exclusive domain of the high priests of Judaism, so the cathedral of Lucca was the home of an image of Christ as priest, alluding to his sacrifice that had superseded all those of the Old Testament. Likewise, as Solomon’s Throne was the seat of an anointed king of Jerusalem, descended from David, so too was San Martino the setting for a sculpture that portrayed Christ in regal attire, recalling his role as the culmination of this same royal lineage. In this way, the Solomonic iconography of the cathedral’s exterior functions to frame the Volto Santo within and makes clear the sculpture’s transformative effect on Lucca, positioning the city as inheritor of the traditions and status of Jerusalem.

The above discussion, however, accounts for only half of the façade’s relationship to the Volto Santo. The other half rests on the typological thinking that linked Solomon and his Throne to Christ as the incarnation of divine wisdom, and on the particular nature of the Volto Santo as material manifestation of divine presence. For as important as the Volto Santo’s iconography must have been to medieval viewers, it was the object’s divine origin that spurred its veneration, both within Lucca and across Europe.

Within medieval theology, the Throne of Solomon had long been regarded as a metaphor for the Virgin, the vehicle for the Incarnation: as Solomon’s Throne had been the seat of the incarnation of divine wisdom in the figure of the king, the Virgin Mary had
been the vessel for divinity made man in Christ.\textsuperscript{305} These ideas were expressed clearly by Peter Damian in his \textit{Sermon on the Birth of the Virgin}:

“She herself is that glorious throne concerning which in the Book of Kings it is written in these words: ‘King Solomon made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold beyond measure…’ […] Our Solomon, not only wise but indeed the Wisdom of the Father, not only pacific but indeed our peace, who unified both, had prepared a throne, manifestly the womb of the chaste Virgin, in which sat that Majesty which shakes the world with a nod.”\textsuperscript{306}

The author also offered symbolic interpretations of specific features of Solomon’s Throne: the ivory represented Mary’s virginity and the gold Christ’s divinity, while the two lions next to the armrests symbolized the archangel Gabriel and John the Evangelist, and the twelve lions on the steps prefigured the twelve apostles. These ideas were reiterated and expanded by other twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers, including Guibert of Nogent, Hugh of St. Victor, and Albertus Magnus, who all saw the attributes of Solomon’s Throne as the antecedents of New Testament realities.\textsuperscript{307}

These ideas found widespread expression in Christian art, which frequently showed the Throne of Solomon as a setting for imagery related to the Incarnation, usually the Virgin or Virgin and Child.\textsuperscript{308} In the bishop’s chapel at Gurk, the Virgin and Child appear beneath the central canopy of Solomon’s Throne. The Throne’s significance as a stage for the Incarnation is further elaborated in the space’s architecture: the setting of the altar below, with the screen on either side, echoes the form of the Throne painted above,


\textsuperscript{306} Forsyth, \textit{The Throne of Wisdom}, 25.

\textsuperscript{307} Ibid., 25–26; Piper, “Maria als Thron,” 117.

invoking the same motif to frame the manifestation of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist. Similar imagery occurs in the illuminations of the *Verger de Soulas* (ca. 1250–75), where the Virgin and Child again appear on Solomon’s Throne, though here the surrounding arcade has been expanded into a two-storied structure also containing personifications of virtues and prophets (fig. 142). The same concept is also expressed in the façade sculpture at the Cathedral of Strasbourg in slightly different form: Solomon sits on his throne in the central gable, while the Virgin and Child appear on a separate throne directly above.

Representations of Solomon’s Throne were not limited to providing a backdrop for the Virgin and Child. As Daniel Weiss has shown, the basic iconography of the Throne was also adopted for the design of the tribune screen in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, built between 1244 and 1248 (fig. 143). Here, rather than framing imagery that implies the Incarnation, as in the examples above, the motif serves as support for material evidence of the Incarnation: relics of Christ’s Passion obtained by King Louis IX.

In the same way, Solomon’s Throne also functions as a framing mechanism for signs of the Incarnation at San Martino. The *Volto Santo*, like all images of Christ, implied the fact of the Incarnation: God could be represented exactly because he had taken on human form in Christ. But the sculpture was also a more potent witness to Christ’s incarnated form, as it belonged to a special subset of sacred images created through divine intervention and/or direct contact with Christ’s body and that included the Mandylion, the Veronica, and the icon of Christ housed in the chapel of San Lorenzo at

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the Lateran. This aspect of the Volto Santo is made clear in the written texts about the work that circulated in Lucca and beyond. These, in fact, also show that the story of the sculpture’s origin was being revised to forge an even closer connection between it and the body of Christ in the same span of time in which the façade was constructed.

The Volto Santo as confirmation of the Incarnation is apparent in the Leboinus Legend. In this version, Leboinus describes how the Crucifix was sculpted by Nicodemus, mentioned in the Gospel of John as a Pharisee who visits Christ at night to hear his teachings and assists Joseph of Arimathea in caring for Christ’s body after his death. Leboinus states that after Christ had ascended to heaven, Nicodemus was filled with longing for him, and so he sculpted Christ’s image according to his memory of Christ’s appearance:

After the resurrection and ascension of the Lord, Nicodemus burned with an ardor for Christ so present that he always carried Christ in his heart, and always spoke of him. Therefore, having noted most diligently the forms of the body of Christ in quantity and quality, and its lines described in his mind, he sculpted the most holy face, not by his art, but by divine. Leboinus then explains why the Crucifix, despite being a full-length depiction of Christ, is referred to as “the Holy Face”: “Now a few words about why it is called ‘the face of the Lord.’ Just as a face, being seen, verifies him whose face is seen, so the image of the

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precious face expresses our Redeemer incarnate and hanging on the cross for us, as if represented by certain lines.”312 Then, after recounting the Volto Santo’s discovery in Jerusalem by the “subalpine” bishop Gualfredus and its translation to Lucca, Leboinus concludes by telling his reader some facts about the Crucifix that he claims to have learned from a Syrian guard at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem: that it is a reliquary enclosing pieces of the crown of thorns and Christ’s clothing, and that it also contains the woodchips that fell from the image while Nicodemus was carving it in the forest of Ramothgalaath, and that these fragments have miraculous healing properties.313

The Volto Santo’s close relationship to Christ is emphasized in the Leboinus Legend in two ways. First, it preserves Christ’s human features, authenticated both by the fact that it translates the mental image of an eyewitness to Christ, and by its production with the aid of divine intervention. It is worth noting that in this first account of the Volto Santo’s creation, Nicodemus is a far more important agent than he will be in later versions; the text stresses his “most diligent” observation of Christ’s body and his preservation of this image in his memory, and the only concession to supernatural aid is the vague statement that Nicodemus sculpted the work “not by his art but by divine.”314

In this way, the Volto Santo qualifies as a “semi-acheiropoieton,” an image made both

312 “Qua vero de causa Vultus Domini nuncupatus paucis absolvam. Sicut enim facies visa illum cuius facies videtur certificat ita pretiosi Vultus figura Redemptorem nostrum incarnatum et pro nobis in cruce pendentem quasi quibusdam liniamentis representatum exprimit.” Concioni, Contributi, 21; Guerra and Guidi, Storia del Volto Santo, 3.
313 Concioni, Contributi, 24–25.
314 The tradition that clearly distinguishes between Nicodemus’s carving of the body and the sculpting of the face, accomplished by divine will alone while Nicodemus sleeps, only emerges later in the account of Johannes Castagnacci from the early fourteenth century; this version is discussed towards the end of the current section.
with and without human hands. Second, the sculpture is also a reliquary, containing materials whose sanctity rested on their contact with Christ’s body.

The Volto Santo’s relationship to its sacred prototype became only closer as the legend of the object’s origin morphed in the years after the composition of the Leboinus Legend in the early twelfth century. In Gervase of Tilbury’s *Otia imperialia*, written before 1215 for Emperor Otto IV, Gervase discusses the Volto Santo in a section on wondrous objects, sandwiched between descriptions of the Mandylion and the Veronica. He clearly see the Volto Santo as belonging to the same category of object, as he begins his description of the Lucchese Crucifix stating, “there is another image of the Lord imprinted on cloth.” Gervase then relates how the Volto Santo was made. His account differs significantly from that of Leboinus, however. He describes how the Virgin and the other women present at the Crucifixion wrapped Christ’s body in linen, and “when he was taken down, an image of his whole body hanging from the cross was seen to have been imprinted on the cloth. Making a copy in its likeness, Nicodemus fashioned the Image of Lucca.” In addition to the relics that the Volto Santo is said to contain in the Leboinus Legend, Gervase reports that it also contains the imprinted cloth that Nicodemus copied and a portion of the sponge used at the Passion. Gervase follows this account with a summary of the Volto Santo’s discovery and translation to Lucca, and then presents readers with what he claims is the daily prayer that Nicodemus used to

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317 Ibid., 599.
318 Ibid.
recite before the Volto Santo, instructing them to “keep this prayer in your heart, then, every time the priest elevates the host during the words of consecration.”

The passage is important for several reasons. First, Gervase’s discussion of the Volto Santo within a section devoted to the Mandylion and Veronica, as well as the Lateran icon, which appears as the last object in this series, demonstrates that the crucifix belonged to a very select group of images venerated for their particularly close relationship to Christ’s body, as well as their divine origins in the city of Jerusalem before their translation to the West. Second, Gervase’s instruction to readers to recall Nicodemus’s prayer to the Volto Santo before the consecrated host suggests an interchangeability between the two objects, implying that the sculpture is not just a substitute for Christ’s bodily presence, but rather, is that presence.

Aspects of this version of the Volto Santo’s origin also appear in the appendix included after the Leboinus Legend in Lucchese manuscripts, most likely composed by San Martino’s canons in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. While most of the appendix records the healings, exorcisms, and other miracles that the Volto Santo performed, two passages provide additional information about the sculpture itself. One relates that a Lucchese named Stefano Butrione learned in Jerusalem in the late eleventh century that the Volto Santo contained more relics than those reported by either Leboinus or Gervase of Tilbury: in addition to the pieces of the crown of thorns and Christ’s clothing, it also held a nail from the Crucifixion, part of Christ’s umbilical cord, a vial of his blood, and fragments of his hair and fingernails that the Virgin had cut from his

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319 Ibid., 601.
The second passage describes how a cleric of Lucca, who later becomes the city’s bishop, meets the patriarch of Jerusalem while in the Holy Land, from whom he learns the *Volto Santo*’s history. In this account, Joseph of Arimathea covers Christ’s body with a cloth while it is hanging on the cross, and the body leaves its image miraculously imprinted on the fabric. Nicodemus then takes the cloth and awakes one night to find that the same impression has been divinely sculpted in the form of the *Volto Santo*. This version of the tale also states that the sculpture contains parts of the crown of thorns, the clothing of Christ, and some nails from the Crucifixion.

By the early fourteenth century there are signs that the explanation of the *Volto Santo* in the appendix had become an authoritative account, at least among Lucca’s laity. The Tucci-Tognetti Codex belonging Confraternity of Santa Croce contains a text explaining the sculpture’s creation and translation. Its author is identified in the text as the judge Iohannes Castagnacci, writing in 1302. Although Castagnacci cites the Leboinus text as his source, the description of the *Volto Santo*’s creation adheres more closely to the version in the appendix and introduces some new elements. Again Christ’s image appears miraculously in a cloth that Joseph of Arimathea places on the body. Here, 

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321 “In qua quarta pars spinee corone cum clavo quo dominus crucifixus est id etiam sacratissimum quod de umbilico est abscessum et ampulla sanguinis cum sudario quod deferebat Jhesus circa collum decentissime recondita sunt. Clauduntur quoque ibi pretiosissima pygnora que beata Dei genitrix se(m)preque virgo Maria de umbuibus et capillis nostri Redemptoris assecidit.” Concioni, *Contributi*, 29.

322 “Joseph vero postea a Pylato licentia impetrata cum de cruce Salvatorem deponeret velamen mulieribus reddidit quod ille intuentes expressam Salvatoris ymaginem et per omnia liamenta verissimam eius similitudinem et formam in eo sculptam invenerunt. Post hec infra eundem annum Nichodemus qui mirce et ales ferens misturam ad ipsum intraverat angelica visionem correctus est quare cum dominicum corpus ipse baullasset aliquam eius formam et ymaginem posteris relinquere non curasset. Nicodemus vero a sonno evigilans de nocturna visione exitit sollicitus et ad similitudinem illius figure que in velamine mulierum inventa fuit divinitus sculpta reverendissimum vultum non suo sed potius divino composit artificio in quo de pretiosissimis pingnoribus que de filio suo Dei genitrix virgo apud se diligenti cura reservaverat et Joseph et Nichodemo de spinea corona, de clavis et vestimentis Salvatoris quedam decentissim(e) ibi recondita esse dubitare profecto nemo debet.” Ibid., 30.

323 The Castagnacci text is transcribed in Luiso, *La Leggenda*, 87–90.
however, Nicodemus is described more like a troubled artist, copying the image on the fabric and able to carve all except for the face, which he awakens to find miraculously completed. 324

The goal of these later revisions to the Volto Santo’s legend seems to be to push the Volto Santo further up the scale of sanctity. In addition to the contact relics that the sculpture is said to contain in the Leboinus Legend, in the appendix it also possesses actual pieces of Christ’s body. In place of the semi-acheiropoietic nature of the object in the earlier account, the later ones present the sculpture as closer to a true acheiropoieton by introducing the cloth imprinted with Christ’s body as an intermediate step in the sculpture’s creation, while also maintaining that the sculpture was not just a copy of the imprint, but itself the result of divine action.

Although we cannot account for the full spectrum of belief among the Volto Santo’s twelfth- and thirteenth-century worshipers, all of these texts provide strong reasons for thinking that when medieval visitors encountered the crucifix, they believed themselves to be in the presence of Christ. In its appearance, the sculpture preserved the true visage of Christ, whether viewed as the translation of an eyewitness, an imprint, or the product of a divine author, while as a reliquary, it housed material remains of Christ’s bodily existence. In this fashion, San Martino, like the Throne of Solomon before it, enclosed the signs of divinity incarnate, and the adoption of the Throne’s iconography on

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324 “Josep habita licentia a Pilato de deponendo Salvatorem de cruce, velamen predictum reddit mulieribus; et mulieres intuentes dictum velamen, invenerunt expressam ymaginem Salvatoris et eius similitudinem verissimam et firmam in eo scultam. Post hec infra eundem annum et ad similitudinem illius figure, que in dicto velamine fuit inventa divinitus sculta, dominicum corpus Nichodemus fariceus incepit componere, et composuit in quodam boscho exceptu vultu, quem vultum componere non poterat. Et a sonno excitatus, Nicodemus invenit ipsum vultum compositum divino artificio et non suo ad similitudinem illius figure, que in velamine fuit inventa dictarum mulierum; in quo et a Josep et Nichodemo recondita sunt ibi de spinea corona, de clavis et vestimentis Salvatoris, que Dei genitrix Virgo apud se diligenti cura reservaverat.” Ibid., 88.
the church exterior allowed the façade’s designers to advertise this fact from without. The cathedral’s role as a home of divine presence also blended seamlessly with the portico’s double reference to Solomon’s Temple: as this structure had been the site of God’s presence only partially revealed to the Israelites, the cathedral of Lucca gave visitors a direct encounter with Christ’s body, the sign of the new covenant. The façade’s architecture thus announced Lucca as the inheritor of both Jewish and Christian Jerusalem, echoing the form and purpose of Solomonic buildings, while also offering worshipers contact with the traces of Christ’s earthly existence, previously only available in the Holy Land.

3. The Portico Sculpture

In this way, the architectural form of San Martino’s portico helped express how the Volto Santo had transfigured Lucca into a new Jerusalem. As at Santo Stefano in Bologna or the Pisa Baptistery, the church’s designers copied certain features of sacred prototypes, transferring the sanctity and meaning of these structures to the cathedral of Lucca. In this case, the models—the Temple and Throne of Solomon—were especially fitting as they evoked an established typology between Solomon and Christ and linked the church’s form to a relic inside. To further stress how the Volto Santo made San Martino into a new Temple and Throne of Solomon, the façade’s designers also relied on architectural sculpture. As the description of the façade in chapter two noted, the majority of the sculpture produced in the first phase of the façade’s construction was ornamental, with the exception of two pieces located on the piers of the central arch. The column on the front of the left pier features a scene of the Fall of Man on its base and the Tree of
Jesse on its upper two-thirds, while the interior side of the capital on the right pier portrays six figures. It would be easy to regard these sculptures as marginal. Both are isolated pieces, with little apparent logic behind their placement and no connection to the hagiographical themes of the portal sculpture installed in the 1230s. Yet, looking closer at these sculptures shows that they emphasize exactly those themes traced above: the Christian church as both successor and foil to the Solomonic Temple and the typological relationship between Solomon and Christ. In this way, we can regard the sculptures as details that articulate the meaning of the church itself, and as additional threads in a symbolic web constructing San Martino as the center of a new Jerusalem.

On the capital sculpture is imagery expressing the relationship between Church and Temple. The two figures on the corners of the capital represent female personifications of Church and Synagogue, often referred to by the Latin names, Ecclesia and Synagoga (figs. 144–49). The women are a common motif in medieval art from the Carolingian period on, usually appearing as bystanders in scenes of the Crucifixion, and they are recognizable at San Martino from several typical attributes. Synagoga, on the capital’s right corner, carries a broken staff with a flag, while a crown falls from her head. In this case, the crown is toppled by a snake, which, with its tail wrapped around the staff, has coiled itself around Synagoga’s head and across her eyes. This lack of sight,

conveyed either through a blindfold or a snake that obscures Synagoga’s eyes as in this example and in the stained glass windows at Chartres Cathedral, is another of Synagoga’s common features. On the capital’s opposite corner, Ecclesia, pictured as a haloed woman with two long braids, grasps Synagoga’s crown in her left hand.

The characterization of these figures at San Martino allows them to convey a particular relationship between the Old and New Testaments, and between the Judaic and Christian peoples. While medieval Christians used the iconography of Ecclesia and Synagoga to communicate a range of attitudes towards Jews, from positive to virulently anti-semitic, very often the pair was employed to show the continuity between the two faiths. For example, on an ivory book cover carved around 850 in Reichenau, Ecclesia appears twice in a scene of the Crucifixion: once at the foot of the cross, catching Christ’s blood in a chalice, and again on the right border of the scene, where Synagoga sits before a temple (fig. 150). Ecclesia grasps Synagoga’s staff with its three-tongued banner and her orb, about to take these objects away from her, communicating that Christians have now assumed the chosen status that once belonged to the Jews. The same idea is expressed in the sculptures at San Martino through a particular detail of the crown. The object in Ecclesia’s hand not only resembles that worn by Synagoga, but the snake that is shown grasping the crown in its jaws to pull it from her head appears dangling limply from its edge as Ecclesia holds it. This element makes clear that this symbol of rule had been passed from one figure to the other, presenting Christianity as the successor of the Jewish faith.

326 Schiller, Iconography, 111.
This concept is elaborated by the adjacent figures on the capital. Between Ecclesia and Synagoga are two further pairs, with the placement of three small fleurons beneath the abacus inviting viewers to read them as such. On the left, the grouping recalls the typical iconography of the Annunciation: standing frontally, with her hair covered and two hands lifted before her chest, is the Virgin, and to the right is a figure standing in profile, touching the Virgin’s shoulder and holding a scroll. This figure may be the archangel Gabriel, in keeping with the Gospel account, but his lack of wings may instead indicate that he is Isaiah, the prophet who foretold the Incarnation (fig. 151). On the right half of the capital, the figure next to Synagoga is clearly Solomon, recognizable from his distinctive Throne with the lions crouching on the armrests. The woman to his right is most likely the Queen of Sheba. Her visit to Solomon’s court is recounted in the Book of Kings, and her appearance is not unprecedented in Italian medieval sculpture of this period, with statues of her and Solomon also appearing on the Baptistery of Parma.

As Kopp has noted, the identities of these figures, as well as the strict symmetry of the capital’s design, gives the sculpture a strong typological thrust: the three figures on the right function as representatives of Old Testament law and are balanced by the three figures on the left who allude to the end of this era through Christ’s Incarnation and the establishment of the Church. More specifically, we can also say that the imagery articulates a central difference of these two phases of salvation history. On the right,

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327 Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 31–32.
328 Ibid., 125.
Synagoga’s blindness denotes the Jews’ failure to recognize Christ. The reference to sight is again invoked by the Queen of Sheba, Synagoga’s pendant on the other side of Solomon. In the Book of Kings, the Queen of Sheba appears as someone whose beliefs change because of what she sees; upon her arrival to Solomon’s court, she states that while she had heard of his wealth and wisdom, “I did not believe these things until I came and saw with my own eyes” (1 Kings 10:8). In the capital sculpture, she thus appears as a conceptual foil to Synagoga, further highlighting the spiritual blindness of the Jews.

The visual counterpart to these figures is the triad centered around the Virgin Annunciate on the left half of the capital. To her right, Ecclesia approaches with one arm outstretched bearing the crown, as if to place it on the Virgin’s head. This gesture links the two figures and evokes the idea, common in twelfth- and thirteenth-century theological thought, of the Virgin as the Church and vice-versa. It also clearly associates the Church to the advent of Christ. As blindness is the defining feature of Synagoga, here Ecclesia is tied to the moment that divinity became visible. To underscore this point, we can again note the dead snake dangling from Ecclesia’s crown; the object that impeded Synagoga’s vision is overcome through God’s taking on human form. In this manner, the imagery of the capital expresses the idea that Christianity, based on recognizing God in the flesh, superseded the partial revelation offered to the Jews.

While these ideas would have been appropriate at any church in medieval Europe, it is not difficult to see how they would have a particular force here on the façade of San Martino, a structure designed to evoke the central building of the Jewish faith and to

330 Schiller, Iconography, 110–12.
house a sculpture that provided visitors a visual encounter with Christ. We can regard these sculptures, then, as offering a visual gloss on the significance of this space and communicating even more forcefully than the architecture itself some of the ideas underlying its design.

The portico sculptures’ commentary on their architectural setting continues with a second theme, the relationship between Solomon and Christ. The capital expresses this concept through the figures of Solomon and the Virgin. Each is placed at the center of their respective triad, and this analogous position encourages the viewer to puzzle out the relationship between them. The juxtaposition evokes all of the typological ideas discussed earlier understanding the Virgin, as vehicle of the Incarnation, as the conceptual counterpart of Solomon’s Throne, and Christ as a new Solomon. The capital sculpture communicates these views particularly clearly, as Solomon is shown seated on his throne, and the Virgin is represented at the Annunciation. The imagery also recalls Solomon’s and the Virgin’s shared royal lineage from the house of David: Solomon is shown enthroned and crowned, emphasizing his role as king of Jerusalem, while the Virgin is about to be crowned. The sculpture thus reminds viewers of the various ties between Solomon and Christ, both typological and genealogical.

The column sculpture makes their relationship even more apparent. The upper portion of the sculpture portrays the Tree of Jesse, a motif that visualizes Isaiah’s prophecy of the Virgin Birth and Christ’s genealogy. At the bottom, Jesse lies sleeping

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while a vine grows out of his chest and branches over the column’s surface, creating a web populated by nine of Christ’s ancestors—Obed, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshephat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah—above whom are the Virgin and, finally, Christ, represented in a mandorla supported by angels.333 Two things are noteworthy about the imagery’s design. First, while the number and identity of Christ’s ancestors were flexible within the iconography of the Tree of Jesse and varied from one example to another, here there is a particular stress on Christ’s royal lineage; all of the ancestors shown, with the exception of the Virgin and Obed, were kings of Israel of Judah. Second, three of the ancestors—David, Solomon, and Rehoboam—are distinguished through their placement in a single line on the front of the column and their portrayal with crowns (figs. 152–53). The arrangement rejects a strictly chronological lineage to create a more direct relationship between these more distant ancestors and Christ above.

Once again, then, the sculpture of the column and capital stresses the typology that I have argued underlies the portico’s design. The imagery of capital, expressing the likeness of Solomon’s Throne with the Virgin as the container of Christ, helps visitors connect the cathedral’s Solomonic iconography with the cathedral’s function as the enclosure for an icon and relic of Christ. Likewise, the repeated references to Christ and Solomon’s shared lineage as kings of Jerusalem prompt the viewer to comprehend San Martino, site of an image of Christ as king, as the center of a new Jerusalem.

333 See Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 31 for an exact transcription of the names.
4. Lucca as a New Jerusalem: Ritual, Legend, and Art

The architectural and sculptural fashioning of San Martino as a new Temple and Throne of Solomon did not occur in a cultural vacuum. Rather, these elements, along with the Volto Santo itself and its written Legend, formed a nexus of relationships that constructed Lucca as a new Jerusalem. The creation of this identity was perhaps more complicated than in other Italian cities. Rather than relying on simple material transfer, as at the Camposanto in Pisa, or architectural emulation, as at Santo Stefano in Bologna and the Pisa Baptistery, the Lucchese combined several media, including wooden sculpture, hagiographical texts, architectural form, and its sculptural decoration. One more medium—liturgical ritual—has yet to be considered.

The Lucchesi participated in several rituals throughout the year that likened their city to Jerusalem. The main source for our knowledge of these rituals is the Ordo Officiorum, which was used at San Martino and recorded all of the cathedral’s liturgical customs. It is believed to have been compiled around 1290, but to have copied parts from an earlier text. The original manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare of the Archivio Arcivescovile in Lucca, and portions of the text have been transcribed and summarized by Martino Giusti and Benjamin Brand.

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335 Brand and Giusti cite a record of 1283 in which the canons of S. Martino select four from their ranks to work with their bishop and record the rules that governed their celebration of the Divine Office. They argues that the Ordo Officiorum is the fruit of this initiative. Brand also points out that the text notes the date of Easter as April 2, which would have been the case in 1290 (Brand, “Liturgical Ceremony,” 7n20; Giusti, “L’Ordo Officiorum,” 530). Giusti further notes that the paleography suggests a date for the manuscript in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but that in descriptions of certain processional routes, the text refers to churches that were brought within the city walls with the expansion of ca. 1200 as being outside the city, suggesting the authors were drawing on older documents. Certain churches that had bee rededicated in the thirteenth century are also referred to by their older names used in the twelfth century, providing further support for this view (ibid., “L’Ordo Officiorum,” 528–29).
Like other towns, Lucca staged Palm Sunday processions that reenacted Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem, with the bishop and his clergy standing in for Christ and the apostles, the city for Jerusalem, and various churches for sacred sites in the Holy Land. In Lucca, the procession began at San Martino with the distribution of olive branches and flowers to the laity and traveled to the church of Santa Maria Forisportam.\(^{336}\) There the bishop offered a sermon and read from the Gospel, and then the entire retinue reentered Lucca through the Porta San Gervasio. Through this ritual reenactment of the prelude to Christ’s Passion, “the city became sacramentally what it was otherwise only metaphorically, the Holy City Jerusalem.”\(^{337}\)

Lucca was also compared to Jerusalem during the Minor Litanies, which took place each spring three days before the feast of the Ascension.\(^{338}\) As on Palm Sunday, this was one of the few occasions when the entire town was expected to participate. The celebrations included several processions that traversed the whole city and perambulated the circumference of its walls. During one, as the participants entered Lucca from the Porta San Gervasio, the clergy sang the antiphons \textit{In civitate dei} and \textit{Ierusalem civitas sancta}, presenting Lucca as both the City of God and Jerusalem.\(^{339}\) The symbolism of such processions was not lost on contemporary liturgists. Writing of the same ceremonies in his own city, Sicard of Cremona compared the clergy to the leaders of the Israelites, their candles and incense to the fire and pillar of cloud described in Exodus, the relics


\(^{337}\) Thompson, \textit{Cities of God}, 317.


carried in procession to the Ark of the Covenant, and the bishop with his crozier to Moses and his staff.\footnote{Thompson, Cities of God, 152.}

But while Lucca was not unique in celebrating Palm Sunday and the Minor Litanies in this manner, it observed a third occasion that distinguished it from other towns and further bolstered the city’s identity as a new Jerusalem. The Luminaria, which took place each year on the evening of September 13 was a dual commemoration, recalling the Volto Santo’s arrival in Lucca in the ninth century and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, celebrated throughout the Church. The Luminaria gets only a brief mention in the Ordo Officiorum, but is treated more extensively in the civic statutes of Lucca, which survive in fragmentary form from 1261 and in their earliest complete state in 1308.\footnote{Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Ms. 608, fol. 61v; Brand, “Liturgical Ceremoney,” 45–46; Giusti, “L’Ordo Officiorum,” 564. The fragments of the 1261 statutes are in the collection of documents pertaining to the Opera di S. Croce; Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Opera di S. Croce, 2, fols. 15v–20. For the statutes of 1308, see Salvatore Bongi, ed., Statuto del Comune di Lucca dell’Anno MCCCCVIII; Ora per la prima volta pubblicato, Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca, 3, no. 3 (Lucca: Tipografia Giusti, 1867), 35–46. The portions of civic statutes related to the Luminaria from 1372 are transcribed in Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, 381–82. Relevant excerpts of statutes from the fourteenth century are also transcribed in Silvia Nannipieri, “La festa del Volto Santo: le disposizioni di Governo,” in Baracchini and Filieri, Il Volto Santo, 103–16. For additional descriptions of the ritual, see Stefano Gazzarini, “La festa e la processione del Volto Santo,” in Baracchini and Filieri, Il Volto Santo, 124–27; Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, 255–60; Webb, “The Holy Face,” 228.}

The Luminaria involved a procession, which began in front of San Frediano and snaked across the city to San Martino and the chapel of the Volto Santo. In addition to the city’s clergy and civic leaders, all male citizens between the ages of fourteen and seventy from Lucca and its subject territories were required to participate and threatened with fines and confiscation of personal property if they failed to do so. Each of the territories under the authority of the commune of Lucca were also required to leave donations of candles and wax of prescribed sizes and weights at San Martino.
The political significance of the Luminaria has been widely acknowledged. The participation of religious and secular authorities in the procession alongside the citizens created an impression of civic unity that temporarily superseded the factions and disputes that regularly plagued the population, while requiring homage to the Volto Santo from the citizens of nearby settlements under the Lucca’s control advertised the extent of the city’s territory and authority. What has been less remarked upon is how the Luminaria, by being one of the festivities associated with the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, also reinforced how the transfer of the Volto Santo to Lucca forged a new identity for the city as a successor to Jerusalem. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross had its origins in Jerusalem. By the second half of the fourth century, it was believed that fragments of the cross had been discovered by Constantine’s mother Helena and relics of the cross were venerated over September thirteenth and fourteenth in conjunction with the feasts of the dedication of the Martyrium on Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This feast was first celebrated in the West in Rome in the seventh century and then spread to the rest of Latin Europe. Louis van Tongeren has argued that the feast’s dissemination into the West occurred at this time because the relic of the cross had recently been returned to Jerusalem by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in 631, after having been stolen by the Persians. In any case, this second chapter in the history of the cross relic also came to be commemorated during the Exaltation of the Cross on September

344 Ibid., 41–42, 58–59.
fourteenth. In Lucca, the sermon for this feast, preserved in a passionary made for use at San Martino in the twelfth century, recalled both the discovery of the cross by Helena and its later recapture by Heraclius. The Lucchesi’s celebration of their own relic of the Crucifixion was thus framed by a larger history of devotion to the cross, and the recollection of the Volto Santo’s arrival to Lucca appears in this context almost like the third chapter in this history, the final translation of objects from the Crucifixion from the Holy Land to Tuscany.

Seen in this context, the allusions of San Martino’s façade to the Solomonic buildings of the Old Testament fit into a larger project of constructing the city as a new Jerusalem, centered on the Volto Santo and the texts, rituals, and finally, architecture surrounding this object. Just as the Volto Santo had both a sacred and civic significance for the city, the canons’ reasons for invoking the models of Solomon’s Temple and Throne likely went beyond the religious. These two structures had been the seats of religious and political authority in Jerusalem, and as such, provided an appropriate setting for a sculpture of Christ as king and priest. Moreover, by combining the iconography of these sacred and royal sites in one building, San Martino’s clergy presented themselves as the home of the city’s true sovereign and the hub of Lucca’s religious and civic life. Thus, at just the moment when citizens established a civic palace across town, and the bishop lost true political clout, the clergy at San Martino redefined their city as a sacred entity and ensured their place at its core.

Chapter 4
Wrapped in Pattern: Architectural Ornament and the Textile Aesthetic

Introduction

Ornament—and an abundance of it—is one of the most striking features of San Martino’s façade. In the three galleries above the portico, almost every available surface has been enlivened by the addition of color, pattern, or carved imagery. Deeply cut vegetal scrolls unfurl across the cornices, a huge variety of sculpted and inlaid designs wrap around the columns, green and white voussoirs alternate to form arches, and animals, hunters, and abstract motifs crowd the spandrels of each arcade (figs. 154–55). This decorative richness distinguishes San Martino from almost every other edifice in the city. While Santa Maria Forisportam, San Giusto, San Pietro Somaldi, and other churches renovated in the thirteenth century would repeat the general design of San Martino’s façade, with its successive stories of arcaded galleries, almost none would mimic its ornamented columns and spandrels, nor its incorporation of green and pink marble. The exception was San Michele in Foro (figs. 156–59). Here the upper portion of the façade, much of which consists of nineteenth-century replicas of the thirteenth-century columns, capitals, and intarsia, is a near copy of San Martino, albeit with a more finished appearance due to the fourth, gabled gallery capping the structure.347

347 On the nineteenth-century restoration of San Michele in Foro, see Chiara Bozzoli, “La chiara e snella mole” La Basilica di San Michele in Foro a Lucca. Arte e architettura (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2007), 79–80; Silvia Palla, La chiesa di San Michele in Foro a Lucca (San Giuliano Terme: Felici, 2005), 69–71. A daguerreotype of the façade taken before this intervention, as well as sketches and watercolors made by John Ruskin (mentioned further on in this introduction), indicate that the restorers mostly copied the medieval sculpture and intarsia and preserved the façade’s overall appearance.
The lavish ornament of San Martino and San Micheele provoked a mixed reception among early architectural historians. For Georges Rohault de Fleury, these two churches represented a degradation of the Tuscan Romanesque style, which he regarded as having reached perfection in Pisa. It was exactly the decorative qualities of these buildings that elicited his negative reaction: writing of this “unfortunate phase” of architectural history, he lamented the “luxurious ornament that buries the antique forms.”

Eugenio Luporini, while less overtly critical, also sought to minimize the importance of these buildings within the larger development of Lucchese architecture. He considered the “chromatic tendency” that they exemplify as a foreign import from other cities in Tuscany, totally at odds with the subdued appearance of San Martino’s and San Michele’s ground stories, or earlier buildings like Sant’ Alessandro, which he viewed as more representative of Lucca’s artistic culture.

Not all assessments have been so critical. John Ruskin, one of the great champions of architectural ornament, was charmed by these buildings. Writing to his father from Lucca in May 1845, he delighted in the intarsia adorning San Michele’s facade:

Such marvellous variety & invention in the ornaments, and strange character. Hunting is the principal subject—little Nimrods with short legs and long lances—blowing tremendous trumpets—and with dogs which appear running up and down the round arches like flies, heads uppermost—and game of all descriptions—boars chiefly, but stags, tapirs, griffins & dragons—and indescribably innumerable, all cut out in hard green porphyry, & inlaid in the marble.
Ruskin’s appreciation of these details led him to produce several of sketches and watercolors of the church, valuable documents for modern scholars since they provide additional records of the façade’s appearance before its extensive restoration, begun only a few years after his visit (figs. 160–62).  

For the most part, though, the ornament that so distinguishes San Martino and San Michele has attracted little attention. The two modern monographs on San Martino scarcely mention the sculpture and intarsia of the galleries. The only studies devoted exclusively to these aspects are an article written in the early twentieth century by Adolf Behne analyzing the intarsia and a more recent descriptive catalogue of all the vegetal motifs that appear on the façade, produced with the help of a botanist. This situation reflects the status of ornament within the discipline of art history in general, which often views it as a meaningless component of buildings or other artworks, added more for visual pleasure than serious purpose. One basic definition of the concept as “the art that we add to art” points to a common understanding of ornament as something superfluous to a work’s meaning and function. Despite the existence of a small group of publications proposing universal theories of ornament, as well as more focused case studies that explore ornament’s ability to articulate hierarchies of space and social

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351 On Ruskin’s visit to Tuscany and the importance of Lucca in forming his impressions of medieval architecture, see Jeanne Clegg and Paul Rucker, Ruskin and Tuscany (Sheffield: Ruskin Gallery, 1993), 12.
352 Baracchini and Caleca, Il duomo di Lucca, 20; Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 80–82.
relationships, provide a gloss on religious subjects, and convey iconographic content, ornament still occupies a secondary place within most art historical discussions.\(^{356}\)

For those who designed San Martino’s façade, however, ornament was anything but secondary. Rather, they poured immense amounts of money, material, and labor into creating multiple stories of arcades encrusted with sculpture and inlay, elements non-essential to the building’s function and without clear theological or political importance. This chapter attempts to take this decision seriously through a close analysis of this part of the cathedral façade. Rather than regarding the taste for ornament as a symptom of stylistic decline or the artistic vision of a single individual, this discussion places it within Lucca’s wider visual culture at the turn of the thirteenth century—specifically, the city’s identity as a major producer of luxury silk textiles. By comparing the ornament of San Martino’s galleries with contemporary surviving silks, it demonstrates how the building’s designers incorporated patterns and motifs from local fabrics and in doing so, adopted a visual vocabulary that was synonymous with wealth, power, and sanctity. In this way, ornament—like the creation of a sacred topography explored in the last chapter, and the imagery of patron saints addressed in the next—allowed San Martino’s canons and bishop to fashion an image of the local church that was both commanding and appealing to Lucca’s laity.

1. Ornament at San Martino: Analysis and Historiography

To appreciate the unique character of the ornamental sculpture and intarsia at San Martino, it is useful to compare its gallery levels to those at Pisa Cathedral. Considering the two buildings side by side makes clear how the designers in Lucca adopted several of the Pisa façade’s defining features, including the succession of arcaded galleries supported on thin columns, the spandrels filled with intarsia, and the prominent sculpted cornices dividing each story. Within this general outline, however, the workshop at San Martino departed significantly from their model when it came to decoration. Although substantial portions of Pisa Cathedral’s façade were replaced during nineteenth-century renovations, the fragments of original sculpture that survive the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo indicate that the restorers generally copied the medieval building quite faithfully (figs. 163–64). In addition, in a sketch of the façade predating these restorations, one can note certain details of the intarsia that correspond to the restored façade today, suggesting that the current design probably reflects that of the medieval façade, making it a valid monument for comparison (fig. 165).

A main difference between the two façades is the total amount of ornament that each displays. While both churches have decorative carving on the cornices, capitals, arches, and the ends of the plinths connecting each column to the façade, along with colorful intarsia in the spandrels of each arcade, in Pisa this ornamentation never extends to the columns (fig. 166). Most of these are formed of plain white marble and left

unadorned, with the exception of a few light gray columns, one made of porphyry, and a single fluted column—most likely a piece of Roman spolia—placed in the right half of the third level of arcades. In contrast, the workshop at San Martino used the columns to inject the façade with even more color and visual interest by alternating green or pink columns with white ones adorned with carved and inlaid patterns. The result in Lucca is a markedly busier structure, in opposition to the relatively austere appearance created by the repetition of unembellished columns in Pisa.

The ornamental repertoire used in the intarsia constitutes a second major disparity between the two sites. In Pisa, the inlay of the spandrels is entirely abstract, with the decorative fields filled with several different designs composed of circles. In the first gallery, in the center of each spandrel is a large circle enclosing a smaller one, with the space between the circumference of each circle filled with varying designs formed by repeating dots, diamonds, or interlace. In the upper two corners of each spandrel are two smaller circles of peach-colored stone, while the smallest points of the triangular field contain even smaller white discs.

A similar decorative vocabulary appears in the upper galleries. In the arcades of the second and third stories, as well as that of the pediment, the spandrels contain variations of the pattern introduced in the first level. In the second gallery, the size of the four discs filling each upside-down triangular field have been made more uniform and the space between them occupied by interlace. In both the third and fourth galleries, the designs in the spandrels are more variable, with some containing four circles of similar size, and others returning to the motif used in the first gallery of a larger, central disc—either a solid piece of colored stone or a smaller circle bordered by an inlaid design—
surrounded by three smaller discs (figs. 167–68). In addition, in the third and fourth levels of arcades, the height of the area between the highest point of the arches and the cornice above has been increased, providing a larger space for intarsia. The designers demarcated the area above the arches with a thin line of marble, creating one long rectangular field, filled with large, equally-sized stone discs in many different colors, placed at regular intervals. They decorated the space between these circles with vegetal interlace in the third story and several different abstract patterns in the pediment. The intarsia at Pisa, then, while subtly varied across the façade, reveals an ornamental taste that favors simple, geometric forms and remains strictly non-representationational.

The ornamental repertoire at San Martino is entirely different. There, the majority of the intarsia is figurative, with the white marble used to portray the profiles of a variety of animals and people set into a green marble background. In the spaces above the arches are pairs of dragons, lions and griffins standing over prey, dogs pursuing deer and boars, eagles chasing after smaller birds, along with many other beasts. They are joined by several human hunters. Some are falconers riding on horseback, some stand with spears, clutching or blowing large horns, and others enter the fray with daggers.

This turn towards animal and hunt imagery appears to have taken place in the process of San Martino’s construction, as this type of ornament occurs only sporadically in the lowest gallery, but becomes the predominant decorative vocabulary in the two upper levels. As Adolf Behne has noted, work in the lowest gallery probably began on the north side and progressed south until ending at the campanile.\(^{358}\) This course is indicated by certain design choices that become more regular as the workshop moved

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from left to right across the façade. For example, the first few columns on the left side suggest that masons were experimenting with different ways to decorate the ends of the stone plinths that link each column to the wall behind it (fig. 169). That above the capital of the first column is decorated with two sculpted rosettes and small diamonds of inlaid green marble. The same element on the next column to the right is ornamented solely with intarsia, while the next displays only sculpture. The plinths above the fourth and sixth columns return to the decorative scheme of the first, combining sculpture and inlay, but from then on, the workshop abandoned intarsia decoration for this architectural element, with all of the plinths in the rest of the first gallery, as well as the two above it adorned only with relief sculpture, usually of two rosettes, or of a single animal like a lion shown in profile.

We can observe a similarly experimental approach to the intarsia above the arches in the first gallery. In the area above the first few arches on the left, an abstract decorative vocabulary predominates. This space is filled mostly by small, individual motifs, including stars of six or eight points, rosettes, crosses, or diamonds, each carved out of white marble and fit within circles of green marble. In addition, a more extensive pattern, composed of adjoining rings, each containing a diamond, imposed on a green background fills the area above the third column. Animal imagery in the entire left half of the arcade remains sparse; directly over the second column from the left, a lioness and a griffin are shown facing one another in profile, each pinning down a serpent-like creature with a long tail, while a single dog, shown running towards the left, is placed at the lowest point of the spandrel above the next column to the right. These two panels are separated by a
large swath of the more abstract motifs, and similar imagery does not reappear for several more columns.

The character of this inlaid ornament changes and begins to assume a new, loose logic about a third of the way across the arcade, moving from left to right. Starting above the fifth column from the left, and repeated—albeit inconsistently—over the next several arches, the largest parts of the spandrel directly above each column are occupied by a single large motif contained within a circle. For example, we see a larger version of the star that appears frequently on the left side of the arcade, as well as a sunburst, a rosette, and Greek cross with a star in each of its four corners, in addition to other designs (fig. 170). Around the same point that this general pattern is introduced, animal motifs also begin to appear with more frequency, though they remain restricted to the thinner parts of the decorative field above the curve of each arch, and there are never more than two consecutive panels of figurative ornament. This general pattern is maintained until the very end of the arcade, where for the first time, the taller areas directly above each column are filled with animal and hunt imagery (fig. 171). Above the third column from the right, for example, an intarsia panel shows a pair of dogs attacking a boar, while above the next column to the right, we see the first human figure to appear in the ornament, a man holding a long spear in one hand and a horn in the other.

The animal imagery, infrequent in the initial stages of the first gallery and then included with more regularity in the right half of the arcade, becomes the principal decorative vocabulary in the intarsia of the façade’s second and third stories (figs. 172–75). Not only do we see a greater range of hunt imagery—horseback falconers appear for the first time, as well as several different types of beasts, including birds of prey, a long-
necked stork, and a bear—but these appear in several connected panels, interrupted only occasionally by small stars and rosettes. The abandonment of the more abstract decorative language, as well as the large, self-contained circular motifs that appear in the first gallery in exchange for the expanded place given to animal and hunt imagery suggests that the latter decoration provoked the most positive reception among San Martino’s patrons and audience, prompting the workshop of stone masons to devote their work to it almost exclusively in the upper stories. The popularity of this type of ornament is also attested by the façade of San Michele, where animals and hunters fill the intarsia decorating all four stories of galleries.

In addition to the unequal amount of decoration and the vastly different ornamental repertoires in Pisa and Lucca, the aesthetic values governing the overall treatment of the ornament, as well as its relationship to the architecture, constitute a third contrast between the two cathedrals. In Pisa, as Behne has observed, the intarsia strictly follows and reinforces the structure established by the main architectural components of the arcades. Thus, the large stone discs and the clusters of smaller circles confined to each spandrel emphasize the rhythm established by the columns directly below. Even in the two highest stories, where the height of the masonry above the arches and below the cornice has been increased, the designers have split this field into two smaller ones, divided by a line drawn across the tops of the arches; in this way, the ornament is delimited and controlled by the structure it adorns.

In Lucca, the façade ornament does not have this subordinate relationship to the architecture. Although in the lowest gallery the masons did adopt a decorative strategy

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similar to the one in Pisa, placing large circular motifs directly above each column, this pattern is not maintained throughout most of the façade. Instead, in the second and third stories, the area above the arches is conceived of as a continuous frieze. Representing several animals and human hunters in succession, each shown in profile as if moving towards the right or the left, gives the intarsia decoration its own rhythm and movement, independent from the columns below. What is more, even the regular rhythm of the columns themselves has been minimized by using these elements as carriers for color and surface pattern, giving them a decorative function that overrides our perception of their structural one. In this manner, the ornamental sculpture and intarsia at San Martino recall what James Trilling has identified as one of the universal functions of ornament, that of “introducing free choice and variation into even those parts of a work that appear most strictly shaped by structural or functional needs.”

Beyond exhibiting different relationships between architecture and its ornament, the cathedrals of Pisa and Lucca also reveal differing aesthetic tastes in other ways as well. In Pisa, there is an overall tendency towards regularity, repetition, and order. Most of the columns have the same white, unadorned appearance, and the intarsia patterns are all slight variations on a single motif formed of circles. Although the ornament is not totally uniform across the entire façade, deviations from the general scheme tend to be either occasional, as in the case of a single gray or porphyry column included in an arcade, or they occur at the level of smaller details, such as different colored stones in the intarsia from one spandrel to the next, variable sizes of the circles making up each

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360 Trilling, *Ornament*, 75.
individual motif, or alternating large discs of a single color with ones containing smaller circles surrounded by inlaid patterns.

In Lucca, the designers rejected this regularity and repetition in favor of maximum visual variety and unpredictability. At San Martino the decorative elements follow only the loosest of patterns that still allow for a great deal of variability in their constituent parts, contributing to an overall impression that Enrico Ridolfi characterized as “variety within unity.” We can observe this principle in the decorative treatment of columns in all three levels. In the lowest gallery, the columns regularly alternate between plain white columns adorned with sculpture and white columns inlaid with designs in green marble. Within this general scheme, however, the decoration of each column varies from one to the next according to no discernable logic. A few designs appear more than once in this gallery; read left to right, the second and tenth columns are both inlaid with green chevrons, the fifth and seventh feature the same carved spiral studded with rosettes, and the sixth and twelfth columns display the identical green and white checkerboard pattern (figs. 176–80). Three columns—the first, third, and eleventh—are also sculpted with pairs of animals, though none of these designs are exactly alike (figs. 181–84). But even these repeated elements are not placed at regular intervals, nor in any way that would create a sense of symmetry between one half of the façade and the other.

San Martino’s workshop took a similar approach in the two upper galleries. In the second story, the pattern shifts from alternating sculpted and inlaid columns to alternating columns of pink marble with no additional ornamentation and white sculpted ones (figs. 185–86). The change suggests that viewers perhaps found the constant variation of

361 Ridolfi, L’arte in Lucca, 84
patterns in the first gallery too ornate, or that adorning each column with intricate sculpture or intarsia might have been too laborious and slowed progress on the façade, prompting the workshop to include plain columns of pink or green marble as an easier way to achieve colorful effects. In any case, within this overall plan, the sculpted columns still display a similar diversity of designs as in the first gallery, which include vegetal ornament, pairs of animals, spirals, and individual floral motifs arranged down the front of a column.

The third gallery exhibits a combination of the designs established in the first and second. Here, inlaid columns and those of colored marble (in this case green) both appear, along with sculpted white columns like those in the two lower galleries. In addition, this level also exhibits the greatest symmetry. The two outermost of the seven columns are each sculpted as if they were four smaller colonnettes knotted together in the middle. Moving one column inward on each side, the next columns are green and unadorned, while the next are white with green inlay, and the central column is again plain and green. Even within this stricter scheme, though, the masons found a place for the ornamental variety that characterizes the rest of the façade, giving the two inlaid columns different intarsia designs so that each half of this arcade is not an exact mirror image of the other.

The intarsia of the spandrels displays the same penchant for unpredictability. As noted above, a portion of the intarsia in the lowest gallery follows a repetitive scheme, with large circular motifs filling the area directly above each column, yet each individual motif differs from the next, again illustrating the idea of “variety within unity” that orders the decoration of the columns. Even in the upper galleries, where this approach is traded
for hunt and animal imagery, this new class of ornament still never settles into a consistent pattern. Instead, new types of beasts appear frequently, and animals and hunters that are included more than once are portrayed in different poses, from opposite sides, and in always changing combinations with the figures in adjacent panels. The workshop also varied the direction in which the figures move, so that viewers might follow a line of figures facing the right across several panels before encountering a confronted pair of beasts, or a group of animals moving towards the left, without ever settling into a predictable pattern. As a result, this façade is much more likely to attract one’s attention and keep it there; initially drawn in by the overwhelming abundance of colors and patterns, one’s eye is kept moving across the façade by the unceasing stimulation and novelty of its decoration.

San Martino’s designers thus took an approach to ornament that was significantly unlike than that of their model. Whereas the galleries at Pisa Cathedral epitomize restraint by confining ornament to precise architectural areas and adhering to a strictly abstract decorative vocabulary prizing regularity and repetition, San Martino’s façade bespeaks a preference for sheer ornamental richness, lively figurative imagery, and an intense variety of patterns and motifs juxtaposed in unexpected ways. In both examples, the ornament likely served the same basic functions: it visually distinguished the cathedrals from their urban environment, honored their sanctity through beautiful and expensive handiwork, and communicated the power of the patrons able to pay for its execution. Why, then, should these façades look so different?

Several scholars have offered answers to this question, though few have explored the ornamental sculpture and intarsia in detail. The most common explanation attributes
the new direction taken in Lucca to the initiative of the master artisan or workshop. For example, Ridolfi reasoned that the great variety of designs incorporated in the galleries was because the lead architect allowed each mason the freedom to adorn individual stones exactly as he wished. More often, Guidetto is given credit for San Martino’s unique appearance. Behne, as well as George Henderson Crichton and Mario Salmi all viewed the innovative conjoining of sculpture and inlay as the product of his distinctive artistic personality. In Kopp’s study, it is rather the absence of this master that explains the subtle changes in decoration that occurred as work progressed from the lowest to the highest gallery. She suggests that after Guidetto’s departure for Prato in 1211, the workshop that remained in Lucca focused their attention on intarsia, rather than relief sculpture, resulting in the new patterns in the spandrels and the reduced amount of carving on the columns in the upper galleries.

A second interpretation views San Martino’s ornament as a blend of two distinct artistic traditions. Ridolfi, Crichton, and Salmi all also propose that the Lombard masons working in Lucca transposed their sculptural vocabulary, rich in fantastic beasts such as sirens and griffins, into the medium of intarsia that they encountered in Tuscany at sites like Pisa. Kopp’s interpretation is less specific, but she too suggests that the increasingly common figural patterns in the intarsia are probably due to some non-Tuscan traditions mixing with local artistic practices.

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362 Ibid.
364 Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 44–45, 80–81.
365 Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture, 113–14; Ridolfi, L’arte in Lucca, 80; Salmi, L’Architettura romanica, 17.
366 Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 82.
A third explanation for San Martino’s distinctive façade ornament raises the possibility that it reflects an engagement with the minor arts, especially textiles. Behne put forth this idea by simply wondering whether fabrics with animal and hunt imagery could have acted as an intermediary between Lucca and the East, where such ornament was common. Salmi also saw in San Martino’s intarsia “the splendour of fabrics in certain conventionalisms imitated from Levantine or even Luccan stuffs,” and Crichton made similar speculations, stating that “it may be asked to what extent the ornament of the façades and church furniture in Pisa and Lucca was the creation of local artists from imported models such as ivories and textiles.” He noted that in the case of Lucca these models need not have been brought from afar, since the city had its own silk industry.

This last proposal has never been explored beyond these passing comments. Yet, it deserves further attention as it points to a central development in Lucca’s economic life—the establishment silk production on a large scale, which was happening at exactly the same time that San Martino’s façade was being built. The introduction of the silk industry impacted Lucca’s wealth, trade networks, and, we must assume, its visual culture, flooding the city with fabrics carrying a huge range of ornamental motifs and creating an audience particularly attune to the effects of color and pattern. As a foundation for assessing to what extent this phenomenon affected the character of architectural ornament in Lucca, the following section discusses the origins and development of the city’s silk industry in some detail.

368 Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture, 115–16; Salmi, Romanesque Sculpture, 111.
2. Silk Production in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Lucca

Lucca was the first city in Latin Europe to develop a significant silk industry in the Middle Ages. Silk textiles were among the most precious and coveted objects in this period, but until Lucca began producing such fabrics, the West relied primarily on Jewish traders and Italy’s mercantile cities, particularly Venice and Amalfi, to import them. Byzantium was Europe’s main source for silk in the early Middle Ages. There, silk production flourished in the capital of Constantinople, as well as in Thebes, Corinth, and Patras. After the establishment of the Crusader states at the end of the eleventh century, the West also had greater access to fabrics made in the Islamic world, and Venice, Pisa, and Genoa vied with each other to establish trading outposts in the East and

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gain access to the textiles of Antioch, Damascus, and Baghdad.\textsuperscript{372} The establishment of Muslim settlements in Spain and southern Italy brought silk closer to Europe. Silk artisans reached the Iberian peninsula with the formation of the Umayyad caliphate in the eighth century, and the industry flourished first in Córdoba, where ‘Abd al-Rahman II (821–52) instituted a \textit{tiraz}, and later in Almería.\textsuperscript{373} In Sicily and southern Italy, the region’s Arab rulers introduced silk cultivation in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Roger II later revitalized this industry by transferring artisans from Thebes and Corinth to Sicily in 1146 and establishing a royal workshop that produced cloth mainly for the Norman court through the end of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{374}

The importation of silk from these other regions was still not able to satisfy Western desires, and historians believe that Lucca’s silk industry probably sprang up to meet this demand.\textsuperscript{375} Exactly how silk production began in Lucca remains a mystery. The \textit{Ruodlieb}, a Latin romance written in Tegernsee around 1030, is widely regarded as containing the earliest reference to silk made in Lucca. The poem’s hero dresses himself in silk stockings, held up by a pair of garters that he purchased in Lucca.\textsuperscript{376} Historians of Lucca’s silk industry, including Florence Edler de Roover and Ignazio del Punta, interpret this passage as suggesting that silk weaving on a small scale was practiced in

\textsuperscript{375} Jacoby, “Genoa,” 17; Jacoby, “Silk Crosses the Mediterranean,” 70.
Lucca by the early eleventh century, with the city’s artisans producing trimming and notions, if not large pieces of cloth.\textsuperscript{377} How the city came to make the large silk fabrics for which it became famous is likewise unclear. The highly technical nature of textile production implies a transfer of labor; because one cannot tell from looking at finished cloth the formula for making or setting a particular dye, or the type of loom necessary to create a desired pattern, establishing the craft in a new location requires the importation of artisans with this specialized knowledge.\textsuperscript{378} Scholars have proposed a number of explanations for how such artisans first reached Lucca.\textsuperscript{379} One notes that there was a small community of Byzantine weavers who fled Constantinople during the Iconoclastic controversies of the eighth century and settled outside Rome, where they worked for the papacy, and supposes that these artisans eventually moved to Lucca. Another possibility is that Arab weavers came to Lucca from Spain or Sicily. At third theory, first proposed by Edler de Roover and still favored by some scholars, is that the Lucchese silk industry began with the migration of Jewish dyers from southern Italy.\textsuperscript{380} As none of these theories can be confirmed, however, the precise origins of the trade in Lucca remain speculative.

Regardless of how Lucca’s silk industry began, historians agree on when, pointing to the second half of the twelfth century as a period of rapid development.\textsuperscript{381} In a series of essays, David Jacoby has collected several early references to Lucchese silk. In 1205 and 1206, Lucchese merchants are recorded selling samite and sandal, possibly

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produced in their own city. By 1207, the court of Toledo in Castile was buying Lucchese sendal interwoven with gold and silver, as well as less precious cloths. Lucchese silks reached other foreign courts by a few decades later. In 1234, the English court placed an order for three hundred pieces of Lucchese sendal to be bought in London, and in 1243, John III Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, prohibited the use of foreign textiles, especially Italian ones, suggesting that Lucchese fabrics were also known in Byzantium and posed a threat to local silk production there. The 1230s also witnessed the first attempts by other Italian cities to compete with Lucca’s monopoly on silk, with Modena and Milan producing Lucchese-style fabrics and Bologna luring Lucchese textile workers to migrate to their city. All of these records make clear that Lucca’s silk trade was highly advanced by the early thirteenth century and suggest that its beginning and development took place several decades earlier, sometime in the latter half of the twelfth century.

The Lucchesi were primarily involved in processing silk, dyeing it, and weaving it into luxury fabrics, rather than cultivating silkworms, making it necessary for them to import almost all of their raw materials. For obtaining these products, as well as for shipping and marketing its finished cloths, Lucca depended on Genoa. The two cities established a commercial alliance in 1153, which guaranteed the Lucchesi safe passage

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383 Ibid.
384 Ibid.
385 Ibid.
386 The cultivation of mulberry trees in Lucca is first recorded in 1223, but whatever silk could be produced locally was probably not of sufficient quantity nor quality to support the city’s industry. See Mostra del costume e sete lucchesi (Lucca: Matteoni, 1967), 45–46.
through Genoese territory into northern Europe and the fairs at Champagne. In 1166, Genoa gave Lucca greater privileges, allowing its merchants to establish storehouses in Genoa for their wares and keep ships at Genoa’s port, from which they could participate in maritime commerce with all the same rights at Genoa’s own citizens. Genoese notarial records also indicate that the city used its own extensive trading network to secure the raw silk on which Lucchese artisans relied. In the 1160s, the Genoese are recorded shipping raw silk from Spain, and in 1191, documents note their importation of silk from Khorasan. In the first half of the thirteenth century, they continuously brought silk to Lucca from Calabria and the Levant, while in the second half of the century, the Black Sea opened to Genoese traders, and from then on much of the silk that reached Lucca came from the regions surrounding the Black and Caspian Seas, including modern-day Iran, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. It was also at this time that Genoa began importing both raw silk and finished fabrics from China.

After raw silk arrived in Lucca, it was put through a laborious, multi-step process that transformed it into fabric. Usually, silk that was imported had already been unwound from the silkworms’ cocoons, spun into thread, and formed into large bundles known as “torselli” (fig. 187). From there, Lucchese artisans would twist the thread and spin it onto bobbins, boil it to remove its natural gumminess, and then dye the thread and weave it into fabric, though these last two steps could be reversed depending on the

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requirements of the desired product. These activities required a large labor force, and at the silk industry’s height, must have engaged significant portions of Lucca’s population. Of the many specialized artisans involved in silk production, the dyers and weavers had the highest status and were the only textile artisans to have their own guilds. The earliest records one of these groups are the Statutes of the Dyers of Silk and Linen, which date from 1255, though they make reference to earlier statutes, implying that this guild had already existed for some time. The statutes include regulations for Lucchese wares that specify the size and quality of particular fabrics and spell out the penalties for violating them. They also reveal a sharp concern with protecting Lucca’s monopoly on silk production, prohibiting artisans from dyeing cloth not made in Lucca and from practicing their trade outside the city. Similar documentation for the weaver’s guild in Lucca does not exist until the fourteenth century, though as any type of civic and notarial documents from Lucca before this period are scarce, it is likely that such an institution existed long before this time. Both types of artisans, as well as silk merchants, formed part of the larger Court of Merchants, headquartered initially at San Giusto, and later in the thirteenth century at the church of San Cristoforo and the nearby Loggia de’ Mercanti (figs. 188–89).

It is difficult to know for sure what the silks produced in Lucca looked like. Not only is the preservation of medieval silks in general extremely poor, but those that survive often give no indication of where or when they were made. Trade records provide some information about the types of silks made in Lucca, mentioning baldachin, damask,

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393 For the text of these statutes, see Edler, “The Silk Trade,” 219–25.
394 Ibid., 65–66.
395 Ibid., 58, 65–66.
diaper, samite, brocade, sendal, and lampas, among others.\footnote{Del Punta, \textit{Lucca}, 157–61; Edler, “The Silk Trade,” 52–55.} These documents attest to the wide range of weaving techniques mastered by the city’s artisans, but say little about the colors, motifs, and patterns animating these cloths.

It is probably safe to assume, however, that Lucca’s silks looked much like those made in other textile centers around the Mediterranean. Generally speaking, textile designs were conservative, remaining in use for decades or even centuries. The movement of artisans also meant that the same designs could be produced in multiple locations, and cities often purposefully imitated the most in-demand products of other regions. Texts support the idea that Lucchese silks imitated their Byzantine and Islamic counterparts. For example, several scholars have noted that until the thirteenth century, all of the names used to designate the fabrics made in Lucca were Greek in origin, suggesting that initially, the Lucchese industry was most strongly influenced by Byzantine silks.\footnote{Del Punta, \textit{Lucca}, 157; Jacoby, “Genoa,” 38–39.} Evidence also suggests that Lucca produced silks modeled on those made in Muslim Spain. Jacoby notes that in 1197 and 1201, Genoa exported shipments of “\textit{bagadelli hispanici}”—Spanish imitations of Baghdadi silks—to Ceuta, a city located on the northern coast of Africa, directly across the Straits of Gibraltar from Spain.\footnote{Jacoby, “Silk Economics,” 218.} As it would add considerable risk and cost to bring Spanish textiles to Genoa before sending them to Ceuta, he posits that these fabrics were probably Lucchese imitations of Spanish silks, which were in turn copied from those made in Baghdad. These records, along with the fact that Lucchese silks are recorded in Castile by 1207, leads him to suggest that at least some of fabrics made in Lucca in this period were indistinguishable from those
made in Muslim Spain in order to compete successfully with silks produced more locally.  

Church inventories provide more information on Lucchese silks’ appearance. An inventory of the sacristy treasury at San. Martino, made in 1239, lists only two vestments specifically identified as made with Lucchese silk, one green and one red. The record provides no additional description of the design of these or any other fabrics in the treasury. More helpful is the papal inventory compiled under Boniface VIII in 1295. The document notes 174 Lucchese silks in papal possession, many more than are recorded from any other locale. They are of various colors, including green, red, and violet, and noted specifically as being made both with and without gold thread. Of the designs described, the most common consists of pairs of animals enclosed in roundels; the inventory includes five fabrics of this type with griffins and two with birds. It also lists five fabrics decorated with leopards in gold, and a green silk with red roses, suggesting other designs not bound by the roundel motif. Also noted are several silks with the arms of papal families. The inventory includes twenty-nine fabrics with the arms of the Caetani, the family of Boniface VIII, and ten with those of the Savelli, the family of Honorius IV. These objects, which the popes must have specifically commissioned from Lucchese workshops, along with the high number of Lucchese silks in the papal treasury, points to the papacy as a major consumer of the city’s products and suggests that they were of the very highest quality and desirability.

399 Ibid.
403 Ibid., 2911; Molinier, “Inventaire,” 649n4.
3. The “Textile Mentality” at San Martino

The foregoing discussion establishes that silk had become a distinctive part of Lucca’s visual culture by the early thirteenth century. Could the impressive range of ornamental motifs and apparent delight in surface pattern that we find at San Martino, then, reflect the aesthetic preferences of its citizens, who made and marketed the textiles destined to enliven courtly and sacred spaces across Europe? The connection is certainly tempting and is supported by art historical scholarship that recognizes textiles’ role as carriers of motifs that could be transferred into other media. Emile Mâle, for instance, saw Eastern fabrics as the source for the confronted lions, two-headed eagles, and other beasts that adorned Romanesque capitals, stained glass, and mosaic pavements. More recently, Eva Hoffman has emphasized how textiles and other portable luxury objects helped to create a shared sphere of visual culture within the Mediterranean as they traveled from port to port and their designs migrated from fabric to architecture. Lisa Golombek has also argued for the importance of textiles in shaping the art and architecture of the Islamic world. Noting the important uses of textiles in Islamic societies, Golombek posits the existence of a “textile mentality,” or aesthetic tastes formed by close engagement with textiles, which she views as responsible for certain widespread qualities in Islamic art. Among them, she identifies the “compulsion to drape,” or the tendency to cover everything possible with pattern, as well as for

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407 Ibid., 34.
architectural decorations that mimic the effects of wall hangings, where “the pattern changes abruptly from one panel to the next, as if the eye were moving from fabric to fabric.”

It is easy to imagine that a “textile mentality” might also have existed in Lucca, given silk’s importance to the city’s economy and its familiarity to Lucca’s citizens. Several characteristics of San Martino’s ornament support the idea that it was designed to appeal to those whose viewing habits were shaped by close engagement with textiles. One is the prominent role given to the medium of intarsia. Intarsia and woven fabric share a number of visual similarities: both are two dimensional media that rely on joining two or more often highly contrasting colors to produce ornamental designs based on a clear distinction between figure and ground. These qualities facilitated the transfer of motifs from one medium to the other and made intarsia a logical choice for patrons wishing to imitate the appearance of textiles in stone. That this relationship between intarsia and textiles existed is shown by a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Tuscan monuments where marble inlay features designs clearly lifted from luxury fabrics. A pulpit signed by “M. Filipo” made in 1162 for the pieve of San Gennaro in Capannori in Lucca’s outskirts displays panels inlaid with roundels enclosing confronted or addorsed griffins, dragons, and lions, as well as rosettes, patterns that imitate a common form of textile decoration (fig. 190). In Florence, both San Miniato al Monte and the city’s baptistery have pavements inlaid with similar design of adjoining roundels confronted parrots and addorsed lions inside them, suggesting the appearance of a

408 Ibid.
precious carpet (figs. 191–92). These examples demonstrate that thirteenth-century viewers recognized the medium’s capability of reproducing textile patterns and may have prompted the decision to use it extensively at San Martino.

The diversity and unpredictability of the ornament at San Martino is a second characteristic that suggests a relationship with textiles. The variation of patterns and colors from column to column, as well as the sometimes abrupt changes of imagery from one intarsia panel to the next evoke a space draped with a variety of cloths. Moreover, we know that silks were used to adorn church interiors in just this manner. The Liber pontificalis records the extensive donations of silk that eighth- and ninth-century popes made to the churches of Rome and mentions some of the ways they were used. The text notes that silks were laid over altars and tombs, as well as hung in doorways, between arches, or around the presbytery. While some of these fabrics are described as bearing religious imagery, many have generic designs commonly found on luxury silks, including birds, griffins, lions, eagles, “men and horses,” floral motifs, and chevrons. At least on some occasions, then, church interiors must have been awash with colors, abstract patterns, and foliate and animal imagery from the silks draped over furnishing and hanging from architectural elements. One of the ways we might explain the ornament

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410 On San Miniato al Monte, see Tigler, Toscana romanica, 155–65; Franco Pratesi, La splendida Basilica di San Miniato a Firenze. Il Rinascimento inizia da qui (Florence: Octavo, 1995), 230–35; on Florence baptistery, see Tigler, Toscana romanica, 137–44.  
at San Martino, therefore, is as an attempt to translate this aesthetic from the interior to
the exterior of the church.

To build a stronger case for the idea that the designers of San Martino sought to
evoke the textiles being produced in the city, it is useful to juxtapose the inlaid and
sculpted ornament with surviving fragments of contemporary medieval silks. This needs
to be done with some caution, due to the already mentioned poor survival rate of
medieval textiles and the lack of reliable information about the provenance of most
pieces; it is simply impossible to assemble a body of silk fragments securely traced to
twelfth- or thirteenth-century Lucca. In the following discussion, I have therefore used as
examples silks that are attributed more broadly to Italy in these two centuries, as well as
regions with which the Lucchese had trade contacts via their alliance with Genoa. I have
also focused on textile motifs and patterns that can be found on multiple fragments,
suggesting their prevalence and increasing the chance that they were among the types of
silks made in Lucca.

Even within these constraints, some compelling correspondences between
architectural ornament and fabric emerge. One involves the motif of the falconer, who
appears in the intarsia three times, twice in the second gallery, above the second and
eighth columns from the left, and once in the third gallery, above the second column
(figs. 193–94). In each instance, the stonework depicts a man on horseback holding the
horse’s reins in one hand and extending the other behind him to carry a large bird of prey.
While the leftmost falconer in the second gallery is shown with its front legs lifted as if
galloping, the other two have only one front leg raised. For all three, the sculptors took
care to depict small details, including the stirrups and seat of the saddle.
Horseback falconers much like these were a popular motif on European and Islamic textiles. Fragments of samite in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin and the Deutsches Textilmuseum in Krefeld dated to the late twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century and attributed by some scholars to Lucca show rows of confronted horseback falconers depicted in yellow against a red or salmon pink ground (figs. 195–96).\(^{412}\) Like all of the falconers at San Martino, those on the silks are shown in profile with their hawk perched on a hand held behind them. Similar to two of the examples at San Martino, the horse stands with one of his front legs raised. Several smaller details also match up: the woven designs depict the horse’s saddle, stirrups, and reins, and even the rider’s hair, which extends to the bottom of his neck and curls out, is exactly like that on two of the riders at San Martino. Both media place the falconers in similar contexts. The weavers of the silks suggested a larger hunting scene by including a collared hound catching a hare directly beneath the rider, while in the intarsia, the falconers are adjacent to panels showing dogs chasing and attacking a variety of beasts. The woven falconers’ main differences from the carved riders at San Martino are certain details of their costumes: they are shown wearing spurs and large crowns.

Medieval textiles provide many other examples of the falconer motif woven into, as well as embroidered and printed on silk. The motif itself is thought to have originated in the Near East, and appears on a silk made in Seljuk Iran in the eleventh century now in

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the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung (fig. 197). The Victoria and Albert Museum owns fragments of another silk woven with a pattern of confronted horseback falconers accompanied by running hounds attributed to thirteenth-century Regensburg (fig. 198). A silk printed with falconers in gold was preserved in the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and embroidered examples of the motif are found on several of the most treasured medieval silks, including the Fermo Chasuble, a light blue silk with gold embroidery made in Almería in 1116 and believed to have belonged to St. Thomas Becket and the so-called “Suaire of St.-Lazare,” a blue silk with gold and silk embroidery found wrapping the relics of St. Lazarus during their translation in 1147 (figs. 199–200). All of these works testify to the falconer motif’s widespread circulation in the Middle Ages, making it very likely that it was among those produced by Lucca’s weavers.

The horseback falconer is not the only motif on San Martino’s façade that finds echoes in contemporary textiles. Another consists of pairs of animals, usually shown confronted and arranged more or less symmetrically. This type of motif appears several times. At the left end of the first gallery, a confronted lioness or panther and a griffin each pin down a small dragon. Further on in the same gallery, just to the right of center, a pair of larger dragons with long, curling tails face each other as if reflected over a central axis. This motif is repeated, with small changes to the dragon’s tails, in the second gallery.

above the fifth arch from the right (fig. 201). Slightly to the left in the same gallery is a pair of confronted griffins, who each raise one front leg and appear to have trapped a smaller prey animal between them (fig. 202).

Pairs of confronted and addorsed animals are one of the most common decorations found on medieval textiles. The popularity of designs that made use of repeated pairs is often attributed to the structure of the drawloom, which favored symmetrical designs and allowed for the automatic repetition of motifs down or across the entire cloth.⁴¹⁶ Often, such pairs of animals appear within adjacent or adjoining roundels, a design sometimes termed the “medallion style,” thought to have originated in either Sassanian Iran or Roman antiquity (fig. 203).⁴¹⁷ Such textiles were among the most expensive and desired types of silks, and numerous examples survive, including a red and yellow samite with confronted panthers, thought to be from twelfth- or thirteenth-century Lucca (fig. 204).⁴¹⁸ Pairs of animals were also incorporated into textile designs without roundels. A red samite from Siegburg Cathedral, attributed to thirteenth-century Spain or Italy, displays pairs of confronted griffins and addorsed parrots within a web of adjoining hexagons, while on a late twelfth-century silk from Palermo, pairs of griffins appear within a larger pattern incorporating geometric motifs, parrots, and bears (figs. 205–6).⁴¹⁹ The examples are notable because of their close resemblance to the pair of griffins on San Martino; in addition to being portrayed in profile and in the same symmetrical

⁴¹⁶ Muthesius, Byzantine Silk Weaving, 145.
⁴¹⁸ On the silk with panthers thought to be from Lucca, see Del Punta, Lucca, 17; Gagliargi Mangili, La Via della Seta, 183.
arrangement, the griffins on both fabrics repeat the pose of the intarsia griffins with a single front leg lifted and their wings separated into several individual segments.

Such textile patterns were so widespread that it is very likely that the Lucchesi were familiar with them. In addition, the papal inventory of 1295 records several Lucchese cloths “cum rotis” containing griffins and birds. Other ornament at San Martino, apart from that on the upper galleries, also attests to sculptors’ close and creative engagement with these designs. On the portico’s southern pier supporting the central arch is a colonnette sculpted in very low relief with a web of interconnected rings filled with animals, mythological creatures, and human figures. The decoration recalls the appearance of medallion-style silks, as well as contemporary ivories carved with similar patterns, often regarded as translations of textile designs (figs. 207–8). In some areas, the sculpture adheres closely to the types of animal ornament that typically fill the roundels on silks, showing small confronted dragons and addorsed birds (figs. 209–10). In other areas, the sculptors seem to have used the roundel design as a general framework, filling each compartment in a more playful manner; some enclose a single real or fantastic creature, including a centaur, a siren, and a hedgehog eating a leaf (fig. 211). In other areas, the sculptors used adjacent roundels to depict larger subjects of a hound chasing a deer, two warriors shown upside-down and with limbs askew as if falling or struck down, and an oversized knight wearing a helmet and chain mail and

bearing a sword and shield (figs. 212–13). In this manner, though the sculpture betrays a keen awareness of a particular type of pattern used on contemporary textiles and other luxury objects, it is adopted more as a overall idea, rather than copied exactly. In a similar way, we can imagine the sculptors in the galleries designing pairs of confronted animals inspired by silks, but adapted to new architectural settings and without the strict symmetry required by the loom structure.

The use of confronted and addorsed animal pairs as decorative elements also extends to the columns. Three columns in the galleries are carved with several pairs of animals placed against a background of vines and shown either facing or looking away from each other as if reflected across a vertical axis running down the front of the column. The first column on the left end of the lowest gallery displays, from the top down, a pair of confronted lions, a second pair of lions, or perhaps lionesses, depicted as thinner and with smaller manes, a single siren, and a pair of dragons. The column two spaces to the left in the same gallery repeats the design, but with only one pair of lions. A third column, located in the second gallery, has a similar design but with some changes: after including a pair of lions at the top, it shows a bear and a dragon, not just confronted but gripping each other as if in battle, and at the bottom, two confronted and intertwined dragons, turned on their side so that one is atop the other (fig. 214).

On the one hand, these pieces could be interpreted as part of larger European sculptural trends. Columns or piers carved with animals are found at other important monuments of Romanesque sculpture, including the abbey church of Saint-Pierre in Moissac, where the trumeau of the southern portal is carved with three pairs of lions and lionesses, and the abbey church of Sainte-Marie in Souillac, where a pillar from a
dismantled portal is covered with a dense assortment of animals and human figures (figs. 215–16).\textsuperscript{422} Aside from the chronological and geographical distance between these examples and those at San Martino, there are differences in design that also discourage a close connection between them. At Souillac, the figures are so tightly packed and overlapping that one loses any sense of an architectural member beneath them; instead, they seem to make up the pillar itself. At Moissac, the beasts are paired and arranged to cross in front of and behind one another, with each pair forming an “x” and standing on the heads of those below. Neither is governed by the strong axial symmetry of the first two examples in Lucca, nor do the animals appear to have been incorporated into a larger vegetal pattern and wrapped around the structure of the column.

Rather than resembling these sculptures, the columns in Lucca recall a common weaving pattern found on the diasper and lampas weaves for which the city was known from the thirteenth century on.\textsuperscript{423} Such silks often featured alternating pairs of confronted and addorsed animals arranged in vertical rows on either side of a stylized tree. In surviving examples, the animals include birds, deer, and dragons (figs. 217–19). The columns at San Martino, with their symmetrical pairs of animals and surrounding foliage, suggest what it would look like if one of these fabrics were wrapped around the column with the pattern of animals placed along the front.


\textsuperscript{423} Edler de Roover, “Lucchese Silks,” 2925.
In addition to these correspondences between San Martino’s figural ornament and contemporary textiles, we can also find similarities in the more abstract intarsia patterns. Throughout the galleries, small individual motifs including stars and rosettes in circles and fleur-de-lis act as space-fillers, often used in the spandrels to build in spaces between larger motifs or to add interest to unusually shaped areas. All of these motifs can be found on surviving silks, either incorporated into larger patterns, or simply repeated over the entire fabric to form a small-scale repeat pattern (figs. 220–23).424 In addition, the green and white zig-zag pattern that decorates three of the columns in the galleries and also appears in a patch of intarsia on the right half of the first gallery finds echoes with similar zig-zag or chevron patterns ornamenting medieval silks and vestments (fig. 224).425

Finally, it is worth noting that the hunt and animal imagery that makes up the majority of the galleries’ decoration also has parallels, if not precise matches, with medieval textiles and other luxury objects. Although examples of silks with hunters on twelfth- and thirteenth-century textiles are scarce, a large group exists from eight- and ninth-century Byzantium, raising the possibility that these motifs persisted in later centuries (fig. 225). Images of predatory animals pursuing and attacking one another, along with human hunters battling beasts with spears and daggers are also found decorating luxury objects of other media, particularly ivory caskets and oliphants (figs. 226–27). Such designs have often been assumed to have been borrowed from textiles,

424 Von Wilckens, Mittelalterliche Seidenstoffe, no. 142, p. 77; no. 187, p. 93; no. 261, p. 126.
425 Coulin Weibel, Two Thousand Years, no. 160.
like the roundel patterns that commonly adorn the same types of objects.\textsuperscript{426} The prevalence of hunt imagery at San Martino may reflect designs on textiles made in the city, although a direct engagement with other media should not be ruled out; objects like ivories were certainly obtainable through the same trade networks that supported Lucca’s textile trade. The façade decoration may also make direct reference to such objects. On the bracket jutting out from the portico’s exterior nearest to the campanile, a figure holds a large oliphant to his mouth. The horn is depicted with a band of carving around its larger opening, a mode of decoration that can be found on surviving oliphants, suggesting that the sculptors had a close familiarity with these items. The factors shaping the decorative sculpture and intarsia at San Martino may thus have been multiple, and the keen attention to pattern and ornament that made the Lucchesi successful textile producers may have led them to draw from other sources as well.

4. Interpretation and Conclusion

The correspondences between San Martino’s façade decoration and contemporary textiles suggest that Lucca’s silk industry likely had some role in shaping the distinctive taste for architectural ornament that we see expressed at this monument. Although textiles may not explain every feature of the façade, the multiple parallels between sculpture and intarsia and textile patterns are significant and should be considered all the more so given the limited numbers of surviving silks. Why, then, would San Martino’s

designers have borrowed from textiles in this manner? Asking this question implies that the façade’s ornament was a conscious and purposeful choice and not just the result of the passive influence of the city’s wider visual culture. It also recognizes the communicative potential in ornament, an element often viewed as meaningless. To get at exactly what the façade and its relationship to textiles might have communicated to contemporary viewers, it is useful to examine the ways that silks were used and the associations they carried in the Middle Ages.

One of silk’s most potent associations was as an embodiment of wealth and luxury. The raw materials acquired from afar, as well as the amount of specialized labor required to weave silks made them objects that were only attainable for the very elite—mainly royalty, nobility, and the Church.427 In the case of silks that were woven with gold- and silver-wrapped threads, their inherent value was even greater, so much so that there are several documented cases of clergy intentionally burning silk vestments to retrieve the precious metals within.428 Their high value made silks synonymous with wealth in both the medieval imaginary and practical everyday affairs; the writers of courtly literature depended on descriptions of silk and gold to convey a sense of prosperity and refinement, while merchants often traveled with silk in place of currency, using it as a literal substitute for money.429 For citizens of Lucca, the connection between silk and wealth must have been obvious, since for many, making and selling luxurious patterned cloths was key to their livelihood. If the patterns and motifs on San Martino’s

427 Muthesius, Byzantine Silk Weaving, 140–42.
façade brought such fabrics to mind for these viewers, they may also have conjured these connotations, which were, in turn, reinforced by the façade’s own materiality. San Martino’s extensive adornment and the use of three different types of marble denote a patron with ample financial resources, able to obtain both the labor and materials necessary to complete such a project. In this way, the references to silk combined with other aspects of the façade to present the cathedral clergy as the leaders of a prosperous and refined institution.

Along with its associations of wealth and luxury, silk was also strongly bound to royal and imperial power. In the medieval world, Byzantium played a particularly important role in crafting this connection. Between the fourth and twelfth century, before a silk industry of any significance existed in the West, Byzantium was the main source of silk for Europeans, and the Byzantines constructed links between silk and imperial control in several ways. They restricted silk production, as well as the manufacture of purple *murex* dyes to imperial workshops and limited its export; they made silks a crucial part of court ceremonial, dressing rulers and official in silk costumes and draping the palace itself in patterned fabrics; and they employed silks as diplomatic objects, giving them to foreign rulers to seal treaties, strengthen alliances, and help ward off attacks. 430 Such was the centrality of silk to the Byzantine court that Anna Muthesius has called it “the prime symbol of Imperial Byzantine power.” 431 Although Byzantine monopoly on silk production was waning by about 1200 as Lucca began to provide Europeans with an alternative source for the product, the long-standing association between silk and imperial

power likely still informed the way that many perceived luxury silks and helped to fuel their desirability.

The use of silks as signifiers of courtly power in this manner also extended beyond Byzantium. Silks were one component of what Oleg Grabar has called a “culture of shared objects,” a category of opulent artifacts enjoyed at both Christian and Muslim courts in the Middle Ages. The importance of silk accoutrements to court life is attested by the surviving garments of medieval rulers, including Emperor Henry II, Edward the Confessor, Roger II of Sicily, and the twelfth- and thirteenth-century monarchs of Castile. It is also suggested by Roger II’s establishment of a royal silk workshop in Palermo, a move that shows that he recognized that the control of silk production was an essential royal prerogative, and one that did not fail to impress observers of the Sicilian court. Hugo Falcandus, writing of these workshops in 1190, remarked on their ability to create a diversity of fabrics and marveled at how “the diarhodon dazzles the eye with its fiery splendour” and “the light green of the diapistus with its pleasant aspect.” Alexander of Telese was likewise awed by the abundance of silk adorning the palace in Palermo: “Still the royal palace was resplendent with all its inside walls magnificently adorned with solemn hangings, while the floor was bestrewed

434 Andaloro, Nobiles officinae, 1:572.
with variously colored carpets…there was not one servant not dressed in silk, so that even those who served at table were clad in silk robes.”

Silks also played a role in court life through their use as diplomatic gifts. They figure prominently in the exchanges between Byzantine emperors and Muslim rulers recorded in the Book of Gifts and Rarities, produced in Fatimid Cairo in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The text mentions several types of silk fabrics given as gifts, including brocade, siqlaton, and velvet, and in many cases notes their designs, which include eagles, hunters, lions, “a riding king,” fighting beasts, and other animals in roundels. As Alicia Walker has argued, the exchange of these fabrics between rulers of different kingdoms and faiths helped construct the illusion of “an international community of medieval kings.” Silk garments could also be used to bolster one ruler’s claim of superiority over another, as recent research by Warren Woodfin in on the Chormantel of Cunegunda has shown. Made in Constantinople for Henry II between 1002 and 1024, the robe was originally intended to fashion the Ottonian ruler as a subservient member of the Byzantine emperor’s more powerful, universal court. Yet, by adding an inscription glorifying himself, Henry appropriated the imperial imagery and placed himself on par with the emperor in Constantinople. The example clearly illustrates how central silk objects could be to the construction of royal power.

By recalling the appearance of silk textiles, the ornament at San Martino could thus invoke associations not just of wealth, but political dominance. This meaning was

435 Ibid., 1:573.
aided by the particular iconography of much of the intarsia. Hunting, the most prevalent subject of the intarsia in the second and third galleries, was a well established signifier of royal and noble identity. Royal hunting parks were a standard feature of courts throughout the Mediterranean, and medieval writers, following ancient classical and Near Eastern traditions, interpreted the royal hunt as a metaphor for the ruler’s military triumph over enemies, as well as a demonstration of his courage and lordship over the terrestrial world.\textsuperscript{439} Outside the royal sphere, hunting also provided nobility with a diverting pastime that also allowed them to hone the skills and values most important to the knightly class, such as horsemanship, facility with weapons, bravery, and physical strength and prowess.\textsuperscript{440} In this way, the nobility used hunting to affirm their social status and display their power.\textsuperscript{441} Falconry, a subset of hunting imagery that we see included in the intarsia, had similar connotations. In the Middle Ages, the practice of hunting with trained birds of prey was restricted to the elite who had the money to purchase and keep such birds, as well as the leisure time required to train them, or alternatively, the means to hire others to handle this training. By the twelfth century, falconry had become a regular part of an upper-class education and courtly life, and in visual art, often served as a shorthand for noble identity.\textsuperscript{442}


\textsuperscript{441} Galloni, “La caccia,” 155–60.

As signifiers of royal or noble status, images of hunting and falconry were often included on luxury objects that helped craft the elite personas of those who possessed them, including the hunting silks from eighth- and ninth-century Byzantium and the ivory oliphants discussed in the last section. Images of hunters and falconers also formed part of what is sometimes referred to as the “princely cycle,” a loose category of imagery depicting the pleasures of court life, including hunting, feasting, drinking, and court entertainers like acrobats, musicians, and dancers. Such imagery appeared on portable objects of many media produced and consumed throughout the Mediterranean, as well as in the decoration of courtly spaces, including the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (fig. 228). In this manner, the associations of subject matter and medium or context reinforced one another: already understood as the trappings of aristocratic or courtly life, images of hunting became even stronger symbols of noble identity when placed on objects made of luxury materials that only the elite could afford. It is not difficult to think that such meanings would have followed these images when incorporated into the façade of San Martino.

Luxury, wealth, courtliness, and power were thus some of the potential associations that San Martino’s ornament could communicate by reminding viewers of silks. Another was holiness. Aside from the courtly elite, the Church was the other major consumer of silks in the Middle Ages, and its officials put these fabrics to a variety of use.}


uses. In addition to decorating church interiors, silks served an important role as mediators between the laity and sacred bodies, both living and dead. Beginning in the ninth century, clergy in liturgical settings wore ornate vestments of patterned silk that visually communicated their spiritual power by linking them with secular rulers.\(^\text{444}\) Numerous fragments of such vestments survive, including those of Pope Clement II, preserved in Bamberg. Another way that the Church employed silks was in the cult of relics, where they served as wrappings for bones and body parts, as well as the linings of reliquary caskets and material for reliquary pouches.\(^\text{445}\) Silks also veiled relic-like objects: they were formed into paten and chalice covers, as well as bindings for the Gospel, of which at least forty-six examples survive.\(^\text{446}\) Seen draping holy objects and bodies, the patterns and images on these silks of otherwise non-religious subjects, like griffins, birds, or hunters, might come to take on sacred connotations. When embedded on San Martino’s façade, these same images likely helped present the cathedral as a site of holy presence.

Thus, in drawing from textiles, the designers of San Martino’s façade were probably not just motivated by the desire to achieve particular visual effects. Rather, if the façade reminded viewers of luxury silk fabrics, it probably also recalled the range of associations that these fabrics had and prompted viewers to connect these qualities of wealth, power, and sanctity with the cathedral itself. Moreover, this ornamental aesthetic had the advantage of allowing San Martino’s clergy to convey this image of their church


to a wide and varied audience. Because silks were used in much the same ways and had similar associations at churches and courts throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, ornament based on textiles could communicate equally well with local citizens as with visitors. In this way, the façade ornament helped shape the image that Lucca presented to outsiders, fashioning the city’s mother church, and perhaps the city itself, as prosperous, culturally refined, and holy.

The façade’s ornamental aesthetic might also have been particularly useful for forging bonds with local viewers from different segments of society. For Lucca’s elite, the references to silk, as well as the motifs of hunting and falconry likely reminded them of the trappings of their own lives. This appeal to their identity may have increased their feeling of belonging at this institution and reinforced the real familial ties that very likely existed between San Martino’s canons and those filling the city’s political offices. The use of the same ornamental style at San Michele in Foro probably also strengthened the sense of unity between Lucca’s religious and political leaders. San Michele’s façade, which most scholars date as roughly contemporary or slightly later than San Martino’s, visually linked the city’s centers of spiritual and political power. This relationship likely benefited both parties: the cathedral clergy maintained a connection to political authority through the cathedral’s visual connection with the headquarters of the commune, while the city’s nascent political leadership increased their legitimacy by associating themselves with a long-established civic institution.

447 No precise date for San Michele’s façade has been determined, but most scholars place it in the thirteenth century, close in time to the execution of S. Martino’s. See Bozzi, “La chiara e snella mole,” 69–72; Enrico Ridolfi, Basiliche medioevali della città di Lucca. La guida inedita di Enrico Ridolfi (1828–1909), ed. Gabriele Morolli (Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 2002), 193–95; Palla, La chiesa di San Michele, 10–12; Salmi, L’architettura romanica, 17–18; Salmi, Romanesque Sculpture, 113. Belli Barsali differs in dating San Michele’s façade to the fourteenth century (ibid., Lucca, 143–46).
San Martino’s ornamental aesthetic probably also attracted the attention of another population—the merchants and skilled artisans directly involved in silk production. This audience, excluded from political life, would in the first few decades of the thirteenth century position themselves against communal leaders and often against the local church because of its close ties to these authorities. By appealing to this group’s aesthetic sensibilities and presenting them with familiar motifs and patterns on the cathedral façade, San Martino’s clergy may have been attempting to heighten their sense of inclusion in this institution in the face of these brewing conflicts.
Chapter 5
St. Martin and the Beggar: From Episcopal to Civic Symbol

Introduction

When work resumed on San Martino’s façade in the 1230s, a notable feature of the sculpture produced in this phase was the prominence it gave to the cathedral’s patron saints. In addition to the narrative relief sculptures of St. Martin and St. Regulus surrounding the central and southern portals, the church’s canons also added the monumental depiction of St. Martin and the Beggar to the portico’s exterior.

It is difficult to overstate how striking this work must have been to its thirteenth-century viewers. For them, such large-scale statuary of a holy figure in stone was a rare sight. As the introduction to this dissertation noted, monumental figurative sculpture was slower to develop in Tuscany than in other parts of Italy and always remained more common on liturgical furnishings like pulpits and baptismal fonts than on church exteriors. Local building tradition favored more abstract displays of pattern and color, achieved through the use of Bacini or green and white marble inlay, as on the façades of San Miniato al Monte in Florence and San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia (figs. 229–30).

Even when narrative sculpture was included on Tuscan Romanesque churches, it usually occupied a very limited portion of the façade and was often contained within a single architectural element. A common practice in and around Lucca in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century was to carve the architrave of a church’s main portal with biblical subjects, images of patron saints, or some combination of the two. In Lucca, examples include the church of San Salvatore in Mustiolo, where two portals feature miracles.

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448 Glass, Portals, Pilgrimage, and Crusade, 8; Sheppard, “Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany,” 97.
performed by St. Nicholas of Bari; SS. Giovanni and Reparata, where the lintel is filled with figures of the Virgin, angels, and apostles; and a lintel originally from the church of Sant’Angelo in Campo, showing Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem and St. Michael the Archangel (figs. 231–33). Other examples can be found farther afield at the Pisa Baptistery, as well as in Pistoia and Massa Marittima (figs. 234–36). Clearly, when San Martino’s canons commissioned the sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar, they were abandoning such approaches for something more ambitious.

The statues of St. Martin and the Beggar stand out even when compared to sculptures of saints made in other regions of Italy. In the northern part of the peninsula, patron saints were a favorite subject for façade programs from the late eleventh century on. At the cathedral of Modena, for instance, St. Geminianus was honored with relief sculptures depicting episodes from his life on the Porta dei Principi, made around 1106 (fig. 237). In subsequent decades, patrons commissioned similar sculptures dedicated to patron saints at San Zeno in Verona and at the cathedrals of Ferrara and Fidenza, where reliefs portray St. George and St. Domninus, respectively (figs. 238–41).

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A glance at these monuments immediately highlights what is different about St. Martin and the Beggar in Lucca. In every case, the sculpture is restricted to the portal, and the saint’s image is embedded in a narrative, read from left to right across the architrave, or, at Fidenza, a longer frieze. Larger, more iconic images of saints appear in Verona and Ferrara, but even here, the figures remain in relief and are contained by the portal’s architectural framework. Both are also sheltered by stone canopies, reducing the viewpoints from which they can be seen and causing visitors to have to draw close to perceive the sculpture’s subject. In contrast, at Lucca a single moment in Martin’s life is isolated from any larger narrative, monumentalized, and placed not on the portal but in public space, resting on two brackets on the porch exterior. This position, along with the figures’ large size makes the scene visible and legible from any point in the piazza before the church. Carved in the round and totally independent from the architecture, Martin and the Beggar are presences; they cast shadows and their mass and solidity tower over viewers as they approach (figs. 242–43). What, then, could have motivated this unprecedented portrayal of San Martino’s patron saint?

This chapter focuses on answering this question and provides the first substantial investigation of St. Martin and the Beggar since August Schmarsow’s monograph of 1890. Situating this work within the increased social conflict and weakened episcopacy that characterized Lucca in the early decades of the thirteenth century, this discussion argues that the sculpture was created with two goals in mind. First, along with the reliefs of St. Martin and St. Regulus surrounding the portals, the work reinforced the traditional links between Lucca’s bishops and these episcopal role models, boosting the

episcopacy’s public image after years of challenges from citizens and the papacy.

Second, the work was also intended to counter growing civic divisions by giving Lucca’s citizens a shared figurehead who exemplified the virtues required to live in a peaceful society; it did this by harnessing the connotations of public sculpture and highlighting a subject that addressed current spiritual concerns using imagery particularly suited to a Lucchese audience. Finally, the last section examines the sculpture’s reception in Lucca, pointing to its place in local hagiography and civic ritual to argue that it effectively promoted St. Martin into a new role as the patron saint of Lucca.

1. History, Iconography, and Historiography

The sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar currently mounted on San Martino’s façade is a cast of the original made following the latter’s reinstallation inside the cathedral for reasons of conservation in 1946.\textsuperscript{453} The original statues, made of marble from Santa Maria del Giudice, had sustained damage after centuries exposed to the elements: St. Martin’s head had been separated from his body and was broken into several pieces, and parts of the horse’s head and body had also been broken and were held together with large bronze brackets. In addition, the entire surface of the sculpture was slightly eroded from rain.\textsuperscript{454} These issues were addressed by the sculpture’s restoration in the middle of the twentieth century. At that time, conservators also identified the beggar’s legs as having been reworked by a fifteenth-century sculptor.\textsuperscript{455}

\textsuperscript{454} Ibid., 167–68.
\textsuperscript{455} Ibid.
The work depicts the most iconic episode in the life of St. Martin of Tours, a saint born in modern-day Hungary in the fourth century who rose to prominence as bishop of Tours and whose cult gradually spread from this city to the rest of Europe. His biography was written while he was still alive by his disciple, Sulpicius Severus. This text became the foundation for future knowledge of the saint, including at Lucca; a twelfth-century passionary from San Martino contains Sulpicius’s text, as well as his Epistola ad Bassulam, containing further details about Martin’s life. According to Sulpicius, Martin was a youth serving in the Roman cavalry when he encountered a beggar before the gates of Amiens, wearing little to protect him from the winter weather. While the saint longed to help him, he had already given away all of his belongings except for the soldier’s cloak he was wearing, so he cut this garment in two with his sword, giving the poor man half and keeping the other piece for himself, even though onlookers mocked his undignified appearance. Later that night, Martin dreamt that Christ appeared to him wearing the portion of cloak that he had given away and said, “Martin, still a catechumen, has covered me with this cloak.” As the author of the Life points out, Martin’s actions and subsequent dream illustrate his obedience to Christ’s injunction to “clothe the naked,” as well as his promise that “whatever you did for the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me” (Matthew 25:34–40). The

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event is a turning point for Martin, hastening his baptism and departure from the military and initiating a life of service to the church.

Martin’s encounter with the beggar was widely represented in the Middle Ages, frequently beginning narrative cycles of the saint’s life. Early depictions sometimes show Martin and the beggar standing next to one another while Martin divides the cloak and can also include the subsequent scene of Christ appearing to Martin in his dream.

From the twelfth century on, it was more typical to represent Martin’s act of charity alone and to portray Martin on horseback, showing his status as part of the Roman cavalry.

The version in Lucca adheres iconographically to most examples from this era. Martin appears on his horse rather than on foot, and the precise moment portrayed is right before he begins to cut into his cloak. Here, however, the artist was also faced with the technical challenge of adapting these standard pictorial elements to a large (280 x 170 x 71 cm), three-dimensional sculpture made for a predetermined architectural setting—the two corbels to the right of the portico’s central arch, which had already been in place since shortly before 1204. Perhaps for this reason, the sculptor portrayed the horse with all four legs firmly planted, lending the work maximum stability in its precarious position, as well as necessary support for the heavy marble forms of the horse’s body and

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461 These measurements are recorded in Maria Laura Testi Cristiani, “‘Fatti lucchesi’ di San Martino e il Povero. Guido da Como e le congiunture lombardo-bizantine e franco-germaniche nel XIII secolo tra Pisa e Lucca,” *Critica d’Arte* 43–44 (2010): 89.
its rider. The sculpture’s setting also required a more spatially compressed scene than in other renditions, such as that depicted on the façade of Chartres Cathedral or on a capital in the cloister of the abbey church of St. Pierre at Moissac (figs. 244–45). Unlike either of these examples, in which the beggar is placed at the head of Martin’s horse, here the artist had only two possible positions for this figure and chose to place him on the right corbel, sharing the support with the horse’s hind legs, and necessitating that Martin turn in his saddle to face him. The result is Martin’s anatomically impossible pose, with his torso connecting to the lower part of his body at a right angle, but the design has the advantage of arranging all of the scene’s important elements on a single plane and encouraging connection between Martin and the viewer below by orienting the saint to the public space before him. This gesture that is echoed by the horse, whose head turns slightly in the viewer’s direction.

For contemporary viewers, both the subject matter and the form of the work must have been arresting. The statue group, along with the reliefs around the central portal are the earliest monumental cycle of St. Martin’s life in Italy. In addition, depicting any saint in a nearly life-size stone sculpture was unusual in this region. The innovative nature of this work had to have been a challenging task for the cathedral workshop, and there are signs that it took artists a long time and more than one attempt to accomplish it successfully. While the sculpture itself dates to the 1230s–1250s, the brackets that support it were put in place before 1204, indicating that plans for the work must have been conceived much earlier, around 1200 or possibly at the very beginning of the façade project. The presence of four additional brackets installed at about the same height along

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the rest of the portico also suggests that the scene of St. Martin and the Beggar was probably not intended to stand alone, but to be part of a larger program of statuary placed on these ledges. The subject of this unfinished program is unknown. Kopp suggests that the two busts now installed above the portico’s north entrance, identified by local tradition as Pope Alexander II and Matilda of Canossa, may have been made for this cycle and originally arranged in a donation scene, while Tigler imagines that the other brackets might have been filled by the Annunciation and a representation of the *Volto Santo*. In the absence of any evidence, however, both theories remain speculative.\(^{463}\)

The one thing that is clear about the planned sculptural cycle is that St. Martin and the Beggar was included from the outset. A sculpted torso now in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi in Lucca is an earlier version of the same subject (fig. 246).\(^{464}\) This work was displayed on the façade’s southernmost corbel adjoining the campanile before being moved into the museum in the 1950s (figure 247).\(^{465}\) It consists of a slightly larger than life-size figure portrayed from the waist up. Although fragmentary, the pose strongly resembles the later sculpture of St. Martin such that there is little doubt about the figure’s identity: the left hand rests at the waist in a fist as if grasping the hilt of a sword, while the bent right arm extends from the side of the body. Despite his missing left hand, one can easily imagine that the figure was originally holding the end of a cloak. The carving technique, which includes heavy use of a drill for the details of the eyes and hair, links the figure to one of the workshops responsible for the portico sculptures, and has

\(^{463}\) Kopp, *Die Skulpturen*, 32–33, 62–63; Tigler, “Maestri lombardi,” 32–33. Tigler’s suggestion of an Annunciation scene may be based on the fact that sculptures portraying this subject were added to the two brackets to the left of St. Martin and the Beggar by the nineteenth century.

\(^{464}\) Licia Bertolini Cametti and Silvia Meloni Trkulja, *Catalogo di Villa Guinigi: La villa e le collezioni* (Lucca: Ente Provinciale per il Turismo d Lucca, 1968), 88–89.

ledscholars to propose a date for the work towards the end of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{466} The work’s history, however, is still little understood, and opinions have varied over whether this sculpture was complete in itself, a piece of a work that was never finished, or a fragment of a sculpture that was finished but subsequently broken. Schmarsow thought that the statue was once part of a finished equestrian sculpture like the later version and that it fell from the façade and shattered, resulting in the sculptor’s dismissal and the change in workshop between the completion of the portico and the beginning of the galleries.\textsuperscript{467} Seidel and Silva also regard the torso as part of a destroyed equestrian sculpture, although they offer no imaginative account of how the work was broken.\textsuperscript{468} In my view, as well as that of Kopp, it seems more likely that this sculpture represents an early, experimental attempt at portraying St. Martin and the Beggar that probably was not finished.\textsuperscript{469} This judgment is based at how ambitious even a large, three-dimensional standing depiction of the saint would have been at this time, as well as how the sculpture bears no physical signs of either being broken from or attached to a lower half.

Whichever way one interprets the earlier statue, the fact that the canons of San Martino decided to remake a sculpture of the same subject only a few decades later and to prioritize its completion, even if the other sculptures in the cycle were never executed, speaks to its importance. Despite the work’s originality and these factors pointing to its significance, it has never been the subject of a thorough art historical analysis in modern times. The most substantial study of the sculpture is still Schmarsow’s, now over a hundred years old, in which the author’s admiration for the work prompted him to trace

\textsuperscript{466} Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 62–65.
\textsuperscript{468} Seidel and Silva, \textit{The Power of Images}, 297.
\textsuperscript{469} Kopp, \textit{Die Skulpturen}, 64.
the entire development of Tuscan medieval sculpture. Schmarsow focused on placing the
statue within larger stylistic currents and defining its relationship to the work of Nicola
Pisano. But he also hinted at the impact the work still had on modern viewers, as well as
its former civic significance to the people of Lucca, making reference to a ritual in which
the statue of Martin was dressed in a newly woven cloak:

The appearance of the horse and rider with the standing figure next to
them, [drawn] from the same human existence to which we ourselves
belong, [and] placed there in bodily presence, immediately steps
personally closer to us, no matter how much distance lies between us and
the artwork in time and space. […] Now this emblem is long since
forgotten, and the jubilant crowds no longer look up to him as a beloved
protector whom they brought closer through his colorful clothes, indeed,
whom they even required amongst them to bind them together. And also
forgotten is the artwork as such by the most competent researchers of the
history of Italian sculpture, even though a closer examination and
definitive evaluation of exactly this monument has been urgently needed,
in more than one sense.⁴⁷⁰

Despite this evocative description and plea for further study, most later
discussions of San Martino have given St. Martin and the Beggar minimal attention and
concentrate on attributing it to one of the Lombard masters responsible for the portal
sculptures or simply group it with these portal sculptures as a response to heresy.⁴⁷¹ Other
considerations of the work have been limited to its formal characteristics, noting its
stylistic similarities with works from Pisa, France, and Germany, and connecting it to

⁴⁷⁰ “Die Erscheinung von Ross und Reiter mit einem Fußgänger daneben, aus dem Menschendasein, dem
wir selber angehören, in leibhafter Gegenwart dorthin gestellt, tritt uns sofort persönlich nahe, wie weit
auch in Ort und Zeit der Abstand zwischen uns und jenem Kunstgebilde bleiben mag. […]Jetzt ist das
Wahrzeichen lange vergessen, und die jubelnde Volksmenge schaut nicht mehr zu ihm auf, wie zu einem
geliebten Beschützer, den sie durch die bunten Kleider sich näher gebracht, ja verbindlichst in ihre Mitte
herunter genötigt. Und vergessen scheint auch das Kunstwerk als solches bei den berufensten Forschern in
her Geschichte der italienischen Skulptur, obgleich eine nähere Untersuchung und bestimmte Beurteilung
gerecht dieses Denkmals in mehr als einem Sinne dringend geboten war.” Schmarsow, St. Martin von
Lucca, 2.
⁴⁷¹ Baracchini and Caleca, Il duomo di Lucca, 20–21; Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 113–19; Ridolfi, L’arte in
Lucca, 93; Taddei, Lucca, 101–2; eadem, Le parole, 111–14; Tigler, “Maestri lombardi,” 920–34.
other examples of monumental equestrian sculpture. One departure from these directions is the study by Seidel and Silva, in which the authors explore St. Martin’s political significance as expressed on communal seals and coins and address St. Martin and the Beggar’s use in civic rituals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; here, however, the focus is primarily on the statue’s reception, rather than its meanings at the time it was made.

In order to understand this work more fully, it is necessary to move beyond stylistic consideration and take account of the political climate in Lucca in the early thirteenth century, the historical connections between St. Martin and Lucca’s bishops, the wider connotations of public sculpture, and the timeliness of St. Martin and the Beggar’s message to a Lucchese audience. All of this is accomplished in the following two sections.

2. St. Martin and St. Regulus as Episcopal Exemplars

One factor likely behind the creation of St. Martin and the Beggar, as well as the contemporary relief sculptures of St. Martin and St. Regulus, was the canons’ desire to bolster public perception of Lucca’s episcopacy. What we know about the civic and religious environment in Lucca in the decades leading up to the 1230s suggests that the city’s cathedral sorely needed such a boost. By the early thirteenth century, violent clashes between the leaders of the commune and the Popolo were a regular feature of urban life and were beginning to threaten the authority of the bishop and canons at San

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Martino. Letters of a papal legate reveal that by 1220, a significant portion of Lucca’s population had embraced heretical Cathar beliefs. Led by their podestà, Parenzo, these citizens drove the bishop and chapter of San Martino from the city, with Parenzo taking possession of church property and forbidding the sacraments of baptism and confession from being carried out within the city walls.\textsuperscript{474} Although San Martino’s clergy returned to the city after the election of a new podestà in 1222, Parenzo was in office again between 1228 and 1229, suggesting that Cathar views still had a strong hold on Lucca at the end of the decade.\textsuperscript{475}

Kopp and Taddei have pointed to these events as the catalyst for work resuming on San Martino’s façade in the 1230s.\textsuperscript{476} But while they read the sculptures of this phase as a response to a conflict over religious doctrine, it is important to recognize that the turn towards heretical beliefs was probably closely intertwined with the political developments of this period. As Carol Lansing has shown, Catharism tended to be disproportionately popular among members of the Popolo, providing them an alternative way to meet their spiritual needs that was unconnected to the bishop and cathedral chapter, who usually had family ties to the communal leaders the Popolo opposed.\textsuperscript{477}

While we cannot confirm that this was the case in Lucca, the declining economic health of the episcopate and cathedral chapter over the thirteenth century suggests that many of

\textsuperscript{475} Bongi, Le croniche, 25; Bongi, Inventario, 2:308; Taddei, Le parole, 143–44n76.
\textsuperscript{476} Kopp, Die Skulpturen, 37–38; Taddei, Lucca, 99–102; Taddei, Le parole, 93–97.
the laity were indeed distancing themselves from San Martino and channeling their pious donations elsewhere.\footnote{Osheim, \textit{An Italian Lordship}, 47–49, 88–115.}

These challenges to San Martino’s status were compounded by further conflicts outside the city’s borders. In addition to attracting papal rebuke for supporting Parenzo, the Lucchesi were in dispute with the papacy throughout the 1220s over ownership of lands in the Garfagnana, a mountainous region to Lucca’s north. Although the papacy claimed this territory, Lucca refused to give it up, leading Pope Gregory IX to remove Lucca’s bishop from office in 1231 and divide parts of the diocese between Pisa, Volterra, Luni, and Pistoia, while handing over administration of the remaining portion to the bishop of Florence.\footnote{Poloni, “Strutturazione,” 461–62; Taddei, \textit{Le parole}, 96–97.} The situation was partially resolved in 1233, when Lucca renounced its claims to the Garfagnana, yet Lucca remained without a bishop until 1236, when the pope appointed a Sienese cleric, Guercio Tebalducci, to the role, marking the first time in over a hundred years that Lucca’s bishop was not elected from within the cathedral chapter.\footnote{Osheim, \textit{An Italian Lordship}, 129–30.}

Faced with these crises, it is not surprising that San Martino’s canons would turn to monumental sculpture to repair their institution’s image by associating it with strong, socially committed episcopal leaders. The lives of St. Martin and St. Regulus were well suited to this purpose. Both saints had been bishops in the early Christian church: Martin served as bishop of Tours from 371 until his death in 397, and Regulus was a sixth-century bishop of north Africa before he fled to Tuscany to escape the Vandals. The sculptures at San Martino place a particular emphasis on these figures’ episcopal
identities. Three of the four scenes from Martin’s life shown in the relief sculptures take place once he has become a bishop. One of these depicts Martin’s consecration and is accompanied by the inscription, “Martin, you have been called from a monk to a bishop.” The scene creates the impression that St. Martin easily left behind the contemplative life of a monk, even though Sulpicius describes him as a reluctant bishop, who had to be lured to Tours under other pretenses and physically impeded from leaving the city once its citizens acclaimed him bishop (fig. 248). The next two scenes show Martin attending to his pastoral duties, celebrating the sacraments and performing an exorcism, illustrating both his efficacy as a saint and his concern for the spiritual health of his flock (figs. 249–50). Moreover, the sculptures show both Martin and Regulus in distinctive episcopal regalia, with Regulus balancing his miter on his head even as it is cut off (fig. 251). In the case of St. Martin, his portrayal places the need for viewers to identify him as a bishop above faithfulness to hagiographic legend, as Sulpicius stresses that Martin preferred the humble attire of a monk, causing many other clergy to criticize his shabby appearance. In this way, the sculptures of St. Martin and St. Regulus suggest a desire to present the cathedral’s patrons as models of episcopal virtue.

For local audiences, Martin and Regulus may also have recalled the best examples of episcopal leadership in Lucca’s past. The two saints had always been the recipients of particular devotion from Lucca’s bishops, beginning with St. Fridian’s dedication of the cathedral to St. Martin and continuing with Giovanni I’s translation of St. Regulus’s relics to Lucca and construction of a new shrine. Rangerius lavished further attention on the two saints by bringing Regulus’s relics upstairs and installing them to the right of the

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482 Ibid.
main altar dedicated to St. Martin and by writing a new version of the *Translatio Sancti Reguli* and another text that recorded his own intervention in San Martino’s relic cult. The canons’ decision to give new prominence to St. Martin and St. Regulus through sculpted depictions of their lives should thus be seen as part of this pattern; it reminded viewers not only of the pious bishop saints themselves, but of the local bishops who had secured the saints’ protection for the city.

In addition to recalling the established bonds between Lucca’s bishops and their two patron saints, the sculptures of Martin and Regulus also extended these links to the contemporary clerics who filled the office of bishop. In his study of Tuscan relic cults, Brand argues that the façade sculptures, along with liturgical ceremony, cast the bishop into the role of St. Martin during the annual celebration of Martin’s feast day on November 11.\(^{483}\) The events of this celebration are recorded in the *Ordo Officiorum* from San Martino, though only partially, as the manuscript has been damaged and cuts off in the middle of the entry for Martin’s feast.\(^{484}\) Additional detail is provided by a twelfth-century gradual from San Martino containing the chants sung on his feast day, which had been composed in southern Italy and detailed Martin’s virtuous death, as described by Sulpicius in his *Epistola ad Bassulam*.\(^{485}\)

Drawing on this material, Brand focuses much of his analysis on the relief immediately to the right of the central portal.\(^{486}\) The scene shows Martin standing behind an altar with arms outstretched and two clerics to either side. The event portrayed is

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483 Brand, *Holy Treasure*, 166–76.
484 Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Ms. 608, fol. 64v. For a transcription, see Brand, “Liturgical Ceremony,” 285.
described in Sulpicius’s Second Dialogue: Martin, again having given his clothing to a beggar, wears a rough, ill-fitting tunic to celebrate Mass. As a sign of God’s approval of his actions, a globe of fire appears above his head. The twelfth-century liturgist Johannes Beleth interpreted the miracle as a sign of Martin’s likeness to the apostles, comparing it to the tongues of fire that manifested at Pentecost. Brand notes that Martin’s appearance at the altar, surrounded by a deacon, subdeacon, archpriest, and acolyte who assist by holding books and censers, would have called to mind the scene witnessed by visitors to High Mass to San Martino, where the bishop stood at the altar surrounded by the canons. He argues further that this connection between St. Martin and Lucca’s bishop and clergy was made more dramatic on St. Martin’s feast, when the bishop raised his arms and sang the Preface to the Mass, assuming the same pose as Martin in the relief. The combination of sculpture and liturgy thus strengthened the relationship between Lucca’s bishops with the patron saint of the church and encouraged viewers to perceive them as Martin’s contemporary counterparts who followed his model of sanctity and apostolicity.

I would add that the sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar probably functioned in a similar manner, though in this case the activating liturgical event was not Martin’s feast day but the feast of Palm Sunday. As described in chapter three, this celebration involved a procession reenacting Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem, which moved from San Martino to Santa Maria Forisportam and then back to the cathedral. At this point, however, the ritual incorporated a gesture that, as far as we know, did not occur in other cities. The *Ordo officiorum* from San Martino states that participants were to pause before the door of the

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cathedral, where the archpriest was to strew the bishop with flowers and in return, the bishop was instructed to remove his “newest and best cope” and give this garment to the archpriest.\footnote{Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Ms. 608, fols. 46–47. The relevant passage reads: “archipresbiter proicit flores super episcopum et omnibus peractis exuit se novam et optimam capam episcopus et eam archipresbitero donat” = “the archpriest throws flowers over the bishop and, these things being completed, the bishop takes off his newest and best cope and gives it to the archpriest.”}

On the one hand, these gestures may have contributed to the commemoration of Palm Sunday, recalling how the crowd that greeted Christ on his way to Jerusalem lined his path with branches and clothing. But the localization of this detail to Lucca alone, along with the ritual’s setting suggests that this moment was designed to generate other meanings as well. If we consider the viewpoint of the laity who watched the bishop stand before the cathedral’s portal, take off his cloak, and give it to another individual, it is hard to imagine that they would not have connected his actions with Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar, represented in sculptural form just above. In addition, the work’s large scale and three-dimensionality facilitates this connection, making it easier to relate these sculpted bodies to the real ones below. Just as the relief sculpture inside the portico associated Lucca’s bishop with Martin’s holiness as revealed during Mass, the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar, paired with liturgical ritual, also linked the bishop to Martin’s example of charity and care for those below him.

Assessing the sculptural cycles of St. Martin and St. Regulus as one program reveals a concerted emphasis on placing strong models of episcopal leadership at the center of San Martino’s institutional identity. The sculpted scenes presented the lives of the two early Christian bishops as examples to be venerated and followed and revived a pattern of devotion established by the most successful occupants of Lucca’s episcopal
seat. Working in concert with liturgical ritual, the sculptures also linked Lucca’s bishops with specific qualities that the saints embodied, including Martin’s holiness and his generosity. Made at a time when civic conflicts and papal rebukes had weakened the standing of the city’s clergy, such images would have gone a long way towards countering the negative repercussions of these events and recovering the allegiance of the citizens they had alienated.

3. Expanding St. Martin’s Reach

Looked at as part of this larger sculptural project, the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar contributed to the refashioning of Lucca’s episcopacy. In this respect, the work simply strengthened the significance that St. Martin already had in Lucca as the patron of the episcopal church and its leaders. In addition to the liturgical and hagiographical associations between Martin and Lucca’s bishops already noted, this connection was expressed in the standard bearing Martin’s image that flew above episcopal castles and in the convention of naming St. Martin as the church’s protector in episcopal documents.\textsuperscript{490} But the particular isolation, monumentalization, and public placement of St. Martin and the Beggar suggests that the canons who sponsored the work were seeking to elevate Martin into an even more significant role, as a patron of not only their church, but the city itself. As many studies have shown, the significance of patron saints in Italian medieval cities went far beyond the religious sphere.\textsuperscript{491}

\textsuperscript{490} Savigni, \textit{Episcopato e società cittadina}, 277, 322.
city-state was shared, rather than embodied in a single individual like a king or an emperor, these communities had no natural figurehead, so one saint was often employed to fill this role. The patron saint of a city was frequently a figure with local significance, like St. Ambrose in Milan, St. Geminianus in Modena, or St. Zeno in Verona. Frequently, as in these examples, the saint had served as the city’s bishop in the early Christian era and was buried in the cathedral or another urban basilica. The veneration of these men as patron saints was thus a natural continuation of their relationship to the city: in both life and death, they protected the city’s welfare, united its citizens in devotion, and provided a symbol of civic identity.

According to these criteria, St. Martin of Tours was not a natural candidate for the role of patron saint in Lucca. For one thing, he had no connection to the city; he had been born in present-day Hungary, lived most of his life in France, and in no legend does he even visit Tuscany. Just as important, San Martino did not own any of St. Martin’s relics, leaving Lucca without a tangible link to the saint in heaven.\(^{492}\) Legends of St. Fridian’s dedication of the basilica to St. Martin were not accompanied by accounts of a relic translation, and in Rangerius’s *Sermo in dedicatione*, when he mentions the relics that make San Martino the equivalent of Moses’s tabernacle and Solomon’s Temple, he refers to the bodies of SS. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria, as well as to St. Lucy and St. Regulus, but not to any relic of St. Martin.\(^{493}\)

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492 Brand suggests that San Martino’s lack of relics was the reason for Giovanni I’s acquisition of St. Regulus’s relics (ibid., *Holy Treasure*, 23).

493 Guidi, “Per la storia,” 183.
Moreover, Lucca already had a saint who was a much more natural choice for civic devotion: St. Fridian, who essentially founded the diocese of Lucca and proved himself as the city’s defender when he diverted the Serchio and prevented a disastrous flood. His relics, however, lay in the church dedicated to him across the city. It also seems that St. Fridian’s cult commanded considerable attention and that the canons at San Martino were eager to direct that enthusiasm to their own church, or failing that, to suppress it. In 1171, they were rebuked by the pope for trying to steal St. Fridian’s relics and for threatening to excommunicate laity who worshiped at San Frediano on the saint’s feast day.494

Confronted with this competition and with the broader civic conflicts occurring in Lucca, it makes sense that San Martino’s canons would try to elevate the profile of a saint whose cult they did control, and that they would choose the medium of sculpture and the scene of St. Martin and the Beggar in particular to achieve this end. For a saint who was not, and had never been, physically in Lucca, San Martino’s canons had no better way to simulate his presence than the inherently lifelike medium of free-standing statuary. Medieval sources provide accounts of contemporaries blurring the lines between statues and real beings, clerical warnings against idolatry notwithstanding. For example, the Crusader Robert de Clari reports of the statues along the spina of the hippodrome in Constantinople that “in years past these would by magic stir themselves and play games,” and Master Gregory’s account of the marvels of Rome also mentions two antique bronze

statues that seem so lifelike that they appear “likely to bellow and move.” According to Giovanni Villani, Florentine citizens revered an ancient statue of a warrior on horseback as a representation of Mars, believing that if it were broken or dishonored, the god would bring destruction to the city.

These tendencies to regard a statue as an embodiment of presence, able to act and move according to its own will may have been even stronger in Lucca and at San Martino in particular, given the existence of the *Volto Santo*. Its burgeoning cult indicates that citizens were more than accepting of the idea of a statue as an index of holy presence that was capable of traveling of its own accord. The choice to use large, independent statuary as the medium for portraying St. Martin and the Beggar could have been a reaction to this local conception of sculpture, reflecting the canons’ realization that any representation of St. Martin needed to be at least as imposing as the *Volto Santo* to command attention and their clever tailoring of St. Martin’s image for an audience accustomed to regarding a statue as a manifestation of sanctity.

In this manner, the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar may have been affected by particularly Lucchese ideas about what sculpture could mean. But the work’s form probably also took advantage of more general meanings of public sculpture. In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, sculptures erected in or overlooking public spaces were increasingly being used as declarations of civic identity that asserted a city’s relationship

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with a prominent figure. For example, in Mantua, sculptures of Virgil publicized the city’s fame as the poet’s birthplace, while in Genoa, a bust of Janus placed in the cathedral recalled the mythical king of Italy regarded as the city’s founder, as well as a Trojan prince by the same name who was credited with Genoa’s expansion and improvement (figs. 252–53). In these examples, the sculptures honored local heroes already woven into the city’s past, but public statues were also used to celebrate more recent individuals who had an important role in the commune. In Pisa, for instance, an ancient statue of Hercules was repurposed and placed next to the Porta Aurea in 1124 in celebration of one of the city’s consuls. At Cremona, a sculpture of a mysterious figure on the exterior of the cathedral is traditionally regarded as Giovanni Baldesio, said to have defeated the son of Emperor Henry III in a duel, winning freedom for his city (fig. 254). Considering these examples, depicting St. Martin in a monumental public sculpture may have been an initial step towards establishing a stronger connection between him and Lucca’s civic identity. The monument would have given the saint a palpable presence for all citizens, while also increasing Lucca’s prestige among its

neighbors by linking the city with one of the most universally venerated saints in the West.

Mobilizing the connotations of public sculpture in this manner allowed the designers of St. Martin and the Beggar to suggest a connection between Lucca and St. Martin that overcame the problems presented by the saint’s hagiography and the lack of a local relic cult. The sculpture further strengthened St. Martin’s relationship to the city by evoking a particular type of public monument: the equestrian sculpture. As many previous studies of the work have noted, the large-scale, three-dimensional depiction of horse and rider in stone links this sculpture to a tradition of equestrian monuments stretching back to antiquity, exemplified by the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius, as well as to contemporary sculptures in Bamberg, Magdeburg, and Milan in dialogue with ancient prototypes (fig. 255).\(^{501}\) Strictly speaking, St. Martin and the Beggar is not an equestrian monument; it is the depiction of the saint in a narrative scene, the iconography of which customarily showed Martin on horseback. The sculpture of St. Martin also lacks certain details, suggesting that the work’s designers were not trying to recall any particular ancient equestrian statue here. For instance, the horse does not have the distinctive raised front leg of the Marcus Aurelius monument that appears in all later sculptures hearkening back to this work. Nor does St. Martin lift one hand upwards in the gesture of both Marcus Aurelius and the *Regisole*, another equestrian monument that became a civic emblem in Pavia (fig. 256). Yet, despite these differences, portraying the saint on horseback in a monumental public sculpture gave the work enough formal

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similarity to equestrian monuments to bring to mind some of the associations of this sculptural type then current in communal Italy.

One of these meanings was the elevation of a figure holding political authority. As is well known, the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius lost its original identity in the Middle Ages and was regarded as an image of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Sometime before the tenth century it was moved outside the Lateran Palace and placed among other examples of antique sculpture (fig. 257). There, it was transformed into a symbol of justice, marking the site where judgments and executions were carried out and was a reminder of the Donation of Constantine that legitimized the pope’s temporal powers. An ancient equestrian sculpture was also put to new uses in Pavia. The Regisole, a bronze equestrian monument brought to Pavia from Ravenna, was erected in front of the cathedral, where it became a palladium of the city. In both cases, while the meaning of each equestrian monument was fluid, it was their unbroken association with imperial power that encouraged their adaptation to new ends, as support for papal ideology in Rome and as a sign of the commune’s likeness to ancient Rome in Pavia.

The equestrian sculpture’s use as a vehicle for exalting those in power is also illustrated by two sculptures in Germany produced at exactly the same time as St. Martin


and the Beggar. The first, a work often referred to as the “Bamberg Rider,” is a life-size sculpture of a figure on horseback placed on two consoles against a pier in the choir of the cathedral of SS. Peter and George in Bamberg (fig. 258). The second sculpture, carved completely in the round, shows a rider with the same crown and chin-length, wavy hair and was erected in the 1230s on the marketplace outside the town hall in Magdeburg, along with sculptures of two allegorical female figures (fig. 259). Their large size, three-dimensional (or nearly so) carving, and portrayal of the horses with both of their front legs planted make these sculptures the most formally similar comparisons to St. Martin and the Beggar.

In each of the German sculptures, the identity of the rider is unclear and has long been the subject of debate. Regarding Bamberg, scholars have argued for viewing the rider as Constantine, one of the three kings of the Nativity, St. George, and three different rulers with connections to Bamberg: Emperor Henry II, founder of the Bamberg bishopric, as well as a canonized saint who was buried in the cathedral; St. Stephen, first Christian king of Hungary and brother-in-law to Henry II; and Frederick II, with whom the archbishop of Bamberg had close ties. Various proposals have also been made for the rider in Magdeburg. Scholars have identified him as Otto I, the emperor who first provided the city’s archbishop with legal powers, Otto II, and Frederick II, again pointing to the support that Magdeburg’s bishop gave to the Hohenstaufen. Another possibility

is that neither rider was meant to represent a specified person, but rather, reflected the contemporary conception of an ideal ruler.\textsuperscript{506} Though these issues have yet to be resolved, what is important for this discussion is that most interpretations connect the riders with emperors or monarchs important to each city. Thus, while the precise meaning of each work remains unclear, it is likely that the sculptures served to preserve the memory of a ruler who played a founding role in each diocese or to announce contemporary political alliances.

The equestrian monument was also adapted to the new political situation of the Italian communes. There, equestrian statues continued to honor individuals holding highest political office, but rather than picturing kings or emperors, they portrayed podestà. One such monument survives in Milan.\textsuperscript{507} On the exterior of the communal palace is a very high relief sculpture of a man in contemporary dress on horseback, shown in profile and framed by a shallow niche (figs. 260–61). An inscription in Gothic lettering below the figure identifies him as Oldrado da Tresseno, podestà of Milan in 1229. A second sculpture of this type is attested in the chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, a Franciscan friar from Parma writing in the 1280s.\textsuperscript{508} He refers to an equestrian statue that

\textsuperscript{506} Rowe, The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City, 179–90; Willibald Sauerländer, “Two Glances from the North: The Presence and Absence of Frederick II in the Art of the Empire; The Court of Frederick II and the \textit{opus francigenum},” in Tronzo, Intellectual Life, 193–94.


stood over one of the city gates of Reggio, commemorating Nazario Ghirardine of Lucca, Reggio’s podestà in 1229.

Given this tradition of equestrian statues honoring those with political power, it seems possible that the large statue of St. Martin on horseback on the façade of San Martino might have invoked this widespread connotation of the sculptural form, in addition to the scene’s more immediate narrative content. Thus, the work could hint to viewers that St. Martin was Lucca’s highest authority, rather than any earthly official, and the figure to whom all citizens owed their loyalty. The message would have encouraged citizens to unite around the saint and countered the political alliances dividing the town.

Political power, however, was not the only meaning associated with equestrian statues. Particularly in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy, this sculptural type also became a way to honor civic heroes, individuals whose deeds contributed to the city’s welfare and the common good. For example, medieval sources indicate that by this time, the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome had been reinterpreted once again and was the subject of two differing traditions that sought to explain the figure’s identity.\textsuperscript{509} The author of the \textit{Mirabilia urbis Romae}, written around 1143, relates that the statue did not picture Constantine, but rather, “a certain squire, very handsome and virtuous, bold and clever” who lived during the era of the Roman Republic.\textsuperscript{510} At that time, Rome was besieged by an eastern king, whom the squire outwits and captures, saving the city. In the account of Master Gregory, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, the author


repeats this tale, while adding a second explanation for the figure: in this version, the rider is “Quintus Quirinus” a Roman citizen who in the past had freed Rome from a curse by leaping into a fiery chasm, sacrificing himself and his horse.\footnote{Master Gregory, \textit{Master Gregorius}, 19–22.} In each case, the equestrian statue is presented as a monument to a local citizen who distinguished himself through great acts of service to his community.

In this vein, it should also be noted that the equestrian monuments dedicated to \textit{podestà} honor their subjects not just for their high office but for the specific deeds they carried out. The inscription below the image of Oldrado da Tresseno praises him for overseeing the construction of the civic palace that the monument adorns and for freeing Milan of heretics.\footnote{“Soilum struxit / Catharos, ut debuit, uxit.” Lopez, “Dal mecenatismo,” 127.} Likewise, Salimbene states that the equestrian monument to Nazario Ghirardine commemorated his patronage of the city gate on which the monument stood.\footnote{Salimbene de Adam, \textit{The Chronicle}, 44.} In these examples, the equestrian monuments testify to the good civic leadership of the subjects they portray, who commissioned buildings for public use and defended their city’s spiritual welfare.

This second connotation of equestrian monuments as an appropriate medium for honoring local civic heroes might have added another layer to the meanings that St. Martin and the Beggar conveyed to contemporary audiences. The sculpture’s visual similarities to equestrian monuments could suggest that St. Martin was an exemplar of one who furthered the common good. Moreover, the combination of this sculptural form with its subject matter further communicated to viewers that it was Martin’s sharing of his cloak, demonstrating his concern for the poor and powerless that made him this...
exemplar. Through its monumental sculptural form, the work thus elevates a simple
gesture of charity into an act of civic heroism.

The equation of charity with public service would have been a welcome and
familiar message for urban thirteenth-century Italians. It would have been another aspect
of St. Martin and the Beggar that forged a stronger connection between contemporary
viewers and St. Martin of Tours, making it more likely that they would worship the saint
and emulate his behavior. Charity and love for one’s neighbor had long had a central
place in Christianity, based in scriptural teachings like Christ’s injunction to feed the
hungry and perform other works of mercy in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 25:31–
46), and in Paul’s declaration of love as the greatest of the three theological virtues (1
Corinthians 13:13). The Fathers of the early Church also promoted and modeled these
practices. St. Ambrose of Milan is mentioned attacking avarice and caring for the poor
and imprisoned.514 In the Ennaraciones in Psalmos, St. Augustine encourages believers
to give alms to ensure their salvation and to recognize Christ in the poor, stating “Christ
himself is that poor man.”515

Care for the poor and condemnation of greed took on new urgency, however, in
the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as cities grew, commerce and industry revived, and
the needy became both more numerous and more visible.516 Several developments in

514 Pauline Allen, Bronwen Neil, and Wendy Mayer, Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and
Realities (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009), 56.
515 Ibid., 130–36; Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil, “Discourses on the Poor in the Psalms: Augustine’s
Enarrationes in Psalmos,” in Meditations of the Heart: The Psalms in Early Christian Thought and
Practice. Essays in Honour of Andrew Louth, ed. Andreas Andreopoulos, Augustine Casiday, and Carol
516 Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” The
American Historical Review 76, no. 1 (1971): 16–49; Michel Mollat, The Poor in the Middle Ages: An
Italy illustrate this new focus. The establishment and growth of the mendicant orders provided urban dwellers with new spiritual exemplars who rejected worldly goods and exhorted them through colorful preaching to come into closer contact with the poor.\footnote{Mollat, \textit{The Poor}, 119–32.}


Many contributed to those in need by distributing alms, providing donations to members who had fallen on hard times, and establishing hospices that cared for the sick, poor, and widows. In a sermon to one of these confraternities, Albertanus of Brescia (ca. 1195–ca. 1251) articulated the centrality of charity to the organization’s mission. He refers to charity as the metaphorical oil that fuels spiritual illumination and compares charity to oil’s tendency to rise to the top of other liquids, stating “just as oil placed on any liquid rises to the top, whether it is placed on top, or placed underneath, so charity and its works surpass all other virtues.”\footnote{Albertanus of Brescia, “A Sermon to a Confraternity (1250),” trans. Gregory W. Ahlquist, in \textit{Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation}, ed. Katherine L. Jansen, Joanna Drell, and Frances Andrews (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 395.}

In addition to the growth of lay confraternities and mendicant orders, lay saints were another sign of the increased importance of charity. This was a new type of saint

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that came into prominence in the thirteenth century, especially in communal Italy. Often merchants or tradesmen belonging to the Popolo, these individuals became the focus of local cults for their pious behavior, although not all were officially canonized as saints.520 A constant in their biographies is the care they demonstrated for other citizens, such that André Vauchez has also designated them “saints of charity and labor.”521 For instance, the Life of Homobonus of Cremona, a tailor canonized in 1199, notes that he was locally known as “Homobonus, father of the poor.”522 Raymond the Palmer, another lay saint from Piacenza, devoted himself to helping the needy in his hometown by opening and running a hospice after an encounter with Christ while on pilgrimage, in which Christ instructed him to return to Piacenza and engage in acts of mercy.523 Charity is also a central theme in the life of St. Zita, Lucca’s own lay saint, who worked as a servant for one of Lucca’s aristocratic families and was venerated locally after her death.524 The Life of St. Zita states that “by divine gift, a certain generous pity for the poor was deeply engrained in God’s handmaid; it grew from her infancy, and such kindliness filled her heart that, if it was at all possible, she never denied alms to anyone who sought them for the love of God.”525 It portrays the saint providing for the needs of pilgrims, visiting the sick, praying for those condemned to death, and giving away food, clothing, and money.526

521 Vauchez, Sainthood, 199.
522 Webb, Saints and Cities, 57–58.
526 Ibid., 163–90.
This emphasis on charity and love for one’s neighbor did not just dominate the devotional lives of thirteenth-century Italians. It also infiltrated the era’s political rhetoric. Fighting against the violence and factionalism that characterized the Italian communes, contemporary writers promoted the ideal of the “common good”—the notion that only by placing collective welfare above individual interests could a city achieve lasting peace and prosperity.\footnote{Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 17–19; Nicolai Rubinstein, “Political Ideals in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico,” \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes} 21, no. 3–4 (1958): 181–86; Quentin Skinner, “Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher,” \textit{Proceedings of the British Academy} 72 (1986–87), 6–12.} This idea was presented most fully in the \textit{Tractatus de bono communi} by the Dominican theologian and political theorist Remigio de’ Girolami and also found a place Brunetto Latini’s \textit{The Book of the Treasure}.\footnote{Rubinstein, “Political Ideals,” 185.} Latini states in the chapter on the virtue of Concord that “men were created for one another, that is, that they help one another, and for this reason we must follow nature and place the common profit above all else.”\footnote{Brunetto Latini, \textit{The Book of the Treasure} = \textit{Li livres dou tresor}, trans. Paul Barette and Spurgeon Baldwin (New York: Garland, 1993), 267.} Moreover, contemporaries also linked the idea of the common good with the Christian virtue of charity.\footnote{Skinner, “Ambrogio Lorenzetti,” 25.} Tolomeo da Lucca, echoing scriptural teaching, writes that “charity precedes every virtue in merit” and views charity as essential to good citizenship, stating “love of one’s homeland is based in the roots of charity.”\footnote{Rubinstein, “Political Ideals,” 185.}

This idea was later expressed visually in the \textit{Allegory of Good Government} by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in the early fourteenth century (fig. 262). In the right half of the fresco sits the largest figure in the composition, wearing a crown and holding a scepter. This ruler-like figure has sometimes been identified as a personification of Siena, as he is dressed in black and white, the colors of the commune.
Alternatively, the figure has been seen as a personification of the idea of the common good, or as a figure that elides both the common good and the commune of Siena, reflecting the word-play implied by the term the “bonum comune” that suggests that the good commune and the common good were one and the same. The figure sits surrounded by several personifications of virtues, while smaller figures representing the three theological virtues are situated around his head. Charity is placed closest to the ruler, directly above his head, conveying that this is the virtue on which the common good, and the good of the commune, depends.

Formed in the context in which such ideas were conceived and circulated, contemporary viewers of St. Martin and the Beggar likely would have been receptive to the statue’s example of charity and its heroic overtones. In this way, the work not only served to unite citizens around a common figure, but also offered St. Martin as a model of behavior, one needed at a time of increased violence and clashes between different social groups. In addition to the subject matter, certain details of its iconography probably made it particularly easy for certain social groups to form a personal connection with the saint. For the elites controlling the offices of the commune, St. Martin’s portrayal as a knight must have made him a relatable figure. In most communes, these individuals came from noble backgrounds and were trained to fight in the city’s cavalry. Historians have detected a strong interest within this segment of society in ideals of courtliness and chivalry. This manifested itself in the practice of knightly rituals like dubbing,

jousting, and tournaments, and a fascination with military heroes and Arthurian legends, which often appear as subjects in sculpture of the era. For example, at the cathedral of Modena, the campanile depicts a figure identified as Roland, shown with his legendary horn and sword. On the cathedral’s north portal, known as the “Porta della Pescheria,” the archivolts portray several knights on horseback storming a fortress, with inscriptions identifying the figures as Arthurian heroes (fig. 263). 534 Legendary warriors also appear at the Cathedral of Verona. On the outermost jambs of the main portal are sculptures of Roland and Oliver (figs. 264–66). Their placement at the door below an image of the Virgin in the tympanum, often an allegory for the church, suggests that they are holy warriors who defend the church and examples for contemporary warriors and crusaders. 535

Evidence that Lucca’s communal elite conceived of themselves as members of an aristocratic warrior class is provided by the communal seal (fig. 267). Used from 1181 through the late thirteenth century, it pictures a knight on horseback with a shield, sword, and standard, and an inscription running around the outer edge—“Powerful Lucca strikes down those whom she finds to be against her”—asserts the commune’s ability to summon its members to its defense. 536

For viewers who identified as part of this noble, knightly culture, St. Martin was a particularly appropriate role model. Although Martin lived in the fourth century and

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served in the Roman army, around the time of the Crusades he was reinterpreted and presented as an ideal Christian knight.\textsuperscript{537} Thomas of Celano, in his Life of St. Francis, refers to St. Martin as a knight, and a life of St. Martin in verse composed by Péan de Gâtineau in the second quarter of the thirteenth century invents a new scene in Martin’s biography in which he is dubbed as a knight.\textsuperscript{538} This episode was later included in the frescoes by Simone Martini in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi, where St. Martin is shown receiving items that were potent signifiers of knightly identity, a belt with a double-edged sword and spurs.\textsuperscript{539} Thus, when confronted with the statue of St. Martin at San Martino, with the saint shown on horseback, carrying a sword, and wearing spurs, Lucca’s leader would have viewed the saint as someone of their own stature. His example of using his sword—a symbol of power and instrument of violence—to care for the poor could have served to check their more violent impulses and remind them of their obligation to use their status to protect the powerless.

Different aspects of St. Martin and the Beggar’s iconography probably grabbed the attention of other groups in the city. For Lucca’s thriving merchants and artisans, it was likely the scene’s focus on a moment of material exchange and the central role played by a textile that resonated most strongly. As the last chapter emphasized, the silk industry was a major sector of Lucca’s economy in the early thirteenth century, with many earning their livelihood from creating, selling, and transporting expensive fabrics. St. Martin’s willingness to rend and part with a valuable garment would have stressed the

obligation to share one’s wealth with the less fortunate in terms that were practically
individualized for this audience. That medieval textile workers made these connections
between the story of St. Martin and the Beggar and their professional activities is attested
by the fact that in many cities St. Martin became the patron saint of tailors, drapers, and
textile merchants.540

The centrality in the scene of the transfer of material goods from one individual to
another also made St. Martin and the Beggar relevant even to those indirectly affected by
the silk industry. The growth of Lucca’s economy, its involvement in long-distance trade,
and its citizens’ increasing wealth propelled Lucca to the forefront of the banking
industry.541 Its businessmen were among the first to venture into extending credit,
accepting deposits, and making transfers between individuals and companies. What is
more, they did these activities right outside San Martino. The area outside the cathedral
had been the enclave of money changers at least since 1111, when they were recorded in
the façade inscription, and they had developed their own guild, known as the “exchange
of St. Martin” (cambium Sancti Martini) by the 1230s.542 Other leading banking families
are documented living and doing business around San Martino by this time as well.543
Many engaged in practices that exploited those on society’s lower rungs, like charging
interest on loans and seizing land, property, and even clothing when their debtors could
not pay.544 With the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar as a nearby, constant reminder of

541 Thomas W. Blomquist, “The Dawn of Banking in an Italian Commune: Thirteenth Century Lucca,” in
Blomquist, Merchant Families, 53–75.
542 Ibid., 57.
544 Ibid., “The Dawn of Banking,” 64–65; Christine Meek, “Clothing Distrained for Debt in the Court of
the way they should act towards the poor, these individuals might have been convinced to trade their mercenary work for works of mercy.

The sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar thus helped to create a relationship between St. Martin and Lucca’s citizens that overcame the saint’s lack of connection to Lucca and absent relic cult. Its sculptural form suggested St. Martin’s presence, as well as his power and authority within the city, while the subject appealed to contemporary spiritual concerns using a visual language that spoke in particularly compelling ways to specific audiences.

4. Reception and Afterlife

Looked at in this manner, St. Martin and the Beggar seems like an exceptionally appropriate model of sanctity for a Lucchese audience. But is there any indication that the work actually did make an impression on Lucca’s populace, as those who commissioned the work hoped that it would? Two pieces of evidence that suggest that it did. The first is an episode in the life of St. Zita. Her Life recounts how on the eve of the feast of the Nativity, Zita was eager to attend the vigil held at the cathedral. As it was a very cold night, her master insists on giving her his fur-lined cloak to keep warm, warning her not to lend or misplace it. As soon as she arrives at the church, she notices a beggar suffering from the freezing weather and lends him the cloak. Although she instructs him to wait for her until after the service is over, he disappears and Zita is forced to return home without the cloak, but is saved from her master’s anger when the pauper miraculously appears with the garment at her house the next day.

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545 Webb, Saints and Cities, 168–70.
The model for this vignette is clearly St. Martin’s encounter with the beggar in Amiens, which the author of Zita’s Life acknowledges. This was probably not coincidental. For Lucchesi, the echoes between Zita’s actions and those of St. Martin would have been easily identifiable, and the account of Zita giving away a cloak at San Martino probably would have brought to mind the eye-catching sculpture of St. Martin and the Beggar that they regularly encountered in that space. That this episode was woven into the hagiography of a new saint, intended to legitimize her veneration and spread her cult, suggests that St. Martin had become an authoritative and beloved model of sanctity and that his depiction at the cathedral played no small part in giving him this status.

Another sign that the sculpture of Martin and the Beggar made a strong impression on its audience is the fact that this work later became the centerpiece of a local civic ritual. First attested in Lucca’s civic statutes from 1331 and recorded regularly in the expenses of the communal treasury throughout the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, the ritual took place on the evening before St. Martin’s feast day. At public expense, the statue of St. Martin was dressed in a newly made cloak and hat of red and white fabric, the colors of the commune. Treasury records from throughout the fourteenth century indicate that the cloak was lined with vair, and that St. Martin’s horse was given a bridle made of leather and gilded metal and his sword was covered with silver. In addition to dressing the sculpture, the statute of 1331 states that a member of the Anziani—the leaders of the Popolo who then controlled Lucca’s government—was to

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546 Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Statuti, no. 4, 1331–36, p. 115. Other documentation pertaining to the ritual is provided in the appendix. Detailed descriptions of the ritual are also provided in Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, 294–98; Webb, Patrons and Defenders, 209.
obtain the cloak from the previous year’s ritual from the *operarius* of Santa Croce in exchange for a candle and was to wear the cloak as he rode through the city on horseback to be seen by the rest of the citizens. In the statutes of 1372, this part of the ritual had changed slightly, as the statutes state that the *Anziani* could give the cloak to any person of their choosing to wear as he rode through the city, and Webb notes that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the intended recipient of the cloak was “any poor person.”

The ritual created an emphatic public comparison between the generosity of Lucca’s government leaders and that of their patron saint. By dressing St. Martin, they mimicked his actions when he clothed the beggar outside Amiens, while by wearing his cloak as they rode on horseback through the city streets, they quite literally fashioned themselves in St. Martin’s image. Such emulation of St. Martin’s charity was a shrewd move in a society that celebrated the common good above individual needs. Moreover, the ritual must have had a specific impact in the political environment of Lucca in the early fourteenth century. The *Popolo* had finally taken control of the city’s government in the first years of the 1300s, and they remained in elite positions even under Castruccio Castracani (1281–1328), a local *condottiero* who ruled the city and surrounding region between 1316 and 1328. It was thus probably not a coincidence that they devised a ritual that highlighted and celebrated the work of Lucca’s tradesmen and artisans. The expense records provide a sense of just how many different trades were involved in making St. Martin’s cloak and other garments, including textile workers, tailors, furriers,

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549 Seidel and Silva also note that the ritual shows the “popular character” of the Lucchese government at this time (ibid., *The Power of Images*, 294).
metalworkers, leatherworkers, and even carpenters who built a scaffold in front of the statue. Displaying the products of these industries in connection with St. Martin would have been a powerful statement about the value of these workers. In addition, the ritual also supported these industries in more than a symbolic way, as it established an annual opportunity for individual tradesmen to provide their work in exchange for public funds.

In one sense, this ritual surrounding St. Martin and the Beggar is a prime example of what has been called “civic religion,” the takeover by lay officials of religious symbols and spaces in the service of their own legitimization. St. Martin and the Beggar’s appropriation by Lucca’s leaders indicates bespeaks the laity’s increasing control over the main cults of the city and the space of the cathedral itself, a situation that was anticipated in the decision to give the Opera of Santa Croce full control over the cathedral fabric in 1274. On the other hand, lay leaders’ choice of this sculpture as a vehicle through which to construct their own identity points to the enduring influence that the cathedral and its clergy had in urban life; had St. Martin not already been an established and beloved symbol of authority, it is unlikely that it would have been deemed a useful tool for civic spectacle.

The ritual of dressing St. Martin and the Beggar thus marks the final step in St. Martin’s transformation from an episcopal to a civic symbol. Long associated with Lucca’s episcopacy, St. Martin’s connection to the local church was revived and strengthened by the ambitious sculpture of the saint, which also cast him into a new role.

as a centerpiece of Lucchese identity and a model of civic values. The work’s success in this regard is attested by its afterlife and adaptation to a changing political atmosphere.
Conclusion

As the façade project at San Martino drew to a close in the second half of the thirteenth century, both the cathedral and the city were on the verge of further change. In 1308, the eastern end of the cathedral was enlarged, and a major renovation of San Martino began in 1372, resulting in the replacement of almost all of the earlier fabric.\textsuperscript{551} Work continued for over a century and created the late Gothic structure with details resembling the Camposanto in Pisa and the cathedral of Siena that still defines the church’s appearance today.

Although Lucca would remain a free commune until the era of Napoleon, the political structure established in the late eleventh century would come to an end in 1316, when Castruccio Castracani took over the city’s leadership.\textsuperscript{552} Having assisted Uguccione della Faggiola and the Pisans with sacking Lucca two years earlier, Castracani assumed power and ruled the city as a lord, expanding its territory and increasing its influence until his death in 1328. Nonetheless, as a smaller city, Lucca was unable to compete as Florence, Pisa, and Siena grew towards the height of their power. Without Castracani, it fell prey to several foreign leaders before surrendering to Pisa in 1342 and remained subject to Pisa until liberated by Emperor Charles IV in 1369.\textsuperscript{553}

San Martino’s façade is thus the product of a distinct period in Lucca’s history, one that would not last far beyond the façade’s completion. This dissertation has argued

\textsuperscript{552} Meek, “Lucca,” 660.
\textsuperscript{553} On the period between 1328 and 1342, see Louis Green, \textit{Lucca under Many Masters: A Fourteenth-Century Italian Commune in Crisis (1328–1342)}, Quaderni di Rinascimento 30 (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1995). On Charles IV’s relationship with Lucca, see Seidel and Silva, \textit{The Power of Images}. 
for understanding the façade as a response to the social and political characteristics of this era. The first chapter summarized the history of this institution and its relationship to the city, noting that the façade project was undertaken at exactly the moment that the Lucchese commune received formal recognition and its civil leaders established their own headquarters away from the domain of the bishop and his clergy. The second chapter focused on the façade project itself, introducing the structure, its sculpture, and chronology of construction. Departing from previous studies centered on identifying workshops and masters present at San Martino, this section instead investigated the documentary evidence pertaining to the cathedral opera. It argued that this material suggests that despite the involvement of the laity as financial administrators of the project, the clergy at San Martino maintained a very close relationship to the leaders of the workshops throughout the era of the façade’s creation. They can therefore be regarded as the principal intellectual designers of the façade and its sculpture, using this monument to give a new face to their institution that addressed the shifting boundaries between religious and civic authority and the constant conflicts that threatened the city’s stability.

The next three chapters each analyzed a phase in the façade’s construction, aiming to show the different ways that San Martino’s canons reshaped their institution’s identity, maintaining its place at the center of Lucca’s civic life and informing the ways that contemporary Lucchesi conceived of their community. The third chapter focused on the design of the portico and some of its sculptural decoration, arguing that it was meant to evoke the Temple and Throne of Solomon and announce how the Volto Santo has transformed the city into a new Jerusalem. It compelled citizens to understand their city as a sacred space and their cathedral as the home of its true sovereign, the new civic
palace notwithstanding. The fourth chapter examined the ornament of the gallery zone and proposed that its distinctive appearance was affected by the explosion of the silk industry in Lucca that began at the end of the twelfth century. Reflecting a taste for aesthetic richness and borrowing motifs and patterns from fabrics allowed the designers of the cathedral to recall the varied associations of silk and clothe their church’s exterior in a manner likely to appeal to many in the city, regardless of social divisions. The final chapter analyzed the statue of St. Martin and the Beggar, asserting that it was intended to reinforce favorable connections between St. Martin’s and the leaders of Lucca’s church while also promoting him as patron saint of the city and presenting his example of charity to counter civic clashes and violence.

The result of this study is a new understanding of a major monument of Tuscan medieval art, as well as an appeal to nuance discussions of the relationship of religious and civic authority in communal Italy. Long overshadowed by Florence and Siena in the Renaissance and Pisa in the Middle Ages, Lucca has rarely been considered a center of artistic innovation. The chapters of this dissertation, each focusing on a feature of San Martino’s façade that sets it apart from other monuments in the region, illustrates the originality of Lucchese artists and workshops and extent to which their products responded to local concerns. The local nature of the undertaking at San Martino is also a reminder of the difficulty of making generalizations about the significance of the space of the cathedral in Italian cities. Although the standard narrative of the communal era presents the cathedral as the domain of the laity and a sign of the growing secularization of the newly formed city-states, this interpretation of San Martino’s façade indicates that the situation was more complicated and that Lucca’s bishop and canons continued to use
monumental art to strengthen their position and intercede in the city’s public life.

Viewing the cathedral façade in this way not only rescues this monument from slipping into the crack between the Romanesque and the Gothic in stylistic narratives of art history, but also suggests its significance for broader artistic and historic accounts of this period.
Appendix
Documentation Related to the Dressing of St. Martin and the Beggar

ASL, Camerlingo generale, Mandatorie, #89, 28 November 1334, p. 115-16

Item providemus et declaramus quod Bartholomeus Sbarre maior tesaurius regie Lucani Camere quatenus de pecunia dicte Camere dare solver et expendere potuerit pro panno albo et vermilio, xvi variis, duobus cappellis lane feltrate et ochialibus et auriculis de octone pro quo emptis pridie nostro mandato pro faciendo et renovando vestes beati Martini Lucani quas indultas (sic) fuit iiii idus presentis mensis novembris, quo fuit vigilia festivitatis ipsius iuxta consuetudinem diutius observatam omnibus expensis ibi factis ac etiam pro custura ipsarum vestium et aliis necessariis de quibus diligentem rationem vidimus ad unam summam reductis sine aliqua retention gabelle.

(Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, no. 6, p. 378)

ASL, Camerlingo generale, #95, 17 November 1346, fol. 67

Simoni Ugolini dicto Magl(i)ate famulo Lucane Camere pro panno albo et vermilio empto pro vestimentis de presenti mense facitis ad honorem et reverentiam beati Martini militis et episcopi, patroni et protectoris civitatis Lucane et pro cappellis et vario et aliis expensis facitis pro ornatu et sutura dictorum vestimentorum secundum formam statutorum Lucani Communis de quibus expensis occasione predictorum vestimentorum factis visa est ratio diligenter per ratiocinatores Lucani Communis die xv novembris presentis sine aliqua retentione.

(Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, no. 9, p. 379)

ASL, Camarlingo generale, #97, 13 December 1355 (not numbered)

Item providemus et decernimus Fredum camerarium suprascriptum de dicta pecunia expe(n)disse et expendere potuisse nostro mandato pro indumento facto de mense novembris proxime preteriti in festo sancti Martini, ut moris est singulo anno fieri ad ymagine marmoream dicti sancti, de panno albo et vermilio et vario et sutura et aliis opportunis et consuetus de quibus omnibus per nos ratio visa est in totum sine aliqua retentione libras sexaginta solidos x et denarius ii parvorum.

(Seidel and Silva, The Power of Images, no. 11, p. 380)

ASL, Camerlingo generale, #98, 12 November 1361, p. 133
Giarino Uberti pannario civi Lucano sine aliqua retentione libras triginta unam denario bone monete mercadantilis in una parte libras undecim et soldos octo parvorum in alia parte quos dictus Giarinus recipere et habere debet a Comuni Lucano occasione indumenta facti de presenti mense in festo sancti Martini ymagini eius marmoree ut moris est singulo anno fieri, videlicet pro pretio brachiorum viginti panni albi et vermilii emit ab eo pro dicto indumento ad rationem librarum quinque denario bone monete pro qualibet canna et pro infrascriptis expensis factis per eum dicta occasione que sunt hae videlicet libre sex bone predicte dati Ciarello pellipiario pro pretio pancearum xvi vari novi emtarum ab ipso Ciarello, ad rationem soldorum septem et denario bone monete pro qualibet pancia, pro dicto indumento et cappello dicte imagines. Et libre tres et soldi decem parvorum in alia parte dati dicto Ciarello pro lontoratura dicti indumenti et soldi xvii in alia parte dati Iohanni Bellomi pro duobus cordonibus empties ab eo pro loris equi et cappello ditte ymaginis et libra una et soldi decem parvorum dati Bartholomeo Salvi aurifici et Paulo Perfecti merciadro pro forbitura occhialium dicti equi et pro aureatura freni et occhialium dicti equi et argentatura spate dictae ymaginis e pro uno cappello ipsius ymaginis et libre quatuor et soldi decem parvorum in alia parte dati Simonino custori pro sutura dicti indumenti et filo et trecc(i)uolo et soldi viginti parvorum in alia parte dati magistris qui posuerunt et elevaverunt pontem lignaminis pro exuendo et induendo ymaginem predictam.

(Seidel and Silva, *The Power of Images*, no. 12, p. 380)

ASL, Statuti del Comune di Lucca, #6, fol. 76v

De honore et reverencia beati Martini

Pro honore et reverencia beati Martini patroni et protectoris civitatis Lucane statuimus et ordinamus quod domini Anciani singulo anno in festo sancti Martini faciant fieri indumenta ut moris est ad ymaginem sancti Martini que est in frontispicio dicte ecclesie Sancti Martini de cuius indumenti precio et expensis dicti domini Anciani habeant bayliam et auctoritatem providendi et provisionem faciendi de pecunia Lucani Comunis. Et quod dicti Anciani possint largiri indumentum vetus dicte ymaginis cuicumque voluerint, deferendum per eum eques in vigilia et die festi sancti Martini per civitatem Lucanam ut publice videatur.


ASL, Camarlingo generale, #107, 21 November 1390, fol. 159v

Nicolao Solchini vigore provisionis facte die xvii novembris pro kannis quinque panni scherlactini ad computum florenorum duorum pro qualibet canna pro vestimento sancti Martini pro costura dicti vestimenti, pro vario, pro cordulis pro actatura pontis, pro spata
et freno equi sancti Martini in totum florenos quatuordecim in auro, libras septem, solidos tredecim et denarius quatuor sine diminution gabelle.

(Seidel and Silva, *The Power of Images*, no. 24, p. 385)

ASL, Camarlingo generale, #108, 22 November 1391, fol. 151v

Nuccio Iohannis pannario vigore provisionis facte die xviii novembris pro brachiis xxi panni albi et scherlactini per eum dati nobis pro vestiendo figuram gloriosi confessoris sancti Martini die vigilie festivitatis eiusdem ad honorem et reverentiam Dei et cetera ad computum florenorum duorum auri per cannam florenos decem et medium in auro sine diminution. Et quos de suo proprio solvit pro ornatu dictarum vestium et sutura, pro pancis de vario, pro gallerio quod ponitur in capite dicte figure, pro ornatu ensis et ponte fiendo pro vestiendo dictam figuram florenos quatuor in auro, libras tres et solidos quatuordecim sine diminutione.

(Seidel and Silva, *The Power of Images*, no. 25, p. 385)

ASL, Camarlino Generale, #111, 10 December 1401, fol. 177v

Nuccio Iohannis recipient pro se et sotiis pro pretio brachiorum xxii panni albi et vermiliis venditi et dati pro veste facta ad ymaginem gloriosi martiris sancti Martini in maior ecclesia Lucana pro anno presenti florenos novem in auro libras duas solidos quinque sine retention...eodem Nuccio recipiente pro infrascriptis de causis videlicet: pro Iacobo Puccini sutore pro sutura et ponitura dictae vestis sine retention lb. 2 s. 10 pro Nanne de Piscia pellipario pro pancis xvi vari pro ornament vestis lb. 2 s. 8 pro filo facto ad dictam vestem sine retention lb. 5 pro Marco Parducci merciadro pro duobus cordonibus pro dicta veste pro Francisco Andree pictore pro pictura et ornamenta vestis et fulcimento equi dicte ymaginis per eum factis lb. 1 pro Michele Chesini magistro lignaminis pro una opera mixa ad faciendum et postea ad levandum pontem lignaminis factum pro ornando dictam ymagine(m) lb. 1.

(Seidel and Silva, *The Power of Images*, no. 26, p. 385)
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