

MICHAEL TAVUZZI O.P., *Savonarola and Vincenzo Bandello*, in «Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum» (ISSN 0391-7320), 69, (1999), pp. 199-224.

Url: <https://heyjoe.fbk.eu/index.php/afp>

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SAVONAROLA AND VINCENZO BANDELLO*

BY
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"Omnibus et singulis fratribus Congregationis S. Marci precipitur sub pena gravioris culpe, ne scienter et ex proposito dicant quod frater Hieronymus fuerit iniuste damnatus, vel quod fuerit propheta vel martir vel sanctus, vel quod faciat aut fecerit miracula . . ." ¹

Master General Vincenzo Bandello di Castelnuovo (1435-1506) issued this severe injunction against the persisting cult of the memory of Girolamo Savonarola on 10 March 1502 within the course of a canonical visitation of the convent of San Marco in Florence that lasted from at least 9 March till 29 March of that year.² The documentation that records this as well as other allied, contemporaneous prohibitions is contained in the first of Bandello's two registers (1500-05 and 1506)³ which unfortunately, still remain unedited for the most part.⁴ It has, however, long been known to Savonarola-

* The following abbreviations will be employed:

DE MAIO = R. DE MAIO, *Savonarola e la curia romana*, Rome 1969.

EN = *Edizione nazionale delle Opere di Girolamo Savonarola*, Rome 1953-:

GHERARDI = A. GHERARDI, *Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola*, 2nd. ed, Florence 1887.

RIDOLFI = R. RIDOLFI, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, 6th ed. with "note aggiunte" by A. F. VERDE, Florence 1997.

SCHNITZER = G. SCHNITZER, *Savonarola.*, 2 vols., Milan 1931.

VILLARI = P. VILLARI, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi*, 2 vols. Florence 1910.

¹ AGOP IV, 15, f. 65v.

² AGOP IV, 15, ff. 65r-66v.

³ AGOP IV, 15 = first register (1501-05). AGOP IV, 16 = second register (1506).

⁴ The parts dealing with the *Provincia Teutoniae* have been edited by B. M. REICHERT, *Registrum litterarum Joachimi Turriani 1487-1500, Vincentii Bandelli 1501-*

scholars, for it was first published by Alessandro Gherardi well over a century ago.⁵

Yet, no one seems to have raised the question whether these harsh prescriptions indicate an accommodating, conformist stance that Bandello adopted after Savonarola's execution on 23 May 1498 and, especially, after his own election as Dominican master general in May 1501 and are, accordingly, to be considered as no more than repetitions of the analogous provisions previously made by his predecessor, Master General Gioacchino Torriani,⁶ or, rather, whether they represent a final manifestation of long-standing hostility towards Savonarola that might even go as far back as Bandello's first dealings with him many years before.

This is not an idle question, for it should not be forgotten that Savonarola spent the greater part of his Dominican life (1475-1493) as a member of the Congregation of Lombardy, before becoming his own man and the absolute master of the convent of San Marco with its separation from the Congregation in late May 1493. During these eighteen years Bandello played a leading role in the life of the Congregation and, moreover, in Savonarola's own. It might even be the case that the part played by Bandello in both of these was so significant as to contribute in no small measure to the way in which the Savonarola affair actually developed. It will be worthwhile, then, to trace the continuing contacts between Savonarola and Bandello, which so far have been largely overlooked by scholars,⁷ and see whether a fuller grasp of these casts some new light on the Savonarola case, especially in its initial phases.

1506, *Thomae de Vio Caietani 1507-1513*, (QF, X), Leipzig 1914, 128-51. The parts dealing with the *Provincia Saxoniae* have been edited by G. M. LÖHR, *Registrum litterarum pro provincia Saxoniae Joachimi Turriani 1487-1500, Vincentii Bandelli 1501-1506, Thomae de Vio Caietani 1507-1513. Nebst Fortsetzungen aus den Jahren 1524-1551*, (QF, XXXX), Cologne 1952, 103-22.

⁵ GHERARDI, 335.

⁶ GHERARDI, 331-35.

⁷ J. SCHNITZER, *Savonarola im Streife mit seinem Orden und seinem Kloster*, Munich 1914, 62-66, 98-99, has a few critical remarks on Bandello (repeated in SCHNITZER, I, 140).

I

The basic facts concerning Savonarola's early years as a Dominican are well known. He entered the Friars Preachers at the age of twenty-two in the convent of San Domenico in Bologna where he received the religious habit from the convent's prior, Giorgio da Vercelli, on 26 April 1475 and, after the completion of his novitiate, made his religious profession on 28 April 1476 as a *filius* of San Domenico.⁸ He subsequently remained in Bologna and, since he had completed the necessary studies *in artibus* at the University of Ferrara before entering the Order, commenced immediately his theological studies. He completed two years of theology in San Domenico during 1476-78. During this biennium he also received holy orders: after receiving tonsure and the four minor orders, probably at the beginning of the academic year 1476-77, he was ordained a subdeacon on 21 September 1476,⁹ a deacon on 1 March 1477,¹⁰ and to the priesthood either at the very end of the academic year 1476-77 or at the beginning of the academic year 1477-78.

During the following academic year (1478-79) Savonarola continued his theological studies in Bologna, but this time it was as a *studens formalis*, after being accepted as such on 3 July 1478.¹¹ The significance of this has generally not been sufficiently appreciated by the many scholars who hitherto have dealt with Savonarola. It implies that Savonarola belonged to that restricted number of friars of the Congregation of Lombardy who were expressly chosen by its authorities to make an academic career within it.

By becoming a *studens formalis* Savonarola became officially a student of the studium generale situated in the convent of San Domenico and thereby, in effect, matriculated as a student of the theological faculty of the University of Bologna within which the

⁸ ASOP, 1(1893), 75a. RIDOLFI, 274 n. 34, 399 n. a. 3.

⁹ C. PIANA, "Il suddiaconato di frà Girolamo Savonarola (Bologna, 21 Settembre 1476)." *Rinascimento* XVII (1966) 287-94.

¹⁰ C. PIANA. "Il diaconato di frà Girolamo Savonarola (Bologna, 10 Marzo 1477)," AFP XXXIV (1964), 343-48.

¹¹ C. PIANA. *Ricerche su le Università di Bologna e di Parma nel secolo XV*, Quaracchi-Florence 1963, 270. Ridolfi *Vita*, 401 n. a, 6.

Dominican studium was integrated. He thus began the long and arduous course of studies that could have led, eventually, to the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Sacred Theology and even to the prestigious and coveted appointment as regent master in a studium generale.

The sequence of steps towards the master's degree usually consisted of a number of years as a *studens formalis*, a single year as master of studies, a biennium as biblical bachelor or *cursor*, and a biennium as bachelor of the Sentences "pro gradu et forma magisterii". After the completion of the last of these steps, it was necessary to be given permission (that is, to be "licensed") by either the master general or a general chapter of the order to be examined by and graduate as a master within the theological faculty of an approved university, which, for members of the Congregation of Lombardy, was invariably that of Bologna. It must be stressed that, in the actual practice of the Congregation, this pattern of academic promotion was never chronologically continuous. Rather, each step of the process was usually followed by a number of years of apostolic work away from the Bolognese studium generale and which often took the form of serving as the conventual lector in some minor house of the Congregation.

I have rather laboured this matter because it is important to be aware of precisely what Savonarola was envisaged as having ahead of him as the result of being assigned as a *studens formalis* during 1478-79. An awareness of the customary pattern of a mixture of academic and apostolic appointments that he was thereby embarking upon sheds considerable light, and even confers a measure of predictability, on what actually did happen to him during the following twelve years or so. There is, in fact, and despite the innumerable imaginative suggestions that have been proposed by Savonarola's many biographers, no major, official event in Savonarola's life from the time of his reception into the order in 1475 till his second assignment to San Marco in Florence in 1490, which is in need of a specifically Savonarolan explanation, for each of these simply reflects an experience common to every other academically promising friar of the Congregation during the second half of the fifteenth century.

II

It was during these years as a student of theology in Bologna, and especially during his year as a *studens formalis* in 1478-79 when he had him as a teacher, that Savonarola first came into contact with Vincenzo Bandello. Bandello was born in Castelnuovo Scrivia near Tortona in Lombardy in 1435 or 1436 and therefore was some twenty years Savonarola's senior. He had received the Dominican habit in the convent of Santa Sabina in Rome in early 1458, but he subsequently completed his novitiate year in San Domenico in Bologna where he made his religious profession in early 1459 and became a *filius* of that convent.¹² As far as we know he then completed six years of studies *in artibus* and theology in Bologna during 1459-65. At the very end of that period he was ordained priest on 8 June 1465 in Bologna's cathedral church of San Petronio by Marco de Cattaneis OP, bishop of Alessandria¹³.

In 1465 the general chapter held in Novara assigned Bandello as a *studens formalis* in the Bolognese studium generale¹⁴. It is certain that he completed at least one academic year as such during 1465-66, for it is recorded that he matriculated on 12 June 1465¹⁵. We know nothing of his doings during the four following years (1466-70), but it is likely that at an early point in this period he left the Bolognese studium and was assigned to the convent of Santa Maria di Castello in Genoa, for the next documented reference to him that we possess informs us of his participation at the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Vicenza in 1470 as the socius of the prior of that convent¹⁶.

In late 1470 Bandello returned to the studium in Bologna, for the general chapter of Avignon 1470 had assigned him there as master of studies for the academic year 1470-71¹⁷. It is certain that he did actually hold this post commencing on 4 October 1470 since

¹² ASOP I (1893), 73a.

¹³ C. PIANA and C. CENCI, *Promozioni agli ordini sacri a Bologna e alle dignità ecclesiastiche nel Veneto nei secoli XIV-XV*, Quaracchi-Florence 1968, 153.

¹⁴ MOPH VIII, 300.

¹⁵ PIANA, *Ricerche*, 268.

¹⁶ A. D'AMATO, "Vicende dell'osservanza regolare nella Congregazione domenicana di Lombardia negli anni 1469-72," AFP XV (1945), 95.

¹⁷ MOPH VIII, 328.

there are several documented traces of his presence there at this time¹⁸. But nothing certain is known of his whereabouts or his activities during the following seven years (1471-78), although it seems likely that he spent the biennium 1471-73 as biblical bachelor in Bologna, and it is possible that he spent the next few years in the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, for it was in that city that he published his first treatise against the thesis of the Immaculate Conception in 1475¹⁹.

It is clear, though, that he returned to Bologna by late 1478 at the very latest, since the general chapter of Perugia 1478 had assigned him as bachelor of the Sentences in its studium for the academic year 1478-79²⁰. As the post of bachelor of the Sentences was normally for a biennium, and there is no evidence that Bandello was in Bologna during the following academic year (1479-80), while there is some evidence that he was there during the previous one (1477-78),²¹ it is probable that the year 1478-79 was actually Bandello's second year as bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna, and that the general chapter of Perugia 1478, rather than assigning him to the post *ex novo*, simply confirmed him in the second year of the biennium which must have commenced at the beginning of the academic year 1477-78, so that he would have first returned to Bologna in mid or late 1477. Whatever the case, we have seen that it was precisely during the academic year 1478-79 that Savonarola was in Bologna as a *studens formalis*. Bandello was therefore certainly one of his teachers at this time.

It must be mentioned that whether Bandello did indeed hold the post of bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during 1478-79, and was accordingly one of Savonarola's teachers at that time, has been the subject of some controversy. Schnitzer first argued this to have been the case on the basis of the Acts of Perugia 1478²². But Ridolfi subsequently rejected Schnitzer's claim, and asserted that Bandello did not serve as bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during 1478-79 and therefore is not to be counted among

¹⁸ PIANA, *Ricerche*, 113, 268.

¹⁹ *Libellus recollectorius auctoritatum de veritate conceptionis beate Virginis Mariae* Milan 1475. (GKW 3237).

²⁰ MOPH VIII, 345.

²¹ See n. 29 below.

²² SCHNITZER, I, 41. 47 n. 87.

Savonarola's teachers²³. Ridolfi did so on the basis of Ludovico da Prelormo's *Chronica* which lists another friar, Tommaso di Cristoforo Capitanei de' Colleoni da Bergamo, as serving as the bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during 1477-79,²⁴ and lists Bandello as doing so only as late as 1481-83.²⁵

I am convinced that, on this point, the Acts of Perugia 1478 and Schnitzer are correct and the list of the moderators of the Bolognese studium generale in Prelormo's *Chronica* (a late sixteenth century compilation) and Ridolfi are wrong for the following reasons:

1. During 1481-83 Bandello could not have been the bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna because during that biennium he was certainly serving as the prior of the convent of San Marco in Florence.²⁶ This is not only documented in its own right, but is also confirmed by all the properly Savonarolan sources which insist that when Savonarola was first assigned to San Marco in 1482, Bandello was the prior there.²⁷ It is amazing that Ridolfi could serenely accept this last point and not realize that it destroyed his argument against Bandello having been Savonarola's teacher during 1478-79 on account of Ludovico da Prelormo's claim that Bandello served as bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna precisely during 1481-83.

2. Several of the sources that confirm Bandello's priorship of San Marco during 1481-83 indicate him as already being a *baccalaureus theologiae* by that time.²⁸

²³ RIDOLFI, 10.

²⁴ LUDOVICO DA PRELORMO, *Chronica*, Archivio S. Domenico, Bologna., VII 32900, f. 132v.

²⁵ PRELORMO, *Chronica*, ASDB, VII 32900, f. 133r.

²⁶ "XXI^s Prior suffectus est fr. Vincentius de Castronovo, dioc. Derthonensis, tunc sacrae theologiae bacalarius . . . Initiit autem huius conventus regimen anno Domini m.cccc.lxxxi, praefuitque fratribus et urbi acceptus admodum ad annum Domini m.cccc.lxxxiii . . ." *Annalia Conventus S. Marci de Florentia* (Florence, Bib. Laur. . MS San Marco, 370), f. 72r. (Text published in C. PIANA, "Una crisi spirituale in Feo Belcari per l'Immacolata Concezione e una lettera inedita di fr. Cherubinum da Spoleto (1482)," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XLVII (1954), 451.)

²⁷ For example: PLACIDO CINOZZI, *Epistola de vita et moribus Ieronimi Savonarolae fratri Iacobo Siculo* in P. VILLARI and E. CASANOVA, *Scelta di prediche e di scritti di fra Girolamo Savonarola*, Florence 1898, 10; Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola*, Florence 1937, 16.

²⁸ See n. 26 above and B. L. ULLMAN and P. A. STADTER, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, Padua 1972. 178.

3. Contemporary evidence for Bandello's presence in Bologna as bachelor of the Sentences during 1477-79 is provided by the Bolognese convent's still extant *Liber consiliorum*. The minutes of the meetings of the council of the convent of San Domenico held on 22 February and 9 July 1478 include Bandello's signature as the third in the list - the place proper to the bachelor of the Sentences after the prior and the regent master.²⁹

4. There is no trace in the Bolognese *Liber consiliorum* of the friar listed by Prelormo's *Chronica* as bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during 1478-79 instead of Bandello. It is indeed highly improbable that Tommaso da Bergamo would have served as bachelor of the Sentences there at this time. It seems that he had served as a bachelor of the Sentences before 1470 since the general chapter of Avignon 1470 approved his having done so before then as being "pro gradu et forma magisterii"³⁰ and it is known that he graduated a master of theology in the University of Pisa on 6 September 1470.³¹

Furthermore, it is certain that Tommaso da Bergamo was not even a member of the Congregation of Lombardy during 1477-79. Tommaso da Bergamo had adhered to the group of friars who had separated themselves from the Congregation after the election of Tommaso da Lecco as vicar general at the Congregation's chapter held in Bologna on 26 April 1469.³² This group, consisting of the friars of the convents of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and at first also of Florence and Fiesole, elected Girolamo Parlasca as its vicar general and remained separate from the Congregation until

²⁹ *Liber Cons. Conv. Bon. I*, Archivio S. Domenico, Bologna, III, 4000, ff. 19v, 20r.

³⁰ MOPH VIII, 327. Tommaso da Bergamo had previously been assigned as a *studens formalis* in Bologna by the general chapter of Novara 1465 (MOPH VIII, 300) and is known to have been there at this time (PIANA, *Ricerche*, 283). He subsequently served as master of studies in Bologna during 1467-68 (PRELORMO, *Chronica*, ASDB, VII, 32900, f. 132r). At the time of the approval of his lecturing on the Sentences he seems to have been teaching in Lucca, see *La "Cronaca" del convento domenicano di S. Romano di Lucca*, ed. A. F. VERDE and D. CORSI, MD 21 (1991), 160-61.

³¹ PIANA and CENCI, *Promozioni*, 52 n. 1, cites E. SCHIAFFINO, "Elenco dei dottorati di stranieri e di non Toscani nell' Università di Pisa," *Bollettino storico Pisano*, I (1932), fasc. 2, 52. On 23 November 1470 he was ordered by the order's Procurator General to return three tracts to Pietro da Bergamo (MOPH, XXI, 25 n. 57).

³² D'AMATO, "Vicende," 52-101.

it was reunited with it after the death of the Duke Borso d'Este (20.VIII.1471), probably at the chapter of the Congregation held in Genoa early in April 1472.³³ It was while forming part of this separated group that Tommaso da Bergamo had served as bachelor of the Sentences somewhere, had been approved by the general chapter of Avignon 1470, and had graduated master of theology.³⁴ Accordingly, in conformity with the Congregation's resolution, recorded by both Taegio and Borselli,³⁵ Tommaso da Bergamo is to be counted among those friars who were not readmitted into the Congregation after the reunion of 1472.

There is evidence that Tommaso da Bergamo was then incorporated into the conventual Province of St. Peter Martyr (*Lombardiae Superioris*).³⁶ Far from being bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during 1477-79 as Prelormo claims, and therefore Savonarola's teacher as Ridolfi asserts, he seems to have spent some time in France.³⁷ He then entered the service of King Louis XI, at whose behest Pope Sixtus IV named him commendatory abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Santa Maria di Follina (dioc. Vittorio Veneto) on 7 July 1479.³⁸ He subsequently attended the papal court as one of the French king's representatives,³⁹ and eventually made a minor episcopal career.⁴⁰ He died in 1515.

³³ R. CREYTENS, "Sante Schiattesi OP, disciple de S. Antonin de Florence," *AFP* XXVII (1957), 243-48.

³⁴ Tommaso da Bergamo is explicitly mentioned in the list of the seven friars who had graduated as masters of theology during their separation from the Congregation of Lombardy furnished in G. BORSELLI, *Chronica magistrum generalium OP*, Bologna, Bib. Univ., MS Cod. Lat. 1999, f. 230r, see D'AMATO, "Vicende," 66.

³⁵ A. TAEGIO, *Chronicae Ampliores*, II, AGOP, XIV 52, f. 217v expressly refers to "Frater Thomas de Capitaneis de Bergomo postmodum Cerviensis episcopus", see A. MORTIER, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, IV, Paris 1909, 426 n. 1. BORSELLI, *Chron. mag. gen.*, f. 230r, see D'AMATO, "Vicende," 75.

³⁶ References to him in AGOP IV, 3: 15 July 1474 licensed to preach, etc. (f. 184v); 13 September 1476 appointed vicar and visitor of convent of Monza (f. 317v); 17 September 1476 empowered to absolve the prior of the convent of Monza and confirm a successor (f. 317v).

³⁷ On 17 September 1476 Master General Mansueti permitted him to visit the shrines of Burgundy and Lorraine (AGOP IV, 3, f. 318r).

³⁸ Arch. Vat. Reg. Suppl. 782, f. 237v. The abbey was then in the diocese of Cedena, now Vittorio Veneto.

³⁹ He appears as "Thomas ex Capitanei de Colleionibus ordinis predicatorum theologie eximii professoris Commendatarii monasterii beate marie de pietate dei ordinis cistercien. Cenacen. dyocesis oratoris christianissimi Francorum regis" in the title of his *Oratio in die omnium sanctorum* preached before Sixtus IV on 1 November 1483 and published in Rome by S. Planck (GKW, 6021-23). See: J. W.

5. There is no trace in the Bolognese *Liber consiliorum*, or anywhere else as far as I have been able to ascertain, of Bandello's supposed presence in Bologna during 1481-83. Indeed there is considerable evidence that the bachelor of the Sentences in Bologna during this biennium was Angelo Faella da Verona⁴¹ who had been so assigned by the general chapter of Rome 1481.⁴²

6. Bandello's being the bachelor of the Sentences in the Bolognese *studium generale* during 1477-79 is entirely consonant with the well-established fact of his participation at the famous disputation on the Immaculate Conception which took place in Ferrara on 1 April 1478 and which he is generally acknowledged as having attended from Bologna and as the representative of the Dominican *studium generale* there.⁴³

Is there any possibility that Savonarola and Bandello first came into conflict, or at least developed a measure of reciprocal antipathy, as early as their first encounter during the late 1470s? There is no documented evidence for this, but in terms of our overall knowledge of Savonarola and Bandello two likely points of divergence come immediately to mind:

1. The issue of Dominican poverty: Savonarola always argued that the Dominican ideal required a perfect adherence to mendicancy, whereby neither individual friars nor Dominican houses were to possess any property. Indeed, one could well argue that the principal element in Savonarola's project of Dominican reform was the practice of total mendicancy. Yet, in 1474, a year before

O'MALLEY, "Preaching for the Popes," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. C. TRINKHAUS and H. A. OBERMANN, Leiden 1974, 438; J. W. O'MALLEY, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome. Rhetoric, Doctrine and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court. c. 1450-1521*, Durham NC 1979, 130, 134, 247.

⁴⁰ He became bishop of Parenzo 1485-87 and Cervia 1485-1513. See: BOP IV, 79; PIANA and CENCI, *Promozioni*, 421 n. 1, 423; II, 126, 212; III, 179. For further references see D'AMATO, "Vicende," 66 n. 58. Note that SOPMAE IV, 358-59 expresses a doubt about whether the Tommaso Catanei who became bishop of Parenzo and Cervia is indeed to be identified with our Tommaso da Bergamo. The doubt seems to be founded on the fact that the document cited by PIANA and CENCI, 421 n. 1, qualifies him as "abate" rather than "OP". The doubt is resolved by our n. 39 above.

⁴¹ PIANA, *Ricerche*, 174, 178.

⁴² MOPH VIII, 362.

⁴³ C. PIANA, "Un saggio dell'attività francescana nella difesa e propagazione del culto alla Concezione Immacolata," *Virgo Immaculata Acta congressus Mariologici-Mariani Romae anno MCMLIV celebrati*, vol. 7, fasc. 3, Rome 1957, 1-41.

Savonarola's reception in Bologna, the Dominican Order had petitioned Pope Sixtus IV for the abolition of communal mendicancy. This was conceded by Sixtus IV precisely during Savonarola's novitiate with the Bull *Considerantes* (1 July 1475) which allowed communal property. It is very likely that the disillusioned reaction to this on the part of Savonarola's idealistic peer group found expression in the famous legend whereby St. Dominic himself was supposed to have disclaimed his paternity of the friars who had assembled to chant the "0 spem miram" at his monumental tomb in the church of San Domenico in Bologna. Be that as it may, Savonarola was to repeat the legend several times during the course of some of his later sermons, both as an historical fact,⁴⁴ and as the partial content of a rhetorical device in the form of a putative vision.⁴⁵

Bandello, on the other hand, if we are to go by his many later statements on the matter as well as his actual practice, was certainly in favour of the abolition of mendicancy and the acquisition of communal property.⁴⁶ Bandello, and the Congregation of Lombardy in general, was convinced that communal mendicancy had by this time become a practically impossible ideal.⁴⁷ Furthermore, communal property was deemed to be not only a factual necessity but also the only way of avoiding the entirely reprehensible practice of private property by individual friars.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ EN, *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, vol. I, ed. R. RIDOLFI, Rome 1955, 320. It is instructive that, at least as far as I have been able to ascertain, Savonarola's references to the legend are the earliest mentions of it which are to be found.

⁴⁵ EN, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, vol. III, ed. P. GHIGLIERI, Rome 1972, 16.

⁴⁶ Bandello's edition of the Dominican Constitutions, Milan 1505, reproduces Sixtus IV's bull *Considerantes* (1.VII.1475), as well as his brief *Super nostras* (13.VII.1478), immediately after the Rule of St. Augustine and before the Prologue to the Constitutions (f. Aa.vir-v). The bull and the brief are not reproduced in the second edition of the Constitutions edited by Alberto di Castello, Venice 1507. On Bandello's edition see R. -M. LOUIS, "Histoire du texte des Constitutions dominicaines," AFP, VI (1936), 337-38.

⁴⁷ Bandello in his commentary on Dist. II, c.I, of the Constitutions (f. lxxix-v) dismisses the famous *maledictio sancti Dominici* as a late, historically unjustifiable invention since it is not to be found either in the canonization process of St. Dominic or in Jordan of Saxony's *Libellus*, which contains the earliest legenda of the saint. See F. CREYTENS. "Le 'Testament de S. Dominique' dans la littérature dominicaine ancienne et moderne," AFP, XLIII (1953), 44-46.

⁴⁸ Note the emphatic condemnation of private property and equally emphatic insistence on the necessity of communal property in the ordinations of the general chapters of Rome 1501 (MOPH, IX, 9-12) and Milan 1505 (MOPH, IX, 35-37) presided over by Bandello as master general.

2. The nature of the theological enterprise: From his earliest days in the Order Savonarola clamoured for a less Aristotelian, less speculative, and less disputative theology than that of the "maestri in teologia" of his time.⁴⁹ His ideal seems to have been that of an affective, spiritual theology nourished by Sacred Scripture and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. Bandello, on the other hand, was widely acclaimed as the paradigm of a practitioner of the kind of disputative theology that Savonarola disapproved.⁵⁰

III

At the end of the academic year 1478-79 Savonarola and Bandello were separated. We do not know where Bandello spent the two following years (1479-81) until his election as the twenty-first prior of San Marco in Florence in early 1481,⁵¹ although it is possible that he simply remained in Bologna for it was there that he published a second treatise against the thesis of the Immaculate Conception in 1481.⁵² But it is certain that Savonarola was assigned in early 1479, probably at the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Bologna in April of that year,⁵³ to the convent of

⁴⁹ See, for example: EN, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, III, 294; EN, *Prediche sopra Ruth e Michea*, vol. I, ed. V. ROMANO, Rome 1962, 74; Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 8. Note that Savonarola's reform of studies in San Marco, with its comparative neglect of scholastic theology, had the unfortunate consequence that, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, teachers of this discipline had to be hired from among conventual friars. See A. F. VERDE, "L'insegnamento della teologia nella Congregazione savonaroliana di san Marco alla fine del '400 e all'inizio del '500." *Vivens Homo*, V (1994), 495-529.

⁵⁰ L. ALBERTI, *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Bologna 1517, ff. 47r-49v, mentions the several disputations which made Bandello famous: on the Immaculate Conception in Ferrara (1.IV.1478) and Rome (May 1484); against the Jews in Milan; on diverse topics in Rome, Vigevano, Imola and at the chapters of the Congregation of Lombardy. Almost none of Bandello's numerous scholastic works mentioned by ALBERTI, f. 7v, seem to be extant. For a taste of Bandello's scholastic style see his *additiones* to Aquinas' *Q. D. de Potentia*, q. 4, a. 2, Respondeo-ad 34um-ad 10um and *Q. D. de Virtutibus*, q. unica, a. 2, ad 9um-21um. (in THO. AQUINAS, *Quaestiones Disputatae*, 2 vols., Turin 1953, 114-129, 712-14).

⁵¹ See n. 26 above.

⁵² *De singulari puritate et praerogativa conceptionis salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*, Bologna 12.11.1481 (GKW 3238). Dedicated to Ercole d'Este, it represents Bandello's account of his participation at the disputation held in Ferrara on 1 April 1478.

⁵³ R. CREYTENS, "Les vicaires generaux de la Congrégation dominicaine de Lombardie (1459-1531)," *AFP*, XXXII (1962), 236 n. 154, 267.

Santa Maria degli Angeli in Ferrara where he remained during the triennium 1479-82.

Savonarola's various biographers have written more fiction on this assignment to Ferrara than possibly on any other aspect of his life. Villari would have him sent to Ferrara to preach.⁵⁴ Schnitzer, on the other hand, would have him sent to Ferrara to pursue a course of higher theological studies.⁵⁵ The latter suggestion is certainly the more implausible, indeed preposterous, since the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli was a comparatively minor one and, although it seems to have provided a programme in *artibus* for its *fili*, it was never the site of a studium generale. There was indeed an internationally renowned Dominican studium generale in Ferrara at the time and it was integrated within the theological faculty of the University of Ferrara.⁵⁶ But this studium was in the convent of San Domenico which belonged to the unreformed, conventual Province of St. Dominic (*Lombardiae Inferioris*) and the observant friars of Congregation of Lombardy had no dealings with it whatsoever. Ridolfi at first accepted Schnitzer's suggestion that Savonarola was sent to Ferrara in 1479 for further studies.⁵⁷ He subsequently rejected it,⁵⁸ though, on the basis of the researches of Dante Balboni who discovered evidence that during April 1479 Savonarola was the master of novices in S. Maria degli Angeli.⁵⁹

Ridolfi however, overlooked the fact that Balboni also discovered that as early as September 1479 another friar (Girolamo Mamolini da Bologna) held that post there.⁶⁰ Savonarola's move to Ferrara, and his stay there for the entire triennium 1479-82, seems to require further explanation, then, than Ridolfi's summary reference to his brief, and hence possibly merely interim, six-month interlude as novice master in mid 1479.

⁵⁴ VILLARI, I, 31.

⁵⁵ SCHNITZER, I, 43, 48 n. 98.

⁵⁶ On the studium generale in San Domenico in Ferrara see my "Giovanni Rafanelli da Ferrara OP (+1515), Inquisitor of Ferrara and Master of the Sacred Palace," AFP LVII (1997), 121-29.

⁵⁷ R. RIDOLFI, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, 2 vols., Rome 1952, I, 18.

⁵⁸ RIDOLFI, 11.

⁵⁹ D. BALBONI, "Briciole Savonaroliane." *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di storia patria*, N.S. VII/III (1952-53), 61-73.

⁶⁰ BALBONI, "Briciole," 71.

Savonarola's move to Ferrara, as well as the nature of the principal task that was probably entrusted to him in S. Maria degli Angeli, become readily comprehensible, however, once we recall that he was simply following the customary pattern proper to friars who had been singled out for an academic career within the Congregation of Lombardy. That is, he was very likely assigned as a junior lector to teach the Ferrarese convent's students *in artibus*. A lector at the beginning of his career usually taught logic. It is to these three years in Ferrara, then, that might be ascribed the first drafting of Savonarola's *Compendium logicae* which was definitively edited in San Marco in 1484⁶¹ and published a few years later.⁶²

Savonarola and Bandello were reunited in 1482, for the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Reggio in April 1482⁶³ assigned Savonarola as theological lector in San Marco in Florence where Bandello had been the prior since early 1481. It has been claimed that Savonarola himself was present at the chapter in order to take part in a disputation. This makes perfectly good sense, for it was the kind of thing that was expected of young lectors who were continuing their slow climb of the Congregation's academic ladder. It is, furthermore, corroborated by the probably reliable claim that it was on this occasion that Savonarola first met and befriended Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.⁶⁴

Savonarola's principal modern biographers, Schnitzer and Ridolfi, once again wrote pious fiction on the circumstances of Savonarola's appointment to San Marco as lector.⁶⁵ This time, though, instead of giving vent to their imaginations they simply

⁶¹ See EN, *Scritti Filosofici*, vol. I, ed. E. GARIN and G. GARFAGNINI, Rome 1982, 374.

⁶² The first edition of the *Compendium logicae* seems to be represented by the specimen preserved in Naples, Bib. Naz., s. l. et a. but probably: Pescia 1490. See W. RISSE, *Bibliographia Logica I. 1472-1800*, Hildesheim 1965. VILLARI, I, 102, n. 1 seems to have been familiar with an edition of 1490. RIDOLFI, 288 n. 8, rejects the existence of an edition of 1490 and dismisses Villari's claim as a confusion. GARIN and GARFAGNINI, *Scritti*, 374, 377, indicate as the first edition: Pescia 1492.

⁶³ The ordinations of the chapter of Reggio 1482 are in R. CREYTENS and A. D'AMATO, "Les actes capitulaires de la Congrégation dominicaine de Lombardie (1482-1531), AFP XXXI (1961), 249-253. Unfortunately the texts of the Acts of the chapters of the Congregation of Lombardy published by Creytens and D'Amato are defective and lack the customary list of the participants at the chapters as well as that of the assignments of friars to different works and houses.

⁶⁴ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 16-17. See also GHERARDI, 378-80.

⁶⁵ SCHNITZER, I, 81. RIDOLFI, 13.

uncritically followed the hagiographical confabulations of Placido Cinozzi and Pseudo-Burlamacchi who attributed Savonarola's appointment to Bandello's presumed enthusiasm for his new subject.⁶⁶ The truth of the matter is probably far more prosaic and, once again, readily explainable in terms of the customary pattern of a maturing academic career within the Congregation. After three years of lecturing *in artibus* in Ferrara, it was the normal, entirely predictable thing for Savonarola to be appointed as a lecturer in theology in another, comparatively minor, convent and San Marco probably simply happened to be one that at that time had the need of such a lecturer.

Savonarola and Bandello remained together in San Marco for only one year (1482-83) since early in 1483 Bandello ended his biennial prioral term and thereafter is likely to have moved elsewhere. We do not know how they coexisted that year. Bandello must have noticed both Savonarola's transformation of his theological lectureship into an almost exclusively biblical-spiritual one and his lack of success at preaching at that time. It is not unlikely that he was unfavourably impressed by him on both accounts.

Savonarola himself made an effort to show some interest in his prior's speculative, theological and philosophical production: he made some brief summaries for himself of two of Bandello's polemical tracts.⁶⁷ These were the tract against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception published in 1481⁶⁸ and a tract against Marsilio Ficino's thesis on the superiority of the will over the intellect.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ P. CINOZZI, *Epistola*, 10. Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 16.

⁶⁷ In the note-book now known as the "codice Borromeo". Milan. Bib. Ambrosiana: S.P.ii.5, ff. 20v-32v and 52r-v. See G. CATTIN, *Il primo Savonarola. Poésie e prediche dal Codice Borromeo*, Florence 1973, 168-72.

⁶⁸ See note 52 above.

⁶⁹ *Opusculum Fratris Vincentii de Castronovo Ordinis Praedicatorum ad magnificum ac generosum virum Laurentium Mediceum quod beatitudo hominis in actu intellectus et non voluntatis essentialiter consistit*. Preserved in two MSS. (Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, cod. Acquisti e Doni 632, ff. 1-41, and cod. S. Marco 482, ff. 157-196) it has been edited by P. O. KRISTELLER in *Le Thomisme et la pensée italienne de la Renaissance*, Montreal 1967, 195-278. See also Kristeller's study of the controversy between Bandello and Ficino: "A Thomist Critique of Marsilio Ficino's Theory of Will and Intellect. Fra Vincenzo Bandello da Castelnuovo OP and his unpublished treatise addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici," *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem 1965, 463-94, reprinted in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters III*, Rome 1993, 147-71.

Bandello had commissioned another friar of San Marco, Domenico da Pescia, to make an extremely attractive, illuminated copy of these two tracts that he presented to the library of San Marco just before ending his term as prior.⁷⁰ Once Bandello left San Marco, however, Savonarola seems to have had no further interest in Bandello's works. Be that as it may, after Bandello's departure Savonarola remained in San Marco for another four years till early 1487.

It is during these four years in San Marco, after Bandello's departure from there and under the authority of, possibly, less academically inclined and vigilant priors,⁷¹ that Savonarola began to preach widely outside Florence and, starting with Lent 1485 in San Cimignano, developed his own, distinctive style of prophetic preaching, with its stress on personal revelations and its insistence on the proximity of God's inevitable punishment, and subsequent renewal, of the Church.

IV

It is not known where Bandello spent the year 1483-84 following his departure from San Marco. In May 1484 we find him attending the general chapter being held in Rome and defending his maculist thesis so brilliantly in the presence of Pope Innocent VIII that the pontiff immediately created him a Master of Theology.⁷² Bandello's acquisition of the degree was followed by the return to San Domenico in Bologna,⁷³ his appointment as regent master in San Domenico's studium generale,⁷⁴ and his incorporation in the theological faculty of the University of Bologna.⁷⁵ Ban-

⁷⁰ Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, MS S. Marco 482. See ULLMAN and STADTER, *The Public Library*, 30, 178 n°. 463.

⁷¹ The prior of San Marco during 1483-85 was Francesco Salviati and during 1485-87 Niccolò da Taggia.

⁷² MOPH, VIII, 382. L. ALBERTI, *De viris illustribus*, ff. 7v, 48v.

⁷³ Bandello had returned to Bologna by 24 August 1484, see PIANA, *Ricerche*, 172.

⁷⁴ PRELORMO, *Chronica*, ASDB, VII 32900, f. 133r.

⁷⁵ F. EHRLE, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna*, Bologna 1932, 130. Bandello subsequently served as dean of the Faculty of Theology during the first term of the academic year 1493-94, see PIANA, *Ricerche*, 268.

dello subsequently held the post of regent master for five academic years (1484-89).⁷⁶ In 1488 he was also elected prior of the Bolognese convent,⁷⁷ but held this office for only one year (1488-89) until his election as Vicar General of the Congregation of Lombardy in May 1489. In mid 1487 Savonarola and Bandello were brought together for a further, third and final period. The chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Bologna in May 1487⁷⁸ had reassigned Savonarola to the Bolognese studium as master of studies for the academic year 1487-88,⁷⁹ while Bandello was serving his fourth year there as regent master. Once again, there is little need to invoke the exceptional quality of Savonarola's piety and doctrine, as is done by Ridolfi,⁸⁰ to account for this appointment. Savonarola was simply continuing the customary pattern of academic promotion operative in the Congregation of Lombardy.

Unfortunately, for this time as well, we have little information on the personal relationship between Savonarola and Bandello. One thing is clear, though; the post of master of studies seems to have represented a critical point for those who made an academic career in the Congregation of Lombardy, it was precisely at the end of the year as master of studies that a definitive decision was made on who would, and who would not, thereafter continue towards the master's degree. Those who were selected to do so were kept in Bologna and appointed as soon as possible biblical bachelors for a biennium and later, often after a further interruption involving a period away from Bologna, bachelors of the Sentences "pro gradu et forma magisterii". Those who were not selected to do so were immediately assigned elsewhere and never reassigned to the studium generale again.⁸¹

⁷⁶ PRELORMO. *Chronica*, ASDB, VII 32900, f. 133r-v.

⁷⁷ ASOP, I (1893), 146a.

⁷⁸ The ordinations of the chapter of Bologna 1487 are in R. CREYTENS and A. D'AMATO, "Les actes," 257-58.

⁷⁹ PIANA, *Ricerche*, 270 n. 2 cites *Moderatores Studii generalis Bononiensis O.P.*, Archivio S. Domenico, Bologna, II 21000, f. 5r.

⁸⁰ RIDOLFI, 22.

⁸¹ I base this claim on an analysis of the common experience of Savonarola's several contemporaries and fellow-members of the Congregation of Lombardy who did proceed to the master's degree such as Paolo Barbo da Soncino, Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, Giorgio Cacatossici da Casale, etc.

At the end of his year as master of studies in Bologna Savonarola was not kept there. Instead, the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Milan in May 1488⁸² assigned him as a preacher in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Ferrara. His academic career which had been steadily in the making since early 1478 (1478-79 *studens formalis* in Bologna, 1479-82 lector *in artibus* in Ferrara, 1482-87 theological lector in Florence, 1487-88 master of studies in Bologna) was finished. The determinative factor in this would surely have been the evaluation of him presented at the chapter of Milan by the then Bolognese regent master, Vincenzo Bandello.

V

Savonarola remained in S. Maria degli Angeli in Ferrara during 1488-89 and dedicated himself to preaching, perhaps even as far away as Brescia. In the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Pavia in early May 1489 Bandello was elected vicar general of the Congregation for the biennium 1489-91.⁸³ It is to Bandello, then, that Master General Gioacchino Torriani is likely to have sent the letter (dated 29 April 1489) that he had received from Lorenzo de' Medici, supposedly at Pico della Mirandola's behest, asking for Savonarola's return to Florence.⁸⁴ There is no evidence at all that Bandello did receive this letter. If he did, it certainly had no influence on him, for at the chapter of Pavia, or soon thereafter sometime in mid 1489, he assigned Savonarola even further away from Florence than Ferrara, to the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli in Mantua.

Savonarola accordingly spent the following year (1489-90) preaching in northern Italy, even as far away from Mantua as

⁸² The ordinations of the chapter of Milan 1488 are in R. CREYTENS and A. D'AMATO, "Les actes", 258.

⁸³ R. CREYTENS, "Les vicaires généraux de la Congrégation dominicaine de Lombardie (1459-1531)," AFP, XXXII (1962), 242-43. On 24 August 1490 Bandello was also appointed Inquisitor in Bologna (AGOP, IV, 9, 62r) and held the post till 1493 when he was replaced by Girolamo Borselli. For traces of his activities as inquisitor see: G. MEERSSEMAN, "Études sur les anciennes Confréries dominicaines. II. Les Confréries de Saint-Pierre Martyr," AFP, XXI (1951), 51-196.

⁸⁴ RIDOLFI, 24, 281 n. 26.

Genoa, till early May 1490. At that time he attended the chapter of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Como as the socius of the prior of the convent of Mantua.⁸⁵ It was, perhaps, his very presence as a voting member of the chapter that enabled him to have his way about Florence even though the chapter was presided over by Bandello who was at the beginning of his second year as vicar general. Whatever the case, the chapter of Como reassigned Savonarola to San Marco in Florence where he returned at the end of May or the beginning of June 1490.

During 1490-91 Savonarola dedicated himself to preaching in Florence commencing with his lecture-sermons on the Apocalypse which continued well into 1491. In late April 1491 Bandello ended his term as vicar general but was immediately elected prior of San Domenico in Bologna for the biennium 1491-93.⁸⁶ A little later, in late May, Savonarola was elected the twenty-sixth prior of San Marco for the same biennium.⁸⁷ Subsequently, both Bandello and Savonarola attended the chapters of the Congregation of Lombardy held in Venice in late April 1492⁸⁸ and in Piacenza in late April 1493,⁸⁹ as the priors of San Domenico and San Marco respectively.

Schnitzer suggested that Savonarola first began to manoeuvre for the separation of San Marco from the Congregation of Lombardy early in 1492 and that he first argued publicly for it at the chapter of Venice of that year.⁹⁰ But Ridolfi rejected this and claimed that Savonarola first began to do so, and only privately, within the confines of San Marco, well after the chapter of Venice, in late

⁸⁵ A. D'AMATO, "Sull'introduzione della riforma Domenicana nel Napoletano," AFP, XXVI (1956), 260. The ordinations of the chapter of Como 1490 are in R. CREYTENS and A. D'AMATO, "Les actes," 259-67.

⁸⁶ ASOP, I (1893), 146a. For some conflict between Bandello and the citizens of Bologna at this time see PIANA, *Ricerche*. 21-2.

⁸⁷ *Annalia*, f. 74r. Savonarola was elected on 16 May and confirmed (presumably by the then vicar general of the Congregation, Tommaso Sangervasi da Brescia) on 22 May, see RIDOLFI, 405 n. a. 23.

⁸⁸ The ordinations of the chapter of Venice 1492 are in R. CREYTENS and A. D'AMATO, "Les actes," 268-70. Savonarola's presence at the chapter is attested by his letter to fra Battista da Firenze of 16 May 1492 (EN, *Lettere*, ed. R. RIDOLFI, V. ROMANO, A. F. VERDE, Rome 1984, 22-23).

⁸⁹ The ordinations of the chapter of Piacenza 1493 are in CREYTENS and D'AMATO, "Les actes," 270.

⁹⁰ SCHNITZER, I, 141.

October 1492.⁹¹ Whatever the case, Savonarola arrived at the chapter of Piacenza 1493 after preaching Lent in Bologna and a very brief return to Florence. It has been surmised that while staying in Bologna he argued there in favour of San Marco's separation and that, indeed, he had willingly accepted the preaching engagement in Bologna, and the absence from San Marco that it entailed, precisely in order to do so.⁹² Be that as it may, he must surely have done so at the chapter of Piacenza and it seems that the capitulars did not respond positively to the proposal and, moreover, elected Bandello to a second term as vicar general for the biennium 1493-95.⁹³

After the chapter of Piacenza Savonarola immediately returned to Florence and with great haste sent two friars, Matteo di Marco and Tommaso Busini to petition for the separation of San Marco from the Congregation of Lombardy to Master General Torriani who was then in Venice.⁹⁴ Torriani, himself a conventual friar, seems to have been pleased with the plan if for no other reason than that it gave him an opportunity to spite the powerful, and often overbearing, Congregation of Lombardy.⁹⁵ But Torriani did not make any decision himself and referred the matter to the order's cardinal protector, Oliviero Carafa.⁹⁶ He did though, and this was surely Savonarola's salvation at this particular point, prohibit Vicar General Bandello from taking any immediate action.⁹⁷

Savonarola then sent fra Alessandro Rinuccini and fra Domenico Buonvicini da Pescia on 10 May to Rome to plead with Cardinal Oliviero Carafa for San Marco's separation.⁹⁸ Perhaps Savonarola's adroit celerity in all this was motivated by his suspicion and fear, that if the separation of San Marco was not obtained forthwith, Vicar General Bandello would move him from Florence immediately upon the expiration of his biennium as prior of San

⁹¹ RIDOLFI, 58.

⁹² RIDOLFI, 51.

⁹³ CREYTENS, "Les vicaires généraux," 244-45.

⁹⁴ *Annalia*, f. 13v. (Text published in DE MAIO, 177).

⁹⁵ This is suggested by DE MAIO, 27.

⁹⁶ *Annalia*, f. 13v (DE MAIO, 177).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Marco which was due some time in late May 1493.⁹⁹ It should be remembered that the internal legislation of the Congregation of Lombardy prescribed that prioral terms could not be longer than a biennium and that no friar could hold the same priorship for more than one term in succession.

If we are to judge by Bandello's immediate reaction, Savonarola's apprehension certainly seems to have been well founded. Bandello sent a party of four friars, Tommaso Sangervasi da Brescia, Lodovico Michiel da Venezia, Marco Pellegrini da Verona and Francesco Mei da Firenze, to Cardinal Carafa to argue against Savonarola's proposal.¹⁰⁰ He furthermore sent a letter to Savonarola and fra Domenico and fra Silvestro, which was to be delivered by the prior of Fiesole, to leave San Marco immediately and present themselves before him.¹⁰¹ Fortunately for Savonarola, both Bandello's moves proved ineffective for they were made too late, since thanks to the astutely whimsical manoeuvring of Cardinal Carafa, Alexander VI had approved the separation as early as May 22.¹⁰² At this point Bandello had little choice but to come to terms with San Marco and on 26 May signed a rather unclear convention on behalf of the Congregation that included the provision that Alexander's brief was to be entrusted for a short period of time

⁹⁹ RIDOLFI, 47, seems to acknowledge this, but, as usual, provides a benign, hagiographical interpretation: "... la separazione del convento di San Marco dalla Congregazione di Lombardia. Pareva ed era in sé cosa da poco; ma voleva dire una maggiore indipendenza del Savonarola, la sicurezza della sua stabilità in Firenze, senza il pericolo di dover lasciare ad ogni momento l'opera interrotta; ne derivava inoltre l'autorità di introdurre riforme strettissime, che fossero di esempio alla città, all'ordine, alla cristianità tutta." (My italics).

¹⁰⁰ *Annalia*, f. 13v (DE MAIO, 177). Note that DE MAIO, 28, mistakenly identifies "Ludovicus prior Venetus" with Lodovico di Calabria. He is to be identified, instead, with Lodovico Michiel da Venezia, see J. D. ARMANUS, *Monumenta selecta conventus Sancti Dominici Venetiarum*, Venice 1729, 142.

¹⁰¹ CINOZZI, *Epistola*, 12, believes that Bandello's order concerned Savonarola alone; Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita* 56-7, adds fra Domenico and fra Silvestro. RIDOLFI, *Vita*, 52, who, like Cinozzi and Pseudo-Burlamacchi, does not seem to be even remotely aware that the vicar general in question was Vincenzo Bandello whom they all claim to have been so enthusiastic about Savonarola when he was first assigned to San Marco in 1482, gratuitously adds that his motive was "per vendicarsi".

¹⁰² BOP, IV, 100. See the generally concordant accounts of Carafa's manner of obtaining Alexander VI's assent in: *Annalia*, f. 13v (DE MAIO, 178); CINOZZI, *Epistola*, 12; Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 56.

to Piero de' Medici¹⁰³ a convention that Savonarola subsequently seems to have failed to respect.¹⁰⁴

Master General Torriani's subsequent moves, largely made at the behest of Cardinal Carafa, secured San Marco's, and Savonarola's, independence. In late May 1493 he must have extended Savonarola's term as prior of San Marco.¹⁰⁵ On 27 June he transfiliated Savonarola and Domenico da Pescia from San Domenico in Bologna, of which they were till then still *fili*, to San Marco.¹⁰⁶ On 15 November he endowed the then prior of San Marco, that is Savonarola, with the powers of a provincial.¹⁰⁷ On 28 May 1495 he appointed Savonarola vicar general of the newly established Congregation of San Marco.¹⁰⁸

Although from the time of San Marco's separation from the Congregation of Lombardy on 22 May 1493 Bandello no longer exercised any authority over Savonarola, he continued to be involved with the matter until the end of his second term as Vicar General in later April 1495. His persisting negative reaction to the entire turn of events is witnessed by the letters sent to him by Torriani on 18 June¹⁰⁹ and 16 November 1493¹¹⁰ prohibiting the Congregation of Lombardy from further defaming and harassing the friars of San Marco. That Bandello did not desist in his opposition even after these injunctions from the master general is indicated by the letters sent by the Florentine Signoria on 6 March and 8 April 1495 to Cardinal Carafa pleading for his intervention and protection.¹¹¹ These letters intimate that even at this late stage Bandello was still manoeuvring in order to nullify San Marco's separation.

¹⁰³ The convention is in VILLARI, II, xlv-v.

¹⁰⁴ See letter of Oliviero Carafa to Piero de' Medici of 5. VII. 1493, in DE MAIO, 181. Note RIDOLFI, 53, once again furnishes an *interpretatio benigna* of Savonarola's failure.

¹⁰⁵ Since Savonarola's term as prior of San Marco was due to end in late May 1493 Torriani must at that point either have extended the term or confirmed a further election held at that time. Either way, there seems to be no extant documentation. Savonarola held the post of prior of San Marco for a total of five years from May 1491 until the election of Francesco Salviati in May 1496.

¹⁰⁶ Letter in GHERARDI, 54-55. Registered in AGOP, IV, 10, f. 79r.

¹⁰⁷ Letter in GHERARDI, 56. Registered in AGOP, IV, 10, f. 80v.

¹⁰⁸ Letter in GHERARDI, 66-67.

¹⁰⁹ Letter in GHERARDI, 52-3.

¹¹⁰ Letter in GHERARDI, 56-7.

¹¹¹ Letters in VILLARI, I, xlix—li.

It is quite possible that Bandello's continuing manoeuvres against Savonarola found a final echo in the central argument adduced in the brief issued by Alexander VI on 8 September 1495 which reintegrated San Marco in Florence and San Domenico in Fiesole within the Congregation of Lombardy.¹¹² It claimed that these convents had separated themselves from the Congregation by stealth, which recalls the defamation of the friars of San Marco that Bandello had been accused of by Torriani in his letters of 18 June and 16 November 1493. To Bandello's likely chagrin, however, nothing came of this brief which was abrogated by Alexander VI as early as 16 October as the result of several adroit moves by Savonarola¹¹³ and the fact that Bandello's successor as vicar general of the Congregation, Sebastiano Maggi da Brescia who is reputed to have had some sympathy for Savonarola, does not seem to have insisted on the matter.¹¹⁴

Bandello's continuing opposition to Savonarola also took the form of resisting Savonarola's attempted annexations of other houses of the Congregation of Lombardy. The machinations for the aggregation to San Marco of the convent of San Domenico in Fiesole began at least as early as 28 November 1493¹¹⁵ and those for the annexations of the convent of San Domenico in San Cimignano and that of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria in Pisa began

¹¹² See R. RIDOLFI, *Le lettere di Girolamo Savonarola*, Florence 1933, 231-233. See also the concomitant brief of 9. IX. 1493 to the vicar general of the Congregation of Lombardy (Sebastiano Maggi da Brescia) in P. LUORRO, *Il vero Savonarola*, Florence 1897, 605-06.

¹¹³ Savonarola's moves included: (1) A personal response to Alexander VI, see letter of 29 September 1495 (EN, *Lettere*, 75-90). (2) An appeal for help to the Order's Procurator General, Lodovico de' Valenza da Ferrara, see letter "A un frate del suo ordine" of 15 September 1495 (EN, *Lettere*, 91-94). Savonarola's recourse to Lodovico da Ferrara deserves further investigation and I shall consider it in detail elsewhere. At this point it suffices to note that Savonarola explains it in terms of their old friendship; they had been together in San Domenico in Bologna as novices and students during 1475-79. But it must be remembered that Lodovico da Valenza had left the Congregation of Lombardy and transfiliated to the convent of San Domenico in Ferrara (of the conventual Province of St. Dominic) in 1485. At that time he was teaching in Bologna where Bandello was the Regent Master. Had there been some conflict between them? If so, did Savonarola accordingly believe that Lodovico da Ferrara was likely to be especially sympathetic to his plea for support?

¹¹⁴ CREYTENS, "Les vicaires généraux," 245-46. On his supposed sympathy for Savonarola see Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 12.

¹¹⁵ See letter of Signoria to Antonio da Colle of 28. XI. 1493 in GHERARDI, 59.

by 17 December 1493.¹¹⁶ Bandello's opposition to all this seems to be indicated by Domenico da Pescia's reference to the obstacles set in the way of these proceedings by the "usual enemies" in a letter of 12 April 1494 to Agnolo Niccolini and Pierfilippo Pandolfini¹¹⁷.

To Bandello's certain delight the matter of San Cimignano was soon dropped,¹¹⁸ but the convents of Fiesole and Pisa were united to San Marco on 14 August¹¹⁹ and 15 August 1494¹²⁰ respectively. Meanwhile the convent of Santo Spirito in Siena had been aggregated to San Marco on 10 June 1494¹²¹ but it was restored to the Congregation within a few weeks, on the following 6 July.¹²² Furthermore, Bandello had the satisfaction of seeing the Pisan convent of Santa Caterina, restored to the Congregation of Lombardy on 25 January 1495,¹²³ only a few months before the end of his second term as vicar general. In January 1496 Savonarola managed, however, to seize control of the convent of San Domenico in Prato.¹²⁴ But this would have caused little concern to Bandello, even if he had still been vicar general of the Congregation, which he was not, for the convent of Prato, unlike every other house that had been a target of Savonarola's expansionist, reforming zeal, was an unreformed convent which belonged to the "conventual" Roman Province and not to the observant Congregation of Lombardy.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ See letter of Signoria to Antonio da Colle of 17. XII. 1493 in GHERARDI, 59-60.

¹¹⁷ Domenico Buonvicini to Agnolo Niccolini and Pierfilippo Pandolfini, 12. IV. 1494, in G. NICCOLINI, "Tre lettere di Girolamo Savonarola e una di fra Domenico di Pescia sull'unione dei conventi di S. Domenico di Fiesole e di S. Caterina di Pisa con quello di S. Marco di Firenze," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, S. V., 9 (1897), 120-2.

¹¹⁸ Letter of Signoria to Antonio da Colle of 11. I. 1494, in GHERARDI, 60.

¹¹⁹ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 58.

¹²⁰ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 59. On the questionable nature of Savonarola's "reform" of the Pisan convent see DE MAIO, 51-54.

¹²¹ AGOP, IV, 11. f. 65r.

¹²² AGOP, IV, 11. f. 65r. For a detailed account of the turn of events see M. MUSSOLINI, "Il convento di Santo Spirito di Siena e i regolari osservanti di S. Domenico", *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, CIV (1998), 52-70.

¹²³ BOP VIII, 110-11.

¹²⁴ GHERARDI, 69ff.

¹²⁵ The seemingly paradoxical fact that Savonarola's reforming zeal exclusively targeted, with the single exception of the convent of Prato, the comparatively observant houses of the Congregation of Lombardy instead of nearby conventual houses which were surely in greater need of reform (such as, for example, S. Maria Novella in Florence and S. Domenico in Siena) poses disturbing questions about the political and pragmatic calculations that must have informed it. It is an issue that has not been addressed by any of Savonarola's biographers.

VI

After the end of his second term as vicar general of the Congregation of Lombardy in mid 1495 Bandello seems to have played no further part in the Savonarola affair. Savonarola then followed his own, independent destiny which eventually led to his execution in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence on 23 May 1498. Bandello went on to serve as prior of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan during 1495-97. We do not know where he was during 1497-99, but early in 1499 he was again elected prior of Santa Maria delle Grazie for the biennium 1499-1501.¹²⁶ But he only served half of his term in this post because Alexander VI appointed him, after the death of Francesco Mei, Vicar of the Order on 29 November 1500.¹²⁷ He was subsequently elected Master General at the general chapter of Rome on 20 May 1501.¹²⁸ He died in office, while visitating the Dominican houses of southern Italy, in the convent of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Altomonte (Cosenza), Calabria, on 27 August 1506, and was buried in San Domenico Maggiore in Naples thanks to the efforts of his "nephew", Matteo Bandello di Castelnuovo,¹²⁹ and his socius, Eustachio Piazzesi da Bologna.¹³⁰

We do not really know Bandello's final opinion of Savonarola. It has been argued by Schnitzer, though, that he must have been sympathetic to Savonarola's arguments that he had not been disobedient (at least technically) to the Holy See.¹³¹ It is certain, moreover, that he supported before Ludovico Sforza Savonarola's crepuscular claim that his excommunication was invalid.¹³² It has even

¹²⁶ C. SANTAMARIA, "Gli antichi priori delle Grazie", *San Domenico e i Domenicani in Milano*, Milan 1922, 40, has Bandello serving as prior without interruption during 1495-1500.

¹²⁷ BOP, IV, 164.

¹²⁸ On the role played by Cardinal Carafa in Bandello's election as master general see J. BURCKARD, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. E. CELANI, RIS, XXXII, I, II, Città di Castello 1912, 284. On Bandello's activities as master general see MORTIER, *Histoire*, IV, Paris 1911, 66-127.

¹²⁹ On the precise nature of the kinship between Vincenzo Bandello and Matteo Bandello see C. GODI, "Per la biografia di Matteo Bandello," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XI (1968), 257-92.

¹³⁰ ALBERTI, *De viris illustribus*, f. 49v.

¹³¹ SCHNITZER, II, 294-95, argues that Bandello presents in his commentary on the Dominican Constitutions Dist. II, c. XV *De professione*, an analysis of the binding force of the vow of obedience which substantiates Savonarola's claim.

¹³² See the letter of Antonio Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara (25 June 1497) in VILLARI, II, xli.

been asserted that after Savonarola's death he praised his virginal state and purity of life to Alexander VI,¹³³ but such a scenario is so grotesque that it could only be yet another fable of the Piagnoni. A similar judgment is surely to be made on the claim that Bandello actually confirmed one of Savonarola's prophecies by attempting to discipline the engrained Savonarolans of the Congregation of San Marco in 1502.¹³⁴

Nor do we have any record of Bandello's reaction to Savonarola's horrendous demise, but he is surely not likely to have gloated over it. Whatever the case, he nonetheless always continued to have no sympathy whatsoever for Savonarola's ideological stand. Throughout 1495-1506, while constantly reprobating the abuse of private property, he persisted in advocating the advantages of the communal ownership of property as opposed to the practice of total mendicancy.¹³⁵ His own practice in the matter was, furthermore, certainly in line with his theory, as is shown by his willing acceptance from Ludovico Sforza on behalf of the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie of the gift of the large landed estate near Vigevano known as the "Sforzesca" in 1499.¹³⁶ It is also evident from his resolute resistance to the alienation of properties by the friars during his term of office as master general.¹³⁷ Furthermore, throughout his life, even in his old age and while visitating the most remote houses of the order, he continued to indulge his seemingly insatiable appetite for abstruse theological disputations.¹³⁸ Finally, as master general, he was certainly not kindly disposed to either the cult of Savonarola's memory or the persisting idiosyncrasies of his erstwhile followers.¹³⁹

¹³³ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 12.

¹³⁴ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, *Vita*, 63-4.

¹³⁵ See notes 46-48 above.

¹³⁶ G. D'ADDA, "Lodovico Sforza e il convento delle Grazie. Inventari, documenti, decreti, in parte inediti", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 1 (1874), 25-53.

¹³⁷ See, for example, M. COLI, "La lettera su S. Michele di Guamo del Maestro Generale Vincenzo Bandello ai frati di S. Romano di Lucca e i rapporti tra loro e con lucchesi laici e religiosi", *MD, NS* 27 (1996), 545-601.

¹³⁸ *Fr. Sebastiani de Olmeda O.P. Chronica Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. M. CANAL GÓMEZ, Rome 1936, 178-179.

¹³⁹ On 20 March 1502 Bandello proscribed the modifications to the Dominican habit that had been introduced by Savonarola (GHERARDI, 335). On 28 March and again on 25 April 1502 he prohibited the peculiarly Savonarolan liturgical and devotional practices that were still being followed in San Marco (GHERARDI, 335).