



Honos alit artes

Studi per il settantesimo compleanno
di Mario Ascheri

GLI UNIVERSI PARTICOLARI

Città e territori dal medioevo all'età moderna

a cura di

Paola Maffei e Gian Maria Varanini



Reti Medievali E-Book

19/II

Honos alit artes

**Studi per il settantesimo compleanno
di Mario Ascheri**

GLI UNIVERSI PARTICOLARI

Città e territori dal medioevo all'età moderna

a cura di

Paola Maffei e Gian Maria Varanini

Firenze University Press

2014

Church and Family

The Tenure of Bishop Donosdeo Malavolti, 1317-1350

by Bradley Franco

On Christmas Eve 1317, Donosdeo di Bartolomeo Malavolti made his ceremonial entrance into Siena through the city's northern gate, the Porta Camollia¹. A decade had passed since the Malavolti family had controlled the bishopric and Donosdeo's triumphal entrance into the city was cause for celebration. Dressed in his episcopal garments and accompanied by his assistants, Donosdeo walked past the crowds gathered along the Via Camollia and by the Malavolti family *castellare* where he had grown up. After making sure to stop at the Croce del Travaglio, the one place in the city where its three *terzi* meet, he proceeded up the Via Francigena to the cathedral, following the same path countless pilgrims had taken while passing through Siena on their way to Rome. A surviving anonymous account of the ceremony describes that as the procession approached the cathedral, Donosdeo paused to pray at the entrance to the *Duomo* and again at the high altar, before taking the throne for the first time as his city's bishop. That night, he celebrated his ascension to the high office by hosting a feast for friends and family in the episcopal palace. And the next day at Christmas Mass, he reintroduced himself to his fellow Sienese citizens, now not only as a son of one of the city's richest magnate families, but also as Siena's spiritual leader.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the ways in which familial ties and family solidarity remained the foundation of many economic and political alliances well into the Renaissance². One important yet largely unexamined

¹ The account of Donosdeo's entrance into the city comes from a contemporary source, of which a copy survives: Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati (hereafter BC) ms A VIII 48, 102r. The account has been published in G.A. Pecci, *Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena*, Lucca, per Salvatore e Gian Domenico Marescandoli, 1748 (Reprint Siena 2003), pp. 265-266. This description of Donosdeo's entrance ceremony has been supplemented by BC ms A VIII 48, 100r-104v, a copy of an original source dating to 1332 which more generally describes the entrance ceremony of new Sienese bishops. Donosdeo traveled to Avignon in the spring 1317 and was confirmed in his office by Pope John XXII on 21 June 1317. C. Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti e l'ospizio di S. Marta in Siena*, in «Buletino senese di storia patria» (hereafter «BSSP»), 19 (1912), p. 203.

² F.W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai*, Princeton 1977; D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their*

route through which late medieval families sought to exert their power and enrich themselves in the process was through ecclesiastical office. This article focuses on a particular Siense family, the Malavolti, and its control of the bishopric under Donosdeo, whose tenure corresponded with the high point in the city's history under the famous government of the Nine, who ruled Siena from 1287 to 1355³. Through an examination of Donosdeo's thirty-three year tenure and his relationship to his natal family, this article examines many of the ways in which the Malavolti benefited from placing their son on the episcopal throne. At the same time, this article suggests that Donosdeo's overlapping identities as the city's bishop, a Siense citizen, and a member of the Malavolti family provided him with a way to align the interests of the episcopal office with those of the Siense state and his family. Accordingly, Donosdeo's career as bishop provides one way for medieval historians to move beyond the old dichotomies of church vs. state, or magnates vs. civic governments, or even mendicants vs. bishops, as his tenure helps illustrate the advantages of considering questions of identity, in particular civic and familial, when explaining the complex power dynamics of late medieval Italian society.

Among the many city-republics to benefit from the miraculous economic growth and urban expansion of the thirteenth century, Siena emerged by the middle of the 1200s as one of Europe's richest cities. From the beginning it seems, Siena's prosperity was tied to the success of its banking companies: the Piccolomini and Buonsignori banking firms served as papal bankers throughout the thirteenth century, and the other great Siense magnate families, the Tolomei, Malavolti, and Salimbeni, all made their fortunes in the banking industry⁴. The great success of each of these families and their companies kept any single family from gaining control over the city's political institutions. In fact, despite their wealth, Siena's richest families were largely excluded from

Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427, New Haven 1985; A. Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*, Cambridge 1994 (Harvard Historical Studies 114); J. Kirshner, *Family and marriage: a socio-legal perspective, in Italy in the Renaissance: 1300-1550*, New York 2004, pp. 82-102; A.M. Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor 2000; G. Benadusi, *Rethinking the state: family strategies in early modern Tuscany*, in «Social History», 20 (1995), 2, pp. 157-178; T. Kuehn, *Family Solidarity in Exile and in Law: Alberti Lawsuits of the Early Quattrocento*, in «Speculum», 78 (2003), 2, pp. 421-439; S. Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society*, Baltimore 2000; J.M. Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace*, New Haven 2009. Some historians have argued that while lineage solidarity remained important throughout the Renaissance, intrafamilial conflicts and, in particular, disputes over family resources were in fact quite common. See, for example, T. Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1991, pp. 129-196.

³ The classic work on the Nine is W. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287-1355*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1981 (Italian trans. Bologna 1986).

⁴ E. English, *Enterprise and Liability in Siense Banking, 1230-1350*, Cambridge 1988; R. Mucciarelli, *I Tolomei banchieri di Siena. La parabola di un casato nel XIII e XIV secolo*, Siena 1995; A. Carmiani, *I Salimbeni, quasi una signoria. Tentativi di affermazione politica nella Siena del '300*, Siena 1995.

political power, particularly after 1277 when all magnate families were prohibited from holding the highest offices within the city government⁵.

Without direct access to political power, Sieneſe magnates ſought to eſtabliſh cloſe relationships with the city's other great centers of power: its chief religious institutions. For inſtance, for much of the firſt half of the fourteenth century, the Tolomei proudly diſplayed their coat of the arms on the front of Siena's wealthiest and moſt preſtigious charitable institution, the hoſpital of Santa Maria della Scala, as a ſymbol of that family's direct control over the institution⁶. Numerous other magnates, including the Salimbeni and the Piccolomini, forged cloſe relationships with the mendicant churches, commiſſioning chapels and frescoes, patronizing the orders, and ſending their ſons and daughters to join the ranks⁷.

But it was the Malavolti who moſt ſucceſſfully forged connections with Siena's leading religious institutions, moſt notably, with the Dominicans. In many ways, the Malavolti's control of the biſhopric had its origins in a land deal between the family and the Dominican Church. On 24 March 1226, three members of the Malavolti clan provided the Dominicans with property on which to conſtruct their church, located directly outside the city walls in Camporegio, near the Malavolti *castellare*⁸. The large Dominican church quickly went up, and the order grew to be a major force in Siena owing to the Dominicans' role as the city's chief inquiſitors from 1245⁹. Leſs than a decade later, the Dominican friar Tommaſo Fuſconi was elected biſhop of Siena¹⁰. Biſhop Tommaſo's elevation of Rinaldo di Orlando Malavolti as the epiſcopal vicar under in 1259 marked the beginning of the Malavolti family's efforts to control the cathedral canonry and with it, the right to appoint the city's biſhops¹¹. Juſt over a half century after the Malavolti ſold the Dominicans land upon which they could build their church and two decades after Rinaldo di Orlando's election to the poſition of epiſcopal vicar, the Malavolti placed one of their ſons upon the epiſcopal throne for the firſt time in 1282, when the cathedral canonry elected Rinaldo di Uguccio

⁵ For a diſcuſſion of the ban of 1277, ſee D. Waley, *Siena and the Sieneſe*, Cambridge and New York 1991, pp. 77-96.

⁶ H. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sieneſe Painter*, University Park 2001, p. 147. V. Paſſeri, *I caſtelli di Murlo*, Siena 1995, p. 33; D. Norman, *An Abbeſs and a Painter: Emilia Pannocchieſchi d'Elci and a fresco from the circle of Simone Martini*, in «Renaissance Studies», 14 (2000), pp. 289-290.

⁷ Surviving magnate wills ſhow wiſeſpread patronage of all the mendicants, including the Dominicans, Franciſcans, Servites, and the Auguſtinians of Siena; Mucciarelli, *I Tolomei Banchieri di Siena*, pp. 248-252. Canon Rinaldo di Orlando, as well as Orlando di Bartolomeo and biſhop Donosdeo were among the Malavolti family members who bequeathed money in their wills to the Franciſcans, Dominicans, Servites and Auguſtinians.

⁸ Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), *Diplomatico*, S. Domenico, n. 807 and 808, 24 March 1226.

⁹ In 1245, the biſhop of Siena, Buonfiglio, granted the Dominicans and the Franciſcans power to ſeize, hold, and condemn heretics in Siena. ASS, *Diplomatico*, S. Domenico, 18 January 1245.

¹⁰ Pecci, *Storia del Veſcovado*, p. 214.

¹¹ Archivio dell'Opera della Metropolitana di Siena (hereafter AOMS) 1, n. 10, 6 Nov. 1259.

Malavolti as bishop. From the time of Rinaldo's election in 1282 until the death of Giacomo Malavolti in 1371, all of Siena's bishops would come from the ranks of the Malavolti family or the Dominican Order¹².

Of all the Malavolti bishops, Donosdeo's tenure was the most productive and illustrative of the complex power dynamics within fourteenth-century Siennese society¹³. First of all, Donosdeo proved himself to be an effective administrator and legislator. In his first major act as bishop, on 31 January 1318 at a general synod held in the cathedral, Donosdeo ordered his administrators to visit and report on the condition of each church under his control. The result of these efforts was the *Liber titulorum benefitorum ecclesiasticorum civitatis et diocesis Senensis*, which systematically assessed all church property in the diocese for the first time¹⁴. The creation of the *Liber titulorum* was just the first of several actions taken by Donosdeo to centralize and strengthen Siena's episcopal administration¹⁵. In 1324, together with the leading men from those lay communities under episcopal control, Donosdeo created the statutes of the Vescovado¹⁶. He also comprehensively reformed the ecclesiastical statutes in 1336, restricting the behavior and actions of clerics, reasserting the centrality of the parish in daily Siennese life, and further strengthening the episcopal bureaucracy¹⁷.

Even more important to the history of Siena than Donosdeo's administrative and legislative efforts was his close relationship with the government of the Nine. As bishop, Donosdeo proved to be a critical ally of the Nine, and on several occasions, he played a vital role in the government's very survival. For instance, the Tolomei family attempted to overthrow the government of the Nine by staging a violent rebellion in the city's main square in 1325. When Siena's police forces and communal soldiers were unable to put down the uprising, Donosdeo came to the rescue. Processing with his clergy down into the

¹² On Siena's Malavolti and Dominican bishops, see P. Nardi, *I vescovi di Siena e la curia pontificia dall'ascesa della parte guelfa allo scoppio dello Scisma d'Occidente (1267-1378)*, in *Chiesa e vita religiosa a Siena dalle origini al grande giubileo*. Atti del convegno di studi (Siena, 25-27 ottobre 2000), Siena 2002, pp. 153-177. See also A. Lotti, *La chiesa di Siena e i suoi vescovi*, Siena 1992. Further evidence of the strong relationship between the Malavolti family and the Dominicans is the fact that more than sixty Malavolti chose to be buried in San Domenico between 1336 and 1371, including Bishop Donosdeo's two sisters, Agnesina and Pia, a third-order Dominican. See *Siena: I necrologi di San Domenico in Camporegio*, a cura di M.-H. Laurent, Siena 1937 (Fontes Vitae S. Catharinae Senensis Historici 20), pp. 47-109.

¹³ On Donosdeo's tenure, see Pecci, *Storia del Vescovado*, pp. 265-274; see also C. Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti e l'ospizio di S. Marta in Siena*, in «BSSP» 19 (1912), pp. 201-248; «BSSP» 20 (1913), pp. 65-114.

¹⁴ Archivio Arcivescovile di Siena (hereafter AAS) 3395, cc. 1r-39r. See also W. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune*, pp. 270-272.

¹⁵ On the evolution of the episcopal administration in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see G. Chironi, *La mitra e il calamo. Il sistema documentario della chiesa senese in età pretridentina (secoli XIV-XVI)*, Siena 2005.

¹⁶ N. Mengozzi, *Il feudo del vescovado di Siena*, Siena 1911, pp. 185-254.

¹⁷ AAS, *Costituzioni*, ff. I-XXI (26 March 1336). See V. Ricchioni, *Le costituzioni del vescovado senese del 1336*, in «Studi senesi», 30 (1914), pp. 100-167.

square behind the cross and into the middle of the chaos, Donosdeo brought an end to the fighting, as «the fighters began to let themselves be separated so that the fighting ceased»¹⁸. Remarkably, the bishop and clergy were able to do what communal soldiers and officials could not: they restored peace and reestablished public order in Siena. Acting as both the city's spiritual leader and a member of one of the city's leading families, Donosdeo recognized the threat the Tolomei posed in their efforts to establish a tyranny over the city and inserted himself and his clergy into the mêlée in order to suppress the rebellion.

On other occasions, including in the aftermath of natural disasters and periods of famine, Donosdeo acted in concert with the Sienese government to prevent various crises from upending civic order. After an earthquake struck Siena in December 1320, he led special Masses to abate God's anger and participated in communal processions with civic authorities as a public show of unity with the ruling class¹⁹. And when famine struck Siena a decade later, he used episcopal grain reserves to help the Nine squelch riots and keep shortages from leading to the upheaval of society and the overthrow of the government²⁰. In each of these instances, Donosdeo had personal, professional, and moral obligations for supporting the government: it is likely that he viewed his actions as being in the best interests of the Sienese Church, the Malavolti family, and the Sienese state.

Yet a closer examination of Donosdeo's tenure suggests that out of overlapping allegiances to the church, family, and state, his ultimate loyalty was to his family, as he devoted significant efforts as bishop to ensure that the Malavolti benefited from his position and resources. Donosdeo was responsible for solidifying the Malavolti's hold on the cathedral chapter and its rich benefices, appointing at least four family members to the canonry and providing them with the richest and most prestigious benefices in the diocese²¹. Just as importantly, during his long career as bishop, he helped prevent men from other magnate families from joining the chapter, as no Tolomei, Piccolomini, or Salimbeni served as cathedral canons under Donosdeo. Without a voice in the cathedral chapter, other magnates were unable to prevent Donosdeo from grooming and hand-picking his successor, Azzolino di Mino Malavolti, who was elected as bishop by the cathedral chapter in 1351²².

¹⁸ *Cronaca senese attribuita ad Agnolo di Tura del Grasso detta cronaca Maggiore* (hereafter CS, *Agnolo di Tura del Grasso*), in *Cronache senesi*, a cura di A. Lisini, F. Iacometti, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2^a ed., XV, part. 6, Bologna 1931-1939, p. 416.

¹⁹ CS, *Agnolo di Tura del Grasso*, p. 382.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 485. On the grain famines of fourteenth-century Northern Italy, see G. Pinto, *Il libro del biadaio: carestie e annona a Firenze dalla metà del '200 al 1348*, Florence 1978, pp. 97-150. On Sienese policy, see W. Bowsky, *Finance of the Commune of Siena 1287-1355*, Oxford 1970, p. 129 (Italian trans. Firenze 1976), pp. 31-42.

²¹ The most prestigious benefices in the diocese, over which the Malavolti had control were the *pievi* of Rosia, Corsano, and Bozzone: for Rosia, BC, ms B. VI. 18, c. 204v; for Corsano, AAS 99, 161r-v; for Bozzone, ASS Ospedale, 91 (Protocollo XIV, di Geri del fu Nello), 45r.

²² Donosdeo's will dates to 5 December 1350. Other related documents illustrate that he had died

There are also numerous examples in which Donosdeo directly used his position as bishop and his control over the episcopal patrimony to financially benefit the Malavolti family. In 1331, for instance, Bishop Donosdeo received, in the form of a donation, significant property in the commune of Pari, located in the Sienese *contado*²³. The donation also granted Donosdeo legal rights as lord and *signore* of Cassaro and Rocco. Despite the language in the bequest which suggests that the donation was given specifically to the episcopate, Donosdeo immediately gave the property and related rights to his nephew, Bartolomeo di Orlando, who already possessed significant property in the area²⁴.

Donosdeo similarly used his office and its resources to gain control of the *castello* and commune of Gavorrano, located south of Siena in the Maremma between Massa and Grosseto. Until 1328, the Malavolti had actually held rights over the castles and territories of Gavorrano before selling their control of the land for 6,000 florins in that year²⁵. Yet less than a decade later, Donosdeo restored his family's power in the region, as Donosdeo coerced the leading men of Gavorrano to recognize him as their *signore*²⁶. In these machinations, Donosdeo's eye was clearly on family wealth and posterity. Near the end of his life, Donosdeo handed over his control of Gavorrano to his nephew to ensure that upon his death, Gavorrano would not become part of the episcopal patrimony but would instead remain with the family. The gambit worked: the Malavolti would maintain control over Gavorrano until 1465²⁷.

Donosdeo further appropriated church funds to advance family interests by using episcopal resources to purchase a farm, several houses, and some animals south of Siena along the Ombrone River in Castiglione in 1338. The surviving contract specifies that Donosdeo had purchased the property «for himself and his heirs, and truly not for [his] office and the church of Siena»²⁸. The purchase ended up pushing the Malavolti family into direct contact with the Piccolomini, who had just recently invested heavily in Castiglione by purchasing its major castle for 10,000 florins²⁹. With the Malavolti and Piccolomini families already engaged in a vendetta, Donosdeo's purchase at Castiglione led the two families into direct combat, with the bishop sending fifty of his men to fight against a healthy contingent of men loyal to the Piccolomini. Several men were killed in the battle and a

by 12 December 1350; Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti*, pp. 205-206. Azzolino was elected as bishop on 22 November 1351; Pecci, *Storia del Vescovado*, p. 274. On Azzolino's tenure, see Nardi, *I vescovi di Siena e la curia pontificia*, pp. 167-171.

²³ BC ms B. VI. 13, c. 128v, N. 141, 28 June 1331: «in nome suo et a nome di detto Vescovado».

²⁴ ASS CG 110, ff. 68-72v; see also Bowsky, *Finance of the Commune of Siena*, p. 129.

²⁵ E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana contenente la descrizione di tutti i luoghi del Granducato, ducato di Lucca, Garfagnana e Lunigiana*, Florence 1835, 2, p. 417.

²⁶ BC ms B. VI. 13, c. 129 r, N. 143, 18 April 1336. In return, they received permission to use the local mill and for their animals to graze on land in the district.

²⁷ Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, p. 417.

²⁸ BC ms A VIII 48, 108rv: «ementem pro se suisque heredibus, et non vero pro dignitate et ecclesia senensi».

²⁹ CS, *Agnolo di Tura del Grasso*, p. 522.

number of others were seriously injured. In the end, the Piccolomini maintained control over the property³⁰.

In the same year (1338), at the instigation of the Piccolomini, papal officials launched an investigation into Donosdeo's management of the episcopal *mensa*³¹. Pope Benedict XII ordered Hugo Augerio, rector of the papal patrimony, to investigate charges that Donosdeo had extorted church money for the «use and inheritance of his brothers, nephews and others of his lineage»³². The papal inquiry specifically accused Donosdeo of purchasing property with episcopal resources for his family in Pari, Gavorrano, and Castiglione³³. The amount of money Donosdeo was accused of extorting from the church was 50,000 florins, an astounding sum. To provide some context, 50,000 florins was more than half of the entire value of all Malavolti family property in Siena as assessed in the city's surviving fourteenth-century tax records³⁴. Ultimately, the papal inquiry was unsuccessful and did little to change Donosdeo's approach to his office: the Malavolti maintained control over their properties at Gavorrano, Castiglione, and Pari well into the fifteenth century³⁵.

The Malavolti family also sought to use the office of the bishop to enhance its stature in society by adding the episcopal miter to the family crest right around the time of Donosdeo's ascension to the throne³⁶. The family emblazoned their new crest, replete with the chief symbol of the bishop's authority, on Malavolti tombs in the church of San Domenico and in the cathedral, as well as on the *arco* Malavolti, which served as the entrance to the family *castellare*. Donosdeo also linked the family to his office by prominently displaying the Malavolti crest on a distinctive large carpet and a shield of arms within the episcopal palace³⁷. In all of these ways, the Malavolti connected their family to the episcopal office, making clear to all that the bishop's seat belonged to them.

³⁰ CS, *Agnolo di Tura del Grasso*, p. 522; Pecci, *Storia del Vescovado*, p. 271.

³¹ On the papal investigation of Donosdeo, see J. Théry, *Faide nobiliaire et justice inquisitoire de la papauté à Sienne au temps des Neuf: les recollectiones d'une enquête de Benoît XII contre l'évêque Donosdeo de' Malavolti (ASV, Collectoriae 61A et 404A)*, in *Als die Welt in die Akten kam: Prozeßschriftgut im europäischen Mittelalter*, hrsg. von S. Lepsius und Th. Wetzstein, Frankfurt 2008, pp. 275-348.

³² Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Coll. 61A, f. 15rv, as cited by Théry, *Faide nobiliaire et justice inquisitoire*, p. 292: «à l'usage et héritage de ses frères, neveux et autres de son lignage».

³³ Benoît XII, *Lettres closes, patentes, et curiales se rapportant à la France*, vol. 1, ed. G. Daumet, Paris 1899, no. 1780, col. 518, 22 April 1338.

³⁴ Théry, *Faide nobiliaire et justice inquisitoire*, p. 291.

³⁵ BC ms B. VI. 13, cc. 181r-183r; Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, p. 417. U. Morani, *Il castellare dei Malavolti a Siena*, Roma 1969, p. 23; Théry, *Faide nobiliaire et justice inquisitoire*, pp. 324-329.

³⁶ The earliest version of this crest with the episcopal miter survives from the seal of Niccolò di Orlando Malavolti (d. 1318). A. Lisini, *Il sigillo di Niccolò Malavolti*, in «Miscellanea storica senese», 2 (1894), I (Reprint Siena 2004), p. 31. This crest is divided into four quadrants, with the lower left and upper right depicting the traditional Malavolti ladder and the lower right and upper left composed of the episcopal miter.

³⁷ Mazzi, *Il Vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti*, p. 217.

Another way in which Donosdeo and his relatives used the episcopal office to exalt the Malavolti name was through the construction of a family chapel in the cathedral. Between 1339 and Donosdeo's death in 1350, several Malavolti endowed chaplaincies on behalf of the family and contributed financially to the chapel's construction³⁸. Donosdeo chose for the site of the chapel the altar of San Vittorio, one of the four major altars in the cathedral, each dedicated to one of Siena's principle patron saints³⁹. As bishop, Donosdeo had helped commission all of Siena's greatest living artists, Simone Martini, Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti, and Bartolomeo Bulgarini, to paint Marian altarpieces depicting the Virgin and one of the city's patron saints⁴⁰. While the first three were completed by 1342, the final Marian altarpiece, painted by Bulgarini, was placed upon the altar of San Vittorio, the site of the Malavolti family tomb just months after Donosdeo was put to rest in December 1350⁴¹. The endowed chaplaincies ensured that the Malavolti chapel would be maintained and that the family would be remembered in prayer and through religious services in the cathedral for years to come⁴². The chapel remained the reserve of the Malavolti family until at least 1560⁴³. To this day, in the cathedral in Siena before the altar of San Vittorio one can still see the Malavolti family crest, evoking the former power and accomplishments of Donosdeo and his family.

Although it is clear that Donosdeo used the episcopal office to benefit his family, it is important not to discount the role of faith and piety in his vocational choice. As Julien Théry has shown, it would be an oversimplification to view Donosdeo's actions as bishop as stemming solely from his desire to benefit his family⁴⁴. As documented in his will, Donosdeo's donations to the wretched poor, orphans, and to young poor girls, including 200 *moggia* of grain that he left as alms for the poor and for pilgrims at Santa Maria della Scala, reveal a commitment to Christian charity⁴⁵. Other bequests suggest that Donosdeo viewed piety as compatible with the interests of his family. In addition to endowing four cathedral chaplaincies for his own tomb in the cathedral,

³⁸ Bartolomeo di Orlando di Malavolti asked to be buried in the cathedral next Donosdeo in his will: BC ms B. VI. 13, c. 170r (1339); Pietro di Guiduccio Malavolti endowed a chaplaincy in the cathedral on behalf of the family in 1348: ASS ms B 39, N. 835, 5 July 1348; Donosdeo himself endowed four chaplaincies in his will; see C. Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti*, pp. 96-102.

³⁹ V. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, Siena 1911-1939, II, p. 8; D. Norman, *Change and Continuity in Marian Altarpieces*, in *Siena, Florence, and Padua: Art, Society, and Religion, 1280-1400*, II. *Case Studies*, ed. D. Norman, New Haven 1995, 2, pp. 202-203.

⁴⁰ D. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State*, New Haven and London 1999, pp. 68-85; on the attribution of the Bulgarini altarpiece, see E.H. Beatson *et al.*, *The Saint Victor altarpiece in Siena Cathedral: A reconstruction*, in «Art Bulletin», 68 (1986), pp. 610-631; see also Norman, *An abbess and a painter*, p. 295, n. 84.

⁴¹ Norman, *An abbess and a painter*, p. 298.

⁴² AOMS 8, c. 3r, 3 December 1415; AOMS 8, c. 3v, 15 January 1416.

⁴³ The sixteenth-century wall tomb of Hieronymo Malavolti (d. 1560) is located beside the altar of San Vittorio; the Malavolti family crest containing the episcopal miter can be found next to the tomb.

⁴⁴ Théry, *Faide nobiliaire et justice inquisitoire*, esp. pp. 314-316.

⁴⁵ Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti*, pp. 85-92.

Donosdeo also endowed chaplaincies in San Domenico and the family's parish church, San Egidio. The chaplains were responsible for singing Masses and praying for the souls of deceased family members, with the goal of easing his forebears' and his own time in Purgatory⁴⁶.

Perhaps the best example of Donosdeo aligning his overlapping allegiances to his city, his religious office, and his family was with the foundation of the *ospizio* of Santa Marta. Founded by Donosdeo in 1348, Santa Marta was established to provide lodging for clerics traveling through Siena on pilgrimage. In addition, the *ospizio* served as a hospital for the poor and as a school for clerics, staffed by a doctor, music teacher, and grammarian. In the statutes of Santa Marta, Donosdeo left his six nephews, the offspring of his three brothers, in charge of managing the institution⁴⁷. Santa Marta would quickly develop a reputation as one of the most venerable institutions in Siena, hosting emperors and foreign dignitaries in the fifteenth century, and surviving well into the eighteenth century⁴⁸. Through the establishment of Santa Marta in 1348, Donosdeo was able to donate the earnings from his management of the episcopal estate to a cause that was good for Siena, pious in its intention, and yet also beneficial for the Malavolti.

As this article has shown, the Malavolti family used its connections with the Dominican order to first gain control of the bishopric and then saw its investment in church office repaid during Donosdeo's tenure: he helped the family to control the cathedral chapter, ensured that another Malavolti succeeded him to the episcopal throne, created a family chapel within the cathedral, and used episcopal funds to expand his family's holdings throughout Tuscany. At the same time, his administrative reforms and cooperation with communal authorities in times of crisis suggest that Donosdeo successfully navigated his overlapping identities and found ways to align the interests of the bishopric, family, and state. Donosdeo was simultaneously the head of the Sienese church, a Sienese citizen, and a leader of the Malavolti family. Donosdeo's long tenure as bishop and an examination of his competing loyalties to the church, his family, and his city force us to reevaluate notions of the church, state, and family as discrete spheres. Instead, it is clear that Donosdeo cast a long shadow over each of these institutions during his thirty-three year tenure as Siena's bishop.

⁴⁶ AOMS 8, c. IIIr, 3 December 1415; and c. IIIv, 15 January 1416.

⁴⁷ Mazzi, *Il vescovo Donosdeo dei Malavolti*, p. 94.

⁴⁸ Emperor Sigismund used it during his imperial stay in Siena during the mid-fifteenth century. F. Nevola, *Siena: Constructing the Renaissance City*, New Haven and London 2008, pp. 38-39.