

<sup>5</sup> See the quote above, at note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Klapisch-Zuber's collaboration appears in the reissue of the Ubriachi article, in: *R. Trexler, Church and Community 1200-1600. Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain*, Rome 1987, pp. 81-82, note 21, and the genealogical table.

<sup>7</sup> *V. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero antico della chiesa di S. Maria Novella di Firenze*, Florence 1787, pp. 127-128.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> I checked the document to ascertain Tuccia's actual death year; *Trexler* (n. 1), p. 134, no. 20.

<sup>10</sup> "Wenn Fineschi schreibt, dass Baldassare, der eine Tochter mit Namen Lapa hatte, 1331, in dem von ihm gestifteten Saal beigesetzt wurde, und wenn Orlandi schreibt, dass Lapa die 1383 verstorbene Mutter des 1403 noch lebenden Stifter Baldassare sei, dann sprechen sie offenbar von zwei verschiedenen Personen, von Grossvater und Enkel; nur einer von beiden kann der Stifter gewesen sein"; *Kreytenberg*, pp. 226-227. Note that in both instances, Kreytenberg uses secondary literature, and not the primary materials themselves. See further *Trexler* (n. 1), p. 134, no. 21, p. 139. Baldassare did not have a daughter named Lapa; see the genealogical table at the end of my monograph.

<sup>11</sup> See the texts in the above notes 4, 10.

<sup>12</sup> "Fineschis Überlieferung ... nach der der ältere Baldassare Ubriachi 1331 in dem von ihm gestifteten Saal bestattet wurde."; *Kreytenberg* (n. 4), p. 231.

<sup>13</sup> *Trexler* (n. 1), p. 135. With Klapisch-Zuber's help, I could later confirm that Aliotto was the paternal grandfather; see my *Church and Community* (n. 6), pp. 81-82, no. 21, and the table. See Kreytenberg's assertion above, at note 4.

<sup>14</sup> Thus: "Kreytenberg ... kann ... anhand der Quellen zwei Baldassare Ubriachi, Grossvater und Enkel, ausfindig machen und die Stiftung dem älteren zuweisen, der Trexlers Quellenstudium entgegen ist"; *I. Klotten, Wandmalerei im Grossen Kirchenschisma. Die Cappella Bolognini in San Petronio zu Bologna*, Heidelberg 1986, p. 219, no. 47. Prof. Klotten kindly furnished me a copy of her work, which first brought Kreytenberg's article to my attention. *E. Merlini (Il trittico eburneo della Certosa di Pavia: iconografia e committenza, in: Arte Cristiana, 74, 1986, pp. 153 f)* noted but did not pass judgment on Kreytenberg's contention.

#### *Kathleen Giles Arthur: A NEW DOCUMENT ON ANDREA ORCAGNA IN 1345*

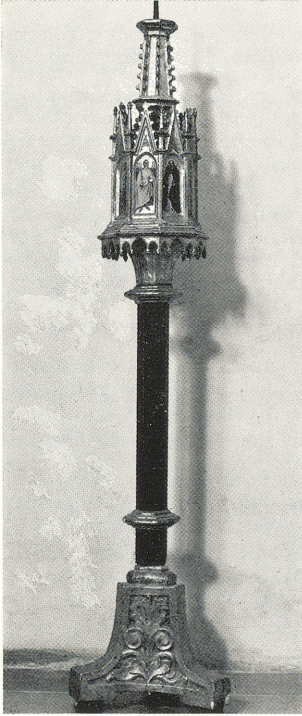
Andrea Orcagna's early artistic career, like most other Trecento artists, is poorly documented. The first securely dated reference to Andrea is the statement of January 19, 1343 (new style) in the records of the Confraternity of Gesu Pellegrino of Santa Maria Novella which chastizes Andrea for many faults and disobedience, "per molti defetti e falli che fece e di non volere ubidire".<sup>1</sup> This concerns his personal character and dismissal from the confraternity rather than any artistic commission being executed at that time.<sup>2</sup> "Andrea Cionis vocatus Orchagna" first appears in the *Arte dei Medici e Speciali* membership list between 1343-1346.<sup>3</sup> Few paintings have been attributed to Andrea prior to 1346 when he may have painted the Lindau-Finaly *Annunciation*, (signed and dated but in such ruinous condition that it is rejected by many scholars) and the nave frescoes from Santa Croce which have been dated circa 1345 by Boskovits and in the 1360's by other scholars.<sup>4</sup> Yet the famous Pistoiese letter of 1347 already cites Orcagna as one of the best painters in Florence.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, although Orcagna is often described as the leader of mid-trecento Florentine painting, neither the documents nor securely attributed paintings illuminate his career much before 1350.

A previously unnoticed payment to Orcagna dating from June 26, 1345 has been discovered in the records of the Confraternity of Gesu Pellegrino. Andrea was paid a modest sum for painting *candelabra* or torches: "demo a di xxvii di giugno ad Andrea di Cione dipintore per la dipintura de' torchi" lire i, soldi xii, denari vii...".<sup>6</sup> Though "torchio" could be translated as a festival candle, other evidence confirms that here the meaning is a processional candleholder.<sup>7</sup> Such decorative arts objects are rarely preserved from the trecento, but a representative example may be found in the Museo di San Matteo, Pisa (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> This brief documentary note adds a small piece to the puzzle of Andrea's early career, and is significant as the first dated reference to Orcagna's artistic activity.

More information about the Company of Gesu Pellegrino's torches can be gleaned from inventories of 1341 and 1350<sup>9</sup>, and the *Entrate* and *Uscite* from November 1343 through 1351.<sup>10</sup> In 1343 the company owned several pairs of ordinary wooden and iron "candellieri", and a pair of candlesticks for the altar of their chapel in Santa Maria Novella. By 1350 they had acquired "due torchi grandi forniti di giunte di ferri da portare a' morti della compagnia".<sup>11</sup> Since these are the only new torches among their possessions, they can be identified as the new pair painted by Orcagna in 1345. Shortly after the payment for the "dipintura de' torchi" in June 1345, the confraternity ordered "giunte de ferro", and six months later on December 13, 1345 they purchased two enormous wax candles, "dopp(i)e(ri) da torchi da morti, pesarono soldi v ciera nuova".<sup>12</sup>

The designated purpose of the candleholders, "to carry to the company dead", gives a clue to their ritualistic importance. For the Company of Gesu Pellegrino the burial of its deceased members was





1. and 2. Cecco di Pietro (attrib.), Painted Candelabra. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.

both one of its most sacred duties and a practical social service which attracted membership. The Company statutes of 1354 describe the elaborate funeral ritual in which 16 members dressed in the company's white robes and hoods went in procession to collect the corpse at the house of the deceased.<sup>13</sup> While half the group knelt praying in a circle in the street in front of the house, the other eight entered and carried the body out to the waiting bier. After draping the corpse with the company shroud, they solemnly returned to the church, their way lighted by the processional torches. The *torchi* were essential equipment for the proper enactment of the statutes, and in contrast to other art objects commissioned by the confraternity for their private chapel, served a public ceremonial function and symbolized the pride of the confraternity.

What kind of object was it that Orcagna painted in 1345 for his own former religious confraternity?<sup>14</sup> Portable candlesticks depicted in mid-fourteenth century Florentine sculpture, for instance those carried by two angels flanking the Bigallo Madonna and Child by Alberto Arnolfini, faithfully copy architectural elements by using polygonal columns with Gothic capitals (fig. 3).<sup>15</sup> The painted, gilded candleholder in the Museo di San Matteo, Pisa (see fig. 1) cited above, stands almost five feet high and consists of a shaft supporting a heavy octagonal tabernacle — a screen of gabled niches painted with figures of saints — crowned by a truncated spire which forms the base for a single large candle. The gabled tabernacle, an ubiquitous motif in Gothic metalwork, was typical of lamps and candelabra.<sup>16</sup> The eight saints painted in the tabernacle endow the object with the sense of a miniature polyptych (fig. 2). The choice of the Archangel Michael and the *Noli me tangere* scene suggest that the underlying theme of the cycle is death and resurrection. Thus the Pisa candelabra may have been a funeral torch like the Gesu Pellegrino company's *torchi dei morti*.

The Gesu Pellegrino funeral torches, Orcagna's first documented artistic work, continue to appear in inventories until 1552.<sup>17</sup> Though they must have been considered important possessions by the confraternity, they never are given a clear physical description. The fact that he painted such decorative arts objects has significance for his later career as a sculptor and architect. The design of the Tabernacle of Or San Michele (1352-59) presupposes an easy familiarity with decorative arts. The monumental candlesticks, twisted marble columns supported on lions' backs, on the four corners of the barrier around the tabernacle show Orcagna's facility with such objects (fig. 4). Whatever his role in the production of the torches — whether or not the *torchi* were designed by the artist, manufactured by a carpenter or wood sculptor, and returned to Orcagna for decoration, or simply standard torches





3. Alberto Arnaldi, Adoring Angel with Candlestick. Florence, Bigallo Museum.



4. Orcagna, Corner column with Angel. Florence, Or San Michele, Tabernacle.

painted by Orcagna — this document proves his early association with Gothic metalwork and decorative arts. And if the unusual gothic screen enclosing the Virgin in the Lindau-Finally *Annunciation* of 1346 seems to some scholars out of character for Orcagna, perhaps it should be reconsidered in light of the fact that he apparently decorated “church furnishings”. Finally, the modest nature of the Gesu Pellegrino torches in no way suggests that Orcagna was unsuccessful in 1345. The Gesu Pellegrino *torchi* were the sort of bread-and-butter commission accepted by any fourteenth and fifteenth century Florentine artist. A parallel Early Renaissance case is the documented but now lost Pascal candlestick which Fra Angelico painted for Santa Maria Novella in the 1430’s.<sup>18</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Offner*, Corpus, section IV, vol. I, pp. v, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Compagnia of Gesu Pellegrino was one of the early flagellant companies founded in Santa Maria Novella, c. 1333 (*Paatz*, Kirchen, p. 752). The denunciation of Orcagna is part of a list of members being expelled for various reasons, often summed up with the formulaic statement “disobedience”. Among the Gesu Pellegrino statues, chapter 30 describing ‘how the Captains are to be obeyed’, places a heavy emphasis on company discipline (*P. Ferrato* [ed.], *Misericordia del Salvatore: I Capitoli della Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino*, Padua 1871, pp. 27-28). Two other members were expelled “for disobedience to the captains and company statutes”, while the painter Francesco Ciali was expelled for “not attending twelve meetings without giving any excuses, after having been warned by the captains... in sum, he is found disobedient” (Florence, ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 910, fol. 73 v). Similarly Orcagna was probably expelled for small infractions rather than any single serious moral fault like playing dice, drunkenness or usury. His membership was brief because he is not listed among the founding members in 1336 (ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 910, fol. 93 v) nor among company officials from 1338-43 in fols. 2 v-5 v, nor among men who died brothers in the company (Florence, BNCF, Magl. VIII, 1282, pp. 115-119); *J. Henderson*, *Florentine Confraternities 1250-1400*, unpublished dissertation, University of London, London 1983, pp. 89-93 which analyzes statistically the punishment and attendance records of the company but does not specifically discuss Orcagna’s case.



- <sup>3</sup> J. Hueck, *Matricoli dei Pittori fiorentini dopo 1320*, in: *Boll. d'Arte*, LVII, 1972, p. 117.
- <sup>4</sup> Major bibliography on his painting includes K. Steinweg, *Andrea Orcagna*, Strasbourg 1929; H. Gronau, *Andrea Orcagna und Nardo di Cione*, Berlin 1937; L. Becherucci, *Ritrovamenti e Restauri Orcagneschi*, in: *Boll. d'Arte*, XXXIII, 1948, pp. 24-33, 143-156; U. Pini, *L'Annunciazione di Andrea Orcagna Ritrovata*, in: *Acropoli*, I, 1960-61, pp. 480 ff.; M. Boskovits, *Orcagna in 1357 and Other times*, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CXIII, 1971, pp. 239-251; Boskovits accepts the Lindau Finaly Annunciation and early dating of the Santa Croce frescoes and attributes a small tabernacle in St. Louis and a fragmentary Crucifixion in the Walters Art Gallery to the early Masesque period.
- <sup>5</sup> A. Chiappelli, *Bull. Storico Pistoiese*, II, 1900, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>6</sup> ASF, Comp. Relig. Soppr. 918, fol. 55 r.
- <sup>7</sup> *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Florence 1729, vol. V, p. 7. The fourteenth century diary of Monaldi mentions 72 torchi and "grandissimo onore di cera e di gente", at the funeral of Niccolo Alberti in Santa Croce in 1377 (L. Passerini, *Storia degli Stabilimenti*, Florence 1853, p. 640). The "torchi" sometimes were synonymous with "cerotti", or large candles, as shown by a payment for three pounds of wax for "ii torchi overo cerotti" from the documents of the Confraternity of Gesu which met in Santa Croce (ASF, Comp. Relig. Soppr. 862, Fasc. 106, fol. 1 v). In another case, the company of San Frediano detta "La Bruciata" purchased "due paia di cerotti per gli torchi della compagnia" which illustrates the fact that sometimes the "cerotti" were separate from the "torchi" or professional candleholders (ASF, Comp. Relig. Soppr.: Compagnia San Frediano detta la Bruciata 29 [Fasc. 2], fol. 80 v). The Company torches were special items which were kept in a "cassa lungha da torchi" and rented out for funerals of men in more modest circumstances than Niccolo Alberti. Once "uno torchetto d'oro" is mentioned, but "un paio di torchi" was the more common rental for funerals ("mcccxxxvii al di gennaio, Avemo d'un paio di torchi che noi prestiamo", sol. viii; "Avemo di x di maggio d'uno torchetto d'oro..." fol. 14).
- <sup>8</sup> *Mostra D'Arte Sacra Antica*, Pisa 1953, no. 21; E. Carli, *Pittura Pisana del Trecento*, Milan 1961, pp. 87-95; Toesca, II, p. 941. On Italian candelabra in general, see: *Das Beleuchtungswesen vom Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des XIX Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1905, Pl. 28; F. Schottmüller, *Wohnungskultur und Möbel der Italienischen Renaissance*, Stuttgart 1921, pp. 196-97; R. del Puglia | C. Steiner, *Mobili e ambienti Italiani dal Gotico al Floreale*, Milan 1963, vol. I, p. 18; G. Mariacher, *Illuminazione in Italia dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento*, Milan 1965; Splendid trecento crystal candelabra are recorded in R. Barsotti, *Gli Antichi Inventari della Cattedrale di Pisa*, Pisa 1959, p. 69.
- <sup>9</sup> ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 910, Fasc. 6, fols. 91 v-93 r. These were described inaccurately in the ASF archival inventory as "Deliberazioni e Partiti 1335-1366" and consequently omitted from J. Mesnil, *La Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino*, in: *Riv. d'Arte*, II, 1904, pp. 64-73. The inventories will be published by the present author in *Cult Objects and Artistic Patronage of the fourteenth century Flagellant Confraternity of Gesù Pellegrino*, in: *Papers of the Christianity and the Renaissance Conference*, Syracuse Univ. Press, forthcoming fall 1988.
- <sup>10</sup> ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 918, fasc. 34, fols. 2-40, 51-96.
- <sup>11</sup> ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 910, fasc. 6, fol. 93 r.
- <sup>12</sup> ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 918, fasc. 34, fol. 56 v.
- <sup>13</sup> Ferrato (n. 2), p. 13.
- <sup>14</sup> Considering the ceremonial importance of the candleholders, the payment in this *uscita* entry seems small. This may suggest that no figural images were required, that Andrea as a young artist could not yet command high prices, or that the half florin was only partial payment. A rough index of comparative prices of such objects can be established from archival sources. One lire, 12 soldi and 8 denari equaled a little more than 32 silver soldi or half a gold florin in 1345 (C. Cipolla, *Studi di Storia della Moneta*, Pavia 1948, pp. 59-60). A parallel case of an artist being paid to paint "il lampanaio", is recorded in the *Uscite* of the Company of St. Peter Martyr on August 5, 1317: "Vanni dipintore" received thirty soldi — approximately the same amount — for this task (ASF, Conv. Soppr. 102, 292, fol. 15 and S. Orlandi, *Il VII Centenario della Predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze*, Appendice IV, in *Memorie Domenicane*, 64, 1947, p. 178).
- <sup>15</sup> H. Kiel, *Il Museo del Bigallo a Firenze*, Milan 1977, pp. 125-126.
- <sup>16</sup> For instance, an early fifteenth century hanging lamp in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. See A. Bagnoli, in: *Il Gotico a Siena*, Siena 1982, pp. 354-355.
- <sup>17</sup> The following references to a single pair of funeral torches occur in the later inventories in ASF, Comp. Rel. Soppr. 903: March 1, 1421... "iv torchi...i due da morti e due per le messe" fol. 2 v: April 1, 1444... "ii torchi bianchi grandi dipinti colle veste per morti" fol. 5 r; April 11, 1482... "ii torchi dipinti chol segno dell' pellegrino d' andare fuori col faralo" fol. 7 v; March 2, 1520... "due paia di torchi, uno grande (missono) per andare fuori e l'altro..." fol. 9 r; May 11, 1552 "un paio di torchi (misi) da sepolire i morti" fol. 11 v. The descriptions of 1444 and 1482 seem close enough to relate to the same objects; otherwise it is demonstrated that they only had one set of funeral torches at any given moment, but not that the same pair of torches were maintained over this period without replacement.
- <sup>18</sup> J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 2nd ed., Ithaca, New York 1974, p. 238.