

MITTEILUNGEN
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LX. BAND — 2018
HEFT 2



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MITTEILUNGEN DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTES IN FLORENZ

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Graphik | Progetto grafico
RovaiWeber design, Firenze

Produktion | Produzione
Centro Di edizioni, Firenze

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I-50125 Firenze, Tel. 055.2342666,
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Preis | Prezzo
Einzelheft | Fascicolo singolo:
€ 30 (plus Porto | più costi di spedizione)
Jahresabonnement | Abbonamento annuale:
€ 90 (Italia); € 120 (Ausland | estero)

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1 Florence, Santa Croce, right transept, façade of the Baroncelli Chapel

PAINTERS, INQUISITORS, AND NOVICES GIOTTO, TADDEO GADDI, AND FILIPPO LIPPI AT SANTA CROCE

Julian Gardner

The new Franciscan convent of Santa Croce was as much a Florentine institution as the grandiose church of a powerful international religious order.¹ The family chapels which flanked the main choir, and later pierced both transept façades, represented an essential element of the dense social web which bound together city, *comune*, neighbourhood and religious community. The friars at Santa Croce were predominantly Florentines and mirrored within their religious community the social privilege of the most prominent civic families and merchant dynasties. Whereas the architectural spaces of the church, notably the

private chapels, have been partially investigated by art historians, the functions for which other subordinate spaces, particularly those of the convent, were used have been neglected. Both the Franciscan community as a whole and the friars who were dominant within it invite further investigation. The familial links between the friars themselves and the influential patrons whose private chapels studded the eastern range of the transept still need further disentanglement. Those aspects of the early decorative programme which reflect the growingly important presence of novice friars require examination. Can anything of their teaching

¹ For the earlier literature on Santa Croce see Walter Paatz/Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz: Ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*, Frankfurt 1940–1953, I, p. 616, note 19. Significant subsequent discussion of the architecture began with Franco Carbonai/Gianni Gaggio/Mario Salmi, “Nuove acquisizioni sulla cripta e sul transetto di S. Croce in Firenze”, in: *Città di Vita*, XXXVIII (1983), pp. 31–59: 37–39, and Giuseppe Rocchi, “Intervento”, in: *Storia e restauro dell’architettura: aggiornamenti e prospettive*, conference proceedings Rome 1983, ed. by Gianfranco Spagnesi, Rome 1984,

pp. 49–52: 51. More recently, see Claudia Bolgia, “Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Croce: The Problem of Arnolfo’s Contribution”, in: *Arnolfo’s Moment*, conference proceedings Florence 2005, ed. by David Friedman/Julian Gardner/Margaret Haines, Florence 2008, pp. 91–106: 102f.; Luca Giorgi/Pietro Matracchi, “La chiesa di Santa Croce e i precedenti insediamenti francescani: architettura e resti archeologici”, in: *Santa Croce: oltre le apparenze*, ed. by Andrea De Marchi/Giacomo Piraz, Pistoia 2011, pp. 15–34; Eva Waldmann, “Die etappenweise Vollendung der Franzis-

environment and its decoration still be traced? How does it relate to the Quattrocento Cappella del Noviziato and its remarkable surviving altarpiece painted by Fra Filippo Lippi? This investigation will include a reconsideration of the Baroncelli Chapel, with whose decorative programme the novitiate was at one time interconnected. Finally, what has been less noticed is the cultural, artistic, and especially moral impact on this Franciscan community of the late Duecento and early Trecento of the presence of the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis*.² The inquisitor, normally a leading member of the Florentine Franciscan community, several times acted as a major artistic patron for the convent. This article will attempt to clarify the complex interaction of these strands and subsequently consider how the presence of the Inquisition impacted on artistic patronage, religious life, and civic reputation of the mendicant religious house.

The Baroncelli Chapel: Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi

The Baroncelli Chapel with its largely preserved decorative programme of frescoes and surviving altarpiece (1328–1330) provides a firm basis from which to start. According to the chronicler Giovanni Villani, the new church, the second on the site, had been

begun at the east end.³ It was here too that the first major additions were made, beyond the end wall of the right transept, where a huge new sacristy and a large family chapel were soon constructed. The sacristy was a commission of the Peruzzi family, whose coats-of-arms remain prominently displayed there.⁴ The painted decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel, opening off the right transept of Santa Croce, is highly unusual among Florentine chapel decorations of the early fourteenth century in that it also extends over a large area of the wall beyond the chapel entrance, spreading out to include the whole width of the transept end wall (Fig. 1).⁵ This decoration also emphasizes the asymmetric placement of the chapel's entrance within the architecture of the transept. This asymmetry demonstrates that the construction of the new chapel involved cutting through an already existing church perimeter wall. Furthermore, the displacement of the chapel's entrance arch demonstrates that a corridor which provided entry to the sacristy was already in existence before construction began. The present corridor, which now leads to the Cappella del Noviziato, formed part of the rebuilding after the fire of 1423. These architectural anomalies will subsequently be considered in greater detail.

kanerkerche Santa Croce in Florenz: Fundraising und Bauökonomie im Hochmittelalter", in: Katja Schröck/Bruno Klein/Stefan Berger, *Kirche als Baustelle: Große Sakralbauten des Mittelalters*, Cologne 2013, pp. 103–115; Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City*, New Haven/London 2014, pp. 19f., 47f.

² See pp. 240–244 below and note 85.

³ "E cominciarsi i fondamenti prima da la parte di dietro ove sono le cappelle, però che prima v'era la chiesa vecchia, e rimase all'ufficio de' frati infino che furono murate le cappelle nuove" (Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. by Giuseppe Porta, Parma 1990/91, II, p. 21).

⁴ Paatz (note 1), pp. 502, 563f.; Filippo Moisé, *Santa Croce di Firenze: illustrazione storico-artistica*, Florence 1845, p. 157; Paola Vojnovic, "La sacrestia di S. Croce in Firenze: le sue varie funzioni nel '300", in: *Città di Vita*, LXII (2007), pp. 293–312; Emanuele Zappasodi, "La più antica decorazione della sagrestia-capitolo di Santa Croce", in: *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte*, III (2010), pp. 49–64; 56, fig. 13; Michelle A. Erhardt, "Preparing the Mind, Preparing the Soul: The Fusion of Franciscan Thought into the Daily Lives of Friars in the Sacristy Decoration of Santa Croce,

Florence", in: *Push Me, Pull You, II: Physical and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. by Sarah Blick/Laura D. Gelfand, Leiden 2011, pp. 297–325. Already in the debates on Franciscan observance preceding the Council of Vienne (1311) Ubertino da Casale, a former friar at Santa Croce, harshly criticized excess in sacristies: "Item in aliquibus locis est tantus excessus in multitudine paramentorum et calicum, quod sollempnissime kathedrales ecclesie et ditissima monasteria non habent quasi aliquid in comparacione ad excessum argenti et auri et paramentorum in pannis deauratis et sericis, qui in sacristiis fratrum minorum, qui dicunt se summos pauperes reperitur" (Franz Ehrle, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne", in: *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, III [1887], pp. 1–195: 84).

⁵ The most comprehensive discussion remains Robert Janson-La Palme, *Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content*, Ph.D. diss. Princeton University 1975. Furthermore, see Julian Gardner, "The Decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIV (1971), pp. 89–114; Andrew Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Appraisal and Catalogue Raisonné*, Columbia, Mo., et al. 1982, pp. 22–36, 88–112.



2 Taddeo Gaddi, scenes of Joachim and Anna and Marian scenes. Florence, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel

Four monumental Old Testament prophets are frescoed above the chapel's entrance arch: Jeremiah and Isaiah stand to the left, Ezekiel and Daniel to the right. Their prophecies, which they display prominently on scrolls, all concern the virginity of Mary and the coming of the Messiah.⁶ This demonstrates that the prophets can only have been conceived as an integral part of the overall chapel programme. Isaiah and Daniel appeared in comparable locations in the upper level of Ugolino di Nerio's high altarpiece holding identical texts.⁷ Some way below the monumental prophets two scenes occupy the entry wall: the now badly damaged *Christ disputing with the Doctors* at the left, in the south-east corner of the transept, and the rather elliptic *Resurrection of Christ* set over the Baroncelli tomb which faces into the transept.⁸ The overall programmatic intent is clear. Conventionally the dispute in the Temple marked the end of Christ's infancy, whilst the Resurrection signified the culmination of his terrestrial career. The chapel narratives thus plot the arc of Christ's earthly existence, and a Christological programme both prophetic and discursive forms the prologue to the rich sequence of Marian scenes which constitute the predominant part of the painted decoration within the Baroncelli Chapel itself. The carved marble figures of Gabriel and the Virgin which occupy brackets set at the inner sides of the entry arch are complemented by the sculpted imagery of the tomb which pierces the transept wall to the right of the chapel entrance.⁹ Rising

behind Giotto's signed polyptych on the chapel altar is a lancet window decorated with contemporary stained-glass images of prophets, apostles, and modern saints.

Within the chapel itself the programme becomes more modern and self-referential. On the left wall Taddeo Gaddi frescoed four scenes of the life of Mary's parents Joachim and Anna, and her own presentation in the Temple and her marriage (Fig. 2). His main source for the life of the Virgin's parents was Iacopo da Varazze's *Golden Legend* composed some seventy years earlier; only with the frescoes of the altar wall does the cycle merge into the scriptural narrative.¹⁰ Here, divided by the tall Gothic lancet, appear six scenes. These are the *Annunciation* and the *Visitation* at the apex, a middle register with the *Annunciation to the shepherds* and the *Nativity*, whilst the *Annunciation to the Magi* and the *Adoration of the Magi* constitute the lowest pair. In the vault severies of the altar bay Taddeo frescoed magnificent roundels with the cardinal virtues *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Justice* (Fig. 3).¹¹ Monochrome roundels displaying the theological virtues of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity* fill the vault above the sepulchral bay to the west side (Fig. 4): this group is completed, and given a specifically Franciscan inflection, by the addition of a fourth roundel with *Humility*. In the altar bay the unusual iconography of *Temperance* also deserves comment. She sits with the rare attribute of a sickle in her right hand, rather than the more usual vases.¹² While this motif may here have also

⁶ Jer. 30:22; Isa. 7:14; Ezek. 44:2; Dan. 2:34. Although the Rinuccini Chapel has not only the same prophets but duplicates the entire east wall fresco programme, the texts chosen there focus less on the Virgin: they are Jer. 23:5; Isa. 6:1; Ezek. 10:4, and Dan. 7:14.

⁷ For the high altarpiece Daniel see Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Italian Paintings, 1250–1450, in the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, University Park, Pa., 2004, pp. 430–436; for the Isaiah see Dillian Gordon, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Italian Paintings before 1400*, London 2011, pp. 456f.

⁸ Janson-La Palme (note 5), pp. 101–121; Ladis (note 5), pp. 36f.

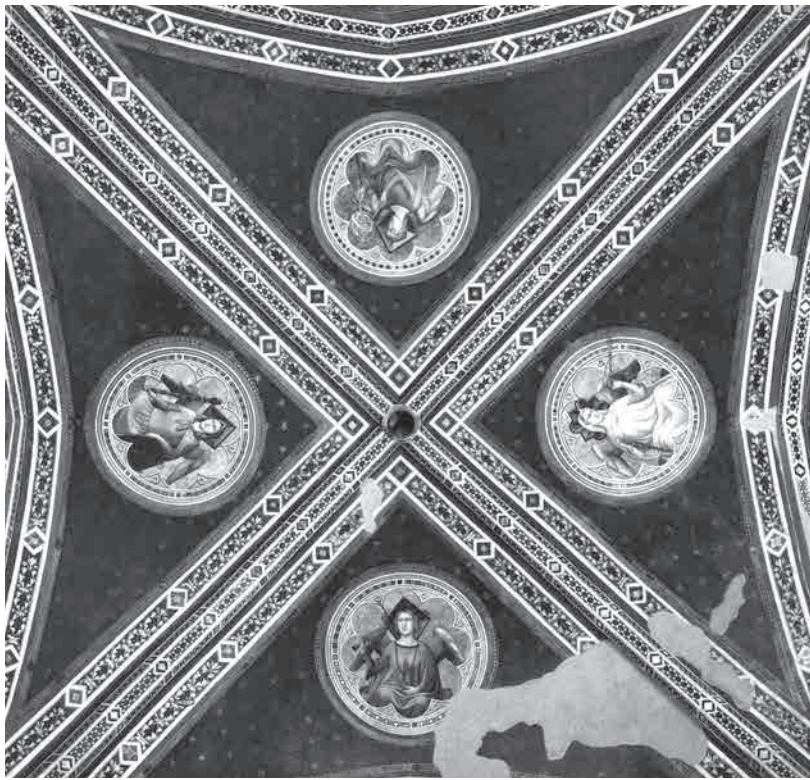
⁹ The *Annunciation* group is discussed in Wilhelm Valentiner, "Giovanni Balducci a Firenze e una scultura di Maso", in: *L'Arte*, XXVIII (1935), pp. 3–29; Francesco Caglioti, "Giovanni di Balduccio a Bologna: l'An-

nunciazione' per la rocca papale di Porta Galliera (con una digressione sulla cronologia napoletana e bolognese di Giotto)", in: *Prospettiva*, 117/118 (2005), pp. 21–63: 25f.

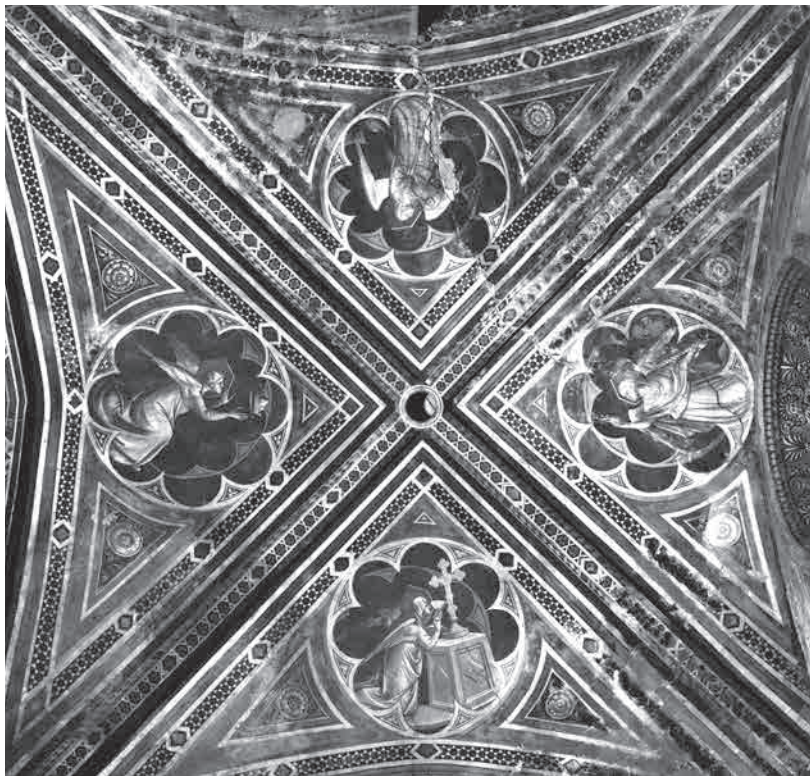
¹⁰ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea con le miniature dal codice Ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni/Francesco Stella, Galluzzo 2007, pp. 1004–1013; Janson-La Palme (note 5), pp. 174–177; Ladis (note 5), p. 33.

¹¹ Instead of the compass and mirror held by *Prudence* in the severity of *Obedience* in the crossing of the Lower Church at Assisi she now demonstrates an armillary sphere.

¹² For the sickle see Michael Roberts, "Sickles and Scythes: Women's Work and Men's Work at Harvest Time", in: *History Workshop*, VII (1979), pp. 3–28; Simona Cohen, "The Early Renaissance Personification of



3 Taddeo Gaddi,
cardinal virtues.
Florence,
Santa Croce,
Baroncelli Chapel



4 Taddeo Gaddi,
theological virtues.
Florence,
Santa Croce,
Baroncelli Chapel

apocalyptic and sepulchral resonances,¹³ *Temperance's* pre-eminent position in the severy immediately above the chapel entrance reflects the marked recalibration of the virtues which occurred during the thirteenth century.¹⁴ The dramatic culmination of the frescoed Marian programme is provided by Giotto's polyptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 5), which still occupies its original Trecento altar block.

The decorative device of frescoing the façade wall of the chapel was inaugurated at Santa Croce by Giotto's *Stigmatization* above the entry arch of the Bardi Chapel some fifteen years earlier, and it was soon complemented by the *Assunta* placed above the Tolosini Chapel on the north side of the main choir.¹⁵ These frescoed frontispieces proclaimed their respective chapel dedications to worshippers in both transept and nave. In the new, and much larger, transept chapel this convention was developed differently. Prophets foretelling the Incarnation were a commonplace of thirteenth-century Italian fresco programmes, but here, in closer connexion to the façade sculpture of northern Gothic cathedrals, they also occupy a spatial position which initially engages the attention, before the New Testament events displayed within the chapel. At Amiens cathedral prophets occupy the

outer portal spays, and the entering worshipper physically progressed through the realm of the Old Law before entering the space of the new dispensation.¹⁶ This performative iconography was well-understood in contemporary Tuscany, as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation* of 1342 for the duomo at Siena demonstrates.¹⁷

Primarily the Baroncelli Chapel was an ostentatious family memorial for the banking family and its *consorteria*.¹⁸ Its dedication to the Virgin Annunciate was proclaimed by Giovanni di Balduccio's *Annunciation* group which spans the chapel entrance.¹⁹ The inscription which faces the transept on the unusual double-sided tomb is of fundamental importance in establishing the chronology and much of the figural programme.²⁰ These aspects we shall come to shortly, but first the decorative scheme of the chapel needs elucidation. On either side of the bust-length *Madonna and Child* frescoed by Taddeo Gaddi in the tomb tympanum appear small reliefs of Ezekiel and Jeremiah to the left, and Elias and Daniel to the right.²¹ Only Elias, who takes the place of Isaiah, diverges from the monumental prophet group above the entrance. Christ as the Man of Sorrows is framed by the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist on the transept face

Time and Changing Concepts of Temporality", in: *Renaissance Studies*, XIV (2000), pp. 301–328.

¹³ Brent Shaw, *Bringing in the Sheaves: Economy and Metaphor in the Roman World*, Toronto 2013, pp. 150–172.

¹⁴ Lester Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change in the Vices in Latin Christendom", in: *The American Historical Review*, LXXVI (1971), pp. 16–49; István Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 2011, pp. 146–153.

¹⁵ Julia Gyarfes-Wilde, "Giotto-Studien", in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII (1930), pp. 45–94: 52, 89–91; Richard Offner/Klara Steinweg/Miklós Boskovits, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, III.6, Glückstadt 1956, pp. 96–98, pls. XXXf. (Master of the Fogg *Pietà*).

¹⁶ Adolph Katzenellenbogen, "The Prophets of the West Façade of Amiens Cathedral", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, s. 6, XL (1952), pp. 241–260; Gardner (note 5), p. 101.

¹⁷ Luisa Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze, II: I dipinti toscani del secolo XIV*, Rome 1965, no. 113, pp. 164f., figs. 113, 113c. Additionally, the prophets Moses and Malachi appear in the spandrels of the frame.

¹⁸ Janson-La Palme (note 5), pp. 43f.; Eve Borsook, "Notizie su due cappelle in Santa Croce a Firenze", in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXVI (1961/62), pp. 89–106: 90–93; Bruzelius (note 1), p. 91.

¹⁹ Caglioti (note 9), p. 31, figs. 11, 12; for chapel dedications see Julian Gardner, "The Family Chapel: Artistic Patronage and Architectural Transformation in Italy circa 1275–1325", in: *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, conference proceedings Lausanne/Fribourg 2000, ed. by Nicolas Bock et al., Rome 2002, pp. 545–558: 546f.; *idem*, *Giotto and His Publics: Three Paradigms of Patronage*, Cambridge, Mass., 2011, pp. 54–58. For a divergent view Dieter Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda: Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Worms 1983, pp. 90–98.

²⁰ The expanded text of the inscription is given in Moisé (note 4), p. 147. See also Gardner (note 5), p. 111, note 15, where an emended version of the inscription text is published. Tombs visible from both sides were a northern Gothic invention, customarily located in ambulatories.

²¹ The prophets are identified by name on their scrolls.

of the tomb chest. Its inner face has a central seraphim between Peter and Paul on the base, whereas the symbols of the Evangelists take the places occupied by the prophet busts at the front.²² The decorative elements of the tomb are of notable quality and the commemorative inscription is flanked by two small angels carrying a sword and an orb, who replace the funerary *genii* of classical tomb epitaphs.

The five-line inscription records the names of the principal sponsors of the chapel as Bivigliano, Bartolo (or Bartolomeo), and Silvestro Manetti, Vanni (or Giovanni) and Piero Bandini, all of the Baroncelli. They raised the chapel in honour of God and the Virgin and dedicated it to the Virgin Annunciate for the salvation of their souls and in memory of familial dead.²³ Emerging from the *popolo grasso*, the Baroncelli had become politically prominent by the late Duecento. Bartolomeo Manetti was captured at the battle of Altopascio in 1325 and appears to have died subsequently in captivity.²⁴ Bivigliano served as consul of the Calimala in 1329 and prior in 1331/32; Silvestro, later a partner in the Acciaiolli bank, acted as godfather, representing the Comune, at the christening of the short-lived Martino, son of Charles of Calabria, in 1327; Vanni served as

prior in 1333 and 1351.²⁵ The Baroncelli intermarried with the Bardi and Pulci families, and Gherardo, like his brother Tano, was a partner in the bank of Amideo Peruzzi and his successors; the family fortunes were seriously damaged by the collapse of the Peruzzi bank in 1343.²⁶

The named protagonists explain much concerning the choice of saints in the fresco and stained glass decoration, and also provide significant information about the detailed patronage of the chapel and the *consorteria's* enduring relationships with the friars. They possessed significant links of kinship with leading friars in the convent.²⁷ Clearly they were a powerful and expansive clan: the first indeed to persuade the Franciscans to allow them to carve through the existing south transept wall in order to erect a burial chapel of exceptional prominence. It was an architectural fashion immediately taken up by the Bardi in the transept opposite, and other families swiftly imitated it in the Dominican, Umiliati, and Carmelite churches of Florence.²⁸ The tomb inscription is thus not only a primary document for the history of the chapel's patronage, it is a public enunciation of proprietorial rights and an important, if incomplete guide to the iconographic programme of the frescoes.

²² Heinrich Bodmer, "Una scuola di scultura fiorentina nel Trecento: i monumenti dei Baroncelli e dei Bardi", in: *Dedalo*, X (1929/30), pp. 616–638, 662–678; Margaret H. Longhurst, *Notes on Italian Monuments of the 12th to the 16th Centuries*, London [1963?], no. G.10; Helen A. Ronan, *The Tuscan Wall Tomb 1250–1400*, Ph.D. diss. Indiana University 1982, II, no. 20, pp. 67–71.

²³ For the inscription, see note 20 above.

²⁴ Bartolomeo was a Florentine representative in customs negotiations with Bologna in 1319 (Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin 1896–1927, IV.3, *Anmerkungen zum dritten Teil*, p. 101). He is mentioned among the Florentine captives at Altopascio "menati presi a Luchae parte morti" in "Cronaca Senese attribuita ad Agnolo di Tura del Grasso detta la Cronaca Maggiore", in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., XV.6: *Cronache Senesi*, ed. by Alessandro Lisini/Fabio Iacometti, Bologna 1931, pp. 253–564: 424.

²⁵ Davidsohn (note 24), IV.3, p. 380, *Anmerkungen zum dritten Teil*, p. 101.

²⁶ Tano, who married Caterina Cavalcanti, served several times as prior and was a member of the XII Buonomini. He stood as a witness for the Commune in financial transactions with Pietro da Eboli, brother of Robert I of Anjou. See Guido Pampaloni, *s.v.* Baroncelli, Gherardo, in:

Dizionario biografico degli italiani, VI, Rome 1964, pp. 438f.; *idem*, *s.v.* Baroncelli, Tano, *ibidem*, pp. 441f.; Borsook (note 18), pp. 90–95. For the Peruzzi bankruptcy, see Armando Saporì, "Storia interna della compagnia mercantile dei Peruzzi", in: *idem*, *Studi di storia economica (secoli XIII–XIV–XV)*, Florence 1955, III, pp. 653–694: 666–669.

²⁷ Lists (not altogether comprehensive) of the Florentine friars in Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, Athens, Ga., 1989, appendix I, pp. 185–190; for some 30 omissions see Sylvain Piron, "Un couvent sous influence: Santa Croce autour de 1300", in: *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. by Nicole Bériou/Jacques Chiffolleau, Lyon 2009, pp. 321–355: 326, note 24.

²⁸ For the Bardi Chapel see Gardner 2002 (note 19), p. 548; the grille is dated 1335 (Alessandro Conti, "Pittori in Santa Croce: 1295–1341", in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, s. 3, II [1972], pp. 247–263: 249). For family chapels in the other Florentine mendicant churches, see Jonathan K. Nelson/Richard J. Zeckhauser, "A Paradise for Signalers", in: *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. by *idem*, Princeton 2008, pp. 113–131.



5 Giotto, *Coronation of the Virgin*.
Florence, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel

The mechanisms, together with the opportunities and limitations of such patronage, are clarified by surviving documents about the Alberti family's involvement in the main choir chapel at Santa Croce.²⁹

Taddeo Gaddi's fresco cycle now ends with the *Adoration of the Magi* to the right of the altar (Fig. 6), although whether it once continued into the adjoining, western bay is uncertain. It seems very likely that the west wall of the second bay originally featured an *Assumption* also by Taddeo Gaddi, which was replaced by

the *Assumption of the Virgin* painted by Sebastiano Mainardi when the wall, which now abuts Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel, was reconstructed in the early Quattrocento.³⁰ In the second bay of the chapel a similar lancet window is now blocked up and filled by a later tomb.³¹ Intervening scenes of the Virgin's life could plausibly be suggested on the basis of earlier surviving Florentine pictorial programmes.³² The impact of Taddeo's fresco cycle was immediate, and the north wall of the Rinuccini Chapel opening off the sacristy

²⁹ For the Alberti patronage of the main choir chapel, see Luigi Passerini Orsini de' Rilli, *Gli Alberti di Firenze: genealogia storia e documenti*, Florence 1869, II, pp. 144–154; Richard Goldthwaite/Enzo Settesoldi/Marco Spallanzani, *Due libri mastri degli Alberti: una grande compagnia di Calimala 1348–1358*, Florence 1995; Gardner 2011 (note 19), pp. 53 and 180, note 23; *idem*, “Who Were the Microarchitects?”, in: *Microarchitectures médiévales: l'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière*, ed. by Jean-Marie Guillouët/Ambre Vilain, Paris 2018, pp. 37–46: 37. Thomas Loughman, “Commissioning Familial Remembrance in Fourteenth-Century Florence: Signaling Alberti Patronage at the Church of Santa Croce”, in: *The Patron's Payoff* (note 28),

pp. 133–148: 136, dates the initial Alberti intervention to 1304. For a contrary view Waldmann (note I), p. 110, note 22.

³⁰ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, ed. by Rossana Bettarini/Paola Barocchi, Florence 1966–1997, III, p. 495 (life of Domenico Ghirlandaio); Moisé (note 4), p. 149; Ronald Kecks, *Domenico Ghirlandaio und die Malerei der Florentiner Renaissance*, Munich 2000, pp. 123f. I am grateful to Brenda Preyer and to Cecilia Frosinini for discussions on this point.

³¹ Paatz (note I), I, p. 559. The tomb is of Francesco Giugni († 1758).

³² For an attempt along these lines see Giuseppe Marchini, “Gli affre-

largely replicates the left entry wall of the Baroncelli Chapel.³³ What has survived within the chapel is a rare quintet of Marian scenes and an abbreviated infancy cycle.

Complementing the monumental virtues in the vault roundels, fifteen smaller personifications, which include the cardinal and theological virtues and Franciscan virtues such as Obedience, Poverty, Humility and *Munditia* (Purity), decorate the splays of the altar-wall lancet (Fig. 7).³⁴ Two series of prophets, Old Testament notables, and other sacred figures embellish the intrados of the entry arch and the band rib which divides the chapel's vaults. Among these, the figure of Ruth holding a sheaf also recalls the reaping allusion of Temperance in the vault above. Janson-La Palme, the most thorough scrutineer of the fresco cycle, was clearly mistaken in identifying the haloed figure with the cardinal's hat placed next to the Virgin on the north curve of the band-rib as Bonaventura.³⁵ The vault figure is certainly an important early representation of Saint Jerome as a Roman cardinal, an iconography very probably related to the recent translation of his remains. They had apparently been transferred to Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome between 1284 and 1292. Pope Nicholas IV, formerly Fra Girolamo d'Ascoli, Jerome's namesake, was buried near the saint's tomb beside the *Presepe*.³⁶

The contemporary stained glass of the altar-wall lancet shows the stigmatization of Saint Francis and



6 Taddeo Gaddi, *Adoration of the Magi*.
Florence, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel

schì perduti di Giotto in una cappella di S. Croce”, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, XX (1938), pp. 215–241; following Vasari, Marchini proposed for the Tolosini Chapel, in addition to the surviving *Assumption*, the scenes of the *Nativity*, *Annunciation*, *Marriage of the Virgin*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, and *Dormition*. If the layout was similar to that of the altar bay between seven and eleven additional Marian scenes might be postulated for the Baroncelli cycle. The majority would have compositional precedents in either the Scrovegni Chapel or the transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. The *Presentation of Christ* occurs among Taddeo's sacristy series.

³³ Alessandro Marabottini, *Giovanni da Milano*, Florence 1950, pp. 58–67; Mina Gregori, “Angeli e diavoli: genesi e percorso di Giovanni da Milano”, in: *Giovanni da Milano: capolavori del gotico fra Lombardia e Toscana*, ed. by Daniela Parenti, Florence 2008, pp. 15–55.

³⁴ Janson-La Palme (note 5), pp. 384–395; Gardner (note 5), pp. 101–103. *Munditia* is present in the *vele* of the Lower Church at Assisi.

³⁵ Janson-La Palme (note 5), pp. 396f. Bonaventura was canonized in 1482. He is shown as a mitred Franciscan in the *Crucifixion* by Taddeo in the sacristy of Santa Croce (Ladis [note 5], no. 23 and figs. 23–26), where his scroll carries the text “O Crux fructex (salvificus)”, a quotation from the *Lignum Vitae*, Prologus 3 (S. Bonaventura, *Decem opuscula ad theologiam mysticam spectantia*, Quaracchi 1949, p. 158). There is nothing of relevance in Francesco Petrangeli Papini, *s.v.* San Bonaventura: Iconografia, in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome 1961–1970, III, cols. 278–283.

³⁶ “Chronicon Fratris Francisci Pipini Bononiensis ordinis Praedicatorum ab anno MCLXVI usque ad annum circiter MCCCXIV”, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Milan 1723–1738,



7 Florence, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel, upper altar wall

Saints Silvester and Bartholomew – recalling the names of Silvestro Baroncelli and Bartolomeo Manetti who are both recorded in the tomb inscription.³⁷ Saint Peter both refers to Piero Bandini Baroncelli and the Franciscan order's exempt status as directly

dependent on the papacy. The totality might be characterized as a Marian programme with Franciscan and familial undertones.

Whereas the Christological element of the chapel's internal programme was confined to Christ's infancy,

IX, cols. 587–752: 724; Luigi Manzoni, “Studi e ricerche sui geografi e viaggiatori italiani de' secoli di mezzo (secolo XIII–XIV): Frate Francesco Pipino da Bologna de' PP. Predicatori geografo storico e viaggiatore”, in: *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, s. 3, XIII (1896), pp. 257–334: 321 (“Et vidi sepulcrum in quo diu iacuit corpus eius antequam trasferetur Romam”). Burchard of Mount Zion appears to believe that Jerome's remains were still in Bethlehem (Jonathan Rubin, “Burchard of Mount Zion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A Newly Dis-

covered Extended Version”, in: *Crusades*, XIII [2014], pp. 173–190: 180). Jerome is also shown wearing a cardinal's hat in the lancet stained-glass window of the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in the right transept (cfr. Janson-La Palme [note 5], p. 141, figs. IIb–I).

³⁷ Hildegard van Straelen, *Studien zur Florentiner Glasmalerei des Trecento und Quattrocento*, Watterscheid 1938, pp. 13–15; Nancy Thompson, *The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce at Florence*, Ph.D. diss. Indiana University 1999, pp. 152–154.

its Marian prologue arrives at its celestial culmination in the altarpiece signed by Giotto (Fig. 5). The Virgin's coronation in heaven, like the scenes on the west wall, lacked any scriptural basis but by the late twelfth century had become one of the most popular episodes of Mary's legend, even though the doctrine of her bodily assumption into heaven after death was by no means universally accepted.³⁸ Mary's celestial coronation had developed as a monumental sculptural theme in the Île-de-France during the thirteenth century and was illustrated not only twice at Notre-Dame in Paris (on the left portal of the façade and on the Porte Rouge) but also on the main portal of Reims cathedral, the coronation church of the French monarchy.³⁹ Coronations were great public ceremonies, and that of Mary was the most spectacular of all. On the façades of French Gothic cathedrals the heavenly coronation was accompanied on the portal-splays by standing figures of the ancestors of Christ and the Virgin. This iconographic tradition is respected in Giotto's polyptych where Adam, Eve, Noah, and Moses are all readily identifiable. Abraham and Isaac, the antetype for Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, appear close to Christ at the inner edge of the inner right panel.

The ranks of saints on either side of the central *Coronation* strike other chords. All the Franciscan saints canonized within the first century of the order's foundation are present. Francis not only appears in the main register but also for a second time to the right of the central Man of Sorrows in the predella (Fig. 8): there, his pose reflects a doctrine especially dear to the order – its founder as *alter Christus*. In the main order is depicted also Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 10), the



8 Giotto, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of Fig. 5 with Saint Francis on the predella

young Angevin saint canonized in 1317, who was thus a contemporary of Giotto and of many of the Santa Croce friars: his nephew Charles of Calabria, son of King Robert, was, until his sudden death in 1328, the *signore* of Florence. Louis is shown as bishop of Toulouse, his cope spangled with gold *fleurs-de-lys*.⁴⁰ Clare appears near Francis, as she had already on Ugolino di Nerio's high-altar polyptych situated some twenty metres distant. Anthony of Padua accompanies Louis of Toulouse, while Elizabeth of Hungary, clad very fashionably in crown and wimple, stands to the left of Clare (Fig. 9).⁴¹ These 'modern' Franciscan saints appear alongside the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and other orders' saints. Choosing the latter allowed the designer of the chapel polyptych to sound other, fa-

³⁸ Cf. the opinion of Guilelmus Durandus, who counselled that a pious doubt was preferable to temerarious certainty (*Rationale divinarum officiorum*, ed. by Anselme Davril/Timothy J. Thibodeau, Turnhout 1995–2000, II, p. 71).

³⁹ Pia Wilhelm, *Die Marienkrönung am Westportal der Kathedrale von Senlis: Ein Beitrag zu dem ikonographischen Problem der Marienkrönung*, Ph.D. diss. Hamburg 1941, pp. 10, 30; Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique*, Montréal/Paris 1980,

pp. 116–119, 132–135; Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140–1270*, Munich 1970, p. 157, pls. 152f.

⁴⁰ This heraldic motif also occurs in the panel painting of ca. 1340 of *Saint Louis with Robert and Sancia* at Aix-en-Provence: see *Giotto e compagni*, exh. cat., ed. by Dominique Thiébaud, Paris 2013, pp. 184–187, ill. at p. 185.

⁴¹ For the wimple see Giovanna Ragionieri, "Origini e fortuna di un motivo iconografico: la Madonna con il soggolo", in: *Giotto e Bologna*, conference proceedings Bologna 2006, ed. by Massimo Medica, Cinisello Balsamo



9 Giotto, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of Fig. 5 with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary



10 Giotto, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of Fig. 5 with Saint Louis of Toulouse

miliar notes. Four of the Baroncelli clan – Bartolomeo, Silvestro, Giovanni, and Piero – are echoed in the altarpiece programme, as they were in the stained glass lancet behind the altarpiece.⁴² Saint Bartholomew in an embroidered white robe appears on the inner right panel, and this onomastic emphasis continues for other saints. Silvester is very likely the pope in the outer left panel, in reference to Silvestro Baroncelli who was later to be firmly in the sights of the Franciscan inquisitor.⁴³ Order, family, and chapel dedication find onomastic resonances in the host of saints in heaven who accompany the central Coronation.

Throughout his career Giotto had illustrated the performance or suggested the effects of music in his paintings. Already in the first episode of the Arena Chapel nave programme, God’s momentous charge to Gabriel, the angels in heaven rejoice. Two of their number play small pipes while the others link fingers and decorously dance for joy. Dancing and music in heaven are evident too in the great Giottoesque fresco of the *Apotheosis of Saint Francis* in the *vele* of the Lower Church at Assisi.⁴⁴ In the Peruzzi Chapel an elegantly-dressed *vielle* player accompanies Salome’s deadly dance. But it is only in the *Coronation* polyptych that Giotto devel-

2010, pp. 37–45; Julian Gardner, “Il politico Baroncelli per Santa Croce: gli ultimi anni a Firenze”, in: *Giotto, l’Italia*, exh. cat., ed. by Serena Romano/Pietro Petrarola, Milan 2015 pp. 140–153: 147.

⁴² Inconclusively discussed in Nancy Thompson, *The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce at Florence*, Ph.D. diss. Indiana University 1999, pp. 148–154, who attributes the design of the window to Taddeo Gaddi, but regards it as unlikely to be related to the chapel programme (p. 150), despite acknowledging (p. 151) that the choice of saints is linked to the patrons.

⁴³ On the incrimination of Silvestro Baroncelli see Vanna Antichi, “L’inquisizione a Firenze nel XIV secolo”, in: *Eretici e ribelli del XIII e XIV secolo: saggi sullo spiritualismo francescano in Toscana*, ed. by Domenico Maselli, Pistoia 1974, pp. 213–231: 226f.

⁴⁴ Gardner 2011 (note 19), p. 92. For holding hands and dancing to the accompaniment of a fiddle see Timothy J. McGee, “The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique and Repertory”, in: *Instruments, Ensembles and Repertory, 1300–1600: Essays in Honour of Keith Polk*, ed. by Timothy J. McGee/Stewart Carter, Turnhout 2015, pp. 31–56: 43.



11, 12 Giotto, *Coronation of the Virgin*, details of Fig. 5 with Angels musicians on the inner left and outer right panels

ops celestial orchestration and the effects of music to entirely new levels of complexity. The visual sonorities of the altarpiece and of its frescoed setting are of immense subtlety. Like the mother house of the order at Assisi, the convent of Santa Croce was a foyer of musical activity. A major *laudesi* company, one of the oldest in Florence, celebrated in Santa Croce every week, orig-

inally in a chapel at the north-east corner of the transept.⁴⁵ The monumental *Virgin and Child with six angels* which was probably commissioned by this *laudesi* company survives in the National Gallery in London and constitutes another early example of the penetration of Siense panel painting into Florence,⁴⁶ preceding Ugolino di Nerio's high altarpiece in Santa Croce.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford 1992. There do not, however, seem to have been any significant music books in the convent library: see Charles Till Davis, "The Early Collection of Books of S. Croce in Florence", in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVII (1963), pp. 399–414; Bruzelius (note 1), pp. 173f.

⁴⁶ On this painting, attributed to the Master of the Albertini, see Julian Gardner, "Duccio, 'Cimabue' and the Maestro di Casole: Early Siense Paintings for Florentine Confraternities", in: *Iconographica: mélanges offerts a Piotr Skubiszewski par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves*, ed. by Robert Favreau/

Marie-Hélène Debiès, Poitiers 1999, pp. 109–113; Gordon (note 7), p. 330, dates it ca. 1310–1315. The provenance of this panel was doubted, on wholly insubstantial grounds, by Andrea De Marchi, "Cum dictum opus sit magnum: il documento pistoiese del 1274 e l'allestimento trionfale dei tramezzi in Umbria e Toscana fra Due e Trecento", in: *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, conference proceedings Parma 2008, ed. by Arturo C. Quintavalle, Milan 2009, pp. 603–621: 619, note 55.

⁴⁷ Gordon (note 7), p. 473, proposes a date of ca. 1325–1328 for Ugolino's polyptych (in my view a little too late). It is dated ca. 1325/26 by

Mary's coronation, like those of earthly sovereigns, is accompanied by an elaborate musical performance.⁴⁸ At French cathedrals like Senlis or Notre-Dame in Paris angel musicians are absent. Nowhere earlier survives so extensive a musical accompaniment to the ceremony as that in the Baroncelli polyptych.⁴⁹ The celestial orchestra forms a musical cordon between the heavenly court and the listener within the chapel. Long trumpets and the louder instruments are played in the outer panels, portable organs and vielles appear nearer the divine couple (Figs. 5, II, I2). This division between louder and softer instruments reflects contemporary musical practice.⁵⁰

The instruments are accurately rendered and richly decorated: there is elaborate intarsia ornament on the stringed instruments, and their necks are decorated with animal heads, as is the zither played with a plectrum by the angel in the inner left panel.⁵¹ The angel organist on the outer right panel slips a thumb through a leather loop to control the bellows (Fig. I2). On the outer left panel the multiple stops and delicate Gothic fretwork of a similar instrument are displayed. Behind the organ-player a

harpist can just be discerned, whose open mouth also suggests singing. Francesco da Barberino considered the harp to be a suitable instrument for young ladies to play.⁵² It was presumably therefore appropriate for saints. A number of the saints standing closest to the musicians are depicted as if singing, and several of the angels appear to sing while also playing their instruments. The Franciscan order had early been a champion of polyphony, and singing friars appear in several Franciscan scenes, in the Upper Church at Assisi and elsewhere.⁵³ For ceremonial occasions official *trombatori* had been employed by the Florentine Commune since 1292, and the 1325 Statute of the Podestà lists six civic musicians “boni et in arte experti, unus cum cembalellis, et unus nacherarius et unus trombecta qui bene sciunt dicta ministeria exercere”.⁵⁴ A comparable range of instruments could also be employed in a mendicant context.⁵⁵ Franciscan and lay spectators would thus have much to admire in the Baroncelli altarpiece, which achieves an unprecedented sophistication in the variety of contemporary musical instruments and the accuracy of their depiction. It is within the context of Baroncelli patronage that Giotto creates

Stefan Weppelmann, in: *Geschichten auf Gold: Bilderzählungen in der frühen italienischen Malerei*, exh. cat., ed. by *idem*, Berlin 2005, p. 32. See the review by Christa Gardner von Teuffel, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLVIII (2006), pp. 217–220.

⁴⁸ For the music played in coronation ceremonies, see Andrew Hughes, “Antiphons and Acclamations: The Politics of Music in the Coronation Service of Edward II, 1308”, in: *Journal of Musicology*, VI (1988), pp. 150–168; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500–1500*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 206–217; Andrew Hughes, “The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation”, in: *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by János M. Bak, Berkeley 1990, pp. 196–216: 213.

⁴⁹ Howard Mayer Brown, “Catalogus: A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I, Instalment 2”, in: *Imago Musicae*, I (1985), pp. 179–281: 214, note 172.

⁵⁰ Edward A. Bowles, “Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments during the Middle Ages”, in: *Musica Disciplina*, VIII (1954), pp. 115–140.

⁵¹ The portable organ has two rows of stops, of which six are visible while others are hidden by the angel's hand.

⁵² According to Francesco, a girl of marriageable age “porrà imprendere

d'un[o] mezzo cannone / o di viuola, o d'altro / stomento onesto e bello, / e non pur da giullare, / o vuol[e] d'una arpa, ch'è ben[e] da gran d[onn]a” (Francesco da Barberino, *Del reggimento e costumi di donna*, ed. by Carlo Baudi di Vesme, Bologna 1875, p. 53). See also Giuseppe Vecchi, “Educazione musicale, scuola e società nell'opera didascalica di Francesco da Barberino”, in: *Quadrivium*, VII (1966), pp. 5–29.

⁵³ Galliano Ciliberti, “The Role of the Basilica of St. Francis in the Creation of Polyphonic Music”, in: *Franciscan Studies*, L (1990), pp. 83–120.

⁵⁴ *Statuti della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. by Giuliano Pinto/Francesco Salvestrini/Andrea Zorzi, Florence 1999, II, p. 46; for their activity during the signoria of Charles of Calabria see Riccardo Beveré, “La Signoria di Firenze tenuta da Carlo figlio di re Roberto negli anni 1326 e 1327”, in: *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXIV (1909), pp. 205–272: 220; in general Timothy McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Florence*, Bloomington 2009, p. 44. A shawm-player (*cennamellario*) is also noted among the Florentine communal musicians (*ibidem*, p. 249, note 28).

⁵⁵ Alessandra Fiori, “Currebant duo simul: musica a Bologna presso i due principali ordini mendicanti (1282–1549)”, in: *Musica e storia*, VIII (2000), pp. 169–236, docs. p. 220 (1313), p. 221 (1335), listing the musical instruments celebrating the feast of Saint Francis.

the most musically accomplished altarpiece of the Trecento.

There are, however, wider musical repercussions for the altarpiece in its setting. The *Legenda aurea* relates how the elderly Joseph was chosen by God as Mary's husband.⁵⁶ In Taddeo Gaddi's fresco (Fig. 2) a disgruntled young suitor is about to strike Joseph. This increased animosity towards an older husband appears to have been purely an artistic initiative rather than contemporary social reportage: in Taddeo's scene the behaviour of the other participants is noticeably more hostile than had been the general discontent displayed in Giotto's *Wedding of the Virgin* at Padua.⁵⁷ By the Trecento such an evident discrepancy in age between bride and bridegroom was customarily mocked in a widespread Tuscan marriage ritual, the *mattinata*.⁵⁸ In late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Florence public celebration of the *mattinata* had become so disorderly that the Comune legislated against the practice. In Taddeo's *Wedding of the Virgin* the revellers who march vigorously in from the left have brought with them a portable organ and a bagpipes to accompany the celebration, although contemporary communal statutes punished such musicians with fines and the confiscation of their instruments.⁵⁹ Like the altarpiece the fresco is very informative about the social practice of musical performance in Trecento Florence. Equally, the frescoed narrative establishes a studied parodic dissonance between the urban clangour of the *mattinata* and the refinement of the angelic orchestra serenading Mary in heaven. It would seem that

Taddeo was as alive as his master to the compositional dynamic which music could provide.

While the musical setting of the *Coronation* in the Baroncelli Chapel is relatively straightforward, it is rather less easy to suggest what it might have meant for the Trecento worshipper. However, something can perhaps be gleaned from the writings of Ubertino da Casale, a Spiritual Franciscan who had also been an influential friar at Santa Croce.⁶⁰ In his *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*, composed in 1305, Ubertino meditates on the stationary feast of Mary's Assumption as it would have been celebrated at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, where Jacopo Torriti's immense mosaic of the *Coronation of the Virgin* dominated the apse.⁶¹ Mary, terrestrial ruler and Queen of Heaven, clad in a golden robe, assumes her heavenly throne. Jesus her son gently invites her to celebrate her triumph, and as she sits beside him she is crowned with great powers and joyfully celebrated.⁶² Indeed it is joy which pervades Ubertino's meditation on Mary's Coronation. As the once poor but perpetually humble Virgin receives her eternal crown, the angels rejoice.⁶³ All these themes are vividly present in Giotto's visualisation of the scene. The Virgin demurely receives her jewelled crown from Christ with downcast eyes and hands submissively crossed in her lap. Christ is uncrowned and does not display his wounds, whereas in the predella beneath he appears as the central *Pietà*, directly confronting the celebrant of the Eucharist. Yet it is unequivocally a courtly ceremony, taking place before a fashionably-dressed audience

⁵⁶ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, critical ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, Galluzzo 1998, p. 906.

⁵⁷ Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture and Experience*, London/Turnhout 2008, p. 209, fig. 58.

⁵⁸ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Medieval Italian Mattinata", in: *Journal of Family History*, V (1980), pp. 2–27.

⁵⁹ Mayer Brown (note 49), p. 204; *Statuti della Repubblica fiorentina* (note 54), II, p. 250: "[...] nec aliquam mattinam facere cum liguto, viola citera vel aliquo alio instrumento [...] et contra faciens puniatur in soldis viginti, et quotiens, et perdat instrumentum"; Klapisch-Zuber (note 58), pp. 6, 13. A similar prohibition had already been enacted in the statute of the Podestà of 1284: see Giuseppe Rondoni, *I più antichi*

frammenti del Costituto Fiorentino, Florence 1882, doc. XI, pp. 45–58: 52. In the fresco itself *pentimenti* indicate that the trumpets were in origin considerably longer.

⁶⁰ Ubertino was one of the most important late thirteenth-century teachers at Santa Croce: Charles Till Davis, "Education in Dante's Florence", in: *Speculum*, XL (1965), pp. 415–435: 421.

⁶¹ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*, ed. by Luigi Firpo, Turin 1961 (reprint of the ed. Venice 1485), pp. 397–406.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 405: "[...] iocunde christus matrem glorificavit & quod potentissime & triumphaliter coronavit."

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 403: "Gaudet et letantur angeli quia vident reginam hodie primo in curia celesti."

with an elaborate polyphonic and instrumental accompaniment. It is hardly an exaltation of poverty.

So intertwined is the programme of Giotto's polyptych, its sculpted altar block,⁶⁴ the fresco cycle within and the scenes on the façade of the chapel, the stained glass and the sculpture of both tomb and *Annunciation* group that the problem of identifying the conceiver of such a programme is posed with unusual urgency. The senior artist in both age and prestige was incontestably Giotto, and he signed the altarpiece with which the Marian cycle culminates. Taddeo Gaddi had been his pupil, whilst Giovanni di Balduccio was still an artist in the early stages of his career.⁶⁵ Overwhelmingly, the weight of evidence points to Giotto. From this conclusion we can now move on with greater assurance to the wider, conventual context of the Baroncelli Chapel.

The Convent and Its Friars

We do not know the identity of the architect who was charged, some time shortly before 1328, with the task of piercing the relatively new transept wall of the church and erecting the double-bayed chapel.⁶⁶ The dislodgement of the Guidalotti family from their transept site and their relocation in the recent-

ly constructed sacristy must have deeply involved the Franciscan community.⁶⁷ Relocation of important patrons within Santa Croce was a loaded and contentious issue, as the Alberti controversy demonstrates.⁶⁸ The names of many of the Franciscans involved in the construction of the huge new church are known. The very friars whom Ubertino da Casale, himself formerly at Santa Croce, ringingly denounced before Pope Clement V in 1311 in the debates preceding the Council of Vienne still constituted the influential ruling clique within the convent when the Baroncelli Chapel was being constructed and decorated. Illuminato de' Caponsacchi, Giovenale degli Agli and their ilk remained firmly in the saddle, and it is their brand of Franciscanism which Giotto's magnificent altarpiece commemorates.⁶⁹ Thus, while it would appear highly probable that Giotto himself was the guiding mind behind the decorative composition of the whole chapel programme, a veritable *Gesamtkunstwerk*, its theological and devotional substructure is perhaps more likely to have been provided by one or more of the leading friars from Santa Croce.⁷⁰

Santa Croce was not only the largest mendicant church in the city but it also formed an important constituent of its social fabric.⁷¹ The Baroncelli polyptych

⁶⁴ The altar block is 312.5 cm wide, 156.5 cm deep, and 127.5 cm in height. Its contemporaneity is mistakenly impugned by Simone Epking, *Die Entwicklung des Altarstipes in Florenz vom 12. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Weimar 2005, p. 80. The six-winged seraph in relief echoes the inner face of the Baroncelli tomb. The head carved into the relief on its right short side would have been visible to worshippers present in the right bay of the chapel. The short end nearest the east wall is decorated with a foliate cross.

⁶⁵ He had recently carved and signed the tomb of Gualtiero degli Antelminelli († 1327), son of Castruccio Castracani, at Sarzana. See Carla Benocci, "La tomba di Guarnerio Castracani degli Antelminelli nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Sarzana: ricerche e contributi", in: *Rivista di archeologia, storia e costume dell'Istituto Storico Lucchese*, IX (1981), pp. 9–22; Caglioti (note 9), p. 25.

⁶⁶ The architecture of the 1295 church and its subsequent modifications remain in need of comprehensive investigation: see note I above.

⁶⁷ Carbonai/Gaggio/Salmi (note I), p. 45. Ser Simone Guidalotti had been a prior between August and October 1301 (Davidsohn [note 24], III, p. 94, note 3; Paatz [note I], p. 608).

⁶⁸ See the will of Jacopo di Caroccio degli Alberti of 18 June 1374, which specifically accuses the friars of renegeing on promises made to his father (Passerini Orsini de' Rilli [note 29], II, p. 146). See also the literature quoted in note 29 above.

⁶⁹ See the comment of Fra Bartolomeo da Pisa, *Liber de conformitate vitae beati patris nostri Francisci ad vitam domini Jesu Christi*, Quaracchi 1906, p. 440: "Frater Iuvenalis de Florentia, qui fundavit tam magnam ecclesiam sicut revelatum fuit cuidam fratri devoto, hunc habet poenam, usque ad diem iudicii, ut duo mallei semper ejus percutiant caput." See also Piron (note 27), p. 331, note 43. If Giotto, as seems possible, was the author of the *Canzone sulla povertà* he might well have agreed. On this poem see John C. Barnes, "Dante, Cimabue and Giotto", in: *Strathelyde Modern Language Studies*, VI (1986), pp. 5–22: 21; Alessandro Chiappelli, "Giotto poeta: testo critico della Canzone sulla Povertà", in: *Nuova Antologia*, s. 7, 252 (1927), pp. 129–145: 137–142.

⁷⁰ Piron (note 27), pp. 331–335.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 351; Lesnick (note 27), pp. 45–52; Bruzelius (note I), pp. 19f.

projects a similar sense that heaven itself has Tuscan links. Like the friars in the Bardi Chapel fresco cycle, the Franciscans depicted in the Baroncelli altarpiece wear the voluminous habits which characterized the Conventual wing of the order.⁷² Saint Louis' episcopal cope blazes with *fleurs-de-lys*. According to the documentary record the young Angevin prince, nurtured by the Franciscan Spirituals during his imprisonment as an adolescent in Catalonia, never clothed himself like this.⁷³ It is very much an altarpiece programme for an order for which apostolic poverty was a distant memory and whose own resident inquisitor was being pursued by Pope John XXII's special emissary for extortion, speculation, and flagrant immorality during the very years of the chapel's execution. It should perhaps be emphasized that the view of the spiritual and moral state of Santa Croce which is articulated here is very different from the one which is still widely held.⁷⁴

⁷² For Ubertino da Casale's scathing criticism of the habits of the Conventual faction ca. 1310, see Franz Ehrle, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne", in: *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, II (1886), pp. 353–416, III (1887), pp. 1–195: 56f.; Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin 1896–1908, IV, pp. 484f.

⁷³ For Louis' habit see *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. Episcopi Tolosani*, Quaracchi 1951, pp. 113: "[...] habitum suum veterum truncatus in manicis et abbreviatus a parte inferiori usque ad mediam tibiam" (testimony of Francesco Bruni O.F.M., bishop of Gaeta); Michael Cusato, "'Cucullus non facit monachum?' The Controversy over the Franciscan Habit in the Early Fourteenth Century", in: *Loyalty in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Gert Melville*, ed. by Jörg Sonntag/Coralie Zermatten, Turnhout 2015, pp. 361–403: 380f. For the Franciscan habit in general see Servus Gieben, "Per la storia dell'abito francescano", in: *Collectanea Franciscana*, LXVI (1996), pp. 431–478.

⁷⁴ For example the characterization put forward by Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, University Park, Pa., 1988, pp. 67, 77. This interpretation was already partly challenged by William R. Cook, reviewing Goffen's book for the *American Historical Review*, XCV (1990), p. 1179, and at length in my *Giotto and His Publics* (note 19), pp. 110–112; see further Piron (note 27).

⁷⁵ Paatz (note 1), I, pp. 582f. There is little on earlier capitular arrangements at Santa Croce in Heidrun Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst: Studien zu den Bildprogrammen*, Munich 2004, pp. 235–241. Some documents are published in: *Giovanni da Milano* (note 33), pp. 297–306. For the Santo at Padua in the period see Louise Bourdua, "'Master' Plans of Devotion or Daily Pragmatism? The Dedi-

The subordinate spaces of the church and convent have been only partly investigated and the range of functions for which these spaces were used has been inadequately considered.⁷⁵ Architectural expansion of the church and convent seems to have proceeded piecemeal, largely driven by the demands of important families. The Trecento sacristy and the refectory, where Taddeo Gaddi frescoed the *Last Supper* and the *Mystical Crucifixion* inspired by the *Lignum vitae* of Bonaventura, still await comprehensive investigation.⁷⁶ The original dwelling and teaching arrangements for novices remain mysterious: much of the original conventual construction of this area was destroyed in the fire of 1423 and soon replaced.⁷⁷ It is uncertain to what extent the rebuilding followed the original architectural layout or rather represents a significant expansion driven by the wishes of the new patrons and the current size of the Franciscan community.⁷⁸

cation and Use of Chapels and Conventual Spaces by the Friars and the Laity at the Santo 1263–1320", in: *Il Santo*, LI (2011), pp. 491–510. On the general problem see Matthias Untermann, "Fehlbenennungen von Klosteräumen und ihr Effekt auf die Forschung", in: *Die Klöster der Franziskaner im Mittelalter: Räume, Nutzungen, Symbolik*, ed. by Gert Melville/Leonie Silberer/Bernd Schmies, Leipzig 2015, pp. 19–42: 35; Leonie Silberer, "Architektur der Franziskanerklöster: Annäherungen, Forschungsfragen und Baubefunde", *ibidem*, pp. 3–18.

⁷⁶ Zappasodi (note 4) has stressed the agency of the Peruzzi in the new sacristy. Alessandro Simbeni, "Gli affreschi di Taddeo Gaddi nel refettorio: programma, committenza e datazione, con un postilla sulla diffusione del modello iconografico del *Lignum vitae* in Catalogna", in: *Santa Croce* (note 1), pp. 113–141, building on a suggestion of Andrew Ladis (note 5), pp. 171–182, has claimed an important role for the Franciscan tertiary Monna Vaggia Manfredi in the refectory programme (but with too late a date). For the refectory frescoes see Angelo Tartuferi, "Santa Croce: Taddeo Gaddi", in: *La tradizione fiorentina dei cenacoli*, ed. by Cristina Acidini Luchinat/Rosanna Proto Pisani, Florence 1997, pp. 116–119. For the broader architectural and representational context of refectories see Peter Fergusson, "The Refectory at Easby Abbey: Form and Iconography", in: *The Art Bulletin*, LXXI (1989), pp. 334–351.

⁷⁷ Mirko Breitenstein, "Das Franziskanische Noviziat zwischen Tradition und Innovation", in: *Die Klöster der Franziskaner* (note 75), pp. 127–139.

⁷⁸ Howard Saalman, "Michelozzo Studies", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII (1966), pp. 242–250; Philip Jacks/William Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence: Fortunes of a Renaissance Merchant Family*, University Park, Pa., 2001, pp. 171–183.

Perhaps most significantly, the cultural impact of the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis* within Santa Croce has been almost entirely overlooked.

The majority of the friars at Santa Croce were Florentines and many of the remainder Tuscans, notably Sienese. As Ubertino da Casale had earlier complained in his treatise *Sanctitas vestra*, “nullus vult quasi stare nisi in terra sua”, and most of their families resided in Florence and its surroundings.⁷⁹ This stasis was also a problem which had long troubled the Dominicans, as an early encyclical of their Master General Humbert of Romans indicates.⁸⁰ The social status of the most prominent Florentine families was reflected within the religious community at Santa Croce.⁸¹ The leading friars bore their names.⁸² It has been remarked that Fra Illuminato de’ Caponsacchi behaved much like an abbot at Santa Croce during his time in office.⁸³ Such links obviously went both ways. Florence was a predominantly mercantile society, and thus its

spiritual confessors needed to thoroughly understand the nature of that entrepreneurial activity in order to perform their own penitential role properly. The Franciscan preacher Pierre de Jean Olivi (ca. 1248–1298) himself wrote a treatise on contracts.⁸⁴

The Franciscan Inquisition at Santa Croce and Taddeo Gaddi

As the links between the Franciscan house and the city have become substantially clearer, so the organic development of the church and its conventual buildings has become better understood. Also, as the complexities of the newly-initiated architectural project and its subsequent modification have emerged, the desire to identify a leading architect has diminished. Less noticed in recent investigation has been the presence among the community at Santa Croce of the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis*.⁸⁵ Long a Franciscan ap-panage in Tuscany, its office was located within the

⁷⁹ Cit. from Piron (note 27), p. 332; see also the edition in Ehrle 1887 (note 72), pp. 51–89: 81: “[...] tanta locorum apropiatio, qua nullus vult quasi stare nisi in terra sua, et vix ibi vult alium sustinere, et ibi studet procurare sicut in domo propria. Et ista fuit magna causa nostre corruptionis.”

⁸⁰ *Litterae encyclicae magistrorum generalium ordinis Praedicatorum ab anno 1233 usque ad annum 1376*, ed. by Benedict Maria Reichert, Rome 1900, p. 19: “Aliud [defectus] est amor soli natalis, cuius dulcedo sic multos illaqueavit, natura nondum in eis per gratiam transformata, quod de terra et cognatione sua nolunt egredi nec oblivisci populum suum, sed vivere volunt et mori inter cognatos et notos suos, non expavescentes, quod inter huiusmodi salvator, eciam a matre propria non potuit inveniri.”

⁸¹ For the names of the friars in Santa Croce see the literature in note 27 above.

⁸² Lesnick (note 27), appendix I. For Benedetto de’ Bardi see Berthold Stahl, *Adel und Volk im Florentiner Dugento*, Cologne 1965, p. 151; for Enrico de’ Cerchi *ibidem*, pp. 152–155. For Giovenale degli Agli, Andrea de’ Mozzi, Ponzardo Pulci, Tedicio Tolosini see Piron (note 27), p. 345, who emphasizes the massive presence of magnate families among the friars. This was already recognized as a problem among mendicant novices in the thirteenth century: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXVI: *Annales Normannici*, ed. by Oswald Holder Egger, Hanover 1872, p. 512; Mirko Breitenstein, *Das Noviziat im hohen Mittelalter: Zur Organisation des Eintritts bei den Cluniazensern, Cisterziensern und Franziskanern*, Berlin 2008, pp. 417–601.

⁸³ Piron (note 27), p. 349. The number of Santa Croce’s books connected to him suggests an unusually learned friar.

⁸⁴ Pierre de Jean Olivi, *Traité des contrats*, ed. and trans. by Sylvain Piron, Paris 2012, p. 19; Sylvain Piron, “Marchands et confesseurs: le traité des contrats d’Olivi dans son contexte (Narbonne, fin XIII^e – début XIV^e siècle)”, in: *L’argent au Moyen Âge*, conference proceedings Clermont-Ferrand 1997, Paris 1998, pp. 289–308. For Olivi’s precocious views on financial exchange see Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange and the Emergence of Scientific Thought*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 118–124; *idem*, *A History of Balance 1250–1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and Its Impact on Thought*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 119–123.

⁸⁵ Frédégand Callaey, “Un épisode de l’Inquisition franciscaine en Toscane: procès intenté à l’inquisiteur Minus de San-Quirico. 1333–1334”, in: *Mélanges d’histoire offerts à Charles Moeller [...]*, Louvain 1914, pp. 527–547; Gerolamo Biscaro, “Inquisitori ed eretici a Firenze (1319–1334)”, in: *Studi Medievali*, n.s., II (1929), pp. 347–375, III (1930), pp. 266–287, VI (1933), pp. 161–207 (who, astonishingly, completely neglects the fundamental study by Callaey); Davidsohn (note 24), IV.3, p. 93 (on the location of the Inquisition at Santa Croce); Alexander Murray, “The Medieval Inquisition: An Instrument of Secular Politics”, in: *Peritia*, V (1986), pp. 161–200; Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses”, in: *Church History*, LVIII (1989), pp. 439–451; Caterina Bruschi, “Inquisizione francescana in Toscana fino al pontificato di Giovanni XXII”, in: *Frati Minori e Inquisizione*, conference proceedings Assisi 2005, Spoleto 2006, pp. 285–324; *eadem*, “Familia inquisitionis: A Study on the Inquisitors’ Entourage (XIII–XIV Centuries)”, in: *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge*,

convent itself: payments for the repair and embellishment of its premises, sometimes to a surprising degree of luxuriousness, are documented. It was within the conventual buildings that its prison was situated.⁸⁶ Such ostentation, in conjunction with other more serious abuses, eventually provoked stringent papal investigation, although, because of the deteriorating political situation in Italy, the principal miscreants eventually escaped unscathed.⁸⁷ The records of these enquiries, preserved among the series of *Collectoriae* in the Vatican archives, provide important new information about artistic patronage at Santa Croce during the very years when the chapels of the east end and, slightly later, the Baroncelli Chapel were being frescoed. It constitutes a startling record of the lengthy papal pursuit of inquisitorial malfeasance within the precincts of Santa Croce itself.

Already notorious for malpractice in the later Duecento, the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis* had long ceased to be a formidable weapon in the church's struggle

with unbelief. In 1254 Innocent IV had passed responsibility for heretic-hunting in central Italy to the Franciscans.⁸⁸ However, by 1320 'heresy' understood in terms of deviant religious thinking or proselytization was a distant memory.⁸⁹ The inquisitor had his own premises at Santa Croce and outposts elsewhere in the Franciscan province, notably at San Gimignano and Prato. They customarily employed notaries: one, Opizo da Pontremoli, worked for the inquisitor for fifteen years. Opizo's successors were themselves summoned to answer the papal investigator's questions.⁹⁰ The severe and feared Franciscan inquisitors used torture.⁹¹ Those the inquisitor condemned, even personalities in high places like Cecco d'Ascoli, a member of the entourage of Charles of Calabria, were burnt at the stake.⁹² The inquisitor Fra Accursio Bonfantini paid for a celebratory lunch for his assistants on the day of Cecco's capture.⁹³ In 1327 the sentence against Cecco was pronounced in the chancel of the new church.⁹⁴

CXXIV (2012), pp. 537–572. In the discussion of the physical presence of the Inquisition at Santa Croce, an important exception to the general neglect is Bruzelius (note I), pp. 168f.

⁸⁶ This was also the case for the earlier office: a document of 18 March 1276 was enacted "in loco fratrum Minorum in curia suprascripta Inquisitoris" (cit. from Felice Tocco, *Quel che non c'è nella Divina Commedia o Dante e l'eresia*, Bologna 1899, p. 60, doc. 19). Several payments for the extension and strengthening of the conventual prison are recorded in ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 112r [140r].

⁸⁷ It may well be that the papacy backed away from disciplining inquisitors who provided stalwart support during a time of crisis which included not only the deposition of the Minister General Michele da Cesena, but particularly the arrival of Ludwig of Bavaria in Italy (Bruschi 2006 [note 85], p. 322). The situation verged on getting out of hand even earlier: see Riccardo Parmeggiani, *I consilia procedurali per l'inquisizione medievale: 1235–1330*, Bologna 2011, pp. 260f.

⁸⁸ Cf. the papal bull *Licet ex omnibus mundi partibus*, in: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV (1243–1254)*, ed. by Élie Berger, Paris 1884–1921, III, p. 446, no. 7797. See also Davidsohn (note 24), IV.3, p. 93; *idem*, *Firenze al tempo di Dante*, Florence 1929, p. 163.

⁸⁹ George Dameron, *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante*, Philadelphia 2005, p. 230.

⁹⁰ Davidsohn (note 88), p. 164. On Opizo see Piron (note 27), pp. 324–327. One of his successors, Johannes Bongi, gave damaging testimony

against Fra Accursio and Fra Mino (ASV, Collect., 251, fol. 55v [67v]; Bruschi 2012 [note 85], p. 562).

⁹¹ For 'moderate' torture, which did not involve the shedding of blood, an action proscribed for any cleric, there exists an ample casuistry. For a case of mendicant torture in 1296 which evidently disabled a suspect ("fuerat tortus nec poterat ire") see Marina Benedetti, "Le finanze dell'inquisitore", in: *Leconomia dei conventi dei frati Minori e Predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento*, conference proceedings Assisi 2003, Spoleto 2004, pp. 365–401. For an overview see now Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Judicial Torture in Canon Law and Church Tribunals: From Gratian to Galileo", in: *Catholic Historical Review*, CI (2015), pp. 754–793: 754–756.

⁹² Ernst Mehl, "Zum Prozess des Cecco d'Ascoli", in: *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger zum 60. Geburtstag am 30. Dezember 1930*, Munich 1930, pp. 179–186. This happened despite the fact that Duke Charles had recently appointed Cecco as court *fiscus* (Nicola Barone, "La *Ratio Thesaurariorum* della cancelleria angioina", in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, XI [1886], pp. 415–432: 419). See also Villani (note 3), II, p. 570 (16 September 1327): "[...] fu arso in Firenze per lo 'nquisitore de' paterini uno maestro Cecco d'Ascoli, il quale era stato astrolago del duca"; Davidsohn (note 88), p. 150.

⁹³ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 83v [112v].

⁹⁴ Davidsohn (note 24), IV.3, p. 94. Augusto Beccaria, "Le redazioni in volgare della sentenza di frate Accursio contro maestro Cecco d'Ascoli", in: *Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, XLI (1905/06), pp. 974–1001: 1000.

Since active heresy, as stated above, was largely a thing of the past, the Franciscan Inquisition had become a magnet for unprincipled friars alert to its financial opportunities.⁹⁵ In the relentless search for income accusations of heresy proved extraordinarily useful. By the second decade of the Trecento, and probably for some considerable time before, the Inquisition at Santa Croce had become a fully-fledged protection racket, focusing on extortion with menaces and posthumous confiscations of the goods and estates of alleged heretics, whose estates and heirs remained liable for seizure up to forty years after their deaths.⁹⁶ There were kickbacks, particularly in the form of inflated fees for legal advice from an eminent panel of local jurists who included Cino da Pistoia and Francesco da Barberino, himself a notable patron and design advisor of tomb monuments.⁹⁷

It was the fines extorted under threat of accusations of heresy, however, which were the most consistent money-spinner. Part of this income from the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis* went to the Commune, which in 1322 decided that “ad utilitatem animarum et de-

corem civitatis, expediat ecclesiam Sancte Crucis et Sancte Mariae Novelle compleri” and re-assigned two thirds of its proceeds to Santa Croce itself, and the remaining third to the Dominicans.⁹⁸ Much of the Inquisition’s income was devoted to high living, choice wines, fine horses, office refurbishment and even prostitution.⁹⁹ The inquisitor’s cell was glazed.¹⁰⁰ Hospitality for its consultants, and also that offered to visiting notables, was lavish.¹⁰¹ Fra Mino Daddi (inquisitor in 1332–1334) was fond of extended spa treatments at Vignoni and elsewhere and was often bled.¹⁰²

At Santa Croce, the inquisitor was invariably a senior friar such as Benedetto de’ Bardi or Accursio Bonfantini;¹⁰³ the charge could be a step towards a career within the order, or recognition for a completed period of conventual office. Some inquisitors, like Alamanno da Lucca or Grimaldo da Prato, had served as *guardiano* or *custos* of the convent.¹⁰⁴ Fra Tedicio del Fabbro dei Tolosini had held both offices before assuming the role of inquisitor (1325).¹⁰⁵ Accursio Bonfantini had been lector before becoming inquisitor (1326–1329), whilst his successor Pietro

⁹⁵ Murray (note 85), p. 189: “The Inquisition [...] was like a rat-catcher, practised, self-confident and with children to support – who has caught all the rats.”

⁹⁶ On these practices of the Franciscan Inquisition see Peter Herde, “Antworten des Kardinals Giangaetano Orsini auf Anfragen von Inquisitoren über die Behandlung von Ketzern und deren Eigentum”, in: *Ex ipsi rerum documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Klaus Herbers/Hans-Henning Kortüm/Carlo Servatius, Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 345–361; *idem*, “Ein Consilium Benedikt Caetanensis über die Frage der Behandlung des Erbes verstorbener Häretiker”, in: *Studia in honorem em.mi card. Alphonsi M. Stickler*, ed. by Rosalio J. Castillo Lara, Rome 1992, pp. 171–205: 175.

⁹⁷ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 87r [114r]; Biscaro 1930 (note 85), p. 275; *idem* 1933 (note 85), p. 163; Emilio Pasquini, s.v. Da Barberino, Francesco, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XLIX, Rome 1997, pp. 686–691. Francesco was responsible, as testamentary executor, for at least part of the design of the tomb of Antonio Orso in the cathedral of Florence: for this monument see Eric Jacobsen, “Francesco da Barberino: Man of Law and Servant of Love”, in: *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, XV (1986), pp. 87–118, XVI (1987), pp. 75–106: 95–97; Tiziana Barbavara di Gravelona, “Tino di Camaino a Firenze e il monumento funerario del vescovo Antonio d’Orso in Duomo: I. Per una lettura del sepolcro”, in: *Annali*

della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: classe di lettere e filosofia, s. 4, VI (2001), pp. 265–299.

⁹⁸ Rondoni (note 59), doc. XXXVI, p. 84; Davidsohn (note 24), IV.3, p. 97.

⁹⁹ Callaey (note 85); Vanna Antichi, “L’inquisizione a Firenze nel XIV secolo”, in: *Eretici e ribelli del XIII e XIV secolo: saggi sullo spiritualismo francescano in Toscana*, ed. by Domenico Maselli, Pistoia 1974, pp. 213–231: 213; Murray (note 85); Bruschi 2006 (note 85).

¹⁰⁰ Biscaro 1929 (note 85), p. 365.

¹⁰¹ Callaey (note 85), p. 532; Biscaro 1933 (note 85), p. 163.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 164.

¹⁰³ For Benedetto de’ Bardi see Lesnick (note 27), p. 186; for Accursio see note 106 below.

¹⁰⁴ For Alamanno see Lesnick (note 27), p. 190. For Grimaldo da Prato see Tocco (note 86), doc. 25, pp. 75–78: 77.

¹⁰⁵ Biscaro 1930 (note 85), p. 266. Fra Tedicio del Fabbro dei Tolosini, who served only a single year as inquisitor, in 1325 deposited funds with Guido del Fabbro, his kinsman, an action Biscaro 1930 (note 85), p. 266, judged to be part of “un programma di sfruttamento della funzione inquisitoriale a vantaggio della famiglia del titolare”. For the role of Guido del Fabbro dei Tolosini, who effectively acted as private banker for the management of the Florentine Inquisition’s office, see Bruschi 2012 (note 85), p. 551.

da Prato subsequently became Tuscan provincial.¹⁰⁶ Even the infamous Fra Pietro dell’Aquila, who was foiled in his attempt (1345) to arraign Silvestro Baroncelli and subsequently placed Florence under an interdict, ended his career as bishop of Sant’Angelo de’ Lombardi.¹⁰⁷

The inquisitor might bank with a Tolosini, a member of the same family which patronized a prominent chapel immediately to the left of the main choir chapel and commissioned a fresco programme by Giotto: at times both inquisitor and banker were Tolosini kinsmen, such as during the tenure of Tedicio del Fabbro dei Tolosini.¹⁰⁸ The inquisitor often made grants of money to Santa Croce and regularly entertained the whole community to a *pitancia* or ceremonial meal, at his expense.¹⁰⁹ There can be little doubt that the rank and file friars were perfectly aware of the contaminated source of this funding. Such abuses eventually provoked the lengthy but ultimately ineffectual papal investigation, documented in the *Collectoriae* accounts now in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

The inquisitors were also notable patrons of artists. On 1 July 1322 the current inquisitor Fra Pace

da Castelfiorentino bought a panel from a painter named Taddeo, most likely Taddeo Gaddi: “item Taddeo pictor pro una tabula fl. iii.”¹¹⁰ At San Domenico, Bologna, the inquisitor may also have commissioned a panel painting – a *Last Supper* by Andrea di Bartolo – which is still preserved in the Pinacoteca Nazionale.¹¹¹ It was not the first payment which Taddeo received from the inquisitor’s office: there were other, less specific payments to the painter, respectively of two florins on 19 April and one florin later in the year, on 18 July.¹¹² In September of the same year Pace’s accounts included a payment to a certain “domine Neuti pro quodam laborerio facto in ornamento quidam picture dicti vicarii”.¹¹³ The inquisitor had earlier helped with the general construction expenses for the friary by lending the *operaio* Nerio 100 florins “pro opera S. Crucis” soon after he took up his responsibilities in 1319.¹¹⁴ Later on, during the inquisitorship of Fra Michele da Arezzo (1322–1325), there is a valuation of a painted panel – which may indeed be the one mentioned in 1322 – that is now assessed at seven florins.¹¹⁵ The inquisitors’ taste for painting was shared: even their most celebrated victim, Cecco d’Ascoli, was an en-

¹⁰⁶ Biscaro 1929 (note 85), p. 348; Eugenio Ragni, *s.v.* Bonfantini, *Accursio*, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XII, Rome 1970, pp. 10f. Accursio took 20 florins “pro meis negotiis” on leaving. He was obsequious to Michele da Cesena until the end of 1327.

¹⁰⁷ Ildefonso di San Luigi, “Memorie storiche e genealogiche della nobilissima casa de’ Signori della Stufa”, in: *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, XV, Florence 1781, pp. 161–217: 206; Bruschi 2006 (note 85), pp. 298–303. Pietro, Scotist philosopher, extortioner, and plagiarist connived, as provincial, in the malversations of the inquisitor Fra Mino Daddi (Caterina Bruschi, *s.v.* Pietro dell’Aquila, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LXXXIII, Rome 2015, pp. 453–455). For an unconvincing defence see Aniceto Chiappini O.F.M., “Fra Pietro dell’Aquila ‘Scotello’, O.Min. celebre scolastico del Trecento († 1361)”, in: *Miscellanea Francescana*, LXI (1961), pp. 283–310.

¹⁰⁸ See note 105 above. For the chapel see p. 228 above.

¹⁰⁹ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 3r [3r].

¹¹⁰ ASV, Collect., 249, fol. 58r [68r]; Biscaro 1929 (note 85), p. 359. Before the word “tabula” appear the struck-out letters “minia” (for *miniatura*): it is difficult to decide whether this was a simple mistake by the compiler of the account or whether Taddeo was also associated with manuscript illumination. For Pace’s activities as inquisitor from 20 August 1319 to

24 May 1320 see Callaey (note 85), p. 538, note 2; he is not mentioned by Lesnick (note 27). He was as extravagant as his predecessors (Biscaro 1929 [note 85], p. 368). ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 1v [1v] records a repayment of four florins in 1322 to “Fra Manfredus [Bonfoli?] de Senis”, one of the friars most sharply criticized by Ubertino at Vienne.

¹¹¹ For this panel see Andrea De Marchi, in: *Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, Catalogo Generale, I: Dal Duecento a Francesco Francia*, ed. by Jadranka Bentini/Gian Piero Cammarota/Daniela Kelescian, Venice 2004, pp. 182–184, no. 63a–b: 183, where the provenance is given as from “Convento di S. Domenico, appartamento dell’Inquisizione”. Earlier, Laurence B. Kanter, “Giorgio di Andrea di Bartolo”, in: *Arte Cristiana*, LXXIV (1986), pp. 15–28: 21, connected the Bologna panel to a dismembered heptptych by Andrea’s son Giorgio.

¹¹² ASV, Collect., 249, fol. 56r [66r]: “Item die xix aprilis Taddeo pictori flor aur ii”; *ibidem*, fol. 59r [69r]: “Item Taddeo pictori flor aur i”.

¹¹³ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 13r [21r] (17 September 1322).

¹¹⁴ ASV, Collect., 249, fol. 61v [71v]; Biscaro 1929 (note 85), p. 359. For Nerio see Gardner 2011 (note 19), p. 56.

¹¹⁵ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 67v [92v]; Biscaro 1930 (note 85), p. 274: “unam tabulam pictam concorditer extimata fl. vii”.

thusiasm for the paintings of Giotto.¹¹⁶ The accounts of the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis* show a continuous engagement in commissions for manuscript illumination and various sorts of decoration for the office's books, as well as purchases of books themselves.¹¹⁷ Pace also had the inquisition's seal repaired.¹¹⁸ When, ultimately, Fra Mino Daddi was sorely pressed by the papal investigator Pons Étienne he tried to claim that to surrender his working library (which included the damning account books) would fatally compromise the vital work of the Inquisition itself.¹¹⁹ Michele da Arezzo was as extravagant in his decidedly un-Franciscan lifestyle as Fra Pace, and during his tenure of the office paintings and figural decorations of various types in different media are documented.¹²⁰

The very significant fact here, however, is that the payment to Taddeo was made some five years earlier than the construction date of the Baroncelli Chapel; this raises the real possibility that it was the friar-inquisitor who was initially responsible for bringing the painter within the ambit of the chapel's decoration. (The other, self-evident likelihood is that Taddeo was one of the promising assistants of Giotto in

the Bardi Chapel, where the fresco programme had recently been completed.¹²¹) This earlier link with Taddeo Gaddi may nonetheless also be of importance when we consider the other aspects of the Baroncelli programme, one of which is the damaged scene of *Christ disputing with the Doctors*.

Taddeo Gaddi and the Novitiate

In the middle decades of the thirteenth century the Franciscan order had been radically transformed by the influx of university graduates.¹²² Concurrently, education became an over-riding concern for the order both in terms of recruitment and in the spiritual development of the fraternity. Each custody had to designate special convents for the reception and further education of novices, and Florence was amongst these. The initial preparation and educational development of novices played a vital part in the intellectual economy of every major house of the order.¹²³ Friars who were later sent to study at university also needed skilled preparatory training. A book bought by Fra Federico da Luco when studying in Paris could end up in the library of Santa Croce.¹²⁴ The friars at

¹¹⁶ The best testimony for this is a passage in Cecco's poem *L'Acerba*: "Or prindi exemplo qual qui te demostro: / son due figure d'un beato e santo, / d'equal bellezza, presso al viso nostro, / facte per Giotto, dico, in diverse ore: / l'una s'adora e lauda con gram canto, / e l'altra presso a questa non à honore" (Cecco d'Ascoli [Francesco Stabili], *L'Acerba [Acerba etas]*, ed. by Marco Albertazzi, Lavis 2005, p. 299). See also Creighton Gilbert, "Cecco d'Ascoli e la pittura di Giotto", in: *Commentari*, XXIV (1973), pp. 19–25.

¹¹⁷ ASV, Collect., 249, fol. 42v [52v] (23 September 1319): "Item dicta die Sozzo miniatori pro miniatura quorundam librorum inquisitoris lb. miii s. vii d. vi"; *ibidem*, fol. 47r [57r]: "Item die xxiiii augusti Sozzo miniator pro miniatura quorundam sexternorum s. vi d. miii". Collect., 250, fols. 13r [21r], 105v [132v], also record the purchases of a Bible, a breviary, and sermons for Fra Bernardo (the *socius* of Fra Mino).

¹¹⁸ ASV, Collect., 249, fol. 46v [56v] (22 June 1320): "Item pro aptatura sigilli inquisitoris s. vi d. vi".

¹¹⁹ Biscaro 1933 (note 85), p. 176. Pons finally excommunicated Mino for contumacy (ASV, Collect., 251, fol. 48r [58r]; Biscaro 1933 [note 85], p. 176; Murray [note 85], p. 169). That some records were kept by Mino merely to avenge perceived slights is suggested by ASV, Collect., 251, fol. 38r [48r], where among inquisitors' books appeared one "cui de foris picta est ymago a cingulo supra cuiusdam fratris, ad designandum quod

ille liber solummodo factus est contra illos fratres apostatas et nil aliud continet". For the Inquisition's books which Mino claimed, see Biscaro 1933 (note 85), pp. 200–206, and Daniel Williman, *Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques au temps de la papauté d'Avignon*, Paris 1980, II, pp. 134–136, no. 337.3.

¹²⁰ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 38r [46r] (August 1323): "Saluncius pictor" is paid for two painted tiles; ASV, Collect., 251, fol. 41v [51v] (1332): records "una tabula picta cum ymagine beate Virginis et figuris plurium sanctorum"; ASV, Collect., 251, fol. 9r [10r]: payment for a "pictura demonum in una veste 12 s."

¹²¹ For the date of the Bardi Chapel decoration see Osvald Sirén, *Giotto and Some of His Followers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1917, I, p. 135; Ladis (note 5), p. 19; Gardner 2011 (note 19), p. 56.

¹²² Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order*, Ithaca, NY, 2012, pp. 68–75.

¹²³ Breitenstein (note 77); Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)*, Leiden 2000; *idem*, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650*, Leiden 2015.

¹²⁴ Sonia Gentili/Silvain Piron, "La bibliothèque de Santa Croce", in: *Frontières des savoirs en Italie à l'époque des premières universités (XIII–XV siècles)*, ed. by Joël Chandelier/Aurélien Robert, Rome 2015, pp. 481–507: 486. For Federico see Lesnick (note 27), p. 192.

Santa Croce had a characteristically improper way of adding to their library. In the wills which novices customarily drew up on entering the order, the wealthy transferred considerable sums to the convent for the purchase of books – which were then reserved, contrary to the provisions of the Rule, for their personal use at the discretion of the *guardiano*. Fra Giovenale degli Agli in his 1298 testament provided 200 florins, substantially more than the purchase price of Duccio's *Madonna Rucellai*, for the purchase or copying of books.¹²⁵ Other novices also contributed substantial sums. Additionally, at Florence, which unlike Rome, Bologna, Padua, or Naples did not possess a university, the Franciscan and Dominican schools played a prominent part in civic life. It was the schools of the mendicants that Dante frequented in the late thirteenth century.¹²⁶ Santa Croce itself probably rivalled the Cordeliers in Paris in the range of its book provision and its intellectual impact on neighbouring society.¹²⁷ It was the pre-eminent place of study in the city

and an important centre for the training of novices. Within the friaries themselves adequate provision for the accommodation and education of the novitiate was therefore a primary requirement. In March 1324 the account books of the inquisitor record a payment for two keys “pro hostio scholarum”.¹²⁸ The Inquisition's theoretical goal of safeguarding orthodox doctrine was closely associated in the convent with an active educational organization.

When the right transept of Santa Croce was initially constructed the present sacristy and the Baroncelli Chapel were architectural projects which lay in the future. Subsequently, the sacristy was added at the north-east corner of the transept.¹²⁹ It is difficult to be precise about its chronological relationship to the Baroncelli Chapel, but the two must have been erected almost contemporaneously.¹³⁰ The slightly off-centre entrance arch of the chapel suggests that the entry to the convent was essentially where the Quattrocento doorway now stands.¹³¹ The insertion of a new door

¹²⁵ “Frater Iuvenalis qui dum esset in seculo vocabatur Stuldus, filius olim Bindi de Alleis de Florentia [...] infra annum probationis [...]. In primis reliquit de bonis suis pro libris emendis pro conventu fr. Minorum de Florentia et ad usum dicti conventus libras ducentas florenorum parvorum, quorum etiam librorum ipse testator possit et ei liceat usum habere, ad suorum prelatorum qui pro tempore fuerint in dicto ordine, beneplacite voluntatis” (Cesare Cenci, “Costituzioni della provincia toscana tra i secoli XIII e XIV”, in: *Studi Francescani*, LXXIX [1982], pp. 369–409: 402).

¹²⁶ “Nelle scuole de li religiosi e a le disputazioni de li filosofanti” (*Convivio*, II, xii, 7). On Dante's studies see also Davis (note 60), pp. 422, 426; Nick Havely, *Dante and the Franciscans*, Cambridge 2004, p. 35. On the intensive study of theology in Italian Franciscan convents see Anna Pegoretti, “Filosofanti”, in: *Le tre corone*, II (2015), pp. 11–70: 26, 39. The term ‘filosofanti’ is used by both Pierre de Jean Olivi and Matteo d'Acquasparta (*ibidem*, pp. 61–63).

¹²⁷ Gentili/Piron (note 124), pp. 495–506.

¹²⁸ ASV, Collect., 250, fol. 33v [41v] (1324): “[...] pro hostio scholarum fratrum et pulpitem inquisitoris”; Biscaro 1929 (note 85), p. 369.

¹²⁹ The external buttresses of the transept end wall are still visible on the left wall of the sacristy and to the right of the internal face of the Baroncelli tomb. The problem of the sacristy arrangements for the early chapels remains unsolved. The small storage spaces in the Bardi Chapel which are noted in Gardner 2011 (note 19), p. 57 and p. 185, note 40, in

some measure served temporarily as a surrogate sacristy, but the sacristy of the old church must still have been in use as the primary resource. It is striking that the celebrated dado ‘still lives’ by Taddeo on the left wall of the Baroncelli Chapel also make evident allusion to the functions of a sacristy for storing books, lamps, sacred vessels, and the like. Whether ca. 1328 the old church sacristy was still in use remains unclear. For a good modern statement about sacristy buildings and their functions see Anne Schaich, *Mittelalterliche Sakristeien im deutschsprachigen Gebiet: Architektur und Funktion eines liturgischen Raumes*, Kiel 2008, pp. 186, 188–216, and also Vojnovic (note 4). Furthermore, there is an important recent contribution by Zappasodi (note 4).

¹³⁰ The sacristy must have been completed, or nearing completion, when Taddeo Gaddi painted the sequence of scenes for the cupboards, for which see Sonia Chiodo, in: *Dipinti*, I: *Dal Duecento a Giovanni da Milano* (Cataloghi della Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze), ed. by Miklós Boskovits/Angelo Tartuferi, Florence 2003, pp. 251–284, no. 48. A seventeenth-century notice of a donation of 1000 florins made toward the construction of church, sacristy, and infirmary by the Cardinal Legate Giangaetano Orsini is reported by Erhardt (note 4), p. 299, note 2. From July 1326 Santa Croce was the de facto headquarters of the papal legate for two years (Blake R. Beattie, *Angelus Pacis: The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini 1326–1334*, Leiden 2007, p. 93).

¹³¹ Vasari (note 30), III, p. 236 (life of Michelozzo Michelozzi): “Similmente fece far Cosimo col disegno di Michelozzo il noviziato di S.

replacing an earlier portal badly damaged the fresco by Taddeo (Fig. 13), which nevertheless was deliberately preserved. *Christ disputing with the Doctors* is clearly an appropriate choice for an overdoor fresco here, and it was almost certainly centred over the original door. Access to the conventual buildings, the refectory, the dormitory, the accommodation for the novices, and perhaps the book cupboard must have been situated here. That the Quattrocento doorway and its new corridor led to the Cappella del Noviziato, also commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici, strongly suggests that it too replaced an earlier chapel of comparable function. As we shall see, the painter of its magnificent altarpiece, Fra Filippo Lippi, looked attentively at Taddeo's fresco when he composed his Quattrocento *pala*.¹³²

The episode of the twelve year-old Christ among the Doctors in the Temple is customarily regarded as the beginning of his public life.¹³³ It may also be seen as the end of his infancy, and as such to have a particular appropriateness for Franciscan novices. Taddeo's image can also be regarded as an earlier example of the type of fresco as functional signpost which later was developed in the great meditational *Crucifixion* in the refectory.¹³⁴ When one looks at earlier Tuscan depictions of the Temple disputation, the unusual frontality of Taddeo's composition is nota-

ble, and its studied ambivalence becomes explicable. In Duccio's *Maestà* the scene had a strong left to right *sens de la lecture*, evidently predicated on its place within the altarpiece cycle. In Taddeo's own, later repetition of the same subject, for the sacristy series at Santa Croce itself (Fig. 14), the scene is once again set obliquely, to achieve a better compositional alignment with the contiguous quatrefoil of *Saint Francis before the Sultan*, another scene of disputation and resolution.¹³⁵ Within the context of the Baroncelli Chapel cycle it is the only narrative in which Christ is the protagonist. The teaching of correct doctrine and the eradication of error in the Temple by Christ himself is an eminently suitable choice for the door which must have also served as entrance to the Franciscan novitiate and the *studium*.¹³⁶

Damage caused by the insertion of the Renaissance door has rendered Taddeo's composition difficult to grasp in its entirety. The Temple is a rectangular building with an open-topped cupola apparently set above: the front gable has a clipeate bust relief of a haloed young man. Two arched openings beside the throne apparently lead to a corridor or loggia to the rear. The pair of onlookers to the right of Christ must be standing in the arched space. The helmeted head of a soldier is just perceptible to the left.¹³⁷ Two heads wearing Jewish headgear are recognizable at the

Croce [...] la porta che fece di macigno, la quale va di Chiesa a detti luoghi, fu in que' tempi molto lodata per la novità sua e per il frontespizio molto ben fatto [...]” Saalman (note 78), p. 242, convincingly disputed Ugo Procacci's suggestion that the small *cortile* behind the altar wall of the Baroncelli Chapel was the original cloister of the first church. See also note 148 below.

¹³² See below, pp. 249f.

¹³³ Lk 2:46: “Et factum est post triduum invenerunt illum in templo sedentem in medio doctorem, audientem illos et interrogantem eos.” Durandus (note 38), II, p. 211, observed that this episode was part of the Gospel reading for the first Sunday after Epiphany, which also includes the passage “Puer autem crescebat” (Lk 2:40).

¹³⁴ Creighton Gilbert, “Last Suppers and Their Refectories”, in: *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. by Charles Trinkaus/Heiko Obermann, Leiden 1974, pp. 371–407: 375–377.

¹³⁵ On the sacristy series see Chiodo (note 130), with a review of earlier hypotheses concerning the placement and internal organization of the series. An earlier and prominent occurrence of the scene is in the infancy cycle in the transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. There, all the figures are seated in a triple-vaulted edifice and Christ occupies a wooden bench among the Hebrew sages. The step beneath Christ's feet has a griffon-like decoration which may allude to the treading of the asp and basilisk of Ps 90:13.

¹³⁶ Victor Elbern, “Das Essener Evangelistarfragment aus dem Umkreis des Utrechtspsalters: Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des ‘Zwölfjährigen Jesus im Tempel’”, in: *Das erste Jahrtausend: Kunst und Kultur im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Rubr*, ed. by *idem*, Düsseldorf 1962–1964, II, pp. 992–1006, reviews the earlier iconography of the scene.

¹³⁷ No helmeted figure appears among the participants in the comparable scene in either the Arena Chapel or Duccio's *Maestà*.



13 Taddeo Gaddi,
Christ disputing with the Doctors.
Florence, Santa Croce, right transept

bottom left. A second, very fragmentary pair of listeners in front of them look up at Christ: the one clad in yellow and purple wearing an elaborately embroidered beret is pulling his beard, evoking an ancient sign of discord.¹³⁸ A standing figure wearing a yellow cloak over a particoloured green and maroon tunic is just legible at the right. This implies that the original base of the scene was rather lower than the corbel of Giovanni di Balduccio's *Gabriel*, and the difference in levels suggests that the scene was meant to be read separately from the chapel programme. Nothing survives to indicate that Christ's parents were originally present, although both Mary and Joseph appear in the corresponding scene in Duccio's *Maestà* and the Arena Chapel.

The figure of the youthful Christ is frontal and he sits in a gabled throne above his audience. Clad in white over pale rose, he makes a teaching gesture with his right hand, while resting his left hand in his lap. The composition derives ultimately from the type of Early Christian city-gate sarcophagus.¹³⁹ The most celebrated surviving example, which was visible throughout the Middle Ages, is in Sant'Ambrogio at Milan.¹⁴⁰ That similar compositions were known in Tuscany and, more significantly, that their

meaning was understood is demonstrated by the use of a comparable sarcophagus-derived composition for the scene of *Saint Dominic disputing with the heretics* on Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico at Bologna, where there was an inquisitorial nuance too.¹⁴¹ An important related exemplar, produced by the workshop responsible for the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, was re-used in a prominent and influential Franciscan context as the tomb of the Beato Egidio in San Francesco at Perugia.¹⁴² The Perugian sarcophagus would certainly have been known to several senior friars at Santa Croce who must have participated in the General Chapter at San Francesco, Perugia, in 1322. Michele da Arezzo, the serving inquisitor in 1322, his successor Accursio Bonfantini (whose sister Gemma was married to Angelo Baroncelli), and Giovenale degli Agli, who was twice guardian of Santa Croce after 1320, are all likely to have attended that chapter.¹⁴³

The novitiate year, regardless of a postulant's previous career, was wholly devoted to the study of Franciscan liturgical practice and the order's way of life.¹⁴⁴ The order's General Chapter of Narbonne (1260) decreed that they should be in the charge of the novice master, a "frater religiosus et circumspectus" responsible for teaching them to confess regu-

¹³⁸ Zehava Jacoby, "The 'Beard Pullers' in Romanesque Art: An Islamic Motif and Its Evolution in the West", in: *Arte medievale*, s. 2, I (1988), pp. 65–83: 82.

¹³⁹ On this sarcophagus type see Rita Sansoni, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani a porte di città*, Bologna 1969.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 5, fig. 2; Hanns-Ulrich von Schoenebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag und seine Nachfolge*, Vatican City 1935; Olaf Steen, "The Iconography of the Sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio: Hope for Salvation through the Word of Christ", in: *Imperial Art as Christian Art, Christian Art as Imperial Art: Expression and Meaning in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Justinian*, ed. by Johann Rasmus Brandt/Olaf Steen (= *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, XV [2001]), pp. 283–294; Doris Bielefeld, "Der Säulensarkophag in den Grotten von St. Peter: Probleme seiner Erhaltung und die Frage nach östlichen Stilelementen", in: *Sarkophag der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Produktion in den Zentren – Kopien in den Provinzen/Les sarcophages romains: centres et périphéries*, conference proceedings Paris 2005, ed. by Guntram Koch/François Baratte, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 17–25.

¹⁴¹ Max Seidel, "Studien zur Antikenrezeption Nicola Pisanos", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XIX (1975), pp. 307–392:

348–353 and fig. 3I, who relates it to Dominic's dispute with the Albigenses *apud Fanum Iovis*.

¹⁴² Rainer Warland, "Spätantike Repräsentation im biblischen Paradigma: Beobachtungen zu Sarkophagen in Verona, Saint-Maximin, Barletta und Perugia", in: *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, conference proceedings Marburg 1999, ed. by Guntram Koch/Karin Kirchhainer, Mainz 2002, pp. 247–254: 250. The theme of the sarcophagus is explicitly mentioned in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, Quaracchi 1897, pp. 114f.; for its later impact on painters at Perugia see Dillian Gordon, "A Perugian Provenance for the Franciscan Double-Sided Altar-Piece by the Maestro di San Francesco", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV (1982), pp. 70–77; Donal Cooper, "'Qui Perusii in archa saxea tumulatus': The Shrine of Beato Egidio in San Francesco al Prato, Perugia", in: *Papers of the British School at Rome*, LXIX (2001), pp. 223–244: 223f.

¹⁴³ Accursio would have been present at Perugia in his capacity as lector at Santa Croce (Ragni [note 106], p. 10). For payments to Gemma Baroncelli see Biscaro 1930 (note 85), p. 275.

¹⁴⁴ For the novitiate in general and that of the Franciscans in particular, see Breitenstein (note 82); *idem* (note 77), p. 133.

larly, pray ardently, humbly obey, and be zealous for most holy poverty.¹⁴⁵ If the internal decoration of the family chapel is marked by iconographical references to the Baroncelli *consorteria*, the fresco of *Christ disputing with the Doctors* evidently refers to the novitiate and the needs for recruitment and training in the friary.

The Novitiate and Filippo Lippi

That the education and training of new entrants to the Franciscan order was an enduring requirement is shown by the altarpiece of the Quattrocento Cappella del Noviziato at the opposite end of the corridor, commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in the early 1440s and painted by Fra Filippo Lippi (Fig. 15).¹⁴⁶ The chapel is dedicated to Cosmas and Damian, who are represented in the stained glass of the altar-wall window.¹⁴⁷ This first significant Medici incursion into patronage at Santa Croce formed part of a new wave of commissions by patron families like the Pazzi and Spinelli.¹⁴⁸ All these commissions were effectively outside the perimeter of the completed church. Some of them were linked to the necessity of making good the earlier conventual buildings damaged by the 1423 fire.

Seen in this context, it is comprehensible that the composition of Filippo's *pala* evidently reflects Taddeo's earlier overdoor scene. In place of Christ teaching, the Virgin is enthroned among seated saints in an environment which superficially recalls earlier chapterhouse decoration.¹⁴⁹ The Medici saints Cos-



14 Taddeo Gaddi, *Christ disputing with the Doctors*. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia

¹⁴⁵ *Constitutiones generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ed. by Cesare Cenci/Roman G. Mailloux, Grottaferrata 2007–2010, I, p. 71, no. 8; Breitenstein (note 77), p. 134, note 28.

¹⁴⁶ On the altarpiece see Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, London 1993, pp. 163, no. 32, pp. 414–416; Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*, New Haven/London 1999, pp. 191–206; Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance*, New Haven/London 2000, pp. 145f.; Andrea Dori/Lucia Dori, "La Pala Medici per il Noviziato di Santa Croce", in: *Officina pratese: tecnica, stile, storia*, ed. by Paolo Benassai et al., Florence 2014, pp. 137–148.

¹⁴⁷ Alison Luchs, "Stained Glass above Renaissance Altars: Figural Windows in Italian Church Architecture from Brunelleschi to Bramante", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLVIII (1985), pp. 177–224; Ruda (note 146),

p. 415; John T. Paoletti, "Asserting Presence: Strategies of Medici Patronage in Renaissance Florence", in: *Studies on Florence and the Italian Renaissance in Honour of F.W. Kent*, ed. by Peter Howard/Cecilia Hewlett, Turnhout 2016, pp. 73–94: 80–83.

¹⁴⁸ Timoteo Maffei in his *Libellus* on the magnificence of Cosimo emphasizes the richness of the dormitory which he erected for the novices: "[...] quamque in amplissimo sanctae Crucis Monasterio pro fratribus adolescentulis excitavit: cuius cellulae quali ornatu, quali ue suppellectile illustratae & communitae sint: non facile dixerim" (cit. from Peter Howard, *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence*, Toronto 2012, p. 129).

¹⁴⁹ For medieval chapterhouse decorations see Julian Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella", in:

mas and Damian have now assumed their customary prominence, although the ultimate source of both compositions in Early Christian sarcophagi still remains discernible. Francis and Anthony of Padua, who modestly occupy the outer places, are clad in the voluminous habits required by the current conventual Rule.¹⁵⁰ Seated figures within marble shell-topped niches are unusual in early Renaissance Florence, and the only significant, readily accessible precedent was the enthroned Christ in Lorenzo Ghiberti's scene of *Christ disputing with the Doctors* from the north door of the baptistery, usually dated between 1407 and 1413.¹⁵¹

In Lippi's Noviziato altarpiece the enthroned Virgin supports the standing Christ child on her right knee. He gazes outwards towards the novices congregated within the chapel and with both hands squeezes the Virgin's left breast. This rare gesture has nothing to do with the conventional iconography of the Madonna *lactans*. In origin it derives from an iconographical invention allegedly relating to a vision of Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁵² Several precedents exist, in Mallorcan thirteenth-century panel painting and French manuscript illumination, but to my knowledge no significant earlier examples occur in central Italy.¹⁵³ Filippo Lippi has evidently adapted the visionary motif to the context of the Novitiate Chapel and the gesture is surely symbolic of the Sav-

our providing the milk of doctrine for the assembled postulants.¹⁵⁴ This concept was familiar through such widely-known texts as the sermons of Bernard himself and might very well have been familiar to a Carmelite painter who had trained as a priest.¹⁵⁵ The Noviziato altarpiece by Filippo Lippi is a consciously didactic image aimed at the Franciscan novices who were the primary intended users of the chapel within which it was placed. In this, its aim is fundamentally similar to that of the overdoor fresco by Taddeo Gaddi. It is clear that Fra Filippo had looked closely at the Trecento fresco which flanked the entrance to the corridor now leading directly to the Cappella del Noviziato. The combined patronage of the Baroncelli and the Franciscan Inquisition still resonated powerfully in Quattrocento Santa Croce.

Conclusions

Greed as much as graft eventually brought the Franciscan inquisitor to the attention of the Avignonese papacy. The moral laxity was notorious, but just as importantly, insufficient inquisitorial profits were being passed on to the papal treasury. Wriggle as he might, in 1334 Fra Mino was finally caught, his spy network uncovered, and his immorality unmasked. Excommunicated for contumacy, he was peremptorily summoned to Avignon. The senior

Art History, II (1979), pp. 107–138; Holmes (note 146), p. 202; Heidrun Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst: Studien zu den Bildprogrammen*, Munich 2004. Trecento choir stalls like chapterhouse seats were, however, invariably of wood.

¹⁵⁰ Cesare Cenci, "Statuti di Fr. Giacomo da Mozzanica (1454) e atti di un convento di Cividale del Friuli (1541–1643) in un codice di Reggio Emilia", in: *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, LVI (1963), pp. 241–257: 250, no. 4.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton 1970, pp. 132, 214.

¹⁵² Léon Dewez/Albert van Iterson, "La lactation de Saint Bernard: légende et iconographie", in: *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden*, VII (1956), pp. 165–189; Jacques Berlioz, "La lactation de Saint Bernard dans un exemplum et une miniature du *Ci nous dit* (début du XIV^e siècle)", in: *Cîteaux*, XXXIX (1988), pp. 270–284: 278; Cécile Dupeix, "La lactation de Saint Bernard

de Clairvaux: genèse et évolution de l'image", in: *L'image et la production du sacré*, conference proceedings Strasbourg 1988, ed. by Françoise Dunand/Jean-Michel Spieser/Jean Wirth, Paris 1991, pp. 165–193: 165. There appears to be no precise textual source.

¹⁵³ The scene appears in the Saint Bernard retable from the Templar's church in Palma of ca. 1290; see Gabriel Llopart Moragues, *La pintura medieval mallorquina: su entorno cultural y su iconografía*, Palma 1977, I, p. 60; Jacques Stiennon, "La lactation de Saint Bernard: un document supplémentaire d'origine catalane", in: *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, ed. by Benoît Chauvin, Arbois 1984, II.3, pp. 399f.

¹⁵⁴ For this iconography see Victor Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, London 1995, pp. 132–161.

¹⁵⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, I: *Sermones super Cantica Canticoorum I* (1–35), ed. by Jean Leclercq/Charles H. Talbot/Henri M. Rochais, Rome 1957, "Sermo 9 super Cantica Canticoorum", pp. 46f.; "Sermo 10", p. 49;



15 Filippo Lippi, *Pala del Noviziato*.
Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture

friars who were arraigned as witnesses, including Andrea de' Tolomei and Giovenale degli Agli, made a sorry spectacle. Their memories were imperfect, and what they could recall was often hearsay. They were however unanimous in their confident conviction that Fra Mino alone was responsible for any wrongdoing.¹⁵⁶ It had all happened long ago and elsewhere. Fra Giovenale testified that Mino had earlier stirred up such anger within Siena that the friars could scarcely enter the city in safety, and he personally had never seen Fra Mino celebrate mass.¹⁵⁷ The providential death of Pope John XXII in December 1334, soon after the inquisitor's arrival at Avignon, and Mino's immediate flight home is worthy of Boccaccio. From Florence he brazenly blocked financial restitution with the connivance of his successor as inquisitor, Fra Filippo Orlandi.¹⁵⁸

Yet Pons Étienne's investigations revealed the important, and hitherto unnoticed, roles of several inquisitors in the patronage of painting at Santa Croce. Taddeo Gaddi worked for the Franciscan inquisitor before his collaboration with Giotto in the Baroncelli Chapel. More information about Taddeo Gaddi's role in decorating the quarters occupied by the Franciscan novices has also come to light, and from the iconographical choices made in the early Trecento emerged the underlying compositional idea for Filippo Lippi's altarpiece for Cosimo de' Medici's Cappella del Noviziato.

In the references to the Collectoriae of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the original foliation, in the upper right corner of the account books, is given first; the modern pagination follows in square brackets. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for constructive criticism, and to Caroline Elam for advice.

"Sermo 23", pp. 131, 140. A few years later, in 1447, Lippi painted an overdoor with *The vision of Saint Bernard* for the Palazzo Vecchio (see Dillian Gordon, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings, I*, London 2003, pp. 134–141, inv. NG 1447).

¹⁵⁶ Callaey (note 85), pp. 541, 546; Biscaro 1933 (note 85), p. 179; Bruschi 2006 (note 85), pp. 306f.

¹⁵⁷ ASV, Collect., 251, fols. 62r–63v [74r–75v].

¹⁵⁸ Biscaro 1933 (note 85), p. 195.

Abbreviations

ASV, Collect. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera
Apostolica, Collectoriae, Rome

Abstract

This article re-examines the Baroncelli Chapel's decorative programme, which culminates in Giotto's *Coronation of the Virgin*, the most musically accomplished Trecento altarpiece, and explores its connections both to contemporary Florentine society and to the conventual buildings of Santa Croce, especially the novitiate. The growing importance of novice friars and the presence of the *Inquisitio heretice pravitatis* in Santa Croce have been neglected so far.

By the early Trecento the Franciscan Inquisition had become a protection racket. Leading friars of Santa Croce were denounced by Ubertino da Casale before Clement V in 1311. More than twenty years later, John XXII's emissary Pons Étienne was investigating Fra Mino Daddi's misdemeanours, but the death of the pope in December 1334 prevented a definitive condemnation of the inquisitor. The Inquisition account books kept in the *Collectoriae* of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano reveal, however, that several inquisitors patronized painters and illuminators: in 1322, the inquisitor Fra Pace bought a painting from Taddeo Gaddi, who was later responsible for the frescoes of the Baroncelli Chapel. These include the overdoor of the corridor leading to the Cappella del Noviziato, which shows *Christ disputing with the Doctors*, a subject that clearly alludes to the training of novices. After the fire of 1423, the Cappella del Noviziato was rebuilt by Cosimo de' Medici. Its new altarpiece, by Filippo Lippi, an unusual version of the *Virgin lactans*, reflects Taddeo's fresco.

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