

MITTEILUNGEN  
DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN  
INSTITUTES  
IN FLORENZ



LXIII. BAND — 2021  
HEFT 2



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HEFT 2

# MITTEILUNGEN DES KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTES IN FLORENZ

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1 Florence,  
Chiostro dello Scalzo,  
view toward the entrance

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# WHO HOLDS THE KEYS TO THE CHIOSTRO DELLO SCALZO, “SCUOLA DI MOLTI GIOVANI”?

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*Alana O'Brien*

Andrea del Sarto's *chiaroscuro* fresco cycle depicting the *Life of Saint John the Baptist* in the Chiostro dello Scalzo (Fig. 1) has long been a source of study and inspiration for numerous artists – both Florentines and foreigners. As will be discussed in detail below, the art-historical literature has offered two opposing views regarding the use of the site for drawing. Most frequently it is described as virtually a *scuola*, in which there was always an artist (if not many) present drawing in front of the frescoes. This suggests a perception of the cloister being easily accessed, a place where artists could wander in whenever they wished. Alternatively, it has been suggested that artists could only gain access to the space with the permission of the grand duke. Both presumptions neglect a third crucial protagonist in the picture, the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista, better known as 'lo Scalzo', owner of the cloister and patron of the fresco cycle.

The Chiostro dello Scalzo was not a public space like the nearby forecourt known as the Chiostro dei Voti, in front of the church of the SS. Annunziata, where Andrea del Sarto contributed to other fresco cycles. Instead, it was a private space belonging to a penitential flagellant confraternity, and the uncontrolled comings and goings of artists wishing to draw there would not have been compatible with the devotional practices of the *confratelli* or the secretive and suspicious nature of such organisations (as described by Ronald Weissman).<sup>1</sup>

Before the question of the frescoes' accessibility can be considered, it is essential to analyse and contextualise the function and meaning of the *chiostro* for its historical owner. The rich body of archival documentation surviving for the Scalzo has been scrutinised for evidence of the confraternity's use of the space and responses over time to the artists' activity

<sup>1</sup> Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, New York *et al.* 1982, pp. 77, 82, 94f.

and presence in the cloister. It reveals that this artistic activity was at the centre of a debate and allows us to explore issues of access, what rules the confraternity developed, how they were implemented, their change over time, and how they were evaded. The indications of Medici intervention will also be explored, as will an unexpected source confirming specific artists' presence in the space. The present study focuses on the period between the 1520s and the 1670s.

### The Chiostrò dello Scalzo as "scuola di molti giovani"

The confraternity of San Giovanni Battista, initially founded in 1376 in the church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini, had transferred to a small house in the garden of the Celestine convent and church of San Piero da Murrone in Via San Gallo by 1400. The Scalzo acquired land from the Celestines along the Via Larga (now Via Cavour) perimeter of the convent in 1407 and again in 1487 to extend their meeting house. During the last expansion, the confraternity added an *ingresso* (vestibule), which opened onto Via Larga (just to the north of Piazza San Marco), the *chiostrò*, a *ricetto* (in this case, a room of mixed uses), and a new oratory. The confraternity also preserved the original oratory, which came to be called the *luogo vecchio* (old place).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Alana O'Brien, "Andrea del Sarto and the Compagnia dello Scalzo", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLVIII (2004), pp. 258–267: 258, 260. For bibliography on the Compagnia dello Scalzo up to 2004, see *ibidem*, pp. 263f., note 4; for bibliography up to 2013, see *eadem*, "'Maestri d'alcune arti miste e d'ingegno': Artists and Artisans in the Compagnia dello Scalzo", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LV (2013), pp. 358–433: 361, note 14. New publications since 2013 include Douglas N. Dow, *Apostolic Iconography and Florentine Confraternities in the Age of Reform*, Farnham 2014, pp. 75–102, 175–190; *idem*, "An Altarpiece, a Bookseller, and a Confraternity: Giovanbattista Mossi's *Flagellation of Christ* and the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo, Florence", in: *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. by Diana Bullen Presciutti, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 321–343. There is also a forthcoming dissertation by Christine Zappella Papanastassiou, *Monochrome Painting and the Corpo della Compagnia in Andrea del Sarto's Cloister of the Scalzo*.

Toward the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Scalzo commissioned the promising young painter Andrea del Sarto to decorate the cloister with a cycle dedicated to their patron saint.<sup>3</sup> As John Shearman demonstrated, a simple flat, wooden roof, sloping down toward the centre and resting on beams supported by pillars, sheltered the cloister. The arcaded loggia that now protects the frescoes was part of a renovation undertaken in 1722.<sup>4</sup> The Compagnia dello Scalzo continued to use, refurbish, and embellish its premises until 1785, when it was suppressed together with most Florentine confraternities.<sup>5</sup> The exterior of the confraternity's premises beyond the cloister survive, but the interior spaces have since been transformed into a post office and residences, and the *chiostrò* and *ingresso* have been refashioned into a museum.<sup>6</sup>

The *Life of Saint John the Baptist* is presented in twelve scenes, running anti-clockwise around the cloister walls, beginning with the *Annunciation to Zacharias* and concluding with the *Presentation of the head of the Baptist*, respectively to the left and the right when facing the entranceway (Fig. 1). Virtues, personified by statuesque women standing in fictive niches, frame the doorways. Andrea del Sarto commenced working on the cycle with the *Baptism of Christ*, painted before 1509,<sup>7</sup> to the right of the far door (Fig. 2) and progressed

<sup>3</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini/Paola Barocchi, Florence 1966–1997, IV, p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> John Shearman, "The Chiostrò dello Scalzo", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IX (1959/60), pp. 207–220: 217–219, fig. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Konrad Eisenbickler, "The Suppression of Confraternities in Enlightenment Florence", in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Nicholas Terpstra, Cambridge 2000, pp. 262–278: 273–278.

<sup>6</sup> Ludovica Sebgondi, "La soppressione delle confraternite fiorentine: la dispersione di un patrimonio, le possibilità residue della sua salvaguardia", in: *Confraternite, chiese e società: aspetti e problemi dell'associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. by Liana Bertoldi Lenoci, Fasano 1994, pp. 457–501: 461; Dow 2014 (note 2), pp. 175–177.

<sup>7</sup> Various dates between 1507 and 1515 have been proposed for the *Baptism*: Sydney J. Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, II,

anti-clockwise. Franciabigio painted two scenes when Andrea went to France in 1518. On his return to Florence in 1519, Andrea resumed the project, completing the cycle in 1526.<sup>8</sup> The scenes and virtues are framed by ornamented fictive architecture; *memento mori* of skulls and festoons, and devotional imagery of crosses and angels holding Veronica veils appear in the entablature and attic sections. Brief explicatory texts once appeared below the narratives. The lunettes above the attic decoration were added during the eighteenth-century transformation of the atrium.<sup>9</sup>

Giorgio Vasari was the first one to characterise the Baptist cycle as a ‘school’ in his life of Andrea del Sarto. After discussing one period of Andrea’s work in the cloister, Vasari defined the frescoes as having been “un tempo lo studio e la scuola di molti giovani che oggi sono eccellenti in queste arti” (“formerly the study and school of many young artists that are today excellent in these arts”).<sup>10</sup> About 1524/25, Vasari had been briefly a member of Andrea’s workshop<sup>11</sup> and undoubtedly numbered himself amongst these “giovani” who then excelled.<sup>12</sup> Vasari’s wording implies that studying in the *chiostro* was a former (“sono stato”), rather than current, practice. However, as Robert Williams, Jack Spalding, John Shearman, and others have demonstrated, it was precisely in the late 1560s that an intense Sarto revival was materialising among

a new generation of young artists who were shifting their interest away from mannerism.<sup>13</sup> According to Shearman, there was even something of a “prefiguration” of this revival in the 1550s amongst artists such as Giovanni Battista Naldini (1537–1591), Girolamo Macchietti (1535–1592), and Francesco Morandini called Il Poppi (1544–1597), thus casting doubt on Vasari’s claim that it was a past practice.<sup>14</sup>

The portrayal of the Chiostrò dello Scalzo as a de facto school frequented by painters training to become excellent in their profession was quickly adopted and made rapid headway in the historical literature. Raffaello Borghini’s description of the Scalzo frescoes in *Il Riposo* (1584) corresponds closely with Vasari’s account as found in the Torrentino edition, except that he speaks of a contemporary practice of artists copying the images, openly alluding to the intense moment of the Sarto revival then occurring.<sup>15</sup> Francesco Bocchi, in *Le bellezze della città di Firenze* (1591), offered a description of the Scalzo frescoes that was quite independent of Vasari’s, but like Borghini he adopted Vasari’s ‘school’ motif to describe a current practice:

Il disegno, onde si da vita alla pittura, qui è sommamente mirabile: in guisa che, perché sono maravigliose tutte e quattro queste figure [of the virtues], come tutte le altre, le quali sono nel Cortile, egli perciò non è

p. 16; John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, Oxford 1965, II, p. 297; Antonio Natali/Alessandro Cecchi, *Andrea del Sarto: catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Florence 1989, p. 143. The style of the *Baptism of Christ* seems to confirm a date just prior to the Benizi cycle, the earliest work by Andrea for which a contract survives (1509) and which was finished by 1510 (Doris Carl, “Der Vertrag mit Andrea del Sarto für die Fresken des Atriums der SS. Annunziata in Florenz vom 30. Juli 1509”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XL [1996], pp. 371–374).

<sup>8</sup> The payments have been published by Shearman (note 7), II, pp. 392–400, and Susan Regan McKillop, *Franciabigio*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1974, pp. 249–251.

<sup>9</sup> Shearman (note 4), p. 216, figs. 4–6; *idem* (note 7), II, p. 295. Part of the decorative work was executed by Andrea Feltrini (O’Brien 2013 [note 2], pp. 375, 384f., note 211).

<sup>10</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, p. 369 (ed. 1568). The passage in the Torrentiniana (1550) is not substantially different. Vasari returns at several points of

Andrea’s life to the description of the Scalzo cycle: *ibidem*, pp. 345, 358–360, 369, 378, 383f.

<sup>11</sup> Florian Härb, *The Drawings of Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574)*, Rome 2015, p. 148.

<sup>12</sup> For Vasari’s debt to Andrea del Sarto, see Maddalena Spagnolo, “Vasari allievo e critico di Andrea del Sarto” in: *Il primato dei toscani nelle Vite del Vasari*, exh. cat. Arezzo 2011/12, ed. by Paola Refice, Florence 2011, pp. 113–130: 129 (with further bibliography).

<sup>13</sup> Shearman (note 7), I, pp. 171f.; Jack J. Spalding, “Santi di Tito and the Reform of Florentine Mannerism”, in: *Storia dell’arte*, XLVII/XLIX (1983), pp. 41–52: 47; Robert Williams, “A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi in Praise of Andrea del Sarto”, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LII (1989), pp. 111–139: 116–118.

<sup>14</sup> Shearman (note 7), I, p. 170.

<sup>15</sup> Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* [...], ed. by Mario Rosci, Milan 1967 (facsimile of the ed. Florence 1584), p. 421; Maddalena Spagnolo, “La

maraviglia, che tanto frequentato sia questo luogo da chi è intendente, et da gli artefici ancora, il quale è ricetta, anzi Scuola nobilissima di chi vuole in questa arte nobilmente fare acquisto.<sup>16</sup>

Bocchi's familiarity with the frescoes dated back to at least circa 1567, when he first praised Andrea's interpretation of the figures there in his *Discorso sopra l'eccellenza dell'opere d'Andrea del Sarto*.<sup>17</sup> In *Le bellezze della città di Firenze*, Bocchi further noted that to obtain the desired excellence from the study of these frescoes, one needed to spend hours and hours before them.<sup>18</sup>

Filippo Baldinucci fostered the perception that the Scalzo cycle was easily accessible in his *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, published since 1681, when he discussed Matteo Rosselli's (1578–1650) training method: “Erano le occupazioni di Matteo nei giorni festivi, dopo le solite sue devozioni, il portarsi alla compagnia dello Scalzo a disegnare dalle belle pitture d'Andrea del Sarto, ed altrove ancora [...]”.<sup>19</sup> Baldinucci also reported an exchange between Andrea Comodi (1560–1638) and his friend Michele Bacci, a lawyer, in which they discussed and criticised the Scalzo frescoes, confirming Comodi's (and the lawyer's) familiarity with them.<sup>20</sup> Baldinucci mentioned three other artists in connection with the Scalzo cycle: Francesco Bianchi Buonavita (1593–1658), Agostino Melissi (1616?–1683) and Giovan Battista Vanni (1600–1660).<sup>21</sup>

fortuna di Andrea del Sarto nella riforma della Maniera”, in: *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte*, LXIV (1998), pp. 35–56: 41, 43.

<sup>16</sup> Francesco Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza [...]*, Farnborough 1971 (facsimile of the ed. Florence 1591), p. 238 (“Disegno, which gives life to the painting, is to be greatly admired here, so that all four figures [of the Virtues] are excellent, as are all the others in the courtyard. It is therefore not surprising that both knowledgeable persons and artists frequently visit this place. It is thus the point of entry, and indeed the noblest School for those who wish to prosper nobly in this art”).

<sup>17</sup> Williams (note I3), p. III.

<sup>18</sup> Bocchi (note I6), p. 236.

<sup>19</sup> Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua [...]*, ed. by Ferdinando Ranalli, Florence 1974/75 (facsimile of the ed.

Speaking of the Scalzo frescoes in his *Firenze città nobilissima* (1684), Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore noted that there was no “forestiero professore di pittura, o persona di spirito che non se ne diletti, che non le venga a vedere, passando per Firenze”. He then provided an account of a French artist who either through jealousy or plain madness damaged the frescoes marking or blotching them with either ink or bitumen. Although a search was undertaken to bring him to justice, the artist disappeared.<sup>22</sup>

Bocchi, Baldinucci, and Del Migliore furthermore revealed that not only artists were entering the cloister to see the frescoes, but also *intendenti*. In fact, it is a participant of the Grand Tour who first raised the issue of access. The Englishman Jonathan Richardson visited the Chiostrò dello Scalzo during his tour of Europe in 1720.<sup>23</sup> He complained in a letter to his father: “This Monastery [*sic*] seems to be deserted; I found no living Creature there; I enquired a good while before any one could tell me where it was, and at last had great difficulty to come at the Keys.” He requested his father's pardon for a less than clear account of the frescoes as he had suffered greatly from the heat and the fatigue he had endured to view them.<sup>24</sup> Though Richardson's account comes fairly late in the cloister's history – and outside the period that I am focusing on regarding artists' drawing practice – his gruelling search for the keys pinpoints a critical issue regarding accessibility: the Scalzo's premises were kept locked.

Florence 1845–1847), IV, pp. 155f. (“On feast days, after [fulfilling] his usual devotional obligations, it was Matteo's practice to go to the Compagnia dello Scalzo to draw from the beautiful pictures of Andrea del Sarto, as well as other suitable places [...]).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, III, p. 664.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, IV, pp. 312, 318f., 547.

<sup>22</sup> Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima [...]*, Bologna 1976 (facsimile of the ed. Florence 1684), p. 231 (there “is no foreign practitioner of painting, or person of spirit who does not delight, and who does not come to see them as they pass through Florence”).

<sup>23</sup> John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy: 1701–1800*, New Haven/London 1997, pp. 811f.

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan Richardson Jr./Jonathan Richardson Sr., *An Account of Some*



2 Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo,  
view toward the doorway  
which once led to the oratory

In his *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, the eighteenth-century church historian Giuseppe Richa was the first to state that no one could be permitted to copy them without the grand duke's permission, thus suggesting that there might have been a formal procedure for artists wishing to copy from the frescoes.<sup>25</sup> Richa's source was the recently compiled *Raccolta di notizie* that gathered together information from various administrative books and papers in the archive of

the Compagnia dello Scalzo and arranged them into an alphabetical index.<sup>26</sup>

Key nineteenth- and twentieth-century monographs on Andrea del Sarto repeated Richa's observation.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, by the end of the twentieth century the belief that the Scalzo frescoes were an easily accessed school for young artists, that there was always one artist – and at times, many – drawing in front of this popular destination for both foreign and

of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, etc. with Remarks, London 1722, pp. 82–85.

<sup>25</sup> Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, Rome 1972 (facsimile of the ed. Florence 1754–1762), VII, p. 208.

<sup>26</sup> On the *Raccolta di notizie cavate da libri e scritture della Venerabile Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo da Giuseppe Romolo Baccioni e da Donato Martini riassunto nel 1745* (ASF, CRSPL, I189:1) see O'Brien 2004 (note 2),

p. 263, note 3. The entries Richa referred to are published in Appendix I, no. 31b, 38 (23 March 1568 and 27 October 1622).

<sup>27</sup> Luigi Biadi, *Notizie inedite della vita d'Andrea del Sarto: raccolte da manoscritti, e documenti autentici*, Florence 1829, pp. 36f., note I; H. Guinness, *Andrea del Sarto*, London 1901, p. 46 (although Richa is not cited, the wording betrays the dependence on him); Freedberg (note 7), II, p. 15, note 27; Shearman (note 7), II, p. 296. Richa's comments were also cited by Ilse



local artists became a topos again.<sup>28</sup> In the literature of the last thirty years, only Ludovica Sebregondi has noticed that artists needed to request access to copy from the frescoes, but the reference appears in a footnote and has not been further explored.<sup>29</sup>

### Drawing Inspiration from the Masters

Copying from the artworks of recognised masters was a conventional Renaissance workshop practice for training young artists. Vasari promoted the study of three sources to develop *buon disegno*: nature, the great Renaissance masters, and ancient sculpture.<sup>30</sup> It should perhaps be noted that Vasari's designation of the Chioostro dello Scalzo as a "scuola" is metaphorical, not literal, and is aligned with his discussion of other sites or artworks, including Masaccio's Brancacci Chapel, the battle scenes by Leonardo and Michelangelo for the Salone dei Cinquecento of the Palazzo Vecchio, and Michelangelo's sculptures in the Sagrestia Nuova of San Lorenzo.<sup>31</sup> By the Late Renaissance, it was common practice for established artists to appropriate forms, figurative motifs, and compositional ideas from the works of distinguished masters, utilising their work as a stimulus to creative inventiveness.<sup>32</sup> Vasari described Andrea del Sarto as "senza errore", without error,<sup>33</sup> and the Accademia del Disegno included him among the masters that it encouraged its members to study.<sup>34</sup> Andrea's narrative scenes provided a valuable

source of figure poses and compositional solutions for the Accademia members who were regularly required to produce propagandistic imagery celebrating the Medici family in festive *apparati* for their weddings, baptisms, and funerals.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the Scalzo frescoes were painted by Andrea del Sarto over many years and therefore provided examples from different stages of his career would have made it appealing to a variety of artists. Indeed, Andrea influenced the work of several generations of artists; many of these were stylistically very distinct from one another, and therefore responded to different aspects and periods of his oeuvre, such as Maso da San Friano (1531–1571), Giovanni Battista Naldini, Mirabello Cavalori (d. ca. 1571) and Santi di Tito (1536–1603).<sup>36</sup>

Drawings after the Scalzo frescoes have been attributed with varying degrees of certainty to Jacopo da Pontormo (1494–1557), Alessandro Allori (1535–1607), Giovanni Battista Naldini, Federico Zuccari (1540–1609), Francesco Morandini, Jacopo da Empoli (1551–1640), Andrea Boscoli (1560–1607), Agostino Ciampelli (ca. 1577–1642), Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Matteo Rosselli, Pier Dandini (1646–1712), and Édouard Manet (1832–1883), among others; numerous unattributed drawings also exist.<sup>37</sup> Although they document artists' presence in the *chioostro*, it is impossible to quantify how many first-hand copies were made by how many individuals.

Hecht, "An Embroidery after Andrea del Sarto's The Baptism of the People", in: *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, IX (1978), pp. 39–48: 44.

<sup>28</sup> Karen-edis Barzman, "The Università, Compagnia, ed Accademia del Disegno", PhD diss. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 1985, p. 67; John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini*, London 1985, pp. 25f.; Serena Padovani, "'Il pittore senza errori' (storia di un luogo comune)", in: *Andrea del Sarto: 1486–1530. Dipinti e disegni a Firenze*, exh. cat. Florence 1986/87, Milan et al. 1986, pp. 59–68: 59; Larry J. Feinberg, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, exh. cat. Oberlin/Brunswick, Me./Hanover, N.H., 1991/92, Seattle/London 1991, p. 23; Spagnolo (note 15), p. 48; Milan Togner, *Agostino Ciampelli: 1565–1630. Disegni*, exh. cat., Olomouc 2000, pp. 79f.

<sup>29</sup> Sebregondi (note 6), p. 461, note 26.

<sup>30</sup> Vasari (note 3), I, pp. 112–115; Härb (note 11), p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Vasari (note 3), III, pp. 131f., IV, p. 344, V, pp. 205, 241, 393, VI,

pp. 24f.; cfr. Zygmunt Wazbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento: idea e istituzione*, Florence 1987, I, pp. 76, 86f.

<sup>32</sup> Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann/Carolyn Logan, *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, London 1988, pp. 16–21.

<sup>33</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, p. 342.

<sup>34</sup> Feinberg (note 28), p. 13; Alessandra Giovannetti, *Francesco Morandini detto il Poppi*, Florence 1995, p. 210.

<sup>35</sup> Luisa Marcucci, "Nota sulla pittura fiorentina intorno al 1560 a proposito di un disegno inedito del Cavalori", in: *Belle Arti*, 1951, pp. 63–70: 67; Feinberg (note 28), pp. 23f.

<sup>36</sup> Williams (note 13), p. 117.

<sup>37</sup> See Freedberg (note 7), II, pp. 13f., 15, 50, 68, 73f., 105, 121–123, 130; Shearman (note 7), II, pp. 295–307; Dominique Cordellier, *Hommage à Andrea del Sarto*, exh. cat., Paris 1986, pp. 116f.; Togner (note 28), pp. 79f., no. A61;



3 After Andrea del Sarto, copy of the central figures from the *Visitation*. Private collection



4 Andrea del Sarto, *Visitation*, 1524. Florence, Chioostro dello Scalzo

There are undoubtedly copies and studies that are yet to be identified, especially in private collections, such as an anonymous drawing (Fig. 3)<sup>38</sup> that copies the two central figures from the *Visitation* (Fig. 4). Given the fragile nature of drawings, we must assume that many more were produced than now survive.

Even when the authorship can be established, it is only rarely possible to determine when the drawings were executed. A case in point is Francesco Moran-

dini's series of focussed studies showing the virtues, single figures or small groups of figures extracted from the larger scenes, and even some of the painted reliefs in the pediment below the virtues (Fig. 5). These drawings can be dated 1568/69, thanks to two sources. Morandini gathered them into a book (now in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe of the Uffizi, inv. I4461 F–I4487 F) and on one folio inscribed the date 1569. He also graffitied FRANC. MO-

Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford 1977, p. 31, figs. 57, 58; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, "Tracce sartesche in due disegni della Biblioteca Reale", in: *Da Leonardo a Rembrandt: disegni della Biblioteca Reale di Torino. Nuove ricerche in margine alla mostra*, conference proceedings Turin 1990, ed. by Gianni Carlo Sciolla, Turin 1991, pp. 106–120: 108; Giovannetti (note 34), pp. 25, 41–45, 115–133; Peter Meller, "Manet in Italy: Some Newly Identified Sources for His Early Sketchbooks", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLIV (2002), pp. 68–110: 70, 81, 85. For Manet's visit to the Scalzo, see also the article by Michele Amedei in this issue, pp. 286 and 290. Other drawings, not mentioned so

far, include: Jacopo da Empoli, *Two women with an angel from the Annunciation to Zacharias*, sold by Sotheby's, Florence, 25 May 1983 (photo at the Photothek of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, no. 446174); *idem* (circle), *Kneeling figure from the Baptism of the people*, Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, inv. E.89; Andrea Boscoli, *The dance of Herodiana's daughter*, New York, art market, 1997; *idem*, *The Visitation*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. Wa1863.776 (with thanks to Julian Brooks for the Boscoli references); Federico Zuccari, *The annunciation to Zacharias*, London, The British Museum, inv. 1946,0713.529.

<sup>38</sup> Red chalk, 190 × 135 mm.



5 Francesco Morandini after Andrea del Sarto, study sheet with figures from the Scalzo frescoes (woman with baby Saint John the Baptist from the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, Saint John the Evangelist and a bishop saint), ca. 1568. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 14469 F

6 Signature by Francesco Morandini graffitied on Andrea del Sarto's frescoes. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

RANDINI MDLXVIII on the wall of the Scalzo's cloister itself, in the grotesque decoration to the right of the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (Fig. 6).<sup>39</sup> Drawings by foreign artists who spent only a brief period in Florence are easier to assign potential dates. Federico Zuccari, for example, was in Florence in 1565, when he joined the Accademia del Disegno and worked on the decorations for the celebration of Francesco de' Medici's marriage to Giovanna d'Austria, and then again between 1575 and 1579 for the decoration of the cathedral dome.<sup>40</sup> Peter Paul Rubens visited Florence on several occasions during his travels through Italy

between 1600 and 1608; Michael Jaffé suggests he copied from the frescoes about 1604.<sup>41</sup>

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, entire scenes, sometimes reinterpreted or combined, or elements from them – figures, parts of figures, or architectural settings – were translated into various media, including drawings, paintings, tapestries, and even sculptures. A set of copies from Andrea's frescoes in chiaroscuro tempera survives in the Uffizi.<sup>42</sup> To Giovanni Battista Naldini has been attributed a set of interpretive copies painted on six panels, four of which are now held in the Museo del Cenacolo di Andrea

<sup>39</sup> Giovannetti (note 34), pp. 25, 41–48, 115–131, 133. If one takes into account the Florentine calendar, Morandini's activity in the cloister could have extended to as late as 24 March 1570.

<sup>40</sup> Spagnolo (note 15), pp. 47f.; Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, Milan/Rome 1998/99, II, p. 275.

<sup>41</sup> Jaffé (note 37), pp. 7f., 20, 31, figs. 57, 58.

<sup>42</sup> Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 664 S–674 S. Shearman (note 7), II, p. 295, described these as a complete set of copies of the cloister decoration, but they do not seem to include Franciabigio's contribution.

7 Giovanni Battista Naldini (attr.) after Andrea del Sarto, *Visitation and annunciation to Zacharias*. Florence, Museo del Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto



del Sarto, Florence. Each panel combines two scenes, one in the foreground and the other in the background (Fig. 7).<sup>43</sup> The impact of Andrea del Sarto's *Dance of Herodiana's daughter* and the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* is evident in Naldini's frescoes of the same subjects for Giovanbattista Altoviti in the Trinità dei Monti, Rome.<sup>44</sup> In the latter fresco (Fig. 8), Naldini appears to have recreated Andrea's scene (Fig. I4), but depicted the event a moment later, introducing greater dynamism. The body of the Baptist has fallen to the ground, the daughter of Herodiana now holds Saint John's head on the platter and begins to turn to take her prize to

her mother, while the executioner, his back still to the viewer, showing off his muscular legs and emphasised backside, is resheathing his sword. The *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* by Naldini's pupil Giovanni Balducci (ca. 1560–after 1631) in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, is a highly personalised, yet absolutely recognisable reflection of Andrea's corresponding scene in the Scalzo.<sup>45</sup> Subtler allusions to the frescoes can also be found. Traballese's *Saint Anne* in the *Birth of the Virgin* for the Compagnia della SS. Annunziata quotes Saint Elizabeth from Andrea's *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*;<sup>46</sup> the architectural setting in Alessandro Allori's

<sup>43</sup> Silvia Meloni Trkulja, in: *eadem*/Serena Padovani, *Il Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto a San Salvi: guida del museo*, Florence 1982, p. 52, figs. 28–31, describes the panels as anonymous, but in the museum they are now attributed to Naldini.

<sup>44</sup> For an image of the *Dance of Herodiana's daughter*, see: [fotothek.biblherz.it/bh/2048px/bhped66870.jpg](https://fotothek.biblherz.it/bh/2048px/bhped66870.jpg) (accessed on 22 October 2021).

<sup>45</sup> Silvana Musella Guida, "Giovanni Balducci fra Roma e Napoli", in: *Prospettiva*, XXXI (1982), pp. 35–50: 38, fig. 2.

<sup>46</sup> For a reproduction of Traballese's fresco, see Ludovica Sebrengondi, "Opere d'arte nel vestibolo e nell'oratorio", in: *La Compagnia della Santissima Annunziata: restauro e restituzione degli affreschi del chiostro*, Florence 1989, p. 52.

8 Giovanni Battista Naldini, *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, 1577–1580. Rome, Trinità dei Monti, Altoviti Chapel



*Saint Lawrence before Valerianus* (Florence, Uffizi)<sup>47</sup> reflects that in Andrea's *Arrest of Saint John the Baptist*; and Jacopo Zucchi's drawing of the *Story of Prometheus* includes a figure inspired by the Baptist in Andrea's *Baptism of the people*.<sup>48</sup> Shearman identified the Scalzo *Visitation* as a source of inspiration for Federico Barocci's altarpiece of the same subject (1583–1586) in the Chiesa Nuova, Rome.<sup>49</sup> While Alessandro Allori's original designs for tapestries depicting the life of the Baptist do not copy the Scalzo frescoes, the artist nevertheless cited various figures from the cycle, such as the upper part of Saint John in the *Arrest of the Baptist*.<sup>50</sup> When Allori was commissioned to complete Andrea del Sarto's *Tribute to Caesar* at Poggio a Caiano, he turned to the Scalzo frescoes for inspiration for various figures. From the *Presentation of the head of Saint John the Baptist* Allori took the

figure of the man resting his hand on his chin (who is quoted literally, except for being painted in colour) and Herodiana's daughter, who has been reversed and transformed into the statue of Abundance.<sup>51</sup>

Later, the grand-ducal tapestry workshop reproduced the frescoes as tapestries, translating them into colour, as discussed further below.<sup>52</sup> The Scalzo cycle also influenced sculptural works. Orazio Mochi (1571–1625), for instance, reproduced Andrea's *Faith* as a statue (Florence, Palazzo Pitti).<sup>53</sup> The figure of *Saint Alexis* by Giovanni Battista Caccini (1556–1613) on the façade of Santa Trinita recalls Andrea's *Justice*. The statue is now damaged, rendering the reference less obvious; however, an incision by Gaetano Vascellini published in 1777 reveals that the figure once held a staff in its hand, making the likeness with Andrea's *Justice* discern-

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori*, Turin 1991, fig. 74.

<sup>48</sup> Feinberg (note 28), pp. 202f., no. 57.

<sup>49</sup> Shearman (note 7), I, p. 172. Barocci visited Florence in 1579.

<sup>50</sup> Lecchini Giovannoni (note 47), pp. 268f., no. 108, figs. 246–253.

<sup>51</sup> For these and other figures, see Hans van Der Windt, "New Light

on Alessandro Allori's Additions to the Frescoes at Poggio a Caiano", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLII (2000), pp. 170–175: 171.

<sup>52</sup> Lucia Meoni, *Gli arazzi nei musei fiorentini: la collezione medicea. Catalogo completo*, Livorno 1998–2018, III, pp. 406–461.

<sup>53</sup> Claudio Pizzorusso, *A Boboli e altrove: sculture e scultori fiorentini del Seicento*, Florence 1989, p. 21, figs. 5a, 5b.



9 Gaetano Vascellini after Giovanni Battista Caccini, *Sant'Alessio*, in: *Statue e gruppi in bronzo e in marmo, che sono in Firenze alla vista del pubblico disegnate e incise da Ga. Vascellini bolognese*, Florence 1777



10 Andrea del Sarto, *Justice*, 1515. Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo

able (Figs. 9, 10). The statue of *Law* (1635) by Antonio Novelli (1600–1662) in the *grotta* of the courtyard of Palazzo Pitti stands in a pose that seems to merge Sarto's daughter of Herodiana dancing<sup>54</sup> with his figure of *Charity*, while the latter virtue was reproduced by an anonymous French artist in a small alabaster high relief now in the Louvre.<sup>55</sup> Giambologna also turned to the

Scalzo cycle for inspiration for his relief scenes of the Passion for the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa.<sup>56</sup>

The earliest known prints appeared in the 1550s and were single images. An anonymous *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* has been dated circa 1550.<sup>57</sup> Hieronymus Cock, who may have travelled through Italy in the 1540s,<sup>58</sup> published reproductions of the *An-*

<sup>54</sup> The association with Herodiana's dancing daughter was first proposed by Caterina Caneva, "Antonio Novelli scultore: un 'buon artefice del suo tempo'", in: *Il Gigante degli Orti Oricellari*, ed. by Gabriele Morolli, Rome 1993, pp. 85–112: 92.

<sup>55</sup> *Charity*, late sixteenth century, inv. RF 2671 (Cordellier [note 37], p. 115).

<sup>56</sup> Mary Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation*, Berkeley 1995, pp. 95–99.

<sup>57</sup> Shearman (note 7), II, p. 303. An impression is in the British Museum, inv. I948,0903.8 (accessible on [www.britishmuseum.org/collection](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection)).

<sup>58</sup> For discussion of this question, see Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher*, New York/London 1977, pp. 29f.; Jan van der Stock,



11 Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri  
after Andrea del Sarto, *Visitation*,  
1572. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,  
Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-35.872

nunciation to Zacharias, an engraving attributed to Pieter van der Heyden (1551), the *Baptism of the people* that was transformed into a *Baptism of Christ* (1553), sometimes attributed to Cornelis Cort, and the *Arrest of Saint John the Baptist* (1553) engraved by Pieter van der Heyden.<sup>59</sup> Enea Vico is known to have produced a reproductive print of the *Visitation*,<sup>60</sup> and it has been suggested that this was the plate issued by Antonio Lafreri in 1561 in Rome and republished by Antonio Salamanca in the same year.<sup>61</sup> The two were in business partnership, which may explain the immediate reuse of the plate.<sup>62</sup> Both editions include a box in the lower right corner stating erroneously that “Andreas Florentinus cognomento Sutoris [*sic*]” painted the image for the “Annuntiationis [...] templo Florentiae”.<sup>63</sup> The Venetian engraver Niccolò Nelli (ca. 1533–1579) produced a close copy of the Lafreri-Salamanca print, repeating the claim that the fresco was found in the SS. Annunziata.<sup>64</sup> Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri (1525–1601) also engraved the *Visitation* (1572) but provided it with a new setting (Fig. II). Cherubino Alberti (1553–1615) realised two prints after the cycle, the *Baptism of Christ* and *Faith*, dated respectively 1574 and 1580.<sup>65</sup> In 1617, the German printmaker Dietrich (Theodor) Krüger (ca. 1575–1624) engraved the first complete series of the narrative frescoes, which was published with a dedication to Grand Duke Cosimo II.<sup>66</sup>

“Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx Print Publishers in Antwerp”, in: *idem*/Joris van Grieken/Ger Luytjen, *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, exh. cat. Paris/Leuven 2013, Brussels 2013, pp. 14–21: 17.

<sup>59</sup> Riggs (note 58), pp. 357f., nos. 181, 184, 185, figs. 152, 188 (who also lists, p. 358, no. 187, a print after the *Presentation of the head of the Baptist*); Hecht (note 27), p. 44. Impressions of all three prints are accessible on the website of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam ([www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search](http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search)), inv. RP-P-OB-3069, RP-P-OB-3071, RP-P-H-C-II9, RP-P-1877-A-358.

<sup>60</sup> It is mentioned in a letter sent by Dominik Lampson to Vasari in 1565 (*Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. by Karl Frey/Hermann-Walther Frey, Munich 1923–1930, II, pp. 158–163; Shearman [note 7], II, p. 305).

<sup>61</sup> The British Museum owns the Lafreri version (inv. V.I.94), while the Salamanca version can be found in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (inv. RP-P-OB-38.711). For the possible connection with Vico's print, see the “Curator's comments” in: [www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_V-I-94](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_V-I-94) (accessed on 27 September 2021).

<sup>62</sup> For the partnership between Salamanca and Lafreri, see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620*, exh. cat., London 2001, pp. 73, 228.

<sup>63</sup> That Lafreri's version is the first state is shown by the ‘ghost’ of the ‘L’ near and above the ‘S’ of Salamanca. There is also a trace of the upper parts of the double ‘b’ in “pubbliq.” above “curavit”.

<sup>64</sup> An impression of this print is held in the Albertina at Vienna, inv. It/II/6/90.

<sup>65</sup> Reproduced in: *Italian Artists of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Sebastian Buffa, New York 1982 (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, 34), pp. 134, 185. Shearman does not appear to have been aware of either of these prints. The inscription “Romae” suggests that they were issued in Rome.

<sup>66</sup> Friedrich W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, VI, ed. by Karel G. Boon/Robert W. Scheller, Amsterdam 1959, pp. 176f., nos. 30–43; Hecht (note 27), p. 44. The complete set of narrative scenes and virtues can be viewed on the British Museum online collection website ([www.britishmuseum.org/collection](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection)).



12 Franciabigio, *Saint John taking leave of his parents*, 1519.  
Florence, Chioostro dello Scalzo



13 Pietro Morando, *Saint John taking leave of his parents* (detail), ca. 1665-1672.  
Murano, San Pietro Martire, sacristy



14 Andrea del Sarto, *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, 1523.  
Florence, Chioostro dello Scalzo



15 Pietro Morando, *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (detail), ca. 1665-1672.  
Murano, San Pietro Martire, sacristy



At the same time, he also reproduced the four virtues, but the markedly different size of their sheets suggests that they were not conceived as forming part of the larger set.<sup>67</sup>

The prints would have been effective in the wider dissemination and reception of the cycle. Indeed, the engraving of the *Baptism of Christ* by Krüger is considered the source of an embroidered scene on a chasuble from the seventeenth century now in the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps the most interesting, and previously unnoted, adaptation of some of the frescoes – probably through the medium of Krüger’s engravings – is the reproduction of several episodes in low-relief wooden panels carved by the woodworker Pietro Morando between circa 1665 and 1672 to decorate the Sala dell’Albergo of the Scuola di San Giovanni Battista dei Battuti on Murano, which are today in the sacristy of San Pietro Martire, Murano.<sup>69</sup> Of the twenty narrative scenes, six imitate the corresponding episodes found in the Scalzo: the *Annunciation to Zacharias*, the *Visitation*, Franciabigio’s narrative of *Saint John taking leave of his parents* (Figs. 12, 13), the *Baptism of the people* (just the central figures), the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (Figs. 14, 15), and the *Presentation of the head of Saint John the Baptist*.<sup>70</sup> While it is clear that some of the artists producing artworks inspired by the Scalzo frescoes did not visit the site personally but rather used print reproductions or drawings created by others, this wide array of works nonetheless testify to the popularity of Andrea del Sarto’s Scalzo compositions.

<sup>67</sup> Hollstein (note 66), p. 177, nos. 51–54. See the “Curator’s comment” on [www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1932-0217-60](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1932-0217-60) (accessed on 18 October 2021).

<sup>68</sup> Grace R. Smith Textile Fund, inv. 1971.313; see Hecht (note 27), pp. 45f.

<sup>69</sup> On the carvings, see Marco Toso Borella, *I Dossali di San Zuanne: “... a percorrer la meraviglia”*, Venice 2009; Paola Rossi, “L’intaglio e la scultura lignea a Venezia nel Seicento”, in: *Con il legno e con l’oro: la Venezia artigiana degli intagliatori, battiloro e doratori*, exh. cat. Venice 2009, ed. by Giovanni Caniato, Sommacampagna 2009, pp. 69–93: 84–87.

<sup>70</sup> For reproductions of the complete set, see: [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:San\\_Pietro\\_Martire\\_\(Murano\)\\_-\\_Vestry](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:San_Pietro_Martire_(Murano)_-_Vestry)

### The Scalzo *Confratelli* and Their *Chiostro*

Both visual evidence and written sources confirm that artists were gaining access to the Scalzo; however, the somewhat whimsical narrative of there always being an artist drawing in front of the frescoes, with its connotation of an easily accessible space, fails to consider the primary purpose of the cloister. The Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista had it built as part of the meeting house in which the *confratelli* practised their devotions – including, but not restricted to, ritual flagellation. Lay religious confraternities played a significant role in the lives of many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florentines, enabling them to practice a semi-religious lifestyle to secure the salvation of their souls without abandoning the working world. *Disciplinati* confraternities exulted God, Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, similarly to the *laudesi* or praise confraternities, also popular in Florence. They distinguished themselves in their focus on penance and, at least initially, through their practice of self-mortification in imitation and contemplation of Christ’s Passion.<sup>71</sup> Lay religious confraternities provided a variety of benefits, in which the mundane and spiritual were tightly entwined. A respectable funeral and burial were of vital importance to the Florentines. Many confraternities, especially *disciplinati*, supplied funeral paraphernalia, would celebrate masses for the dead and annual memorials, and many, including the Scalzo, had sepulchres in which members could request burial.<sup>72</sup> They offered charitable support networks for sick brothers, including access to a medical

[wiki/Category:San\\_Pietro\\_Martire\\_\(Murano\)\\_-\\_Vestry](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:San_Pietro_Martire_(Murano)_-_Vestry) (accessed on 18 October 2021).

<sup>71</sup> Weissman (note 1), p. 50. For the ever-expanding literature on lay-religious confraternities (including Florentine), see the special collection compiled by the Society for Confraternity Studies in Toronto: [www.crrs.ca/Confraternitas/collection/Received.pdf](http://www.crrs.ca/Confraternitas/collection/Received.pdf) (accessed on 18 October 2021).

<sup>72</sup> Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore/London 1992, pp. 84f.; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Oxford 1994, pp. 156–168; ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 13v–14v. For the Scalzo sepulchre: O’Brien 2004 (note 2), p. 262.

doctor, financial assistance for the poor (in the Scalzo this was primarily for its members),<sup>73</sup> and dowries.<sup>74</sup>

Several other confraternities based near to the Scalzo, such as the 'Buca di San Girolamo' (Piazza San Marco), the Compagnia di San Sebastiano and the Compagnia della SS. Annunziata (both near to the church of the SS. Annunziata) also had a cloister or courtyard in their premises, some of which were decorated.<sup>75</sup> The functions of these spaces are yet to be systematically explored, though it is generally assumed that confraternities used their *chiosi* for contemplation or meditation.<sup>76</sup> This theory is supported by the fact that a bench once lined the walls of the Chiostrino dello Scalzo, below the frescoes and the dado,<sup>77</sup> allowing the *confratelli* to sit and contemplate the life of their saintly patron portrayed in the frescoes or reflect on the inevitability of death while gazing at the *memento mori*. It would also have been a space in which the brothers socialised with each other. A chapter dedicated to prayer and devotion in the confraternity's first statutes (1456) specified: "E quando sono tre o più raghunati de fratelgli l'uno debba legiere chose ispirituale."<sup>78</sup> Though not yet constructed when this rule was first written, the cloister would nevertheless have offered the perfect environment for the members to congregate informally to read and contemplate devotional texts. The third set of statutes (1631) further specified that reading together would ensure that the brothers did not indulge in gossiping in the House of the Lord while waiting for the

others to arrive (though this no doubt occurred regardless).<sup>79</sup> Although the later statutes indicate that the reading was to occur in the oratory, there is no reason to assume that in the more temperate months the *confratelli* did not pause in the cloister before the meetings.

The layout of the Scalzo's premises protected its privacy, as Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio's groundplan (Fig. 16) helps to demonstrate. After passing through the entrance vestibule and the cloister with its fresco decoration, the *confratelli* would move through the now blocked-up doorway (Fig. 2) into the *ricetto*. This space functioned as the room for the scribe, the change room, and possibly also as a parlour (*parlatoio*).<sup>80</sup> Here, the scribe had a desk where he maintained the account books, including the *campioni* in which the brothers' membership fees and other payments were entered. The statutes prohibited the *camarlingo* from collecting the fees and payments in the oratory, specifying that he was to take them "fuori al descho".<sup>81</sup> A payment to Dionigi di Matteo Nigetti *legnaiolo* in 1573 for a "tavola di nocie da cho[n]tarcia e' danari [most likely an abacus] che sta sul descho del chamarl[in]gho" suggests that the *camarlingo* also had a desk.<sup>82</sup> Each brother was to have a habit made of coarse black cloth *a uso di disciplina* – that is, with a slit in the back – for their *divozioni* or *discipline* (flagellations) and processions.<sup>83</sup> The habit's appearance is preserved in the lunette of *Saint John the Baptist adored by two confratelli* by Benedetto Buglioni (1459/60–1521) above the premises' entrance.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>73</sup> In the first statutes, they state that it is for the poor – whoever the *limosinieri* think has greater need. The "vergognosi" are instructed to come to the meeting house at sunrise. The later statutes speak of "poveri di nostra compagnia" and "fratelli poveri" (ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 5r–v; *ibidem*, 86, fol. 17v, 18v–19r, 20r; *ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 52–57).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, 86, fol. 13r, 22r, 25r–27r; *ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 94–99.

<sup>75</sup> Ludovica Sebrengondi, "La 'Compagnia della Nunziata' nel quadro dell'associazionismo laicale fiorentino", in: *La Compagnia della Santissima Annunziata* (note 46), pp. 43–48: 44; *cadem*, *Tre confraternite fiorentine: Santa Maria della Pietà, detta 'Buca di San Girolamo', San Filippo Benizi, San Francesco Poverino*, Florence 1991, p. 4 and fig. 2; Alana O'Brien, "The Compagnia di San Sebastiano and the Lost Founders", in: *Confraternitas*, XVI (2005), I, pp. 3–18: 10–12; Dow 2014 (note 2), pp. 103–169. That the Compagnia di San Se-

bastiano had a cloister is suggested by a late inventory: Florence, Biblioteca Moreniana, ms. 351, fol. 38r, 40r.

<sup>76</sup> Henderson (note 72), p. 151.

<sup>77</sup> Shearman (note 4), p. 218.

<sup>78</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 10v–11r ("And when three or more brothers are gathered together, one must read something spiritual").

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 8f.

<sup>80</sup> O'Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 387, no. 28 and note 230.

<sup>81</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 6r.

<sup>82</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1203:40, fol. 284v, 21 June 1573.

<sup>83</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 13r.

<sup>84</sup> Buglioni was a member of the confraternity (Douglas N. Dow, "Evidence for Buglioni's Authorship of the Glazed Terra-Cotta Tympanum at

Changing into their habits, the brothers would then enter the oratory, a long room with rows of seating and prie-dieu along the long walls, an altar at the far end, and desks for the confraternity governor and corrector to either side of the entrance.<sup>85</sup> Two doors flanked the altar, one opening onto the sacristy, the other into a passageway leading to the *luogo vecchio*.

The original statutes of 1456 ruled that on the days when the brothers were to flagellate, following the recitation of a series of prayers, readings, and psalms, the sacristans handed out the whips. The governor urged the brothers to perform the *discipline* as well as they could, and then, probably with the extinguishing of the lights, they would flagellate themselves. One light remained at the governor's desk, allowing him to read aloud about Christ's Passion.<sup>86</sup> The association of flagellation with the original oratory remained strong, so even once the new oratory was constructed, following the governor's exhortation, the brothers would file into the *luogo vecchio* – thus moving even deeper into the premises – and flagellate there.<sup>87</sup> The darkened room and undifferentiated garments fostered a sense of anonymity, freeing the *confratelli* from their inhibitions and allowing them to practice the *discipline* more fervently.<sup>88</sup>

The *chiostro* served both as a bridge and a barrier between the outer profane world and the sacred inner world of the oratories, where the brothers attended mass, prayed, and practised flagellation. Passing through the primary spaces – the *ingresso*, the cloister with its sombre earth-tone frescoes and *me-*

*mento mori*, the *ricetto*, where they changed from their worldly clothes into their spiritual habits – helped to prepare them psychologically before entering the oratory to engage in the spiritually intense meetings. The words *INTROIBO IN DOMUM TUAM* (“I shall enter Your house”), which appear above the doorway leading from the *chiostro* to the *ricetto*, emphasised this passage from the mundane to the sacred. The possibility of interruptions from the nearby artistic activity in the cloister, while the brothers were preparing for, or practising, the *discipline*, would not have been conducive to their state of mind as they engaged in these “self-deprecating and emotionally charged rites”.<sup>89</sup>

Weissman has argued that Florentine *disciplinati* confraternities abandoned penitential flagellation in the sixteenth century and that there was a rise in the proportion of socially elite members in flagellant groups, which subsequently became little more than gentlemen's clubs;<sup>90</sup> yet this was not the case for the Scalzo. As already noted by Henderson, the Scalzo's membership remained primarily artisan;<sup>91</sup> and contrary to Weissman's assertion, the Scalzo's statutes of 1579 and 1631 continued to prescribe penitential flagellation.<sup>92</sup> In October 1580, the confraternity decided to “rascettare e[1] luogho vecchio cioè l'altare et altre chose acciò un luogho chonsecrato nel quale si va a fare la divozione”, that is, to reorder or renovate the room and its refurbishing so that it might provide greater inspiration for the brothers (“getti più spirito a' frategli”) when flagellating.<sup>93</sup> By

the Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence”, in: *Source*, XXIX [2010], 2, pp. 15–20; O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 384, no. 4).

<sup>85</sup> See Alana O'Brien, “Apostles in the Oratory of the Compagnia dello Scalzo: Adornata da e mia fratelli Academizi”, in: *I Tatti Studies*, XIV/XV (2011/12), pp. 209–262: 211–215.

<sup>86</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 11r.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, 86, fol. 3r–v: “et esortato ciascuno alla penitenza imponga il salmo *Miserere mei Deus* et tra tanto si invijno al luogho vecchio dove si faccia la disciplina, pregando che ciascuno de' fratelli, che può, la eserciti”.

<sup>88</sup> Weissman (note 1), p. 93.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.

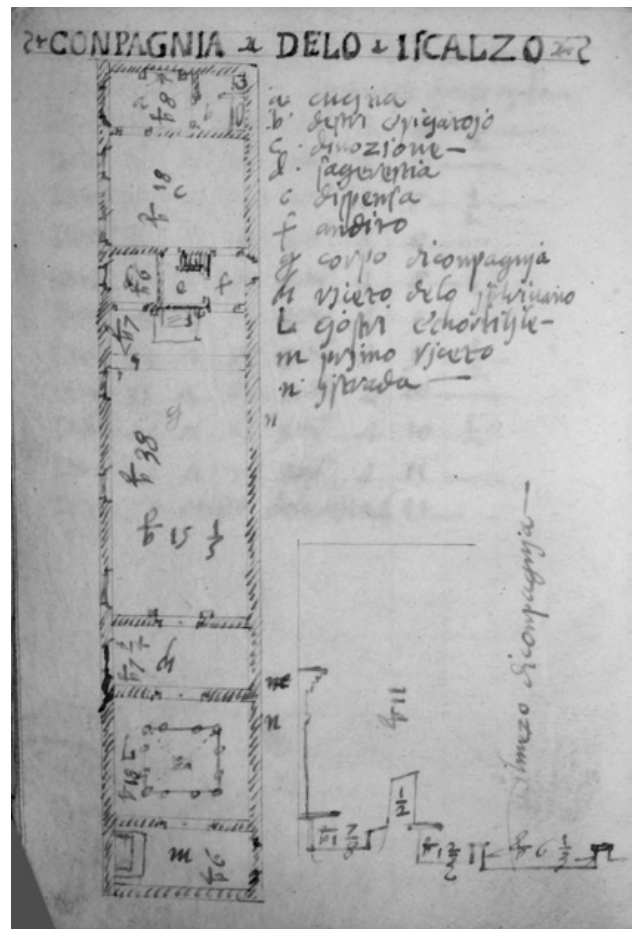
<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 74–76, 206f.

<sup>91</sup> Henderson (note 72), p. 153. For the artists and a selection of the artisans who were members, see O'Brien 2013 (note 2), Appendix.

<sup>92</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 3r–v (quoted above, note 87); *ibidem*, 152:2, p. 10. By contrast, Andrew Chen, discussing a Pavian confraternity that stopped flagellating, noted that the chapters on flagellation were removed from the later statutes (Andrew Chen, “Discipline Transformed: The Processions of a Pavian Flagellant Confraternity, 1330–1460”, in: *Space, Place, and Motion* [note 2], pp. 155–177: 170).

1591 the bookseller Jacopo Chiti had commissioned his fellow brother Giovanni Battista Mossi to paint a *Flagellation of Christ* for the altar, a highly appropriate theme for the oratory's intended activity.<sup>94</sup> Other evidence also suggests that the confraternity was performing flagellation. Their account books reveal they were acquiring whips in the 1520s, 1570s, 1580s, 1630s, and 1640s,<sup>95</sup> and they recorded the practice of flagellation in the books throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>96</sup> The consistency and frequency with which the Scalzo practised flagellation no doubt fluctuated over the 150 years under consideration here. The quantity and quality of information offered by the archival record regarding the regular devotional practices varies significantly over time. For instance, sections of the seventeenth-century volumes provide greater detail than the earlier volumes about feast celebrations, processions, flagellation, excursions, and contact with other devotional cults and confraternities. Nevertheless, even in these books much depended on the individual scribe. It is possible that the practice of flagellation fell into disuse during the sixteenth century but was then readopted before the writing of the statutes of 1579. Further research may provide greater clarity for this situation.

Weissman maintained that *disciplinati* confraternities were particularly secretive and suspicious of strangers,<sup>97</sup> and the Scalzo's statutes indeed manifest such characteristics. Members were not to discuss confraternal business in public places, "come per le



16 Alfonso Parigi il Vecchio, groundplan of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, ca. 1570-1590. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Pal. 853, fol. 38v

<sup>93</sup> ASF, CRSPL, II95:14, fol. 100r.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, II98:26, p. 3. Sebregondi (note 6), pp. 482f., identified the painting as the *Flagellation* by Mossi now in the Casa Vasari, Arezzo. On this commission, see Dow 2017 (note 2). For Mossi's treatment of the subject, see Alessandro Nesi, "Note baroccesche tra Marche e Toscana: Filippo Bellini, Giovanbattista Mossi, Jacopo Benettini e Francesco Cungi", in: *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, XXXVI/XXXVII (2007/08), pp. 89-102: 93f.; *idem*, *Giovanbattista Mossi e il dilemma di un notturno* (in print).

<sup>95</sup> For example: ASF, CRSPL, II98:28, fol. 86sin., 27 April 1522: "xxxviii diciprine"; ASF, CRSPL, I204:42, back part of the volume,

fol. 78r, 10 April 1632: "24 dicipline per uso di nostra compagnia"; *ibidem*, fol. 95v, 18 February 1636: "12 dicipline di corda"; *ibidem*, fol. 96r, 15 March 1636: "2 dozine di dicipline"; *ibidem*, fol. 124v, 6 March 1644: "2 dozine di dicipline". For the 1570s and 1580s, see Dow 2017 (note 2), p. 329, note 25.

<sup>96</sup> See for instance: ASF, CRSPL, II95:15, p. 161, where flagellation is recorded for the feast days of Lent 1624, including Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday. See also various references *ibidem*, II96:16, pp. 10, 11, 12, fol. 18v, 19r, as well as O'Brien (note 85), p. 213, note 20.

<sup>97</sup> Weissman (note 1), pp. 77, 82, 94f.

botteghe, piazze o osterie”.<sup>98</sup> The rulebook was not to leave the premises, except for processions or other specially approved occasions.<sup>99</sup> New members had to be presented and recommended by an existing member – relative, friend, neighbour, or colleague – who could testify to their respectability and worthiness; therefore, no strangers were admitted.<sup>100</sup> The private nature of these organisations should, at the very least, make us pause to consider what mechanisms the artists had at their disposal to access the Chiostrò dello Scalzo.

Christopher Black notes how difficult it is to estimate the frequency of meetings held by confraternities beyond those that were held on days of religious significance.<sup>101</sup> The Scalzo’s statutes decreed two monthly meetings, on the first and third Sunday of every month.<sup>102</sup> Feast-day observances could potentially add just under thirty gatherings to the confraternity’s annual assemblies.<sup>103</sup> According to the later *capitoli*, it seems they scheduled most of the meetings for the morning, but on Lenten Sundays and the meetings of Easter week they attended in the evenings. On some occasions, they would meet both in the morning and the evening.<sup>104</sup> One might argue that this left the premises relatively free for most of the month, potentially providing numerous opportunities for artists to visit without disturbing the Scalzo’s members. Yet their penitential and other devotional practices were not the only privacy-sensitive activities that the Scalzo undertook on the premises and for which they might not wish to have uninvited

witnesses. Although most ‘business’ meetings were held on the same day as spiritual gatherings, special assemblies could be called to address confraternity affairs. Ordinary business could include voting on the entrance of novices, electing administration and other roles, reprimanding the *confratelli* for wrongdoings and deciding appropriate punishment, but they might have needed special meetings to debate matters of policy or make amendments to the statutes (or new statutes), to plan excursions or artistic commissions, and the governor could call meetings at his discretion for any other confraternity business.<sup>105</sup> The brothers also met on the premises to prepare for their brethren’s funerals (held elsewhere) or for processions, and they could perform the memorials in the meeting house for defunct brothers.

Special circumstances lead to the cloister becoming, for a brief period, the site of the confraternity’s rituals. In 1545, Duke Cosimo I, needing to fortify Florence, transferred the nuns of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem from the monastery of San Salvatore a Camaldoli into the church of San Piero da Murrone, until then inhabited by the Celestines, while the latter moved to San Michele Visdomini.<sup>106</sup> The nuns may not have felt that the convent of San Piero da Murrone (which they subsequently retitled San Giovannino) provided all the space that they required, and on 11 March 1552 Duke Cosimo ordered the Scalzo to lend the nuns their premises. During the nuns’ tenancy, the Scalzo continued to hold meetings, but just within the *ricetto* and *chiostrò*.

<sup>98</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, pp. 21f. (statutes of 1631).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, 86, fol. 22r; *ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 109f.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, 86, fol. 7r–v; *ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 66–68.

<sup>101</sup> Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge *et al.* 1989, p. 93.

<sup>102</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 2v; *ibidem*, 152:2, p. 6. The first set of statutes (*ibidem*, 151:1) do not seem to specify the bi-monthly meeting, though it may be implied. Bi-monthly meetings were usual for *disciplinati* confraternities (Henderson [note 72], p. 122).

<sup>103</sup> They were obliged to meet for the feasts of the Nativity, Circumcision, and Resurrection of Christ; Pentecost; Corpus Domini; the Nativity,

Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption of the Virgin; the nativity and decollation of the Baptist, and the Sunday in the octave of his nativity; All Saints; the apostles (10 distinct days); the feast of the Cross in May; Holy Thursday; and all the Sundays of Lent (ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 2v). The number of additional days that the confraternity would have to meet would vary depending on how many feasts would fall on a Sunday when they would be meeting in any case. Even this list may not give the full scope of the confraternity’s festive devotions in practice. In 1649, for example, meetings were held on several days surrounding the feast of the Baptist (24 June), including the vigil (23 June) and 25, 26, and 27 June (ASF, CRSPL, 1196:16, fol. 15v–16r).

The nuns were only supposed to occupy the Scalzo's premises for six months, but the confraternity regained their premises as late as 24 March 1552, after appealing to Cosimo.<sup>107</sup>

In the following century, however, there is evidence that the confraternity was habitually performing regular and structured ritual activity in the cloister. A reference of 1 January 1624 referred to fifteen brothers performing "la solita pricisione per il chiosstro".<sup>108</sup> The statutes of 1631 decreed that a procession be undertaken every first Sunday of the month in honour of their devotion to the "Santissimo Nome di Gesù", which, according to the same statutes, had been newly adopted as a title.<sup>109</sup> The procession was usually confined to the *chiosstro*, except for the morning of the feast of the Circumcision when it continued outside the premises.<sup>110</sup> A *confratello* carried a sign bearing the "Santissimo Nome di Gesù" and all the others processed singing psalms;<sup>111</sup> this practice provides a literal interpretation of the inscription above the entrance, visible to the *confratelli* as they entered the cloister from the *ricetto*, LAUDATE DOMINUM IN ATRIO SANCTO EIUS ("Praise the Lord in His holy courtyard"). The cloister was thus not merely a passageway moving toward the oratory; it too had the potential of being a sacred space.

Although there were many days in which the confraternity did not use the meeting house, the premises were locked when the *confratelli* were not present. The reason for this was pragmatic; to secure various items of value – financial, spiritual, and ad-

ministrative – from theft or tampering, such as silver liturgical objects and other paraphernalia for the Mass or funerals, holy relics, statutes, administrative books, documents regarding property ownership, and their habits, to name just a few. The Scalzo's servant did not reside on the premises, and a payment to the servant to remain and guard the premises one night in 1540 reveals that his presence overnight was unusual.<sup>112</sup> A few trusted individuals, including the governor, the servant, the *provveditore*, the sacristan, and sometimes an authorised brother held copies of the keys.<sup>113</sup> Consequently, prior arrangements would have to be made by anyone wishing to gain admittance into the cloister.

Of course, there were special days when the meeting house was opened to a greater audience than just the brothers. From 1554 the member's female relatives could also join the Scalzo. There is no evidence that the women engaged in flagellation on the premises; however, they could enjoy burial and memorial honours. Their presence was most keenly felt annually on 2 February, the feast of the Purification of the Virgin or Candlemas, when they would each receive a candle weighing an ounce. The scribe recorded the name of each member in the *Libro di entrata e uscita* as they paid their fees and collected their candle. The long annual lists of names under 2 February often reveal reoccurring clusters of family members and friends. Inevitably, on this day, the cloister would have been full of *confratelli* and *consorelle*. One can imagine them chatting with family, friends, and ac-

<sup>104</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 2v–3r; *ibidem*, 152:2, p. 7.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, 86, fol. 3r; *ibidem*, 152:2, p. 36.

<sup>106</sup> Richa (note 25), VII, p. 201.

<sup>107</sup> *Raccolta di notizie* (note 26), letter M, nos. II, 13, 14; ASF, CRSPL, 1190, unnumbered sheets, index of material once contained in the volume.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, 1195:15, p. 159.

<sup>109</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, p. 4. The first (1456) and second (1579) statutes already reveal a devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, but only as the confraternity's symbol, not its name (*ibidem*, 152:1, fol. 3r–v; *ibidem*, 86, fol. 2r).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibidem*, 152:2, p. 4.

<sup>111</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1195:15, p. 162. The singing of psalms is not specifically

mentioned in the statutes, but is suggested by a later source: BNCF, ms. II. IV.485, fol. 22v.

<sup>112</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1202:38, fol. 211r, 18 April 1540: "A spese di casa soldi dieci al servo per essere stato una notte a guardare la compagnia di comisione del Governatore." The 1487 contract acquiring the land on which the Scalzo extended their premises prohibited them from constructing a house or any other type of residence on the land (*Raccolta di notizie* [note 26], letter C, no. 2; ASF, CRSPL, 1190, unnumbered sheets).

<sup>113</sup> For the relevant rules in the statutes, see ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 12r (governor), 19v (sacristan), 20r (servant); *ibidem*, 152:2, pp. 30 (governor), 62 (sacristan), 108 (servant).

quaintances, or observing or studying the frescoes as they waited their turn.<sup>114</sup>

By the seventeenth century, the Scalzo occasionally opened their premises to non-Scalzo members. The Compagnia di San Benedetto Bianco came to visit on 25 June 1623.<sup>115</sup> On 1 January 1624 a “gran concorso di popolo matina e giorno” came to take advantage of the plenary indulgence available for those who visited the Scalzo on that day.<sup>116</sup> A “grandissimo concorso di popolo” visited for the anniversary of their oratory’s consecration on 3 May 1624,<sup>117</sup> and again on 26 June 1649, when they also recorded Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici’s presence with many “signori”.<sup>118</sup> Such events may also have provided artists with the opportunity to visit the frescoes.

#### Drawing or Devotion: A Conflict of Interests?

The earliest artists to study in the Scalzo were undoubtedly there as members of Andrea del Sarto’s workshop or through connections with the workshop. Vasari describes how the Aretine painter Giovanni Antonio Lappoli (1492–1552) would sometimes go to draw in the Scalzo’s cloister with Andrea’s pupil Pier Francesco Foschi (1502–1567).<sup>119</sup> Lappoli had come to Florence perhaps as early as 1515 or 1516 to perfect his technique and, although impressed with the paintings of Andrea del Sarto, eventually chose to enter the workshop of Pontormo. Since he had conclusively returned home after September 1523<sup>120</sup> his Florentine stay coincided with the middle years of Andrea’s execution of the cycle. A drawing by Vasari

after Sarto’s *Baptism of Christ* survives in the Louvre;<sup>121</sup> Vasari could have produced it during his brief stint in Andrea’s workshop (about 1524/25), around the time the penultimate narrative scene was produced.

A painting after Andrea’s Scalzo *Charity* by Jan Sanders van Hemessen has been cited as evidence that the Netherlandish painter visited Italy, and more specifically Florence, in the 1520s.<sup>122</sup> If this is the case, then it also shows that a foreign artist could gain access to the Scalzo for the purpose of studying the frescoes at this early date. Hemessen’s connection with Andrea or his workshop is unknown. Presumably, he would have had to request permission from the Scalzo to draw there; however, the *Libri di partiti e ricordi* – books recording the decisions made by the Scalzo’s officials or attending brothers – do not survive from the period before 1527.<sup>123</sup>

The *Libri di partiti e ricordi* from the years 1527–1670 reveal that over time the Scalzo developed an administrative process to regulate artists’ access to the *chiostro*. The records of requests to enter and draw in the cloister are published in Appendix I, while the administrative rules regarding access can be found in Appendix II. The first two surviving records of applicants requesting to draw from the frescoes involved the Medici. In the first, the “ducha nostro de’ Medici”, that is, Duke Alessandro, sent an unnamed painter; the Scalzo voted on 3 May 1534 to give him access.<sup>124</sup> The next application, appearing in 1538, was from a “friend” of Ottaviano de’ Medici,<sup>125</sup> and Ottaviano requested the keys to access the frescoes at least two

<sup>114</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, pp. 12, 75, 82f.; O’Brien 2013 (note 2), pp. 371f.

<sup>115</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1195:15, p. 155.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 162.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, 1196:16, p. 16.

<sup>119</sup> Vasari (note 3), V, p. 180.

<sup>120</sup> Nicoletta Baldini, “Giovanni Antonio Lappoli: gli anni della formazione fra Arezzo e Firenze (1509–1522)”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, LIV (2010–2012), pp. 445–478: 452–459.

<sup>121</sup> Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 12255; cfr. Cordellier

(note 37), p. 116. For several paintings by Vasari reflecting the influence of the Scalzo frescoes: Shearman (note 7), I, p. 168, note 3.

<sup>122</sup> Burr Wallen, *Hemessen: Style and Iconography*, PhD diss. New York University, 1976, pp. 29, 65; *idem*, s.v. Jan Sanders van Hemessen, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, London/New York 1996, XIV, pp. 379–382: 379.

<sup>123</sup> The oldest surviving *Libro di partiti e ricordi*, however, contains only a few records made in the final months of 1527, before the confraternity closed due to plague. The records recommence January 1534 (ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 1r–4v). Nevertheless, acquisitions recorded in the *Libro di entrata e uscita* make it apparent that the Scalzo maintained some

more times, in 1541 and 1543.<sup>126</sup> On the later occasion, the key was to be lent to a “maestro d’Ottaviano de’ Medici per disegnare”, while the record of 1541 does not mention any artist, stating only that they would give “la chiave dela prima porta a mesere Otaviano per potere disegnare le storie del chiostro”; therefore, one might wonder whether Ottaviano himself was intending to draw.

Ottaviano de’ Medici (1482–1546) was one of Duke Alessandro’s advisors, the treasurer of the Capitani di Parte Guelfa, and a central figure for many Medici art commissions. He was himself a collector, and Vasari described him as “amico e amorevole a tutti gli artefici delle nostre arti”, including Andrea del Sarto, whose work Ottaviano highly esteemed.<sup>127</sup> When Vasari introduced Andrea’s Baptist cycle, he described the Scalzo’s premises as being positioned “sopra la casa del Magnifico Ottaviano de’ Medici, dirimpetto all’orto di San Marco”,<sup>128</sup> and certainly the confraternity was situated directly north of the house that Ottaviano owned from about 1527.<sup>129</sup> Ottaviano died in 1546, well before Vasari published the first edition of his *Vite*, and thus it is notable that Vasari should still refer to the Chiostro dello Scalzo in connection with his house. As a matter of fact, close examination of the Scalzo’s administrative books furnishes ample evidence of a relationship between Ottaviano and the confraternity. Ottaviano was named as authorising, or participating, in various decisions made in the Scalzo’s meetings. In 1543, he was involved in annulling a certain chapter

that had resulted in the expulsion of some unnamed members.<sup>130</sup> In 1545, he appealed to the Scalzo to permit the heirs of the recently deceased Chiarissimo de’ Medici to purchase a sepulchre stone<sup>131</sup> that the confraternity had acquired in anticipation of establishing a burial site in a nearby church. Ottaviano was evidently aware that the Scalzo had still not decided on a suitable site.<sup>132</sup> His connection commenced before 1533, as on 20 December 1545 the Scalzo decided that Francesco da Sangallo could once again be exempted from dues as had been the case “antichamente” under Ottaviano’s “chommissione”.<sup>133</sup> This privilege had been revoked when Sangallo was expelled from the Scalzo in 1533.<sup>134</sup> Thus, it is not clear if artists approached Ottaviano on account of his Medici associations or because of his artistic interests and connections with the Scalzo. One explanation need not exclude the other.

Ottaviano’s relationship with the Scalzo was influential, but the surviving evidence does not reveal whether he held a formal position. In contrast, a formal association between Pierfrancesco Riccio – *secretario segretissimo* and later *maggiordomo maggiore* to Duke Cosimo I – and the Scalzo was established in 1540, when Riccio was named *protettore*.<sup>135</sup> The role did not become codified in the Scalzo’s *capitoli* and was perhaps an honorary position, although one that could have provided certain benefits. In what might have been an analogous situation, the artists of the Accademia del Disegno referred to Cosimo I’s son Don Giovanni as *protettore*.<sup>136</sup> Riccio also participated

level of activity in the years between 1527 and 1534 (see *ibidem*, 1201:37, fol. 192v–225r).

<sup>124</sup> Appendix I, no. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Appendix I, no. 2.

<sup>126</sup> Appendix I, nos. 6, 8.

<sup>127</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, p. 511. For Ottaviano de’ Medici, see especially Anna Maria Braccianti, *Ottaviano de’ Medici e gli artisti*, Florence 1984; Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, “Ottaviano de’ Medici e il Pontormo”, in: *Artista* (2000), pp. 162–185.

<sup>128</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, p. 345.

<sup>129</sup> Caroline Elam, “Lorenzo de’ Medici’s Sculpture Garden”, in: *Mitteil-*

*ungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXXVI (1992), pp. 41–84: 55. For Vasari’s familiarity with Ottaviano’s house, see *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (note 60), I, pp. 62, 68f.

<sup>130</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 54v, 18 March 1543.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, 1197:21, n. p., 21 December 1545.

<sup>132</sup> O’Brien 2004 (note 2), p. 262.

<sup>133</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 68r; *ibidem*, 1197:21, n. p.

<sup>134</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), pp. 367f.

<sup>135</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 36v, 5 September 1540.

<sup>136</sup> Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*, Cambridge et al. 2000, pp. 65f.



in the literary Accademia Fiorentina in 1540, where he probably acted primarily as the duke's instrument, though he is known to have also contributed to the academy's activities.<sup>137</sup> Evidence of his involvement in the Scalzo comparable to that of Ottaviano has not yet come to light; however, Riccio's installation as protector overlaps with Ottaviano's connection with the Scalzo, as the confraternity gifted olive branches to both men for Palm Sunday of 1545.<sup>138</sup> Although he is never mentioned as such in the sources, it seems that Lelio Torelli – first secretary to Cosimo I from 1546<sup>139</sup> – took over Riccio's role as protector. The Scalzo produced special painted candles for Torelli for Candlemas and *palmetti* for Palm Sunday in 1553 and 1554.<sup>140</sup>

However, artists also applied directly to the Scalzo. The first we know of was Pier Francesco Foschi, who requested access in 1540.<sup>141</sup> After this, applications to enter the cloister occur with relative frequency until 1556 at least once a year but sometimes two or three per year. While all these requests were accepted with a large majority, of the twenty-five artists for which the vote counts are recorded, only nine won unanimously.<sup>142</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the confraternity never rejected a submission; failed applications were probably not recorded.<sup>143</sup> The aspirants included not only painters but also sculptors and goldsmiths. The documents suggest a minor but constant flow of visitors during

these years, confirming that what Vasari described as a past practice of the artists of his generation was still a common exercise.

Among the artists applying for the keys in this early period were also several non-Florentines: “Bartolomeo da Urbino”, a “dipintore Luc[ch]ese”, and “Luigi fiandrescho”.<sup>144</sup> The first of these could be Bartolomeo di Girolamo Genga (1518–1558). Although he was not born in Urbino, his father was; thus, the toponymic was sometimes also ascribed to him. Bartolomeo is known to have stayed in Florence during his early twenties before going to Pesaro, where his father began working on the church of San Giovanni Battista in 1543.<sup>145</sup>

All the artists that applied between 1534 and 1556 were lent the keys and could presumably come and go when they wished (perhaps with an unwritten understanding that they respect the requirements of the confraternity, or with some advice on times that they must avoid), with one exception, the goldsmith Silvio di Giovanni Battista. In his case, the barber Gismondo di Benedetto was to open the door when Silvio came to draw and then lock it when he had finished.<sup>146</sup> The length of time that an artist could have the keys varied. Pier Francesco Foschi was to receive them “four or six times”, implying that he perhaps had to return them after each use.<sup>147</sup> The sculptor Valerio Cioli (ca. 1529–1599) and a painter named Domenico di Bartolomeo were to receive the keys for fifteen days.<sup>148</sup> Several artists were allowed to keep the keys for the duration of

<sup>137</sup> Gigliola Fragnito, “Un pratese alla corte di Cosimo I: riflessioni e materiali per un profilo di Pierfrancesco Riccio”, in: *Archivio storico pratese*, LXII (1986), pp. 31–82: 32–39, 53f.; Alessandro Cecchi, “Il maggiordomo ducale Pierfrancesco Riccio e gli artisti della corte medicea”, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLII (1998), pp. 115–143: 115, 118f.

<sup>138</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1199:29, fol. 46r.

<sup>139</sup> R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians 1530–1790*, Princeton 1986, p. 78.

<sup>140</sup> ASF, CRSPL, 1199:29, fol. 81r, 86r. For other candles made for Torelli, see *ibidem*, 1202:39, fol. 151r (14 February 1568), 156v (20 February 1569), 160r (24 February 1570), 168r (17 February 1572). Often identified simply as Messere Lelio, in the last reference he is clearly identified as Lelio Torelli (“Lerio Ttorelli”).

<sup>141</sup> Appendix I, no. 3.

<sup>142</sup> Appendix I, nos. 1, 2, 5, 11, 19, 20, 24, 28, 32.

<sup>143</sup> I have not found rejected applications for novices in the Scalzo's *Libri di partiti e ricordi* either.

<sup>144</sup> Appendix I, nos. 7, 9b, 11.

<sup>145</sup> Monica Grasso, s. v. Genga, Bartolomeo, in: *DBI*, LIII (2000), pp. 86–88: 86.

<sup>146</sup> Appendix I, no. 5.

<sup>147</sup> Appendix I, no. 3.

<sup>148</sup> Appendix I, nos. 14, 16. According to the ages given by Raffaello Borghini and Vasari respectively, Cioli was either born in circa 1529/30 or circa 1542. Borghini's earlier date seems more credible, as in 1548/49 Cioli went to work in Rome with Raffaello da Montelupo (Maria Pedrolì, s. v. Cioli

the sitting of the confraternity's current government,<sup>149</sup> that is, for up to four months.<sup>150</sup> The final reference from this period, June 1556, specifies that the painter Giovanni Fedini (b. ca. 1537) could use the keys for the period of that government, but had to return them each evening when he had finished.<sup>151</sup>

For the period 1534–1556, no specific regulation governed admissions into the Scalzo, but the confraternity seems to have applied a general principle established in February 1534. It decreed that neither the administrator nor the sacristan nor anyone else could lend any of the confraternity's possessions, including the keys or habits, without formal authorisation obtained through the *partito del seggio* – the vote of the current government. Anyone who disobeyed would be fined two pounds of wax.<sup>152</sup> The rule was reiterated nearly a decade later, in November 1543, now specifying that no one could lend the keys without a *partito della compagnia*, that is, a decision made by all *confratelli*, this time on the threat of expulsion.<sup>153</sup>

By December 1558 there was evidently such a disturbing quantity of artistic activity in the cloister that it required a distinct rule of its own.

Richordo questo di 4 di dicembre 1558 chome el nostro Padre Ghovernatore cho[n] sua venerabili chonsigliieri e altri ufziali e chorpo di chompangnia [h]anno vinto un partito per 27 fave nere e nesu[n]a bianche che per l'avenire non si posse prestare chiave né mettere alchuno

[Ciolli, Ciuli], Valerio, in: *DBI*, XXV [1981], pp. 672–676: 672). His activity in the *chiostro* in 1547 also supports a birth date around 1529/30; however, when he became a Scalzo *confratello* in November 1571 his age was recorded as thirty years (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 406, no. 158). Although this is close to Vasari's statement, it is unlikely that the Scalzo would hand over the keys to a six-year old boy (without any intercession by his father or another adult), suggesting the age given in the document from 1571 is erroneous.

<sup>149</sup> Appendix I, nos. 10–12, 18, 19, 21, 23–25, 27–29.

<sup>150</sup> ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:1, fol. 3v; *ibidem*, 152:2, p. 23; *ibidem*, 86, fol. 6r. The positions commenced in May, September, and January.

<sup>151</sup> Appendix I, no. 29a.

<sup>152</sup> Appendix II, no. 1.

<sup>153</sup> Appendix II, no. 2.

per disegnare in nost[r]a chonpangnia o veramente in nostri chiostru per chi tenessi chiave chome se per sagrestani o se nesu[no] o altri che in n'alchun modo la vole-sino e che alchuno ne parlassi di nostra chonpangnia di prestarle s'intenda essere privato e raso di nostra chonpangnia, e questo s'è fatto per buona chagione.<sup>154</sup>

The unanimously passed resolution was decisive in law and sweeping in implication. Not only was there a blanket prohibition against people wishing to draw in the *chiostro*, but there was an inviolable ban on discussing the matter with anyone who might wish to borrow them; whoever did could be expelled. It is noteworthy that no new application appeared following this meeting until 1568;<sup>155</sup> this demonstrates the Scalzo's reservation in this period toward artistic visits.

The development of the rule prohibiting *confratelli* from letting anyone into the cloister suggests that they had been doing precisely that, and just under a decade later we find evidence of an artist gaining access without going through the usual application procedure. In January 1567, the confraternity paid to have a key made for the exit to the street, because, as the scribe explains, “lo Spagnuolo dipi[n]tore” had lost the key.<sup>156</sup> “Lo Spagnolo” was presumably an artist who was not a member but had received a key to draw in the cloister.<sup>157</sup> No vote allowing “lo Spagnolo” to enter is recorded in the *Libro di partiti e ricordi*. While it is possible that they held a vote but for some reason did not enter it into

<sup>154</sup> Appendix II, no. 3b (“I record how on this day, 4 December 1558, our father governor with his venerable counsellors and the other officials and the assembled membership of our company determined by a vote of twenty-seven black beans and no white beans that in the future no key can be lent nor can anyone be allowed into our company, or rather, allowed into our cloisters [*sic*] to draw, by anyone who has a key, that is to say, sacristans or anyone else, and should anyone of our company wish in any way to do this or talk about lending keys, it is understood that he will be removed and expunged from our company. And this is done for good reason”).

<sup>155</sup> Appendix I, no. 31.

<sup>156</sup> Appendix I, no. 30.

<sup>157</sup> I have not detected a painter with this appellation among the Scalzo's membership.

either book, it is also possible that someone provided him with a key without formal authorisation.

After nearly a decade of no formal applications being recorded, an artist appealed to the Medici. In March 1568, the Medici secretary Jacopo Dani wrote a *supplica* to the Medici prince Francesco (the future grand duke Francesco I) requesting that he assist a foreign artist, “Giulio fiammingo”, to obtain a key to the Scalzo so that he could draw from the frescoes.<sup>158</sup> Dani reminded the prince that he was already familiar with the artist, who had painted two “finte alla prospettiva” (scenic backdrops) for him. Cosimo I’s secretary Lelio Torelli spoke with the governor of the confraternity before responding to the request on 23 March, writing directly on the same letter: “Il Governatore della compagnia l’accomodi quando vuol studiar’ che possa farlo meritando la virtù esser’ aiutata.”<sup>159</sup> Confirming Torelli’s statement, on 28 March the Scalzo unanimously voted that Giulio should be granted the key and be allowed to draw in the *chiostro* whenever he wished. Giulio was required, however, to return the key every evening to the sculptor and *confratello* Santi di Michele Buglioni (1494–1576).<sup>160</sup>

Something untoward may have happened while Giulio was drawing in the space. By early April the Scalzo appears to have had second thoughts about entrusting the keys to artists, and they wrote to the prince proposing a variation in the management of the keys. They recommended that these should not be entrusted to the artists, but rather that the *confratello* Santi Buglioni would unlock the door each time the artists wished to visit and then lock it when they had finished. The prince, however, – perhaps not wishing

to lose face after having promised Giulio the keys – replied in his rescript written directly on the letter that in his case they should continue letting him have the keys, but do as they suggested with other artists in the future.<sup>161</sup> He furthermore suggested that they advise the artist to behave appropriately (“portarsi bene”) and not to trace the frescoes (“dilucidare le pitture”),<sup>162</sup> then a widespread and problematic practice.<sup>163</sup> This suggests that either Giulio or some other artist before had traced the paintings, causing some concern over their treatment and preservation.

In July of the same year, the prince was mentioned in a new request for the keys, this time by the painter Camillo di Marco. The Scalzo consulted with the prince, who, according to the record, agreed with the decision of the confraternity as he sent the letter back without variations (“tornò come noi volevamo che dicie non altro”). Since the document does not state the content of this decision, it is impossible to say if Camillo’s application was refused or if he was granted access according to the procedure decided on 6 April, that is, without giving him the keys.<sup>164</sup>

The Scalzo, or at least certain members of the Scalzo, continued to demonstrate reluctance toward the invasion of their privacy. At a meeting of October 1574, they voted that the prohibition of 1558 should be written on a panel and placed above the alms box, which may have been kept next to the governor’s desk, in the oratory, a highly visible location.<sup>165</sup> They then included it in the new statutes drawn up in 1579, though with slightly altered wording, stopping short of ‘prohibition’ and suggesting a softening of policy;<sup>166</sup> now the brothers were not to lend the keys nor permit

<sup>158</sup> I have been unable to identify this “Giulio fiammingo”.

<sup>159</sup> Appendix I, no. 31a (“The governor of the company will accommodate him when he wants to study since his merit makes him worthy of such assistance”).

<sup>160</sup> Appendix I, no. 32.

<sup>161</sup> Appendix I, no. 33.

<sup>162</sup> Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, Turin 1961–2002, IV, p. 455, “3. Pitt. Lucidare”.

<sup>163</sup> On this aspect, see Linda Freeman Bauer, “A Letter by Barocci and the Tracing of Finished Paintings”, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVIII (1986), pp. 355–357.

<sup>164</sup> Appendix I, no. 34.

<sup>165</sup> Appendix II, no. 5. The location of the alms box is suggested by a late inventory (drawn up in 1783): ASF, Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, 44, no. 53.

<sup>166</sup> Appendix II, no. 6.

anyone to draw in the cloister unless the confraternity had first voted upon it. The vote was to be held with a minimum of thirty *confratelli* (usually a minimum of twenty-four was required) and a two-thirds majority had to approve it. The Scalzo's servant was to be present at the meeting to arrange suitable times, and the access was restricted to a month. The publication of the decree in such a prominent location and its eventual inclusion in the statutes suggests that certain members needed reminding that they could not let people in of their own volition.

Following the two requests made in 1568, no formal application was recorded for over forty years, and it would initially seem that the prohibition was a resounding success in keeping artists out of the *chiostro*. Quite the opposite might be true. The most voluminous evidence of artists frequenting the Scalzo is a series of documents that have nothing to do with applying to draw from the frescoes. Instead, they relate to the legacy of the wool-worker Giovanni di Matteo called Il Chiocciola. According to his will of 14 August 1527, Giovanni left a house to the Scalzo, which the confraternity would be able to let following the deaths of his wife and another woman who were living there. The revenue was to be divided between the confraternity (one third) and Giovanni's heirs, his brother's two sons and their descendants (two thirds). The confraternity was renting out the house

by 1545, though initially without the family's approval.<sup>167</sup> Family members, who eventually acquired the surname Mandriani, were collecting their money by about 1569, usually in August and September.<sup>168</sup> Some were unable to write and required someone else to write the declaration that they had received their money in the *libri dei ricevuti* – and it is here that our artists make their otherwise invisible presence felt.<sup>169</sup>

I have identified about 384 receipts signed on behalf of the Mandriani between 1569 and 1669; in 127 cases the person wrote more than one declaration on the same day. The selection of the people to write the declarations appears to be rather casual. Occasionally a *confratello* signed, likely acting as the confraternity's servant, especially in later years.<sup>170</sup> The mason Giovanni di Francesco del Frizzi made a declaration for the Mandriani on 1 August 1599, about three weeks before he became a *confratello* (24 August 1599).<sup>171</sup> Giovanni Bondi, who had made a cabinet for under the altar in 1628,<sup>172</sup> appears to have been a *confratello* when he signed for the Mandriani on 15 August 1643.<sup>173</sup> More often than not, however, it seems that non-members signed. Sometimes these people happened to be present for other business when they were called upon to write the receipt. This was the case for the wood-worker Simone di Francesco da Gagliano, who wrote a declaration for the Mandriani on 4 August 1570. On the same folio, though dated to the following day,

<sup>167</sup> ASF, CRSPL, I191, unnumbered sheets; *ibidem*, I190, unnumbered sheets; *Raccolta di notizie* (note 26), letter C, no. 14.

<sup>168</sup> ASF, CRSPL, I208:54, fol. 22r.

<sup>169</sup> They appear in the Scalzo receipt books *ibidem*, I208:54 and I209:55. The receipt written by Cristofano Allori provides an example for how the receipts were formulated: “Io Michele di Antonio Mandriani popolo di Santa Bridgida a Cologne ho ricevuto questo dì 16 di novembre lire ventisei e soldi cinque il quali sono per me e per Antonio di Piero e per Bastiano di Marco i quali sono per l'obbligo dell'an[n]o 1596 et io Christofano d'Allessandro Allori ho fatto la presente a' preghi del detto e per non sapere lui scrivere” (*ibidem*, I209:55, fol. I4v).

<sup>170</sup> Tommaso di Polito Mazzei (occupation described as “rimette le tele di drappi”), who joined in 1640, signed on 8 September 1653, 15 August and 4 October 1654, 24 August and 8 September 1655, 15 August 1656,

and 24 August 1657 (*ibidem*, fol. 246v, 247v, 248r, 250r, 252r, 254r). He noted his role as confraternity servant in several of these records (*ibidem*, fol. 247v and 252r). Giusto di Girolamo Giustini also signed for the Mandriani on various occasions: on 24 August 1646, 25 August 1647, 15 August 1648, and 8 September 1648 (*ibidem*, fol. 232r, 234v, 237v, 238r). For salary payments to him for being the servant, see *ibidem*, fol. 233r, 235v, 236r, 237r (December 1646, November 1647, February 1648, May 1648).

<sup>171</sup> ASF, CRSPL, I209:55, fol. 20v; *ibidem*, I195:15, fol. 22r. His father and brother were already members (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 409, nos. 179, 181).

<sup>172</sup> ASF, CRSPL, I209:55, fol. 139, 6 February 1628.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 219v–220r. He paid fees on 29 March 1643 (*ibidem*, I204:42, fol. 300r).

he recorded that he collected money for producing an “adornamento” for a crystal cross and a table for the confraternity officers.<sup>174</sup> Emilio Bamberini signed for one of the Mandriani on 31 August 1622, immediately below a receipt in which he collected money for providing torches for the procession of the Stendardo di San Filippo.<sup>175</sup> Fra Diodato Amadeo dei Servi signed declarations for the Mandriani on 24 August 1647 and on the same page (though under the date 21 September 1647) he acknowledged payment for providing various services, including a mass for the Mandriani.<sup>176</sup> Generally, though, the person writing the declaration did not sign anything else in the receipt book in close proximity to the declaration, and this is the case with a group of individuals of particular interest for the current discussion: the artists.

At least fifty of the declaration writers were artists, primarily painters, though there were also a sculptor and a goldsmith. Some of the painters wrote multiple declarations, either on the same day or separate days; in total, they signed nearly ninety times for the Mandriani. Consequently, their combined contribution is more than a quarter of the total receipts written for the Mandriani over the period; the majority of them date to the years until 1637. Appendix III comprises the names of the artists who signed for the Mandriani, the day on which they signed, and how many times (if they signed more than once at the same day). While several of these artists later became Scalzo *confratelli*, they were not members at the time they signed for the Mandriani. I argue that they were approached to write the receipts as they happened to be drawing in the cloister at the time.

These documents add substantially to our knowledge of who was studying the frescoes, particularly for

a period where the applications recorded in the *Libri di partiti e ricordi* become very sparse. The artists occasionally included their occupation when they signed; however, among those lacking such a specification some are easier to recognise than others. Among the lesser-known artists, some can be securely or tentatively identified by comparison with the lists of members of the Accademia del Disegno, while others have been identified, admittedly, by pure luck. Thus, it is certainly possible that other artists signed for the Mandriani but have not been included in Appendix III, especially foreigners, because of difficulties in recognising them. There is, for example, a Luca Sturm who signed on 4 August 1585<sup>177</sup> – the same day that Andrea Boscoli was present. Similarly, on 6 August 1581, when the painters Giovanni Balducci and Cesare Veli (1560/65–after 1640) were present and signed for the Mandriani, signatures by a Francesco di Niccolò Casini and a Bastiano Santini are also registered.<sup>178</sup> Furthermore, it is possible that among those signing (but not included in the Appendix) were *intendenti*, art connoisseurs and appreciators, admirers of Andrea del Sarto’s work; this applies especially to a number of people with noble surnames, such as Giovanni di Francesco dell’Antella<sup>179</sup> and Oliviero di Francesco Mellini.<sup>180</sup> I suspect, though, that the *intendenti* were proportionately fewer than the painters, due to the longer time that the latter’s drawing activity would require.

The first painter to write a receipt was a Cosimo di Ser Francesco Ricchi, in 1573, followed four years later by a pupil of Alessandro Allori, Giovanni Bizzelli (ca. 1550–1607). The Mandriani declarations testify to the presence of at least twelve artists in the cloister in the 1580s, including Giovanni Balducci twice in 1581, Gregorio Pagani (1559–1605) in 1582, Cosimo Gam-

<sup>174</sup> *Ibidem*, 1208:54, fol. 24r. He joined the confraternity in 1588 (O’Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 413, no. 213).

<sup>175</sup> ASE, CRSPL, 1209:55, p. 136. Although they appear together on the same page, it seems that there are two months between the records.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 235r.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibidem*, 1208:54, fol. 54r.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 41v–42r.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibidem*, 1209:55, fol. Iv, 24 August 1592.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibidem*, 1208:54, fol. 64r, 15 August 1588; possibly the same individual who ordered a sepulchre for his family in Santa Croce: www.

berucci (1562–1621) in 1582, and Andrea Boscoli in July and August 1585. By October 1586 it appears that this activity was being undertaken with support, both literally and metaphorically, from the confraternity. The Scalzo paid for the transport of five *palchetti* from a woodworker, to serve “for those who draw”, and for the transport of wood for making further *palchetti* (or finishing the aforementioned ones).<sup>181</sup> *Palchetti* can be interpreted as shelves, boards, or boxes, but in this context they would seem to be some sort of board- or desk-like structures that artists could use as a support while drawing. Another thirteen artists signed the receipt book between 1590 and 1608, including the sculptor Hans Reichle (1565/70–1642), a pupil of Giambologna, in 1593, Cosimo Daddi (1550–1630) in 1590, Cristofano Allori (1577–1621) in 1596, and Alamanno Dei (d. 1632) in 1607. All this activity in the last decades of the sixteenth century supports Bocchi’s and Borghini’s descriptions of drawing in the *chiostro* as common practice in this period.

In March 1609, some artists must have attempted to use the influence of Don Giovanni de’ Medici to access the cloister. On this occasion, however, the Scalzo rejected the application, sending a letter written by a notary to inform him of unspecified difficulties in conceding the key to the artists.<sup>182</sup> The next successful application occurred in June 1612, when Cosimo II was involved in the request of an unnamed “frate” (friar) to copy the paintings.<sup>183</sup> The Scalzo granted permission on the condition that the frescoes were not harmed (“si faccia senza ofesa delle dette pitture”), the door be left open, and the *confratelli* could come and watch what the artist was doing if they wished.

In September 1612, a Francesco Bianchi signed on behalf of the Mandriani. While the individual does not reveal his occupation, he is probably the painter Francesco Bianchi Buonavita (1593–1658), who would then have been about nineteen years old.<sup>184</sup> Baldinucci had reported that while very young (a “fanciullo”), Bianchi Buonavita made watercolour reproductions of the frescoes to demonstrate his ability to the grand duke. Cosimo II was so pleased with them that he had the boy apprenticed to Giovanni Bilivert (1585–1644).<sup>185</sup> Roberto Contini suggested that the event described by Baldinucci must have occurred when Bianchi was about sixteen or soon after, thus circa 1609.<sup>186</sup> Unless Baldinucci’s account is not entirely correct – either about Bianchi’s age or the chronology of the events –, the signature for the Mandriani would thus testify to a subsequent visit. Over the following decade, the receipts confirm the presence of other artists, such as Domenico Pugliani (1589–1658) in 1613, Cesare Dandini (1596–1657) in 1616 and 1617, and Giovanni da San Giovanni (1592–1636) in 1619.

Giovan Battista Vanni signed five times on behalf of the Mandriani: four times in 1617 (twice on an undated day in August, once on 15 August, and once on 3 September) and once in September 1618. According to Baldinucci’s *Notizie*, Vanni came to draw the frescoes at the request of Bartolomeo Gondi, and the drawings were subsequently translated in engravings by Domenico Falcini. Apparently finding the frescoes in a deplorable condition, Vanni decided to clean them.<sup>187</sup> The Scalzo’s account books confirm part of Baldinucci’s account. On 29 August 1617, the Scalzo gave the *provveditore* authority to have the frescoes

beni-culturali.eu/opere\_d\_arte/scheda/-stemma-gentilizio-della-famiglia-mellini--09-00283147/409718 (accessed on 16 December 2019).

<sup>181</sup> “A spese a dì 19 d’ottobre [1586] soldi 4 tanti pagati a uno porta che are[c]hò 5 pa[lc]hete da uno leg[n]iauolo che servono per quelli che diseg[n]iano” (ASF, CRSPL, I203:40, fol. 349v). Between 19 October and 1 November 1586, “A spesie di nostra co[m]pag[n]ia soldi 8 per portare unio leg[n]io per fare le pa[l]cette de[l] cortille” (*ibidem*).

<sup>182</sup> Appendix I, no. 35.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 36.

<sup>184</sup> The lack of the second part of his surname, Buonavita, in the record is not unusual: Roberto Contini, “Francesco Bianchi Buonavita, ‘primo giovane’ del Bilivert”, in: *Annali della Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell’Arte Roberto Longhi*, II (1989), pp. 71–99: 73.

<sup>185</sup> Baldinucci (note 19), IV, p. 312.

<sup>186</sup> Contini (note 184), p. 74.

<sup>187</sup> Baldinucci (note 19), IV, p. 547.



17 Dietrich Krüger after Andrea del Sarto,  
*Baptism of the people*, 1617.  
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,  
Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-H-M-85

cleaned. A month later, on 1 October, the Scalzo paid the servant for having assisted and watched over the cleaning, and for bread and wine bought as a “cortesia”. Vanni is identified as the cleaner by the payment of fifty-six lire on 18 February 1618.<sup>188</sup> Considering he is already recorded in the space before the middle of August, it is possible, as Baldinucci suggested, that he did instigate the cleaning, though Vanni was only about seventeen and a half at the time. His father, the goldsmith Orazio Vanni, had been a Scalzo member since March 1592<sup>189</sup> and may have helped him both to get access to the space and obtain the commission for the cleaning. The entry describing the payment also attributed a role in organising the commission to Vanni’s teacher Jacopo da Empoli. Although Baldi-

nucci described the work as being carefully executed, neither taking or adding anything from the originals, Richa lamented the results of this cleaning in his *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*.<sup>190</sup>

The engravings that Baldinucci claimed Domenico Falcini produced after Vanni’s drawings do not appear to have been identified in any art collection. However, precisely in the year 1617, Dietrich Krüger produced the aforementioned series of engravings after the narrative scenes (Fig. 17) and the four virtues. Originally from Hamburg, Krüger was still in Nuremberg in 1614 and, after stays in Bologna and Florence, arrived in Rome in 1618.<sup>191</sup> An undated engraving of two plates after another fresco by Andrea del Sarto, the *Last Supper* in the convent of San Salvi, provides a link between Falcini and Krüger.<sup>192</sup> On the right sheet, at the far right, Krüger has signed “Teodoro Cruger sculp.” and acknowledged the invention as by Andrea del Sarto. The left sheet bears a dedication to the archbishop of Florence Alessandro Marzi Medici by Domenico Falcini, suggesting that he was acting as publisher. This raises the question whether Falcini had originally intended to publish a set of prints of the Scalzo frescoes, perhaps engaging Krüger to produce the engravings from Vanni’s drawings. It seems unlikely that two complete sets would have been realised within the same years; printing projects were expensive, requiring a certain layout of capital.<sup>193</sup> However, Falcini’s name does not appear on Krüger’s engravings after the Scalzo prints, nor did he name a Baptist cycle in his request for protection of his engravings drawn up in 1618, where he listed prints created in the past and currently in production.<sup>194</sup> Further research into the relationship between Krüger and Falcini seems warranted to settle the question.

<sup>188</sup> Appendix I, no. 37.

<sup>189</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 416, no. 233.

<sup>190</sup> Richa (note 25), VII, p. 209.

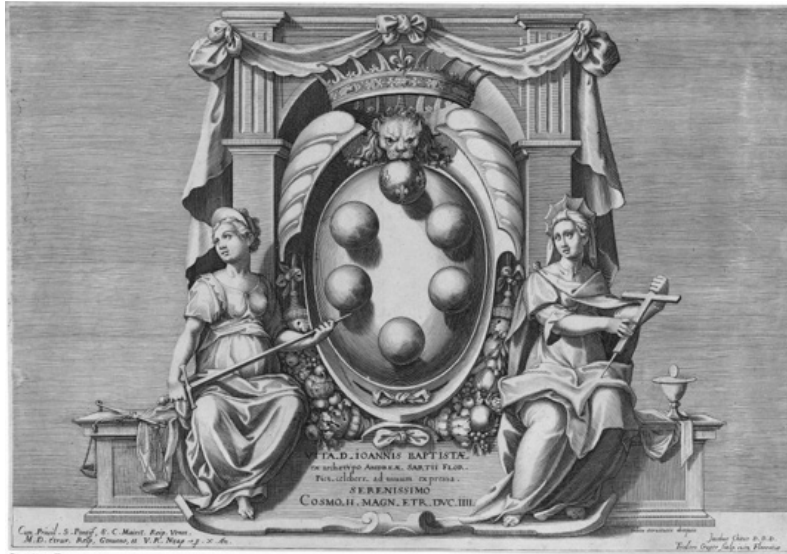
<sup>191</sup> Irene Haberland, s. v. Krüger [Crüger; Kruger], Dietrich [Theodor], in: *The Dictionary of Art* (note 122), XVIII, p. 476.

<sup>192</sup> Hollstein (note 66), VI, p. 176, no. 4. An impression of the print is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-II15.771.

<sup>193</sup> Bury (note 62), pp. 44–46.

<sup>194</sup> Eckhard Leuschner, “The Printing Privilege in Tuscany: Falcini, the Florimis and Callot”, in: *Print Quarterly*, XXV (2008), pp. 243–254.

18 Dietrich Krüger,  
title plate of the series  
*Life of Saint John  
the Baptist* after  
Andrea del Sarto  
and Franciabigio,  
1617. Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
Rijksprentenkabinet,  
inv. RP-P-H-M-79



At any rate, eventually it was Jacopo Chiti – bookseller and a very active Scalzo *confratello*<sup>195</sup> – who printed Krüger’s Scalzo series, as can be gleaned from his name on the dedicatory page (Fig. 18). With a letter of 24 March 1618 Cosimo Baroncelli sent Don Giovanni de’ Medici some prints after Andrea’s Scalzo frescoes, “che un libraio amico mio ha fatto stanpare [...], e paion mi cosa bella, e se parranno così a lei ne havrò gusto, e consolazione particolare [...]”.<sup>196</sup> It has been previously suggested that Baroncelli referred to an unknown series by Jacques Callot, but in a re-script on the letter, Don Giovanni noted that he was very pleased with the prints “che sono belli”, and he expressed his gratitude to “il libraio, cioè messere Jacopo Chiti” for them,<sup>197</sup> connecting the gifted prints securely with the Krüger engravings.

The *Raccolta di notizie* mentions another request to copy the pictures dated 27 October 1622.<sup>198</sup> It does not, however, indicate if the Medici were involved in this application, nor identify the artist. During the 1620s and 1630s the declarations written by painters on behalf of the Mandriani became less and less frequent. Nevertheless, the presence of some notable figures is still documented, such as Francesco Furini (1603–1646) in 1622 and Vincenzo Dandini (1609–1675) in 1627, 1629 and 1637.

According to Giuseppe Richa, Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici held the frescoes in such high esteem that, in 1626, he had turquoise curtains produced to protect them at his own expense.<sup>199</sup> The donation, however, was not purely altruistic. He gifted them in return for the confraternity’s permission to construct

243–245. The print after the San Salvi *Last Supper* is not mentioned either, but its date is uncertain.

<sup>195</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 413, no. 209; Dow 2017 (note 2), pp. 327, 332–341.

<sup>196</sup> ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 5147, fol. 56v. The letter has been partially published by Paulette Choné, *Jacques Callot 1592–1635*, exh. cat. Nancy 1992, Paris 1992, p. 66. Baroncelli served Don Giovanni most of his life in various roles (Roberto Cantagalli, s. v. Baroncelli, Cosimo, in: *DBI*, VI [1964], pp. 435f).

<sup>197</sup> The reference to Jacopo Chiti was previously mistranscribed as “Io ringrazio come m. Jacop Caloti”, hence the association with Callot (Choné [note 196], p. 66). The “Curator’s comments” on the British Museum website have already associated Baroncelli’s letter with Krüger’s prints ([www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1878-0914-54](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1878-0914-54) [accessed on 27 September 2021]); however, the reference to Chiti in the document was not noted.

<sup>198</sup> Appendix I, no. 38.

<sup>199</sup> Richa (note 25), VII, p. 208.



an archive above their “primo altare” (presumably above the altar in the *ingresso*).<sup>200</sup> Remarkably, the government had first refused the cardinal’s request, and only after the “Monsignor Abbate Stufa” (probably Alessandro Della Stufa, commendatory abbot of the badia of San Pietro a Ruoti) and the grand-ducal architect Giulio Parigi (himself a member, or former member, of the Scalzo) had explained the project in a confraternity meeting on 5 July 1626, the brothers finally gave their consent, only asking that he ensure to take every care “di non far danno alla compagnia”.<sup>201</sup> Given the intervention of Parigi, we can suppose that the confraternity was worried especially about possible damage to the premises during the room’s construction, with the risk to also compromise the frescoes.

The following year, the seventeen-year-old grand duke Ferdinando II de’ Medici, then still under the regency of Maria Magdalena of Austria and Christine of Lorraine, enjoyed a personal viewing of the frescoes. Amongst his expenses for August 1627 appears a payment “Al servo della compagnia dello Scalzo dove Sua Altezza vedde le Pitture uno [scudo] I”.<sup>202</sup> No record of the visit appears in the Scalzo’s books, either as an object of a vote nor as an event of specific interest; but it is unlikely that the Scalzo would have, or could have, tried to oppose a visit from the grand duke of Tuscany. The enthusiasm that various generations of the grand-ducal family held for Andrea del Sarto’s works is well recognised and documented. While the Medici acquired numerous of his

altarpieces replacing them in their original sites by copies,<sup>203</sup> one significant distinction of the Scalzo frescoes was that they could not be removed.

In May 1631, Prince Lorenzo de’ Medici requested access for an unnamed young man (“giovane”) who wished to copy the frescoes. The Scalzo gave its permission, nominating the *confratello* Lorenzo d’Orlando Gherardi to attend during the drawing sessions.<sup>204</sup> Several revisions to the rule of not handing out the keys appeared in the new statutes drawn up in the same year. A *confratello* or the servant always had to be present when an artist was drawing; a specific time limit was to be set at the meeting, but an extension could be applied for later; the keys were not to be relinquished to the artist; and the administrator, sacristans, or servant must not allow access to anyone secretly.<sup>205</sup> For the period after 1631, I could only identify four artists drawing in the cloister through the Mandriani declarations: the woodcarver Carlo di Lorenzo Galestruzzi in 1636, a painter named Giuseppe Lameta (?) in 1636, Vincenzo Dandini in 1637, and finally the painter Jacopo Tarchiani, who signed on two separate days in August 1660.

As Baldinucci recounted, Agostino Melissi produced copies of all the narratives in the cloister to translate into cartoons for the Medici tapestry workshop.<sup>206</sup> The Scalzo’s administrative books do not mention Melissi’s presence, but the production of the tapestry cartoons after the Scalzo frescoes is documented in the archive of the Guardaroba Medicea between 1665 and 1674, as is the Scalzo’s implicit

<sup>200</sup> ASF, CRSPL, II95:15, p. 173: “Ricordo come l’Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Carlo de’ Medici a di 20 di Agosto 1626, perché gl’huomini della nostra compagnia gli cederno il luogo da far la stanza per conservar le scritture, egli desideroso che le pitture del nostro chiostro si conservarsino bene, più che non si sono conservate per il passato fece tutte le tele che serviliano per coprirle azzurre, il tutto a sua spese.”

<sup>201</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 172. Parigi had joined in 1589 (O’Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 414, no. 218), but it is not certain that he was still a member in 1626. For Della Stufa see Gregorio Ferulli, *Istoria cronologica del nobile ed antico Monastero degli Angioli di Firenze [...]*, Lucca 1710, p. 205.

<sup>202</sup> ASF, Camera del Granduca, 7:7b, *Spese straordinarie del Serenissimo Gran*

*Duca dal primo di settembre 1626 a tutto agosto 1627*, fol. 33v (with gratitude to Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato for this reference).

<sup>203</sup> Silvia Meloni Trkulja, “Andrea del Sarto copista e copiato”, in: *Andrea del Sarto 1486–1530: dipinti e disegni a Firenze*, exh. cat. Florence 1986/87, Milan 1986, pp. 69–76: 69f.; Spagnolo (note 15), p. 43; Alessandro Cecchi, “Andrea del Sarto in the Medici Collections”, in: *Andrea del Sarto: The Renaissance Workshop in Action*, exh. cat. Los Angeles/New York 2015/16, ed. by Julian Brooks/Denis Allen/Xavier F. Salomon, Los Angeles 2015, pp. 152–157.

<sup>204</sup> Appendix I, no. 39.

<sup>205</sup> Appendix II, no. 7.

<sup>206</sup> Baldinucci (note 19), IV, pp. 318f.



19 Arazzeria Medicea after Agostino Melissi after Andrea del Sarto, *Birth and naming of Saint John the Baptist*. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Palazzo Pitti

permission for his presence.<sup>207</sup> Melissi's activity statements reveal that he would copy the frescoes in black and white pencil in reverse in the Chiostrò dello Scalzo, so that the eventual tapestries (Fig. 19) would appear the right way around. Back in his study, he produced coloured cartoons with larger figures than in the originals. The architecture comprising friezes and pilasters to surround the narrative scenes was his own invention, but in the panels below he included the original inscriptions explaining the scenes. Two of Melissi's reports are of particular interest. On

26 November 1666, he claimed expenses for having had two keys made to open the door of the cloister; the Scalzo gave him a third, all with the consent of the confraternity's *provveditore* and by order of the marchese Cerbone, *guardaroba generale* of the grand duke.<sup>208</sup> By the late seventeenth century, three keys were necessary to enter the cloister. On 15 September 1672, Melissi reported another expense for keys, this time for all three: the Scalzo had changed its locks following the departure of a *confratello* who held a set of keys but whose membership had been withdrawn.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Abbreviated transcriptions of Melissi's reports have been published by Meoni (note 52), III, pp. 407f., 729, 732, 734f., 736f., 740f., 743, 745f.

<sup>208</sup> Partly published *ibidem*, p. 732 (though with the date 16 November).

<sup>209</sup> Appendix I, no. 40.

### Brothers in Devotion – Brothers in Art

The Scalzo's premises were generally locked. When the meeting house was open, the confraternity may have been practising its devotions (in the broader sense) or conducting its confraternal administrative meetings. We know, however, that artists were gaining access, even in periods when no applications appear. What mechanisms enabled the artists to gain access without apparently making formal applications? The answer must lie in the membership of many artists and artisans, a significant number of whom were also enrolled in the Accademia.

Elizabeth Pilliod has rightly noted the isolation created by Giorgio Vasari's biographical methodology and the consequent loss of the complex networks of religious, social, and intellectual associations enjoyed by, and linking, Florentine artists.<sup>210</sup> The connection between artists and confraternities has been coming into greater relief in Italian art historical studies, especially in Florentine studies. While the Compagnia dello Scalzo was previously thought to have been composed only of anonymous artisans, it is now clear that many identifiable artists and artisans were members.<sup>211</sup> By referring to it as composed of "persone basse", Vasari himself contributed to the Scalzo's members as being considered largely anonymous artisans;<sup>212</sup> it must be noted, though, that his assessment may reflect personal biases, conflicts, and competitiveness that he felt in relation to certain members.<sup>213</sup> The Scalzo featured in Vasari's criticism of Andrea del Sarto, specifically in what he perceived as the painter's lack of ambition. Andrea was equally disposed to use his creative energies

for a low-class confraternity as for the French king and his court, and eventually even preferred to work for the former;<sup>214</sup> he was thus not concerned with raising his status. Ironically, precisely this 'humble' work eventually became one of the cornerstones of Andrea's fame and a major inspiration for later artists.

Renowned members of the confraternity, for the period under consideration, include Andrea del Sarto himself, Giuliano da Maiano (1432–1490), Giovanni Battista del Tasso (1500–1555), Baccio d'Agnolo (1462–1543), Jacopo da Pontormo, several members of the Parigi and Sangallo families, Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci (1559–1626), Matteo di Dionigi Nigetti (ca. 1560/70–1648), and Carlo Dolci (1616–1687).<sup>215</sup> Many Scalzo *confratelli* belonged to the artists' Compagnia di San Luca or to its later manifestation, the Accademia del Disegno.<sup>216</sup> The Scalzo benefited immensely from its artist and artisan membership: like Andrea, many members would contribute artworks and services either for financial reimbursement or as spiritual donations.<sup>217</sup>

Several of Andrea's pupils, such as Domenico Conti, Pontormo, and Pier Francesco Foschi would join the Scalzo,<sup>218</sup> while other artists who drew inspiration from Andrea's artwork also joined the Scalzo, including Jacopo del Meglio Coppi (1523–1591), Lorenzo Larciani (d. 1553), Bernardino Poccetti (1548–1612), Giovanni Caccini, and Antonio Novelli.<sup>219</sup> Various artists who first came to draw in the *chiostro* later became Scalzo members, including Pier Francesco Foschi,<sup>220</sup> Giovanni Fedini,<sup>221</sup> and Valerio Cioli.<sup>222</sup> In the later period, the goldsmith

<sup>210</sup> Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontormo, Bronzino, Allori: A Genealogy of Florentine Art*, New Haven/London 2001, pp. 81, 95.

<sup>211</sup> O'Brien 2013 (note 2).

<sup>212</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, p. 345.

<sup>213</sup> Vasari's relationship with the Scalzo *confratelli* and their representation in the *Vite* would make an interesting study. I intend to explore this elsewhere.

<sup>214</sup> Vasari (note 3), IV, pp. 366–369.

<sup>215</sup> O'Brien 2013 (note 2), *ad indicem*.

<sup>216</sup> Membership in the Accademia is noted in the footnotes for the respective *confratelli* in O'Brien 2013 (note 2).

<sup>217</sup> Dow (note 84); O'Brien (note 85); *eadem* 2013 (note 2), pp. 379–381; Dow 2014 (note 2), pp. 77–88, 93f.

<sup>218</sup> O'Brien 2013 (note 2), *ad indicem*.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>220</sup> Drawing in March 1540 (Appendix I, no. 3), he joined in February 1541 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 395, no. 82).

<sup>221</sup> Drawing in June 1556 (Appendix I, no. 29a, 29b), he joined in November 1561 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 402, no. 131).

<sup>222</sup> Drawing in June 1547 (Appendix I, no. 14), he joined on 18 November 1571 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 406, no. 158).

Leonardo di Zanobi da Gagliano signed three times for the Mandriani in 1597 and 1598, then joined the Scalzo in 1602;<sup>223</sup> Virgilio Lotti signed for the Mandriani on 15 August 1605 and joined in 1618;<sup>224</sup> and Alamanno Dei signed in 1607 and joined in 1621.<sup>225</sup> Apart from the other benefits connected to the membership, joining the Scalzo also allowed artists privileged access to view the frescoes.

Relatives, friends, and colleagues who were members of the Scalzo must have provided an important means of access, acting as intermediaries for artists that wished to enter the *chiostro*. Those in artistic or artisanal occupations may have appreciated and been more sympathetic to the desire of artists to see the frescoes and draw from them. The sculptor Santi Buglioni, a very active Scalzo *confratello*, formally applied for the keys on two occasions (1548 and 1550). The first time was for his son-in-law, probably Marco di Piero di Marco, who had married Santi's daughter Lisabetta in about 1545. The second application was for an unnamed person described as one of Santi's pupils or friends.<sup>226</sup> The barber Gismondo di Maestro Benedetto applied for his son Francesco in November 1547, and likewise the founder Zanobi di Pagno Portigiani and Francesco *facrocifissi* ("who makes crucifixes") for their unnamed sons in May 1549.<sup>227</sup> Portigiani had at least two sons who followed him into the bronze-casting trade, Fra Domenico and Girolamo.<sup>228</sup> Girolamo joined the Scalzo in 1567, apparently at the age of twenty-seven;<sup>229</sup> this would suggest that he was about nine years old in 1549. Fra Domenico, baptised Bartolomeo, was born in 1536 and would have been about

thirteen years old.<sup>230</sup> Francesco *facrocifissi* was possibly the father of Girolamo di Francesco di Mariotto de' Macchietti (1535–1592), also known as Girolamo del Crocifissaio, who would have been about fourteen years of age and had been in the workshop of Michele Tosini (Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio) since he was ten.<sup>231</sup> Macchietti is known to have used Sartesque figure types in his work.<sup>232</sup> Indeed, a drawing attributed to Macchietti that survives in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, appears to be a personal re-interpretation of Sarto's *Charity*.<sup>233</sup>

Even individuals from outside the confraternity might act as intermediaries for young family members. The mason Matteo del Brina applied in December 1545 on behalf of one of his sons;<sup>234</sup> this could be either Francesco (1529–1586) or Giovanni di Matteo del Brina (1534–1599), both pupils of Michele Tosini.<sup>235</sup> While the older brother, Francesco, seems to be the most likely candidate (the application was made three years before his entrance into the Compagnia di San Luca) both of the Scalzo scribes recording the application seem to have begun to write "Giovanni", indicating the possibility that the request was for the younger son.<sup>236</sup>

Beyond such family relations, a broad range of situations provided networks through which artists may have had connections within the Scalzo, including workshops, work sites, neighbourhoods, and other confraternities. The Accademia was no doubt an important institute through which they might have made contacts. During his stay in Florence, Federico Zuccari would have encountered there several Scalzo

<sup>223</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 419, no. 253.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 421, no. 274.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 423, no. 286.

<sup>226</sup> Appendix I, nos. 18, 22.

<sup>227</sup> Appendix I, nos. 15, 19.

<sup>228</sup> Bruno Signorelli, *s. v.* Portigiani, in: *DBI*, LXXXV (2016), [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/portigiani\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/portigiani_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (accessed on 2 July 2021).

<sup>229</sup> O'Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 403, no. 142.

<sup>230</sup> Vincenzo Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, Bologna 1878/79, II, p. 378.

<sup>231</sup> Helen Barr, *s. v.* Macchietti, Girolamo, in: *AKL*, LXXXVI (2015), pp. 120f.

<sup>232</sup> Feinberg (note 28), p. 115.

<sup>233</sup> Pen and brown ink and wash, with white, on paper washed green, 278 × 213 mm; *cfr.* [www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/268859](http://www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/268859) (accessed on 27 September 2021).

<sup>234</sup> Appendix I, no. 13.

<sup>235</sup> Alessandro Nesi, "Ombre e luci su Francesco Brina", in: *Arte cristiana*, XCIV (2006), pp. 261–276: 261f.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 261 and 269, note 9. Appendix I, no. 13.

members, including the sculptor Valerio Cioli<sup>237</sup> and the painters Giovanni Fedini<sup>238</sup> and Lorenzo Vaiani dello Sciorina (1541–1598).<sup>239</sup> Alessandro Allori, who – as we have seen – must have intensely studied the frescoes, had numerous acquaintances within the Scalzo, and he is named together with at least five *confratelli* – Francesco da Sangallo, Antonio and Stoldo di Gino Lorenzi, Zanobi Lastricati, and Francesco Camilliani<sup>240</sup> – in a list of artists promising to make donations toward the Accademia’s celebrations for the feast of San Luca in 1567.<sup>241</sup>

Masters and their workshops also would have provided useful connections. Pier Francesco Foschi was the master of Maso da San Friano,<sup>242</sup> and Bastiano da Montecarlo that of Santi di Tito.<sup>243</sup> Matteo Rosselli remains a notable exclusion from the lists of documented visitors, especially considering Baldinucci’s comments on his practice of visiting on feast days. In 1586/87 Rosselli entered the workshop of Gregorio Pagani, who strongly recommended his pupil to study Andrea’s paintings.<sup>244</sup> Although Pagani does not appear to have been a Scalzo brother, he knew how to get in: he signed for one of the Mandriani in 1582, as did another one of his students, Bastiano di Chimenti Chelli in 1599, and Pagani could have passed on his contacts to Rosselli. Another possible contact for Rosselli was Domenico Passignano (1559–1638), a member of the Accademia del Disegno since 1576 and of the Scalzo since 1596,

who would sometimes join for gatherings in Pagani’s rooms behind the Servite convent.<sup>245</sup>

Artistic collaborations were another form of network that could offer opportunities for accessing the Scalzo. Giovanni da San Giovanni signed for the Mandriani in 1619. In that same year, he was working with a group of twelve other artists on the decorations for the façade of the Palazzo dell’Antella in Piazza Santa Croce.<sup>246</sup> The project was conducted under the guidance of Giulio Parigi, though the façade’s decorative scheme was invented by Giovanni da San Giovanni, as demonstrated, in part, by his drawing in the Uffizi (Fig. 20).<sup>247</sup> Several of the artists that Baldinucci names in the group working on the façade had been, were, or would become Scalzo members. Giulio Parigi had become a Scalzo *confratello* in 1589, but it is not certain that he was still a member in 1619.<sup>248</sup> Michelangelo Cinganelli (ca. 1553–1635) and Domenico Passignano were both current members.<sup>249</sup> Filippo Tarchiani (1576–1645) joined as a novice on 25 March 1620, and Niccodemo Ferrucci (1575–1650) would join in 1626.<sup>250</sup> Thus, one of the current or former members could have helped Giovanni to visit the Scalzo, which happened to occur during the Palazzo dell’Antella façade’s planning phase. Notably, in the centre of both the design and the resulting façade decoration appears the personification of Charity, in a form that was unquestionably inspired by Andrea del Sarto’s Scalzo *Charity* (see Fig. 2, to the right of the doorway). While

<sup>237</sup> Already Accademia member by 1563 (*Gli Accademici del Disegno: elenco alfabetico*, ed. by Luigi Zangheri, Florence 2000, p. 83).

<sup>238</sup> Already Accademia member by 1568 (*ibidem*, p. 125).

<sup>239</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 408, no. 171. For the year of Sciorina’s birth, see Alessandro Nesi, *Lorenzo Vaiani dello Sciorina (1541–1598), pittore dello Studiolo*, Florence 2017, pp. I and 12, note I.

<sup>240</sup> For their membership see O’Brien 2013 (note 2), pp. 392, 399–401, nos. 65, 110f., 120, 126.

<sup>241</sup> Barzman (note 136), pp. 294f., note 137.

<sup>242</sup> Roberto Nuccetelli, s. v. Foschi, Pier Francesco, in: *DBI*, XLIX (1997), pp. 439–442: 440.

<sup>243</sup> Spalding (note 13), p. 42.

<sup>244</sup> Maria Cecilia Fabbri, s. v. Rosselli, Matteo, in: *DBI*, LXXXVIII (2017), pp. 533–537: 534.

<sup>245</sup> Novella Barbolani di Montauto, s. v. Pagani, Gregorio, in: *DBI*, LXXX (2014), [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-pagani\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-pagani_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (accessed on 27 September 2021).

<sup>246</sup> Baldinucci (note 19), IV, pp. 204–209.

<sup>247</sup> *Dessins italiens du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle du Musée des Offices de Florence / Italian XVIIth-Century Drawings from the Uffizi Gallery in Florence*, exh. cat., ed. by Gianvittorio Dillon/Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, Montreal 1986, pp. 160f.; Anna Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni, pittore della contraddizione*, Florence 1977, pp. 52f.

<sup>248</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 414, no. 218.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 413, 417, nos. 212, 243. They appear paying fees in June 1619 (Passignano only) and on 2 February 1620 (ASF, CRSPL, 1204:42, fol. 6v, 16v).

<sup>250</sup> O’Brien 2013 (note 2), pp. 422, 424, nos. 279, 298.

Giovanni da San Giovanni designed the figure, Baldinucci attributes its execution to Filippo Tarchiani.<sup>251</sup> It is conceivable, furthermore, that Tarchiani accompanied Giovanni da San Giovanni to draw in the *chiostro* and was inspired by this visit to join the confraternity.

While artists could not enter the premises at will, a *confratello* friend would have been able to navigate the right time to enter the space. Sympathetic brothers could have identified those more ‘sensitive’ times of the Scalzo’s use of the premises. They could distinguish when liturgical and para-liturgical rituals or secret confraternity business were underway and when the premises were semi-open for more mundane activities. The latter might have included when the scribe or the *camarlinghi* were doing the books or waiting on-site for people to collect payments for services rendered (candle painting, liturgy by the Servites, bread from the baker, repair jobs around the confraternity) or rent entitlements, such as that of the Mandriani. The brothers likely knew when the servant was going to be present to clean the premises, to hang or put away the paraments, arrange habits or other items. The servant was probably the most likely culprit for letting in people – artists or art appreciators – without the appropriate authorisation. More than one servant must have been caught, as the statutes of 1631 stated explicitly in the description of his role: “In no way may he bring anyone into the company, nor into our cloister to draw, and if he contravenes this rule, he must *ipso facto* be deprived of his office and sent away.”<sup>252</sup> Indeed, this may explain why Agostino Melissi had to acquire three new keys.

Initially, the perpetrators may have been careful to conceal this activity – after 1558 it should have resulted in expulsions; however, the fact that artists for whom formal applications do not exist began to sign the declarations for the Mandriani, with no apparent expulsions resulting, suggests that there was a certain degree of acceptance for this activity. It should also be



20 Giovanni da San Giovanni, project for the decoration of the Palazzo dell'Antella, detail of central part.

Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 1088 E

<sup>251</sup> Baldinucci (note 19), IV, p. 209.

<sup>252</sup> Appendix II, no. 7.

noted that, as the Mandriani usually came either in August or September, the drawing activity must have been even more extensive than what the list indicates. This suggests that some Scalzo governments were more lenient than others and willing to turn a blind eye to the non-authorised admittance of artists into the cloister, on the proviso that they behaved themselves. For these governments, the rule might have served as insurance if the artists did not behave appropriately. The prohibition may have been reiterated during periods in which stricter governments were in power, while the introduction of *palchetti* to the cloister is indicative of a time when a more sympathetic government was in place.

### Conclusion

The mechanisms utilised by artists to gain access to Andrea del Sarto's frescoes in the Chiostro dello Scalzo were more complicated and varied than has been previously suspected. This was primarily due to the meaning and function of the cloister for the owners, the Compagnia dello Scalzo, a factor that has generally been ignored: it was a semi-sacred space – a site decorated to facilitate the contemplation of death and the confraternity's patron saint. This semi-sacred nature of the cloister should be recognised when making assumptions about how and when artists could have access. The premises were locked, so it was not possible to enter them without a formal application, the assistance of a recommendation from the grand duke, or, lacking these, an inside contact willing to challenge the rules and bypass the usual process of a meeting.

The example of the Chiostro dello Scalzo should remind us that the accessibility of many celebrated

artworks in early modern Italy cannot be taken for granted, since they often were located in private or semi-private spaces. For Andrea del Sarto alone, we can name his *Last Supper* in the convent of San Salvi, his *Christ Pietà* (*Christ as Man of Sorrows*) in the convent of the SS. Annunziata in a stairwell leading to the rooms of the novices, and his frescoes depicting the *Parable of the vineyard* in the garden of the same convent. Some images may have been truly inaccessible: of Andrea del Sarto's *Christ Pietà* for example, Shearman recorded no copies, neither drawings nor prints.<sup>253</sup> Other seminal Renaissance works within the cloisters of convents include Paolo Uccello's frescoes in Santa Maria Novella or Masaccio's *Sagra* in the Carmine. Even within churches, certain areas were potentially more restricted than others, such as the areas beyond the rood screen; yet we know that artists (sometimes in groups) were drawing before Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine and Giotto's frescoes in the Peruzzi and Bardi Chapels in Santa Croce. Raphael Rosenberg has considered the accessibility of Michelangelo's sculptures in San Lorenzo's New Sacristy. Ottaviano de' Medici reappears there as an enabler to accessing the space, and Pierfrancesco Riccio secured control of the keys to the sacristy from the priests.<sup>254</sup> The New Sacristy served the Accademia del Disegno for a brief time as a meeting place.<sup>255</sup>

Similar problems arise with sites beyond Florence. In Milan, a major source of inspiration and fascination for generations of artists and *intendenti* was Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* – yet it was located in a non-public space, the refectory of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie. In Rome, the same applies to Michelangelo's frescoes in the pope's private chapels of the Vatican, the Sistine Chapel and the Pauline

<sup>253</sup> Shearman (note 7), II, p. 244. One exception can be named: Pier Francesco Foschi painted an *Angel Pietà* for Santa Chiara at San Miniato al Tedesco (1562) (see Alessandro Nesi, *Pierfrancesco Foschi: gli anni estremi [1562–1567]*, Florence 2020, fig. 1), in which the figure of Christ is clearly inspired by Andrea del Sarto's fresco. Foschi, however, was one of Andrea's students.

<sup>254</sup> Raphael Rosenberg, "Artists as Beholders: Drawings after Sculptures as a Medium and Source for the Experience of Art", in: *The Beholder: The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Thomas Frangenberg, Aldershot 2006, pp. 103–122: 104f.

<sup>255</sup> Barzman (note 136), pp. 51f.

Chapel, or to Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Stanze, including his *School of Athens*. Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* had the reputation of being a school to young artists. Giovanni Battista Armenini reminisced on how, when he was younger, he drew before the *Last Judgement* and would listen to others making "subtle disputations" – to the point of distraction – on the most trifling details in the painting.<sup>256</sup> As with the Scalzo, contemporary accounts such as these, together with reproductive drawings and engravings, can give the impression of easily visited spaces; but as Bernardine Barnes has observed, the Sistine Chapel was not normally accessible by the general public. Barnes recognises that artists could gain admittance even without attending papal ceremonies;<sup>257</sup> the question remains how. Cardinals and other high-ranking members of the religious hierarchy as well as powerful noblemen, desiring copies after Michelangelo's frescoes, may have facilitated the entrée of certain artists through their own networks.<sup>258</sup> Indeed, letters of recommendation were an important means to enable artists in accessing artworks in private spaces.<sup>259</sup>

The case of the Chiostrò dello Scalzo shows how archival research may shed new light on the different

ways by which artists could get admission to secluded religious spaces. Surviving administrative books that report on various activities occurring in these spaces can provide important clues, sometimes under surprising circumstances, through which a more nuanced understanding of mechanisms of access can be acquired. Unlike most of the surviving drawings, such documentary evidence can even indicate when a specific artist was present. As demonstrated by the current study, not only could procedures for accessibility to a site change over time, but the type of archival material providing evidence of artistic activity could also vary.

*The Florentine year began on 25 March. As a consequence, early modern documents dating between 1 January and 24 March usually recorded the previous year date. All dates mentioned in this article have been adjusted to the modern reckoning (except within the documents themselves). I would like to extend my gratitude to Robert Gaston (who has read various versions of this paper) as well as Edward Goldberg, Luke Morgan, and Elizabeth Pilliod for their insightful comments on an early draft of this article, and to Samuel Vitali and Massimo Procacci for their observations on the final text.*

<sup>256</sup> Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting [...]*, ed. by Edward J. Olszewski, New York 1977, p. 134.

<sup>257</sup> Bernardine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century*, Farnham 2010, pp. 29f.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 99f.

<sup>259</sup> For a documented example of such a letter, see the one by Cesare Rinaldi for a visitor to the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna, re-published by Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: vite de pittori bolognesi*, Bologna 1678, I, p. 397.



Orthography and punctuation of the documents have been generally maintained. To facilitate reading, abbreviations are written out in full, capitalization has been adapted to modern usage, strongly misspelled words have been corrected by inserting missing letters in square brackets, conjoined words have been separated, and accents and full stops at the end of the sentences added. In cases of difficult legibility, the proposed reading is printed in grey. Uncertain expansion of abbreviations is indicated by round brackets, text written above the line by \. . ./.

### I. Documents from the Books of the Company of the Scalzo Regarding Visitors to the Cloister

As decreed in the statutes, the confraternity made decisions in a two-tiered process. Firstly, the governor and his counsellors would vote on the item of business. If there was a positive outcome, the matter was then considered and voted on in corpo di compagnia, that is, by all the attending confratelli. Votes were made by casting black beans (pro) and white beans (contro). The results or the motions passed were entered into the two sets of Libri di partiti e ricordi, one held by the provveditore, the other by the scrivano.<sup>260</sup> We thus often find two records for the same application; however, they can potentially hold distinct information that might be essential.

1. 3 May 1534. Unidentified artist, Duke Alessandro de' Medici acting as intermediary

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 8v

[In margin:] Partito di p[re]stare le chiave

Richordo q[u]esto dì 3 di maggio chome per nostro Padre Governatore e sua chonsiglieri [h]a[n]no vinto a descho per 3 fave nere e poi in chorpo di chompagnia per fave 38 nere che si prestasi le chia[ve] a uno pitore per ritrare le nostre figure de' chiostri el quale è mandato dall'ecielenzia del ducha nostro de' Medici.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 11r

Questo dì 3 di maggio 1534 el nostro Padre Governatore co[n] sua consiglieri veri e non chiamati [h]anno vinto a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in corpo di compagnia per 38 fave nere c[h]e si presti le c[h]iave a un pittore per ritrarre le figure de' c[h]iostri el quale è mandato dall'ecenzio [dall'eccellenza] del ducha de' Medici. Èssi fatto detto partito a[I] tenpo di Giuliano del Chonte chovernatore c[ir]oè la prima mattina.

<sup>260</sup> See ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 17r–v (statutes of 1579); *ibidem*, 152:I, fol. 5v (statutes of 1631); O'Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 366, esp. note 28. The title page of ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, indicates that this was the book used by the *provveditore*, suggesting that volume ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, was also held by the *provveditore*, and that ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, was used by the *scrivano*.

2. 16 June 1538. Unidentified person, Ottaviano de' Medici acting as intermediary<sup>261</sup>

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 25r

[In margin:] Le chiave dela logia

Anchora in deta matina vinsono per 12 fave nere [c]he si dovese dare le [c]hiave dela logia di nostra [c]ho[m]pagnia a mesere Otaviano de' Medici per far v[en]irne uno suo ami[c]ho.

3. 7 March 1540. Pier Francesco Foschi

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 31v

[In margin:] Perché possa venire a ritrarre

Ricordo questo dì detto in nel detto modo vinsano a descho per 3 fave nere che Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro dipintore possa stare a ritrarre nella nostra cortte a ritrarre delle nostre figure e possa avere le chiave per 4 o 6 volte tanto ritraghe quello. Quale per 31 fave nere e 8 bianche.

4. 16 May 1540. Raffaello di Sebastiano Compagni, painter<sup>262</sup>

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 35r

Ricordo a dì 16 detto come el nostro Padre Gove[r]nattore e sua consiglieri veri vi[n]sono a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in corpo di compagnia per fave 48 nere e 14 bianc[h]e c[h]e si desi la c[h]iave dela prima portta a Rafaelo di Bast[i]ano di Compagni dipintore per ritrare una figura ..... ebele.

5. 15 May 1541. Silvio di Giovanni Battista, goldsmith

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 41v

[In margin:] Partito di cho[n]cedere la chiave per disegnare

E a dì 15 deto si vi[n]se uno partito che Silvo di Giovabattista orafo si vi[n]se per fave nere ve[n]t[i]zete e non è igniuna biancha che deto Silvo posa venire nel nostro cheoustro a disegnare e che Gismo[n]do di maestro Benedeto abi a tenere la chiave e venirgli aprire e ser[ra]lo i[n] deto chuostro e venirgli aprire chua[n]do lui a[v]rà disegnato cioè la matina e la sera e [cancelled: cioè a fare da] deto Gismo[n]do s'i[n]te[n]da raso sa[n]za altro partito fare.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 26v

Anchora in detta mattina si vinse uno partito che Silvio di Giovanni Batista horafo si vinse per fave ven[ti]ze[re] tutte nere

<sup>261</sup> Considering Ottaviano's recognised friendships with artists, it is possible that the "friend" mentioned in the document was an artist.

<sup>262</sup> The painter Raffaello di Sebastiano Compagni appears in the books of the Accademia del Disegno between 1568 and 1593 (*Gli Accademici* [note 237], p. 88).

che detto Sillvio posa venire a disegnare nella nostra cho[m]pagnia per insino a tutto luglio prosimo a venire 1541 e che Gismondo di maestro Benedetto abia a tenere la chiave.

6. 19 June 1541. Ottaviano de' Medici is given the key "to be able to copy the scenes"

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 41v

[In margin:] Parti[er]o dela chiave

E adì 19 deto [giugno] si vi[n]se uno partito a descho per tre fave nere e di poi i[n] chorpo di cho[m]pagnia per fave nere ve[n]titré e una bia[n]cha che e' si desi la chiave dela prima porta a mesere Otaviano per potere disegnare le storie del chioistro.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 27r

Anchora in detta mattina si vinse uno partito che il messere Ottaviano de' Medici gli sia chonceduto la chiave dell chioistro.

7. 18 September 1541. Bartolomeo da Urbino, painter<sup>263</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 43r

[In margin:] Di dare la chiave

E a di 18 deto si vi[n]se fra nostro Padre Gchovernatore [sic] e suo' onorevoli cho[n]siglieri per tre fave nere che e' si desi la chiavia dela prima porta a Bartolomeo da Urbino p[er] venire a dipigniere e di poi a[n]dò i[n] chorpo di cho[m]pagnia e vi[n]sesi cho[n] fave nere ve[n]tizei e sete bia[n]che.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 28r

E a di 18 di sete[m]bre vi[n]sono e[st] nostro Padre Govenatore co[n] sua co[n]siglieri e co[r]po di co[m]pagnia che si dia la c[hi]ave dela co[m]pagnia per venire a disegnare [a] Ba[r]tolomeo da Ur[b]ino dipintore per fave nere 26 e b[i]a[n]che 7.

8. 24 May 1543. Unidentified artist, Ottaviano de' Medici acting as intermediary

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 56v

[In margin:] Pa[r]titto di prestare chiave

Richordo in detta mattina si prestasi le chiave a uno maestro d'Ottaviano de' Medici per disegnare.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 38r

Ricordo come i[n] deta matina si vinse c[h]e e' si prestasi le c[h]iave a uno ma[n]dato d'Ataviano de' Medici per disegnare co [sic].

9. 5 August 1543. Unidentified painter from Lucca

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 57r

[In margin:] Di prestare le chiave

Richordo come in detta mattina si vinse a descho che uno dipintore venisi a disegnare in chompagnia.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 38v

Ricordo chome i[n] deta matina si vinse a descho c[h]e uno dipintore Luc[ch]ese venisi a disegnare nella co[m]pagnia co[n] 3 fave nere.

10. 5–8 September 1544. Piero di Bartolomeo, painter

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 61v (dated 8 September)

[In margin:] Partito di prestare le chiave

E a di detto si vinnse uno partito per 25 fave nere e dua bianche che si prestasi le chiave dela nostra chompagnia a Piero di Bartolomeo dipi[n]tore che lui potesi venire a ritrare per tutto dicembre detto.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

Vi[n]sesi a di 5 di setembre i[n] chorpo di cho[m]pagnia per 25 fave nere e 2 bian[c]he che si prestasi la [c]hiave del'u[s]c[i]o di nostra choo[m]pagnia [sic] a Piero di Bartolome[o] dipi[n]tore potesi venire a disegnare per tutto il tempo del nostro Padre Chovernatore.

11. 25 July 1545. A Netherlandish or French painter named "Luigi" (Lodewijk?)

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 65r

[In margin:] Di prestare le chiave

E più si vinse in deta matina all segio per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chonpagnia per 28 fave nere che Luigi fiandrescho dipintore posa [cancelled: a] avere le chiave di nosttra chonpagnia per venire a disegnare nell chiaisttro per tuto ell tempo dell sedente Gove[r]natore.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

[In margin:] Partito di potere prestare le chiave

Anchora si vinse in decta mactina per il seggio e di poi in chorpo di nostra chompagnia per fave 28 tucte nere che Luigi fiandiescho dipintore possa avere la chiave di nostra chompagnia per venire a disegnare nel chioistro e ritrarre di quelle storie a suo bene placito e abbi a venire solo in decto locho.

<sup>263</sup> Possibly Bartolomeo di Girolamo Genga (see above, p. 232).

12. 16 August 1545. Bastiano di Piero Biondi

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 66v

[In margin:] Di prestare la chiave

Richordo chome in deta matina si vinse a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chonpagnia per 28 fave nere e 7 bianche che Bastiano di Piero Biondi posa avere la chiave per venire a disegnare nell nostro chiostrto per tuto ell tempo dell sedente Governatore.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

[In margin:] Partito per potere prestare le chiave

Richordo chome in decta mactina si vinse prima per il seggio e di poi in corpo di chompagnia per fave 28 nere e 7 bianche che Bastiano di Piero Biondi possa avere la chiave del chiostrto di nostra chompagnia per disegnare di quelle storie a suo piacere per tucto il tempo che siede il nostro ghovernatore cioè Raffaello Allori e tanto si vinse in decta mactina.

13. 6 December 1545. Son of Matteo del Brina, mason at the Innocenti, his father acting as intermediary<sup>264</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 68r

[In margin:] Di prestare la chiave

E più si vinse in deta matina per ill seggio per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo per 28 nere e u[na] bianca che si prestti la chiave a[1] figliuolo di Gia[n] Mateo muratore ne' Nocenti per tuto e[1] loro tempo.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E più si vinse in decta mactina prima per il seggio e di poi in corpo di nostra compagnia per fave 28 nere e una bianca che si prestti la chiave al figliuolo di [cancelled or blotted: gi] Mactio del Brina muratore nelli Innocenti.

14. 29 June 1547. Valerio Cioli

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 75r

Rachordo chome sotto di 29 giugno 1547 si vinse per il nostro Padre Ghovernatore ed i sua chonsiglieri uno partito e di poi in chorpo di nostra chonpagnia per fave ventiquattro nere e

quattro bianche che Valerio di Simone C[i]oli posa avere la chiave del chiostrto di nostra chonpagnia per quindici di prosimi a venire per potere ritrare e disegnare di quelle istorie chome apare per lla poliza.<sup>265</sup>

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

Richordo chome socto di 29 di giugno 1547 si vinse per il nostro Padre Ghovernatore e lle sua chonsiglieri uno partito et di poi in corpo di nostra chompagnia per fave ventiquattro nere e quattro bianche che Valerio di Simone C[i]oli possa avere la chiave del chiostrto di nostra chompagnia per quindici di prossimi a venire per potere ritrare e disegnare di quelle storie chome appare per la poliza.

15. 30 November 1547. Francesco, son of Gismondo di Benedetto, his father acting as intermediary<sup>266</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 75v

E a di detto si vinse a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chonpagnia per 29 fave nere e 3 bianche che Gismondo di maestro Benedetto abia avere le chiave della chonpagnia per Francesco suo figliuolo per potere disegnare e ritrare le figure di nostra chonpagnia.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E a di detto si vinse a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chonpagnia per 29 fave nere e 3 bianche che Gismondo di maestro Benedetto barbiere abbia avere le chiave della chonpagnia per Francescho suo figliuolo per potere disengnare e ritrarre le figure di nostra chonpagnia.

16. 20 May 1548. Domenico di Bartolomeo, painter<sup>267</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 77r

[In margin:] Partito di chiave

E più si vinse che Domenicho pitore avesi per di 15.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E più si vinse per 25 nere e 10 bianche dare la chiave a Domenicho di Bartolomeo pittore per di 15.

<sup>264</sup> For discussion of the identity of Matteo del Brina's son, see above, p. 243.

<sup>265</sup> Sebregondi (note 6), p. 461, note 26, cited this document in passing.

<sup>266</sup> The barber Gismondo di Benedetto was himself a Scalzo member; see above, no. 5, and O'Brien 2013 (note 2), p. 394, under no. 79.

<sup>267</sup> Possibly the Domenico di Bartolomeo *dipintore* who joined the Scalzo in December 1531 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 390, no. 54). He can perhaps be identified with Domenico di Bartolomeo Malfetta or

Malfeti, who enrolled in the Compagnia de' Pittori in 1525 and 1537 and was buried in the Accademia del Disegno's sepulchre on 6 April 1583 (ASF, Accademia del Disegno, 26, fol. 32v; Louis A. Waldman, "Bad Painting' in Renaissance Florence: Domenico di Bartolomeo, called Malfetta, Painter and Art Dealer", in: *Source*, XXIII [2003], I, pp. 34–38). However, the commonness of the name and the patronymic makes it impossible to be certain that the *confratello* and the visitor were the same individual.

17. 19 August 1548. Piero di Marco, goldsmith

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 78r

[In margin:] Chiave

E in detta mattina a dì 19 d'agosto si prestò la chiave a Piero di Marchone orafo choll partitto.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

Per 51 fave nere e per bianche due si prestì la c[h]iave per uno mese a Piero di Marcho orafo chon tutte le cirimonie.

18. 7 October 1548. Son-in-law of Santi Buglioni, the latter acting as intermediary<sup>268</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 80r

[In margin:] chiave

E in detta mattina si vinse che si desi la chiave del chiostro a Santti ischulttore per suo gienero per ttempo del segio per ttutto diccienbre.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E a dì decto si vinse per le medesime fave [25 nere e una bianca] che si dessi le chiave de' c[h]iostri a Santi di Michele scultore per tutto questo governo disse per el suo genero.

19. 19 May 1549. Sons of Zanobi di Pagno Portigiani<sup>269</sup> and Francesco facrocifissi, their fathers acting as intermediaries

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 82r

[In margin:] Chiave

E in detta mattina vinsano che si prestasi la chiave del giostro a[l] figliuolo di Zanobi di Pagnio e al figliuolo di Fra[nc]e-[sc]o Fachrocifesi per tempo del segio.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

Ancora si vinse che e' potesino avere le chiave de[l] chiostr[er]o per ritrare le figure de[l] detto, forno tucte nere non i(stante).

20. 8 September 1549. Unidentified artist

ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

Ricordo come si vense ancora che e' si dessi le chiave del chiostro per ritrarre quelle figure e forno tucte nere.

21. 20 July 1550. Girolamo di Martino, goldsmith

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 85r

[In margin:] Chiave

E più se vinse che Girolamo di Martino orafo avesi la chiave per tutto el tempo del governo di Pieruccio.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E più se n'è vincto che Girolamo di Martino orafo possa avere le chiave del chiostro per tutto e[l] tempo del seggio presente.

22. 1 November 1550. Friend or student of Santi Buglioni, the latter acting as intermediary

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 86r

[In margin:] Le chiave

E in detta mattina si vinse el partitto che Santti di Michele ischulttore avesi le chiave per ritrare le fi[g]ure del chiostro per uno suo alievo.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E in detta compagnia si vinse ancora che Santi di Mic[h]ele iscultore per uno suo amico avessi la chiave della casa per ritrare le dette figure ..... ebe.

23. 22 March 1551. Vincenzo di Filippo di Bartolomeo

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 87v

[In margin:] La chiave de[l] chiostro

E più si vi[n]se nela presente matina ne' modi cho[n]sueti che Vicezo di Filipo di Bartollomeo abi la chiave de[l] chiostro per potere venire a disegnare e tenerla e[l] tempo de[l] seg[gi]o presente vi[n]sesi per fave 46 nere e 4 bia[n]che.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E più si vi[n]se nela presente matina e ne' modi cho[n]sueti che Vigenzo di Filipo di Bartolomeo abi la chiave de[l] ghiostro per venire a disegnare per tenerla per tempo de[l] seg[gi]o presente vi[n]sesi per fave 46 nere e 4 bia[n]che.

<sup>268</sup> Allan Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, Princeton 1921, p. xxxiv, named two of Buglioni's daughters, Lisabetta Caterina and Maria, but he identified a husband only for the latter. Maria was married to Jacopo Fortini, but as she was born in 1538, she would have been barely ten in 1548. Buglioni's other daughter, Lisabetta Caterina, was born in 1530. A notarial document regarding her dowry dated 28 July 1547

identifies Lisabetta's husband as the sculptor Marco di Piero di Marco (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 223, fol. 64v–65v, notary Benedetto di Francesco Albizi).

<sup>269</sup> Zanobi di Pagno Portigiani, member of an important Florentine bell-making family, was a Scalzo *confratello* since 1525 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], pp. 376, 389, no. 42).

24. 20 September 1551. Bartolomeo di Mariano, painter

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 91r

[In margin:] La chiave de chiostro

E più si vi[n]se nela prese[n]te matina e ne' modi cho[n]sueti che Bartolomeo di Mariano pitore abi la chiave de[l] chiostro per potere venire a disegnare per te[m]po de[l] seg[i]o prese[n]te si vi[n]se per fave 24 nere.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E così ancora si vinse che Bartolomeo di Mariano dipintore che gli abia la chiave del chiostro per ritrare le dette figur[e].

25. 1 May 1553. Bartolomeo di Mariano, painter

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 96r

[In margin:] Si presti la chiave per disegnare

E più s'è vinto questa matina a dì primo di mag[i]o che Bartolomeo di Mariano pitore abi avere la chiave de l'usc[i]o primo per venire a disegnare per seg[gi]o prese[n]te vi[n]se ne' modi cho[n]sueti per fave 40 nere e 4 bia[n]ghe.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

E più s'è vinto questa mattina a dì primo di maggio che Bartolomeo dipittore abi avere la chiave de l'uscio primo per venire a disegnare per se[ggio] presente vinse ne' modi chonsueti per fave 40 nere 4 bia[n]che.

26. 30 June 1555. Michele di Raffaello delle Colombe<sup>270</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 108r

[In margin:] La chiave

E più s'è vinto in deta matina che Michele di Raffaello delle Cholonbe abia avere in prestanza la chiave del chiostro per venire a disegnare vinsesi per numero 36 di fave nere e 3 bianche.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

[In margin:] Le chiave

E più s'è vi[n]to i[n] deta matina che Michele di Raffaello dele Cholonbe abi avere i[n] presta[n]za di per di la chiave de[l] chiostro per venire a disegnare vi[n]se per fave 36 nere e 3 bia[n]che.

27. 15 September 1555. Giovanni di Raffaello delle Colombe<sup>271</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 109v

[In margin:] Chiave

E più s'è vinto per G[i]ovani di Raffaello delle Cholonbe abia avere la chiave per venire a disegnare ne' chiostri vinse per numero 27 di fave nere e 2 bianche.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, n. p.

[In margin:] La chiave de[l] chiostro

Piu s'è vi[n]to i[n] deta matina ne' modi cho[n]sueti che ... di Raffaello dele Cholonbe abi avere la chiave per venire a disegnare ne' chiostri per tuto e[l] te[m]po de[l] segio prese[n]te vi[n]se per fave 27 nere e 2 bia[n]che.

28. 19 January 1556. Extension to an unnamed artist,<sup>272</sup> presumably Giovanni delle Colombe

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 112r

[In margin:] Grazia dele c[h]iave de[l] luogho

E più si vinse deta matina ne' modi chonsueti che ..... gli sia lecito per tuto e[l] prese[n]te segio tenere el di le c[h]iave de' c[h]iost[r]i di nost[r]a compagnia per fave 30 nere.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 77r

[In margin:] La chiave de chiostro

E più s'è vinto in deta matina e ne' modi cho[n]sueti che si rafermiò la chiave per questo segio c[i]oè per tuto loro tempo al quello che l'[h]a tenuto per l'adreto.

29. 7 June 1556. Giovanni Fedini<sup>273</sup>

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 118v

E più si è vinto ne' modi consueti che Giovanni di Domenico \di Lazero/ dipintore si gli conceda le c[h]iave de' ciosci [chiostri] con pato che riporti ungni sera le c[h]iave per questo governo.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:21, fol. 80r

E più s'è vinto i[n] deta matina e ne' modi cho[n]sueti che G[i]ovanni di ... pitore abia avere le chiave de[l] chiostro per venire a disegnare per tuti e[l] te[m]po de[l] seg[gi]o presente.

<sup>270</sup> Roberta Roani Villani, s. v. delle Colombe, Michele, in: *DBI*, XXXVIII (1990), pp. 31f.

<sup>271</sup> Giovanni di Raffaello delle Colombe is clearly the brother of the aforementioned Michele delle Colombe, but nothing appears to be known about him.

<sup>272</sup> The wording of the documents suggests this is a request for an extension rather than a new application.

<sup>273</sup> Monica Grasso, s. v. Fedini, Giovanni, in: *DBI*, XL (1995), pp. 805f. Fedini joined the Scalzo on 2 November 1561 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 402, no. 131).

30. 5 January 1567. *Confraternity changes lock and buys key, after a painter called “lo Spagnuolo” had lost the key*

*ASF, CRSPL, 1202:39, fol. 146r<sup>274</sup>*

E a di deto soldi sedici sono per una c[hi]ave per l’u[s]c[i]o da via e mutare el seranie [serraglio] a deto u[s]cio perché lo Spagnuolo dipi[n]tore perse la c[hi]ave e per una altra c[hi]ave mesa a la cas[s]a che tene e’ libri vecchi.

31. 23 March 1568. *Letter to Prince Francesco de’ Medici on behalf of a painter called “Giulio fiammingo”, with rescript by Lelio Torelli*

*a. ASF, CRSPL, 1190, no. 11 (unnumbered sheets)*

[Hand 3] 23 marzo 1567

[Hand 1] Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo signore Principe

Giulio fiammingo humil’servitor di Vostra Signoria, pittore. Il quale [h]a ffatto le due finte alla prospettiva supplica a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che gli faccia gratia di fargli dare una chiave della Compagnia dello Scalzo et questo perché è desideroso di studiare, la vorrebbe per un mese e come forestiero prega Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che gli faccia tal gratia che gliene terrà hobligo infinito. Restandosene pregando Iddio protega Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima.

[Hand 2] Il Governatore della compagnia l’accomodi quando vuol studiar’ che possa farlo meritando la virtù esser’ aiutata.

Lel[io] T[orelli] 23 di marzo 67

Jacopo Dani<sup>275</sup>

[Hand 3] Memoriale di poter copiare le pitture di Andrea del Sarto che sono nel nostro chioostro.

*b. ASF, CRSPL, 1189:1 (Raccolta di notizie [...]), letter M, no. 15*

Memoriale per copiare le pitture del chioostro fatto al Gran Duca del dì 23 marzo 1567. Vedi nella filza di testamenti et al n. II.

32. 28 March 1568. *Painter called “Giulio fiammingo”, keys held by Santi di Michele Buglioni, sculptor, Prince Francesco acting as intermediary*

*ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, fol. 41v*

[In margin:] Chiave conciessa a Giulio fiamingo

Ricordo come questa mattina alli 28 del detto marzo 1568 s’è concesso la chiave dell’uscio da via per uno mese a Giulio pittore fiamingo che possa venire a disegnare qua nel chioostro di nostra compagnia ogni volta che li vuole ma che deba riportare ogni sera la detta chiave a Santi di Michele schultore e venire solo qua in detto chioostro con supplica del Principe che si gli

conceda come per deta si può vedere nella cassetta consultossi in compagnia così per fave nere 43.

33. 6 April 1568. *Record of a letter to Prince Francesco on the question of handing out the key to “Giulio fiammingo” and other artists, with rescript by the prince*

*ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, fol. 42r*

[In margin:] Rischritto d’una lettera mandata al Principe

Ricordo questo dì 6 d’aprile 1568 come gli è venuto una lettera al nostro Governatore e uomini di detta casa la quale lettera l’avevamo mandata noi al Principe per conto delli pittori che suplicavano per conto delle pitture del nostro chioostro per avere la chiave per potere ire a disegnarvi a sua posta come nella faccia avanti si vede per Giulio fiamingo e dove dicie che deba riportare ogni sera la chiave a Santi schultore ci risolvemo a non gli dare chiave ma a venire aprirgli l’usc[i]o ogni volta che lui voleva venire a disegnare e così si contentò per che riscritto diceva che fussi acomodato e riscritto della nostra lettera dicie poichè Sua Eccellenza li à dato licenzia lasirla [lasciarla] usare per questa volta avvertendolo a portarsi bene e a non dilucidare le pitture e per li altri da qui avanti osservisi li loro ordini e detta lettera è nella cassetta dal’altre scritte.

34. 18 July 1568. *Camillo di Marco, painter, consultation with Medici prince regarding his request for access*

*ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, fol. 43v*

[In margin:] Riscritto d’una rinformazione che si fe’ per una supplica al Principe

Ricordo questo dì detto come gli è tornata una rinformazione d’una supricha che fu diritta a noi che rinformassimo dal Principe per conto di Camillo di Marcho pittore per volere la chiave della compagnia per ire a disegnare a sua posta la quale tornò come noi volevamo che dicie non altro come per deta si può vedere nella cassetta delle scritte che si attiene al memoriale che si fé al Principe come in questo a 42.

35. 8 March 1609. *Record of a letter written to Don Giovanni de’ Medici explaining difficulty in providing keys to artists.*

*ASF, CRSPL, 1203:41, fol. 183r<sup>276</sup>*

E a di detto lire dua tanti sono pagati a uno notaio per avere dato in iscritto la risposta a Sua Eccellenza do[n] G[i]ovan[n]i

<sup>274</sup> The volume has inconsistent numbering. This folio 146 is the first to appear in the volume.

<sup>275</sup> For Jacopo Danni, another of the Medici secretaries, see The Medici

Archive Project online database BIA, person ID 655, [www.bia.medici.org](http://www.bia.medici.org) (accessed on 15 July 2021).

<sup>276</sup> The numbering of the folios in this volume is inconsistent, many

e dici delle dificu[1]tà che avevamo ne[1] co[n]cedere le chi[a]ve di nost[r]a co[m]pagnia a quelli che volevano ritrare le nostre piture e no[n] seguì altro.

36. 29 June 1612.<sup>277</sup> Artist called “il Frate”, Cosimo II de’ Medici acting as intermediary

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:15, p. 68

[In margin:] Del Frate

Ricordo come sotto di 29 di giugno 1612 io Giovanni di Filippo Bandini proveditore feci invitare tutti li omomini per trattare la cosa del frate cioè di quello ch’avea a ricopiare le figure d’Andrea del Sarto ottenuto per grazia da Sua Alteza ora ritrovandosi insieme el governatore Lorenzo di [Ch]limentti e [c]honsigliere Bartolomeo di Santti sarto e Alesandrro di Romane rasoi e numero 52 omini di compagnia si raghu[na]no di quanto si dovea e si di[c]hiarò per megllio s[e] dovessi la-[s]ciarllo fare pure si faccia senza ofesa delle dette piture e si dovesi tenere l’u[s]cio apertto e li omini di compagnia andasino e stesino a suo piacimento a vedere quanto si faceva.

37. 29 August 1617–18 February 1618. Cleaning of frescoes by Giovan Battista Vanni

29 August 1617

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:15, p. 115

Ricordo detto di come si fecie uno partito in corpo di compagnia che il Proveditore abia facultà di fare nettare le piture del chiostro e fu vinto per numero 47 fave nere e tre bianche.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:23, fol. 33r

Ancora vinsano e si contentorno e dettano autorità al Proveditore che facessi nettare le nostre figure del chiostro e fare tutta quella spesa che per tale effetto bisogna con partito di tutto il seggio e corpo di compagnia vinto per numero 47 fave nere e tre bianche.

1 October 1617

c. ASF, CRSPL, 1203:41, p. 343

A spese di Lorenzo nostro servo lire otto e sono per resto di tempo pe[r]so a stare assistente a vedere netare le figure del ciostro.

A spese lire ventiotto e soldi sei per pane e vino e quali è cortesia usata per netare le figure del ciortile.

numbers being repeated. This record is found toward the end of the book.

<sup>277</sup> The reference actually appears between records of 15 July and 7 August 1612; it is therefore possible that the *proveditore* has mistakenly written June instead of July.

18 February 1618

d. ASF, CRSPL, 1203:41, p. 346

A Giova[n]batista di Orasio Vani lire ciquanta [*cancelled, illegible*] sei tanti sono tanti sono [*sic*] per avere rinetato le storie de’ c[h]iostri.

E più quatordecim al sopradetto tanti riceuti da Lionardo di Sanobi da Gagliano per limosina fatta per fare la soma di lire setanta che tanto s’è dato a sudetto Giova[n]batista chome alle portate a carte 105.

e. ASF, CRSPL, 1209:55, p. 105

Io Giovanbatista di Oratio Vanni [h]o riceuto lire settanta tanti sono per la intera somma e pagamento di mie fatiche fatte per avere trovato modo di avere nettato le storie delle Chiostro dello Schalzo e i quali danari ricevo im parola e chomesione d’achordo co[n] mesere Iachopo da Empoli mio maestro e chon parola di mio padre chome per achordo fatto di parola di chomune chonsenso dello pare dette da Lionardo da Galiano in fede di mia mano schrissi questo di sopra a ditto in Firenze ..... lire 70.

38. 27 October 1622. Unidentified artist

ASF, CRSPL, 1189:1 (Raccolta di notizie [..]), letter M, no. 16<sup>278</sup>

Memoriale per copiare le sudette pitture d[e]l di 27 ottobre 1622. Vedi nella suddetta filza al numero 22.<sup>279</sup>

39. 11 May 1631. Unidentified young artist, Prince Lorenzo de’ Medici acting as intermediary

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:23, fol. 53r

A di 11 di maggio 1631

Ricordo questo di sopra detto come il nostro Padre Governatore e su[o]i consiglieri e corpo di compagnia vissai [vinsi] p[er] numero 26 fave nere e due bianche come per essere stati richesti da [Il]lustrissimo e serenissim o principe don Lorenzo Medici delle chiave di nostra compagnia per potessene servire per un giovane che venissino a copiare le nostre pitture insieme con un nostro fratello di nostra compagnia i[1] quale è Lorenzo d’Orlando Gherardi, i[1] quale il detto Principe pensassi all compimento della satisfazione dell detto Lorenzo di tanto se n’è fatto l.to [*sic*] come sopra e io Giuliano Carlo Bartolini scrivano detto luogo fui presente e tanto id est.

<sup>278</sup> This shelf mark provided by the *Raccolta di notizie* suggests that the letter is in the same file as the application letter for “Giulio flamingo”, but it has not yet come to light.

<sup>279</sup> An index in ASF, CRSPL, 1190 (unnumbered sheets), also notes: “Memoriale per copiare le pitture del chiostro del di 27 ottobre 1622 numero 22”.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1189:1 (Raccolta di notizie [...]), letter L, no. 12

Don Lorenzo Medici principe di Toscana a [di] II di maggio 1631 chiede si permetta a un giovane con l'assistenza di uno de' nostri fratelli a sue spese dipignere le pitture d[e]l chostro Libro de' Contratti, A a53.

40. 15 September 1672. Payment to the painter Agostino Melissi for having made new keys

ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 663, Ins. 4, fol. 380r<sup>280</sup>

[Upper left corner:] n. 267 Agostino Melissi, pittore

A dì 15 settembre 1672. La arazzeria di Sua Altezza Serenissima deve dare per li appiè lavori fatti da Agostino Melissi pittore. Per lire una e soldi 10 spesi di mio per farne assettare le 3 chiave e serrami del uscio da via della Compagnia dello Scalzo per essere state tramutate dalli fratelli di detta compagnia stante la partenza di quella ne era partito uno che ne stava ritirato et di quanto sopra ne feci con darne parte al signore Lessandro Pelli.

## II. Rules of the Confraternity for Access to the Chiostro dello Scalzo

1. 1 February 1534

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 4v

[In margin:] Partito di non pottere prestare chiave o niente

Anchora detto di el nostro Padre Governatore e sua onorevoli cho[n]siglieri<sup>281</sup> [h]an[n]o vinto cho[n] 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chompagnia per 57 fave tutte nere che 'l nostro p[r]o-veditore e sagrestani o altri di nostra chompagnia non pos[s]ino p[r]estare chiave o veste o altre chose di nesuna sorte di nostra chompagnia se[n]za e[l] partito del segio sotto pena di chi contra faciesi al sopra detto partito di libre 2 di ciera.

2. 30 November 1543

ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 58r

[In margin:] Di non prestare chiave

Richordo chome in detta mattina si vinse che nesuno non pottesse prestare le chiave senza el pa[r]tito dela chompagnia sotto pena d'essere raso chon trenta dua fave nere e 3 bianche.<sup>282</sup>

3. 4 December 1558

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, fol. 4r

[In margin:] Che no[n] si posa ragionare in [n]esu[n] modo di metere a disegnare i nostri chiostri

Richordo chome questa matina a dì 4 di dice[m]bre e ne' modi cho[n]sueti s'è vinto che nesuno posa prestare chiave ne' metere nesuno ne' nostri chiostri a disegnare e che nesuno ne posa rag[i]onare che i[n] nesu[n] modo di metere o prestare come è dito si [in]tenda essere privato e raso di nostra chompagnia vi[n]sesi per tute fave nere numero 27 e nesuna biancha.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:22, fol. 4v

Richordo questo dì 4 di dicembre 1558 chome el nostro Padre Ghovernatore cho[n] sua venerabili chonsiglieri e altri ufiziali e chorpo di chompagnia [h]anno vinto un partito per 27 fave nere e nesu[n]a bianche che per l'avenire non si possa prestare chiave ne' mettere alchuno per disegnare in nost[r]a chompagnia o veramente in nostri chiostri per chi tenessi chiave chome se per sagrestani o se nesu[n]o o altri che in n'alchun modo la volesino e che alchuno ne parlassi di nostra chompagnia di prestarle s'intenda essere privato e raso di nostra chompagnia, e questo s'è fatto per buona chagione.

4. 24 June 1570

ASF, CRSPL, 1197:22, fol. 35v

Richordo questo dì 24 di giugno chome el nostro Padre Governatore e sua chonsiglieri el corpo di chompagnia ne' modi chonsueti [h]anno vinto che el proveditore non posa prestare chosa alchuna di nostra chompagnia senza licenzia del governatore e sua chonsiglieri vinsesi per fave numero ventiquattro nere cinque bianche.

5. 17 October 1574

a. ASF, CRSPL, 1195:14, fol. 74v

[In margin:] Della tavoletta sopra la casetta delle limosine

Ricordo come in questa presente tornata addì 17 d'ottobre 1574 ne' modi consueti s'è vinto i[n] nostra compagnia che si debba tenere la tavoletta sopra la casetta delle limosine nella quale è scritto la proibizione del prestare le chiave di nostra compagnia e debino dire le lettere scritte in detta tavoletta secondo che dice un partito fatto nel 1558 chome al [I]ibro de' partiti dello scrivano a 4 vinsesi el sopra detto partito per fave cinquantatre nere e dodici bianche in tutto numero 65.

b. ASF, CRSPL, 1197:22, fol. 44v

[In margin:] Si deba tenere la tavola sopra la chasetta dele limosine

Ricordo come in questa presente tornata addì 17 d'ottobre 1574 ne' modi consueti s'è vinto in nostra compagnia che si

<sup>280</sup> This document has already been published – albeit not integrally – by Meoni (note 52), p. 743.

<sup>281</sup> It is interesting to note that, at this time, one of the *consiglieri* to the

*padre governatore* was the woodworker and architect Baccio d'Agnolo (ASF, CRSPL, 1195:13, fol. 1v).

<sup>282</sup> The same wording appears under the same date *ibidem*, 1197:21, n. p.



debba tenere la tavoletta sopra alla cassetta delle limosine nella quale è scritto la proibizione del prestare le c[h]iave di nostra compagn[ia] e debbono dire le lettere della sopra detta tavoletta secondo che dice uno partito fatto nel 1558 come indreto a 4 vinesi el sopra detto partito per fave cinquantatré nere e dodici bianche in tutto numero 65.

6. *Extract from the confraternity's statutes of 6 June 1579*

*ASF, Cap. CRS, 86, fol. 15r-v*

Prohibitione del prestar le chiavi del nostro chiostro  
cap. XXIII

Non si possino in alcun modo prestare le chiavi ad alcuno, che volesse disegnare ne' nostri chiostri, se prima non se ne fa partito secondo il solito per li duoi terzi delle fave nere, et sieno a detto partito trenta de' nostri fratelli. Avvertendo che tutti gl'altri partiti non si possino fare né conchiudere senza l'intervento e presenza di XXIII fratelli e non meno. Et vincendosi in questo modo, il nostro servo vi debba esser presente dovendo esser satisfatto da chi ricercherà, e si vorrà servire di tale commodità. Con questo però che il servo in modo alcuno ardisca di dar le chiavi, ma restino sempre appresso di sé, etiamdio, che le chiedesse alcuno della compagnia, et tal licenza così proposta, et concessa non duri più oltre, che per un mese solamente.

*fol. 20r-v*

Del elettione del medico e servo cap. XXXI

[...] In oltre ordiniamo che la nostra compagnia habbia un servo [...]. Habbia le chiavi di quella [compagnia] [...]. Non possa in modo alcuno menar nessuno nel nostro chiostro per disegnare che in tal caso subito sia privo di nostra compagnia [...].

7. *Extract from the confraternity's statutes of 1631*

*ASF, Cap. CRS, 152:2, pp. 105f.*

Del prestare le chiavi di compagnia e modo di far partiti  
cap. XXXIV

Confermiamo ancora che in alcuna maniera non si devino mai prestare le chiavi di nostra compagnia ad alcuno per qualsivoglia causa, e quando occorressi che alcuno per disegnare le ricercassi, non si deva fare in alcuna maniera senza farne partito in compagnia il quale deva essere vinto gli  $\frac{3}{4}$  e non sia valido se non saranno a quello al meno trenta de' nostri fratelli e concedendosi licenzia ad alcuno sia con condizione che sempre deva esserci presente il nostro servo o uno delli nostri fratelli e che le chiavi non si devino mai dare ad alcuno, ma stiano sempre appresso al servo provveditore e sagrestani con che, quello, che riceverà la grazia sia tenuto, e deva dare la sua mercede al detto servo, o altro che sia in cambio suo, e che la detta licenzia sia fatta per un tempo determinato, ne segua più avanti e se più bisognassi devasi di nuovo farne partito come è detto di sopra, e se il provveditore o sagrestani o servo contrafacessero, et ad ogni modo prestassero dette chiavi, o mettessero alcuno segretamente a disegnare senza le condizioni suddette devino, e possino essere gastigati dalli sei conservatori e governatore ad arbitrio loro, etiam sino al raderli e mandar via il servo subito defatto.

*pp. 107f.*

Dell'ofizio del servo, suo obbligo [cap.] XXXV

Deva tener pulita, e spazzata la compagnia e nette, e pulite le manganelle. [...] Deva havere le chiave di compagnia da potere andare a sua posta a spazzare, ma non se li deva consegnare alcune robe di compagnia quali devino essere custodite dal provveditore. Deve appiccare, e spiccare per le solennità paramenti, e ripiegare le veste, quando si torna dalle processioni, o morti. Non possa in alcuna maniera menare alcuno in compagnia né nel nostro chiostro per disegnare, e se contrafarà a questo, deva ipso facto esser privo del suo ufizio, e mandato via [...].

### III. List of Artists Signing Receipts on Behalf of Members of the Mandriani Family

Artists' names have been adapted to their currently used form and spelling, unless they are quoted from the documents, for instance in the case of unknown or uncertain identity. The profession is quoted from the document when mentioned in the receipt, otherwise it is indicated in English. The archival references are to the books in ASF, CRSPL.

Year	Date	Name	Practice	Archival reference	Notes
1573	29 August	“Cosimo di Ser Francesco Ricchi” <sup>283</sup>	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 25v	
1577	4 August	Giovanni Bizzelli <sup>284</sup>	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 32v	
1581	6 August	Giovanni Balducci	painter	I208:54, fol. 41v	Signs for two people
1581	6 August	Cesare Veli <sup>285</sup>	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 42r	
1581	3 September	Giovanni Balducci	“pittor”	I208:54, fol. 42v	
1582	15 August	Gregorio Pagani	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 44v	
1582	16 September	Cosimo Gamberucci <sup>286</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 45r	
1585	25 July	Andrea Boscoli	“pittor”	I208:54, fol. 53v	
1585	4 August	Alessandro di Giovanni Ghirelli <sup>287</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 53v	
1585	4 August	Andrea Boscoli	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 54r	
1585	18 August	Domenico di Michele Albertini <sup>288</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 54v	
1586	7 September	Orazio di Domenico Campani <sup>289</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 58r	
1587	2 August	Stefano di Biagio Orlandi <sup>290</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 60v–61r	Signs for five people in two separate moments
1588	7 August	Michele di Silvestro Salvestrini <sup>291</sup>	“pittore”	I208:54, fol. 63v–64r	Signs separately for two people
1589	6 August	Girolamo Crocini <sup>292</sup>	woodworker	I208:54, fol. 66v	
1589	6 August	Giovanni di Francesco Masini <sup>293</sup>	painter	I208:54, fol. 66v	Signs separately for two people

<sup>283</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 272.

<sup>284</sup> Silvia Meloni Trkulja, s. v. Bizzelli, Giovanni, in: *DBI*, X (1968), pp. 741f.

<sup>285</sup> Heiko Damm, s. v. Veli (Velli), Cesare, in: *AKL*, CXII (2021), p. 380. Veli was again in the Scalzo on 16 January 1583, when he signed on behalf of the illiterate Giovanni Cioli, who was collecting money for the frontispiece of a tabernacle (ASF, CRSPL, I208:54, fol. 45v); Cioli was a *scarpellino* (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 408, no. 178).

<sup>286</sup> Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, s. v. Gamberucci, Cosimo, in: *DBI*, LII (1999), pp. 113f.

<sup>287</sup> Susanna Partsch, s. v. Ghirelli (Girelli), Alessandro di Giovanni di Francesco, in: *AKL*, LIII (2007), p. 66.

<sup>288</sup> S. v. Albertini, Domenico di Michele, in: *AKL*, II (1992), p. 98.

<sup>289</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 62.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 237f.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287.

<sup>292</sup> Crocini became a member of the Scalzo on 1 January 1592. His father had also been a member but had died already in 1589 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 391, no. 58, p. 416, no. 232).

<sup>293</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 207.

1590	5 August	Giovanni Battista d'Antonio Lupicini <sup>294</sup>	painter	1208:54, fol. 69v	
1590	28 August	Cosimo Daddi <sup>295</sup>	painter	1208:54, fol. 69v	
1593	1 August	“Giovanni di Paulo Reichle” (Hans Reichle) <sup>296</sup>	“iscultore”	1209:55, fol. 4r	
1596	21 September	Giovanni Bianchi <sup>297</sup>	mosaicist?	1209:55, fol. 13v	
1596	20 October	Lorenzo di Matteo <sup>298</sup>	“dipintore”	1209:55, fol. 14r	
1596	17 November	Cristofano Allori	painter	1209:55, fol. 14v	
1597	3 August	Bartolomeo Fontebuoni <sup>299</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 16r	
1597	17 August	Leonardo di Zanobi da Gagliano <sup>300</sup>	goldsmith	1209:55, fol. 16v	
1598	2 August	Leonardo di Zanobi da Gagliano	goldsmith	1209:55, fol. 18v	
1598	24 August	Leonardo di Zanobi da Gagliano	goldsmith	1209:55, fol. 19r	
1599	24 August	Sebastiano di Chimenti Chelli <sup>301</sup>	“pittore”	1209:55, fol. 21v	
1602	4 August	Clemente di Filippo Santini <sup>302</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 33v	
1603	15 August	Domenico Croci <sup>303</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 36v–37r	Signs separately for three people
1605	15 August	Virgilio Lotti <sup>304</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 41r	Signs separately for two people
1606	6 August	Clemente di Leonardo Porcellini <sup>305</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 44r	Signs separately for two people
1607	5 August	Alamanno Dei <sup>306</sup>	painter	1209:55, fol. 48r	
1608	3 August	Asdrubale Gherardi <sup>307</sup>		1209:55, fol. 51v	Signs separately for two people

<sup>294</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190. His father Antonio di Giovanni Lupicini had joined the confraternity in 1573 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 407, no. 167) and was still a member in June 1590, when he appears paying fees (ASF, CRSPL, 1203:40, fol. 249v).

<sup>295</sup> Andrea Muzzi, s. v. Daddi, Cosimo, in: *AKL*, XXIII (1999), pp. 357f.

<sup>296</sup> German sculptor who worked in the shop of Giambologna. He was in Florence between circa 1588 and 1595 and again in 1601 (Katharine Watson, *Pietro Tacca: Successor to Giovanni Bologna*, New York/London 1983, pp. 44f.); Dorothea Diemer, s. v. Reichle (Reichel; Reichl; Reuchle), Hans, in: *AKL*, XCVIII (2018), pp. 140–142.

<sup>297</sup> This could be the father of Francesco Bianchi Buonavita, who was a celebrated mosaicist from Milan. Grand Duke Ferdinando II called him to Florence in 1580 (Contini [note 184], p. 73).

<sup>298</sup> Possibly Lorenzo di Matteo Cerchielli, member of the Accademia between 1598 and 1627 (*Gli Accademici* [note 237], p. 76).

<sup>299</sup> Enrico Parlato, s. v. Fontebuoni, Bartolomeo, in: *DBI*, XLVIII (1997), pp. 760–762.

<sup>300</sup> *Argenti fiorentini dal XV al XIX secolo: tipologie e marchi*, ed. by Dora Liscia Bemporad, Florence 1992, I, p. 412.

<sup>301</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 78.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 291.

<sup>303</sup> Alessandro Nesi, “Per Domenico e Pietro Frilli Croci, pittori fiorentini”, in: *Arte cristiana*, XCVIII (2010), pp. 341–354.

<sup>304</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 188; Scalzo member from 1618 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 421, no. 274).

<sup>305</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 262. He was a member of Ludovico Cardi's workshop (Miles Chappell, s. v. Cardi, Lodovico, detto il Cigoli, in: *DBI*, XIX [1976], pp. 771–776: 772).

<sup>306</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 103; Scalzo member from 1621 (O'Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 423, no. 286).

<sup>307</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 149. Possibly a pupil of Raffaello Schiaminossi (Annalisa Pezzo, s. v. Schiaminossi, Raffaello, in: *DBI*, XCI, (2018), [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raffaello-schiaminossi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raffaello-schiaminossi_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (accessed on 5 October 2021).

I608	15 August	Piero di Andrea Bracci <sup>308</sup>	painter	I209:55, fol. 52r	Signs for two people
I609	2 August	“Battista d’Antonio Bracce” <sup>309</sup>	painter or engraver	I209:55, fol. 54v	
I609	15 August	Vincenzo di Marco Sacchetti <sup>310</sup>		I209:55, fol. 55r	Signs for two people
I610	Undated, between 18 July and 18 August	Girolamo Buratti <sup>311</sup>	painter	I209:55, fol. 57v–58r	Signs for four people in two separate moments
I610	6 September	Girolamo Buratti	painter	I209:55, p. 59	
I612	2 September	Francesco Bianchi <sup>312</sup>		I209:55, p. 71	
I613	4 August	Girolamo di Francesco della Bella <sup>313</sup>	painter	I209:55, p. 75	Signs for two people
I613	4 August	Domenico Pugliani <sup>314</sup>	painter	I209:55, p. 76	Signs for two people
I615	15 August	Giovanni Battista Ghidoni <sup>315</sup>	painter	I209:55, p. 87	
I616	15 August	Cesare Dandini <sup>316</sup>	painter	I209:55, pp. 91f.	
I617	6 August	Cesare Dandini	painter	I209:55, pp. 100f.	
I617	August (possibly 15)	Giovan Battista Vanni	painter	I209:55, p. 101	Signs for two people
I617	15 August	Giovan Battista Vanni	painter	I209:55, p. 101	
I617	3 September	Giovan Battista Vanni	painter	I209:55, p. 102	
I618	8 September	Giovan Battista Vanni	painter	I209:55, p. 110	Signs separately for four people
I619	4 August	Giovanni da San Giovanni	“pittore”	I209:55, pp. 114f.	Signs separately for two people
I619	1 September	Tommaso di Alfonso Gorini <sup>317</sup>	painter	I209:55, p. 115	
I620	7 August	“Cosimo di messer Vincenzo Savelli” <sup>318</sup>		I209:55, pp. 121f.	

<sup>308</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 49.

<sup>309</sup> Possibly Giovan Battista Bracelli, thought to have been both a painter and an engraver, active in Florence between 1616 and 1650, whose surname is recorded in several variants including Braccelli, Baccelli, Brazzè, and Brazè. The artist (or artists) known by these names was connected with the workshops of Jacopo da Empoli and Giulio Parigi. He may have first transferred to Florence from his hometown of Livorno in 1609 (Anna Mariani, “Giovan Battista Bracelli”, in: *Il Seicento fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, exh. cat., Florence 1986, III, pp. 42–44).

<sup>310</sup> Not documented as an artist; however, he may have been a brother of Giovanni Maria and Simone di Marco Sacchetti, who are documented as *accademici* in 1628–1654 and 1600–1659 respectively (*Gli Accademici* [note 237], p. 285).

<sup>311</sup> Painter from Ascoli Piceno, who was active in 1580 and died in 1654

(Susanne Christine Martin, s. v. Buratti Girolamo [Gerolamo], in: *AKL*, XV [1997], p. 174).

<sup>312</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 36.

<sup>313</sup> Son of the painter Francesco di Girolamo della Bella (Baldinucci [note 19], IV, p. 602) and brother of Stefano della Bella (Anna Forlani Tempesti, s. v. Della Bella, Stefano, in: *DBI*, XXXVI [1988], pp. 686–690: 686).

<sup>314</sup> Riccardo Spinelli, “Domenico Pugliani”, in: *Il Seicento Fiorentino* (note 309), III, pp. 153–156.

<sup>315</sup> Susanne Christine Martin, s. v. Ghidoni (Gidoni), Giovanni Battista, in: *AKL*, LIII (2007), p. 38.

<sup>316</sup> Evelina Borea, s. v. Dandini, Cesare, in: *DBI*, XXXII (1986), pp. 409–413.

<sup>317</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 161.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 293.

I620	15 August	“Cosimo di messer Vincenzo Savelli”		I209:55, p. 122	
I620	16 August	“Cosimo di messer Vincenzo Savelli”		I209:55, p. 122	
I622	15 August	Francesco Furini	painter	I209:55, p. 135	
I622	21 August	Francesco Furini	painter	I209:55, p. 135	
I622	4 September	Francesco Furini	painter	I209:55, p. 136	
I625	6 April	Stefano Cascetti <sup>319</sup>	painter	I209:55, fol. 150v	
I625	Undated. between summer and autumn	Stefano Cascetti	painter	I209:55, fol. 151v	
I626	2 August	Stefano Cascetti	painter	I209:55, p. 156	
I626	6 September	Domenico Pieratti <sup>320</sup>	sculptor	I209:44, p. 158	Signs separately for two people
I627	1 August	Vincenzo Dandini	painter	I209:55, p. 134	Signs for five people, probably in three separate moments
I629	5 August	Vincenzo Dandini	painter	I209:55, p. 151	Signs for four people
I630	4 August	Gianbattista Morani <sup>321</sup>		I209:55, p. 157	Signs for three people
I630	15 August	Gianbattista Morani		I209:55, p. 157	Signs for three people
I636	15 August	Carlo di Lorenzo Galestruzzi <sup>322</sup>	carver	I209:55, p. 185	Signs for three people in two separate moments
I636	24 August	“Guseppe Lameta” (?)	“pittore”	I209:55, p. 186	Signs for two people
I637	24 August	Vincenzo Dandini	painter	I209:55, fol. 188v	
I660	15 August	Jacopo Tarchiani <sup>323</sup>	painter	I209:55, fol. 261r	Signs separately for two people
I660	24 August	Jacopo Tarchiani	painter	I209:55, fol. 261v	

<sup>319</sup> Susanna Partsch, s. v. Cascetti, Stefano, in: *AKL*, XVII (1997), p. 81.

<sup>320</sup> Cristiano Giometti, s. v. Pieratti, Domenico e Giovan Battista, in: *DBI*, LXXXIII (2015), pp. 296–301.

<sup>321</sup> *Gli Accademici* (note 237), p. 224. His name does not appear in this reference, but the handwriting is the same as that on the following 15 August.

<sup>322</sup> Carlo Galestruzzi became a member of the Scalzo in 1653, claiming to be thirty years old (O’Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 427, no. 331); however,

this would make him only thirteen years old in 1636, when he signed on behalf of the Mandriani, suggesting that his age was incorrectly entered when he joined. His father and grandfather were already members (*ibidem*, p. 420, no. 258).

<sup>323</sup> A Jacopo di Filippo Tarchiani matriculated into the Accademia del Disegno in 1639 (*Gli Accademici* [note 237], pp. 312f.). He was presumably the son of the painter Filippo Tarchiani (d. 1649), who was also a Scalzo brother (O’Brien 2013 [note 2], p. 422, no. 279).

## Abbreviations

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AKL	<i>Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker</i> , Munich/Leipzig 1983–
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
BR	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
Cap. CRS	Capitoli delle Compagnie Religiose Soppresse
CRSPL	Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , Rome 1960–2020.
n. p.	not paginated

## Abstract

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This article contributes to the question of access to artworks in private or semi-restricted, religious spaces; specifically, the Chiostro dello Scalzo containing Andrea del Sarto's frescoes of the *Life of Saint John the Baptist*. The Scalzo fresco cycle, one of the chief monuments of the Florentine High Renaissance, was described by Giorgio Vasari as a school for aspiring artists, and it had an enduring influence on local and foreign artists. Today it is generally assumed either that the frescoes were easily accessible or that the Medici grand duke's permission was required to copy them. Accounts regarding artists' drawing activity in the *chiostro* have generally failed to consider the space's actual function. It was the private cloister of a flagellant confraternity, the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista, called 'lo Scalzo', that jealously guarded access to its space. So how did the artists get in? Previously unpublished documents from the Archivio di Stato, Florence, covering about 150 years, reveals much about the confraternity's use of the *chiostro*. At the same time, it yields detailed information about the various means by which artists gained access to the space. However, their activity also caused tensions to rise sporadically, due to the different and potentially incompatible uses of the cloister.

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(S. 290, Abb. 8 | p. 290, fig. 8)

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