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**Santa Maria degli Angeli and the arts: Patronage, production,  
and practice in a Trecento Florentine monastery. (Volumes I  
and II)**

**Bent, George R., Ph.D.**

**Stanford University, 1993**

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**SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI AND THE ARTS: PATRONAGE, PRODUCTION,  
AND PRACTICE IN A TRECENTO FLORENTINE MONASTERY**

**VOLUME I**

**A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ART  
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES  
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**By  
George R. Bent  
April 1993**

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S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI AND THE ARTS:  
PATRONAGE, PRODUCTION, AND PRACTICE  
IN A TRECENTO FLORENTINE MONASTERY

George R. Bent, Ph.D.  
Stanford University, 1993  
Advisors: Alessandro Nova, Ph.D.  
Suzanne Lewis, Ph.D

This dissertation addresses the relationship between a specific monastic community and the visual arts during the early Renaissance. As buyers, users, and producers of liturgical objects, the brethren in S. Maria degli Angeli maintained strong ties with secular patrons and artists, thanks in part to a monastic scriptorium which collaborated with Florentine painters. This thesis considers the multiple roles taken on by an important, yet understudied, monastery with regard to its collection of images.

This study does not rigidly adhere to one methodology. I have concentrated on the context in which devotional objects were produced and used, and have approached my subject from social historical and "functionalistic" perspectives. Networks of patronage are addressed as social and political organisms, problems facing the scriptorium are considered from an economic standpoint, and images used in the convent are discussed as visual expressions of a specific brand of spirituality. Finally, issues of patronage, monastic art production, and the function of images are addressed together in the study of a single altarpiece installed in 1413, the Coronation of the Virgin by Lorenzo Monaco.

This thesis presents a number of conclusions regarding patronage, "functionalism", and the responsibilities of a monastic scriptorium. Archival materials have identified a network of patronage--consisting of aristocrats allied with the powerful Albizzi family--which consistently supported the monastery during the Trecento. This network helped finance the scriptorium which, I argue, was responsible for every aspect of a manuscript's production except its painting. I also conclude that the liturgy contained in books made by and for the monastic population often worked in conjunction with altarpieces installed in the convent. A specific artistic program was devised by the monks as a means of reflecting their spiritual interests, as text and image complemented one another during important liturgical ceremonies. Finally, my analysis of the Coronation reveals the multiple concerns of the monastic community and its secular patrons. The high altarpiece is interpreted as a visual analogy to the monastery and to the liturgical ceremonies performed by its monks. This thesis discusses the uses and users of images, as well as the people who supported its users.



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## INTRODUCTION

The study of monastic art during the early Italian Renaissance has often focused on isolated issues. Individual works of art, specific artists--anonymous and otherwise--and unusually powerful patrons have each received attention from modern historians interested in addressing specific problems in limited areas. While these studies have certainly aided us in our understanding of religious art during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they have also frequently created more questions than answers. Those concentrating on art objects and their creators often shy away from questions of patronage, function, and audience,<sup>1</sup> while those interested in monastic spirituality rarely avoid the trap of interpreting images as nothing more than archaeological items.<sup>2</sup> Only rarely do we see art historians consider objects from multiple perspectives, and then only with limited results.<sup>3</sup> Seldom do we see studies which elaborate upon the complex relationship between a monastic institution and the visual arts.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate a fourteenth-century monastery's interaction with the visual arts from a broad perspective, taking into consideration issues of patronage, the function of images, networks of artists and laymen, and monastic art production. I have selected for this study the Camaldolese monastery of S.

Maria degli Angeli. Founded in 1295, this Florentine convent was an important religious institution during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Steeped in the austere traditions of the Camaldolese Order, the monastery attracted laymen and women devoted to ascetic Christian observance. Throughout the Trecento, the monastic community installed a series of important altarpieces in its numerous burial chapels, reflecting both the brethren's theological interests and their extraordinary aesthetic sensibilities. Like other convents in fourteenth-century Europe, S. Maria degli Angeli relied upon secular patrons and painters for the decoration of its religious spaces. Some of the era's most powerful and influential laymen supported the community during this period, while an exclusive group of secular painters were responsible for the production of the monastery's impressive collection of liturgical images. The cloister, however, was not completely immersed in modern customs. In the tradition of its medieval predecessors, the convent operated a highly respected and successful scriptorium, which was responsible for the manufacture of some of the finest manuscripts produced in Italy. From 1370 to 1410, the scriptorium turned out at least thirty lengthy liturgical choral books, all of which were funded by affluent and influential benefactors. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's brethren were not only users and institutional patrons of liturgical works of art, but were also producers of vital religious objects.

Unlike other Trecento convents in Florence, S. Maria degli Angeli has received little consideration from art historians. The relative obscurity of the Camaldolese Order and the prominence of other Florentine institutions during the fourteenth century appear to have deprived it of comprehensive study from contemporary scholars. While its most famous son, the painter Don Lorenzo Monaco, has recently enjoyed extensive consideration, this attention has not been extended to the monastery in which he lived.<sup>4</sup> Whereas mendicant art and iconography have received great attention from specialists, Camaldolese relationships with art and artists have been virtually ignored. This paucity of information concerning the Camaldolese house is a significant gap in our understanding of Trecento Florentine art and of monastic participation in the art world during the period. The following dissertation is an attempt to fill this void by illustrating a Camaldolese monastery's commitment to the purchase and production of art during the early Renaissance, and by defining the specific ways in which its altarpieces functioned. The three most important aspects of monastic art--patronage, production, and function--are here united in a single study.

For clarity's sake, I have divided this investigation into three sections according to subject. Chapter One is a general introduction to the theoretical and theological underpinnings of the Camaldolese Order. S. Maria degli Angeli's origins, its special religious interests, and the



composition of its cloister are all briefly discussed to provide the reader with a context within which to consider the ensuing analysis.

Chapter Two addresses the role of secular patronage in the development of the monastery, and stresses its activity as an institutional patron. In this section, we will encounter a group of intimately allied lay benefactors and secular artisans, determine their motives of support and activity, and discuss the social networks which linked donors and artists not only to each other, but also to members of the monastic community. We will see that the convent benefited from an exclusive circle of lay patrons, while repeatedly commissioning works from an equally exclusive group of Florentine painters. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's relationship with the people involved in the funding and production of images will be argued to have depended upon intricate social, as well as political, networks.

After defining the effects of institutional and secular patronage on S. Maria degli Angeli, we will consider the monastery from the standpoint of its role as a producer of art objects. Chapter Three examines the convent's famous scriptorium, claimed by Vasari to have been one of Europe's finest during the late fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The duties and responsibilities of this monastic workshop have been generally misinterpreted and misunderstood by modern specialists. In an attempt to revise a standard position, which holds

that cloistered scribes were responsible for painting the images appearing in their choral books, I will suggest that secular artists were subcontracted by the monks to illuminate their antiphonaries for them.<sup>6</sup> Relying mainly on archival materials, this chapter attempts to revise previous hypotheses concerning the scriptorium's activity as a center of monastic painting, as well as its involvement in book production.

Chapter Four is devoted to the function of art objects, a vital feature of any monastery's relationship with the arts. We will see how the Camaldolese community carefully implemented a pictorial program for its many altarpieces, which was consistent with its theological and liturgical needs. Subject matter and iconographic content will be argued to have been dictated by the institutional patron in order to ensure that its images pertained to the celebrations performed in the convent at special times of the year. In addition, I shall argue that S. Maria degli Angeli's altarpieces conveyed messages that worked together with the written texts from which their subject matter was derived. Liturgical phrases recited by monks in front of their altarpieces will be connected to their corresponding pictures in order to illustrate the function of each image during worship services.

This interdependence on lay patrons, art producers, and liturgical practice is nowhere better illustrated than in the story of the commission, production and function of

Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin, to which Chapter Five is devoted. In February 1413, this enormous altarpiece was installed in the choir of the monastic church (fig. 51), replacing an image that had adorned the high altar for five decades. A lengthy inscription, appearing at the base of the painting, notes the artist's name, the picture's secular and institutional patrons, and the monastic community's participation in its production. Here we will meet the mysterious donors of the altarpiece, examine their connections with the monastery, and unravel a web of confusion that has surrounded the picture's commission. We will also investigate the ties that existed between the monastic community and the artist it selected to execute its high altarpiece, as well as attempt to resolve problems concerning its subject matter and the identities of figures appearing in its numerous compartments. This large polyptych, more than any other object made for S. Maria degli Angeli, reveals the intricate combination of social networks, liturgical requirements, and aesthetic concerns which led to the commission and production of a major work of art for a monastic audience.

Since its inception, I have attempted to balance this dissertation methodologically, according to the demands of each disparate section. My intention has not been to follow a singular rigid approach, to be applied to each and every problem under consideration. Instead, I have tried to allow published and unpublished archival materials guide my

thinking as often as possible, although documentary evidence has not always been available as support for my arguments. In these cases, I have been more interpretive, employing theoretical approaches devised by predecessors and colleagues. Although much of this study relies on social historical analysis, I have also applied theological, iconological, and, for lack of a better term, "functionalistic" theories at appropriate junctures. Because different issues and questions demand different approaches, I have felt obliged to use these distinct methodologies whenever necessary.

The most rigorous use of social-historical interpretation may be found in Chapter Two, which is devoted to secular patronage. Long hours were spent in the Florentine Archives, thumbing through tomes describing S. Maria degli Angeli's construction, funding, and daily operations. Two volumes in particular, the Registro Vecchio--a fourteenth-century register recording each event as it transpired--and the Registro Nuovo--a 1402 copy of the former--were extremely helpful in outlining the basic history of the monastery's development. For more detailed accounts, I consulted the Diplomatico records for S. Maria degli Angeli, which contained individual contracts and agreements made between the Camaldolese community and its secular benefactors. The political affiliations of these donors, as well as their social alliances with each other, were often found in the six volumes of the Priorista

Mariani, while Trecento testaments defining and enumerating bequests to the convent were located by consulting notarial entries in the Notarile Antecosimiano.

Three important eighteenth-century texts, Tommaso Mini's Historia del sacro Eremo di Camaldoli (Camaldoli, 1706: transcribed in Appendix A); Gregorio Farulli's Istoria cronologica del nobile et antico monastero degli Angeli (Lucca, 1710); and Giuseppe Richa's Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine vol. VIII (Rome, 1759; reprinted in 1972) gave remarkably similar accounts of the convent's formative years. While I seldom used these Settecento accounts as direct sources, they were each helpful in corroborating information gleaned from archival sources. Four modern descriptions of S. Maria degli Angeli's development were also useful: Walter and Elizabeth von Paatz's Die Kirchen von Florenz, Vol. III (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1952); Dino Savelli's Il convento di S. Maria degli Angeli a Firenze (Florence, 1983); Lucia Ragusi's, "Le origini del Monastero di Santa Maria degli Angeli attraverso i documenti più antichi", in Vita monastica (vol. 168, 1987, 30-44); and Salvatore Frigerio's Ambrogio Traversari (Camaldoli, 1988) each provided important historical information.

A number of historical texts shaped my perceptions of Florentine social networks, lay patronage, and political factions. Dale and F.W. Kent's numerous books on Renaissance alliances proved invaluable at a number of crucial stages, especially Dale Kent's Rise of the Medici

(Oxford, 1978) and her collaboration with F.W. Kent in Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence (Locust Valley, 1982). Ronald Weissman's Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1982) provides a clear account of Quattrocento Florentine social patronage, while Gene Brucker's Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton, 1962) and its sequel, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977), are fundamental studies of the era's political history. John Najemy's Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400 (Chapel Hill, 1982) and Marvin Becker's Florence in Transition: Vol. 1 and 2 (Baltimore, 1967 and 1968) offer alternative interpretations of the period, and each helped clarify a number of complex issues for me. Finally, Philip Jones' study of Camaldolese economic policies in "A Tuscan Monastic Lordship in the Later Middle Ages: Camaldoli", The Journal of Ecclesiastical History V (1954, 168-183), and Richard Goldthwaite's The Building of Renaissance Florence (Baltimore, 1980) and "The Economy of Renaissance Italy: The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption", in I Tatti Studies (Vol. II, 1987, 15-39), were especially influential in my understanding of Florentine Trecento economic history, monastic fiscal policies, and the strength of the Tuscan art market.

Archival materials and art-historical publications formed the foundations for my research concerning the scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli. The Uscita books for

the hospital of S. Maria Nuova and the epitaphs of the monastic scribes recorded in both the Registro Vecchio and Registro Nuovo reveal much data about the workshop's organization and responsibilities. The Diplomatico for S. Maria degli Angeli also contain references to the scriptorium's origins in the 1330s and '40s. Moreover, the antiphonaries designed and written in the monastery, located in the Bargello Museum and the Biblioteca Laurenziana, display a wealth of information concerning not only the scriptorium's duties, but its limitations, as well.

A number of publications have addressed the monastic scriptorium in S. Maria degli Angeli. In my estimation, Mirella Levi D'Ancona has done the most important work on this subject. The most useful studies for my work have been, "Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci e il Maestro delle Canzoni", Rivista d'arte (32, 1957, 3-37); "I corali di S. Maria degli Angeli, ora nella Biblioteca Laurenziana, e le miniature da essi asportate", in Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas (Florence, 1978, 213-235); "Arte e politica: L'Interdetto, gli Albizzi e la miniatura fiorentina del tardo Trecento", in La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica: Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana (Florence, 1979, 461-487); and "La miniatura Fiorentina tra Gotico e Rinascimento", in La miniatura Italiana tra gotico e rinascimento: Atti del II Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana (Florence, 1985, 451-464). Each of these has addressed diverse issues,

including the identification of painters and patrons, the function of miniatures, and the original placement of pictures detached from the monastery's antiphonaries. Miklós Boskovits has also written extensively on the possibility of monastic painters working in S. Maria degli Angeli. Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del rinascimento: 1370-1400 (Florence, 1975) and "Su Don Silvestro, Don Simone e la 'scuola degli Angeli'", Paragone 23 (1972, 35-61) are thoughtful pieces describing the hypothetical operations of the monastic scriptorium.<sup>7</sup>

My investigation of S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgical practices was aided greatly by the opportunity to see the antiphonaries created by and for the monastic community. Corali 1-19 contain the verses and responses sung during the early morning hours of Vigils and Lauds, and include lengthy passages recited on major feast days.<sup>8</sup> Important entries in the Registro Nuovo also address the cloister's liturgical practices and specify its theological interests. Although only a few studies pertaining to Camaldolese spirituality and liturgy exist, a number of published studies were crucial to my understanding of the Order's rituals and regimen. M. Elena Magheri Cataluccio and A. Ugo Fossa's Biblioteca e cultura a Camaldoli (Rome, 1979) is easily the most comprehensive examination of the reform movement's basic goals and principles. Giovanni Tabacco's "Vita di San Romualdo" in Bibliotheca Sanctorum XI (1968, 366-383) contains a detailed description of Romuald's life. For



Saint Peter Damian's original hagiographic account of the hermit's legend, the Vita Romualdi, I consulted San Romualdo: vita iconografia, ed. Don Romualdo Bartoletti (Fabriano, 1984, 21-82).

The most theoretical chapter in this dissertation is devoted to the uses and functions of altarpieces in a monastic setting. A number of publications have been influential in forming my ideas about the uses of conventual images. Crucial to the study of "functionalism" is Henk van Os' important book, Sienese Altarpieces I: 1215-1344 (Groningen, 1984), a pioneering work in Trecento art-historical studies. Also important were Richard Trexler's "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image", in Studies in the Renaissance XIX (1972, 7-41); William Hood's "St. Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell Frescoes at S. Marco", Art Bulletin LXVIII (1986, 195-206); and Staale Sinding-Larsen's Iconography and Ritual. A Study of Analytical Perspectives (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, and Tromsø, 1984). In addition to these investigations of art functions and the interaction between image and viewer, a number of publications stressing the importance of art objects as mnemonic devices were profoundly influential. Of these, the most significant were Francis Yates' The Art of Memory (Chicago, 1966); Mary Carruthers' The Book of Memory, (Cambridge, 1990); and Suzanne Lewis' "The English Gothic Illuminated Apocalypse, lectio divina, and the Art of Memory", Word & Image VII

(1991, 1-32). Although none of these texts refer specifically to altarpieces as mnemnotechnical instruments, each stresses the importance of pictorial images as memory devices for medieval readers. Considering the length of the texts memorized by Camaldolese monks, I firmly believe that the theories offered by Yates, Carruthers, and Lewis are applicable to the panel pictures installed in S. Maria degli Angeli.

Unfortunately, I have yet to encounter any art-historical studies concentrating on Camaldolese iconography. The most pertinent study I have found is a general examination of Benedictine imagery, collected and published by the Centro d'Incontro della Certosa di Firenze in Iconografia di San Benedetto nella pittura della Toscana (Florence, 1982). Although this study provides the reader with basic qualities inherent in pictures made for Benedictine-based institutions, it has little to say about distinctions between Camaldolese imagery and that of its sister orders. As a result, I have looked elsewhere for information. Many of my iconographic suggestions are the result of work done at the Index of Christian Art in Princeton, and have been influenced by the descriptions of Camaldolese spirituality in M. Elena Magheri Cataluccio and A. Ugo Fossa (see above).

Finally, my treatment of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin has been influenced by many sources. For the history of the altarpiece's lay donors, I have relied upon a

series of unpublished documents that I was fortunate enough to have discovered in the Florentine Archives. These were found in the Notarile Antecosimiano and in the guild records of the Arte del Cambio. All of my suggestions pertaining to Lorenzo Monaco, both in Chapter Five and elsewhere, have been influenced in part by Marvin Eisenberg's fundamental book, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989) and by his article, "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco", in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1984, 271-289). Anna Maria Ciaranfi's "Lorenzo Monaco miniatore", L'Arte 3 (1932, 285-317 and 379-399) and Mirella Levi D'Ancona's "Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco", Art Bulletin 40 (1958, 175-191) are excellent treatments of Lorenzo's career as a miniaturist.<sup>9</sup>

The section regarding the Coronation's pictorial references to S. Maria degli Angeli was heavily influenced by two previously mentioned texts, Henk van Os' Sienese Altarpieces I and Lucia Ragusi's "Le origini del Monastero. . ." in Vita Monastica. General information about the theme of the Coronation of the Virgin was gleaned from Philippe Verdier, Le couronnement de la Vierge (Montreal and Paris, 1980); Engelbert Kirschbaum, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie II (Rome, 1970); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral (New York, 1964); and Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien II, (Paris, 1957). Although Lorenzo Monaco's

Coronation of the Virgin has been discussed in numerous publications, none have devoted extensive attention to the picture's liturgical implications and functions.<sup>10</sup> Thus, there are no bibliographic sources for me to recommend for alternative interpretations.

With the single exception of the question concerning monastic painters in its scriptorium, "S. Maria degli Angeli and the Arts" does not attempt to revise previously held beliefs or cherished concepts fundamental to our interpretation of Trecento art and artists. It is, instead, an attempt to examine an aspect of early Renaissance art history from a position which has not been significantly advanced. By and large, I have shaped this study to supplement the work of my predecessors, although I have, in the process, often arrived at differing results. It is my hope that this work may stand alongside theirs to form a more complete analysis of S. Maria degli Angeli's relationship with the visual arts than has been heretofore presented, and that it might offer a model for others interested in fourteenth-century monastic art.

## ENDNOTES FOR THE INTRODUCTION

(1) Examples of works devoted to singular artists or to works in individual programs and cycles abound in art libraries. Most art historical monographs are devoted to specific personalities or formal considerations, rather than to contextual problems which orbit around the artist and his or her creations.

(2) See, for example, Rona Goffen, Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel (New Haven, 1988), in which the author examines Franciscan history and spirituality without convincingly applying her findings to Giotto's frescoes.

(3) See, for example, Rona Goffen's fascinating Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice (New Haven, 1986) and the collection of essays edited by Timothy Verdon and John Dally in Monasticism and the Arts (Syracuse, 1984).

(4) See Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989). Two recent publications have offered overviews of the monastery: for a brief history of S. Maria degli Angeli, see Dino Savelli, Il Convento di S. Maria degli Angeli a Firenze (Florence, 1983). For a discussion of the convent during the fifteenth century, see Salvatore Frigerio, Ambrogio Traversari: un monaco e un monasterio nell'umanesimo fiorentino (Camaldoli, 1988).

(5) Giorgio Vasari, "Vita di Lorenzo Monaco", Le Vite de'

più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori II, eds. Rosanna Bettarini and P. Barocchi (Florence, 1966). See Appendix A.

(6) A member of the cloister, Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci (d. 1399), has been repeatedly identified as the painter responsible for executing the antiphonaries' miniatures. While I will dispute this claim, I will not attempt to reattribute the scores of miniatures argued to have been painted by Don Silvestro to other artists. Although I have arrived at certain answers as to the authors of these pictures, such a discussion would be outside the scope of this project.

(7) For other important treatments of the "scuola degli Angeli", see Paolo D'Ancona, La miniatura fiorentina I and II (Florence, 1914); and "Don Simone miniatore fiorentino della fine del secolo XIV", La Bibliofilia XVI (1914), 1-4; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Matteo Torelli", Commentari 9 (1958), 244-258; "Bartolomeo di Fruosino", Art Bulletin 43 (1961), 81-98; and Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secoli (Florence, 1962); Raimond van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting IX (The Hague, 1927); Matteo Rotili, La miniatura gotica in Italia I, (Naples, 1968); Francis Russell, "Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci and an Illumination from the Collection of William Young Ottley", Burlington Magazine 119 (1977), 192-195, and "A 'Signature' Unmasked", Bulletin of the Nelson

Gallery and Atkins Museum V (1979), 39-40; Mario Salmi, "La miniatura fiorentina medioevale", Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia (1952), 8-23; Italian Miniatures (New York, 1954); and La miniatura fiorentina gotica (Rome, 1954).

(8) Although the initial worship service of each day was commonly called "Matins" in most monastic institutions, S. Maria degli Angeli's books refer to these services as "Vigils". I will therefore use this term throughout the dissertation whenever this office is discussed.

(9) Among other important sources concerning Lorenzo Monaco's career, see Martin Davies, "Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin in London", Critica d'arte 8 (1949), 202-210; Darrell D. Davisson, "The Iconology of the S. Trinita Sacristy: A Study of the Private and Public Functions of Religious Art in the Early Quattrocento", Art Bulletin 57 (1975), 315-334; Marvin Eisenberg, "The Origins and Development of the Early Style of Lorenzo Monaco", Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1954); "A Crucifix and a Man of Sorrows by Lorenzo Monaco", Art Quarterly 18 (1955, 45-49); and "An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco", Art Bulletin 39 (1957, 49-52); Vincenzo Golzio, Lorenzo Monaco (Rome, 1931); Alvar González-Palacios, "Indagini su Lorenzo Monaco", Paragone 21 (1970, 27-36); Hans Gronau, "The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 92 (1950, 183-188 and 217-222; Millard Meiss, "Four Panels by Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 100 (1958, 191-196 and 359); Guy Phi-

lippe de Montebello, "Four Prophets by Lorenzo Monaco", Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 25 (1966, 155-168); Georg Pudelko, "The Stylistic Development of Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 73 (1938, 237-248) and 75 (1940, 76-81); Osvald Sirén, Don Lorenzo Monaco (Strassburg, 1905); William Suida, "Lorenzo Monaco", in Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler 23, eds. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig, 1929, 391-393); Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori II, eds. Rosanna Bettarini and P. Barocchi, (Florence, 1966); Adolfo Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana VII: La Pittura del Quattrocento I (Milan, 1911); and Federico Zeri, "Investigations into the Early Period of Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 106 (1964, 554-558) and 107 (1965, 3-11).

(10) For a brief discussion of the liturgical functions of the Coronation, see Eisenberg, 1989, 25, 61-62 (note 94), and 124.



## CHAPTER ONE

### **THE ORIGINS OF AN URBAN HERMITAGE**

In the spring of 1294, two men entered the city of Florence after making a short journey from a small Apennine hermitage in Camaldoli, located high in the mountains of the Casentino. They arrived wishing neither to increase their personal holdings nor to invest in an economic venture in one of Europe's most prosperous cities. Instead, the two agents came to Florence intending to build a religious hermitage in the urban center. The men, Don Orlando and Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, represented the ascetic Camaldolese Order, a religious movement dedicated both to communal monasticism and to reclusive eremitism, thus allowing monks and hermits to coexist in the same institution. Don Orlando was a member of the cloistered community at Camaldoli, called the Eremitage (or "Hermitage"), while Fra Guittone was a local knight who supported the Order from the secular sphere.<sup>1</sup> Carrying a large sum of money, the two men cautiously sought urban landowners willing to sell them property. Together, Don Orlando and Fra Guittone located suitable landowners and agreed to pay them handsomely for their property, which was situated just outside the city walls. Barely one year after their arrival, they began construction on the urban hermitage, formally named Santa Maria degli Angeli.<sup>2</sup>

The original structure was extremely small, catering to a skeletal community comprised of fewer than ten men.<sup>3</sup> A small church, a refectory, and a group of individual cells formed the monastery's core, with a small room functioning as a chapterhouse to hold communal meetings. From these modest origins the convent gradually evolved into one of the most important religious institutions in the city of Florence, both in its physical appearance and in its popularity among the local worshiping community. As the tiny population of brethren grew from six to sixty, the original structures were demolished and rebuilt to accommodate the burgeoning monastic center.<sup>4</sup> Wealthy benefactors donated substantial financial gifts to the house which accounted for both the massive building projects undertaken during the convent's first hundred years and the production of numerous altarpieces and liturgical objects. By 1400 the Camaldolese monastery was recognized by all Florentines as one of the city's truly elite religious institutions. A place of extreme piety and ardent ascetic devotion, S. Maria degli Angeli was a center of monastic spirituality and intellectual erudition at the dawn of the Italian Renaissance.

#### **Saint Romuald and the Camaldolese Tradition**

By the time S. Maria degli Angeli was founded in 1294, the Camaldolese Order had been an important religious

fixture in Italy for almost three hundred years. The Order had been formed by a roving hermit-monk named Romuald (ca. 951 - 1027), who had dedicated his life to the pursuits of spiritual perfection and absolute devotion to God.

According to Saint Peter Damian, the hermit's first biographer, Romuald was the son of an ambitious Ravennine nobleman, whose murder of a kinsman convinced the young Romuald to denounce his birthright immediately.<sup>5</sup> Sickened, the teenager fled to the Benedictine monastery of S. Apollinare in Classe, where he experienced mystical visions of the convent's patron saint as he took communion. This experience, coupled with the urgings of the brethren at S. Apollinare, convinced Romuald that his future lay in a monastic vocation. Much to their displeasure, Romuald's comrades soon discovered that their young associate had much more rigorous ideas concerning monastic living than those espoused in S. Apollinare. Romuald believed that the devout worshiper could attain a close relationship with God only by closely adhering to the Regula Benedicti, a sixth-century treatise instructing monks on the proper conduct of monastic life.<sup>6</sup> Romuald soon realized, however, that his fellow brethren were lax in their observance of Saint Benedict's Rule, and complained of these offenses repeatedly to his abbot.

The Rule of Saint Benedict governed most early Christian monastic institutions. The text described the ideal monastery and prescribed the conduct of all of its

participants, including monks, superiors, and lay brethren. Liturgical services were discussed in great detail, specifying which psalms were to be sung on which days of the week and the hour of the day they were to be recited.<sup>7</sup> The Regula Benedicti dictated proper monastic behavior, enumerated the brethren's responsibilities, and offered suggestions for the cloistered community's daily activities.<sup>8</sup> The hierarchy of monks was also addressed, with formulas prescribed for the selection of abbots and priors, and for the duties to be carried out by the convent's elected officials.<sup>9</sup> More important for our purposes, the Benedictine Rule also indicated the function of a monastery, describing it as a place of education and as the setting for the discussion of devout principles. The Regula insisted that extreme piety and austerity dictate all decisions made in the convent, and that all its members conduct themselves according to severe principles of self-denial.

Romuald's interpretation of the Benedictine Rule was, in fact, more precise than that generally held by most Benedictine houses. In its introductory chapters, the Regula Benedicti emphasized the dual roles of communal (cenobitic) and solitary (eremitic) worship, with the latter considered a more difficult form of devotion. Benedict had stressed that novices should be cloistered together in order to teach them the rudiments of pious observance and virtue, thus forming the core of their spiritual education.<sup>10</sup> The

Benedictine rule suggested that the trained monk, after learning the principles of extreme self-discipline, leave his communal setting in order to practice the disciplined brand of mystical devotion he had been taught in the monastery. Alone in the wilderness, the hermit could concentrate on attaining the perfect spiritual communion with God that could be won only through austere solitude and continual prayer.

According to Peter Damian, Romuald was fascinated by this idealized depiction of intense personal spirituality, and was convinced that he, along with his brethren at S. Apollinare, was making a mockery of the basic principles upon which his institution had been founded. The convent's singular pursuit of cenobitic brotherhood, while commendable, ignored the second half of the Regula's dictum which stressed the importance of eremitic devotion. In addition to discouraging monks from private meditation, S. Apollinare's communal lifestyle, which was regulated by a strict liturgical schedule, prevented the brethren from striving for mystical experiences by prohibiting them from concentrating all their efforts on attaining unity with God.<sup>11</sup> Unable to abide by this relaxation of the Rule's fundamental principles, Romuald requested a leave of absence in order to pursue the purer brand of personal Christian devotion prescribed in the Regula Benedicti.<sup>12</sup>

Thus began Romuald's career as recluse. The earnest monk sought out a well-known hermit, living in the Ravennine

wilderness, to be his mentor. Romuald was initially wary of this anchorite, named Marinus, for the older man appears to have been a rather strange fellow. Never having received any formal monastic education, Marinus' regimen was entirely improvisational, although it usually included an unstructured recitation of the entire book of Psalms.<sup>13</sup> On some days, Marinus would sing the verses of only a few Psalms, while on others he might recite the Psalter in its entirety. There was no regular format, no cycle of verses sung at regulated intervals. According to Saint Peter Damian, Marinus' inconsistent practices occasionally brought Romuald to the verge of uncontrollable laughter, which he was able to suppress only with great difficulty.<sup>14</sup> Despite his peculiarities, Marinus proved to be an influential teacher. Romuald learned the importance of self-discipline, self-denial, and rigid asceticism, and began to understand more fully what he had perceived to be the shortcomings of his former community at S. Apollinare. Peter Damian tells us that the two hermits formed an enduring partnership, acquiring a reputation among laymen and clerics alike. In 978 Romuald and Marinus were invited to join and reform the Spanish hermitage of Saint Michael of Cuxa, located high in the Pyrenees mountains.<sup>15</sup> Upon their arrival, both Marinus and the incumbent abbot, named Gaurinus, agreed that Romuald was best suited to lead the community, and the young hermit was given his first opportunity to govern an eremetical organization.

Romuald's tenure at Saint Michael's, however, was cut short by events in Italy. Back in Ravenna, his father had confessed his sins and had entered a monastery in an act of repentance. Romuald, unsure of his father's endurance, abandoned his Spanish retreat and set out for S. Apollinare in an effort to convince his father that the road he had chosen was the correct one.<sup>16</sup> The meeting was apparently successful, although the experience of returning to his former house does not seem to have been entirely pleasant. The old disputes which had alienated Romuald from the monks at S. Apollinare years earlier resurfaced, resulting in the hermit's complete break with the Benedictine monastery. Not long after his arrival, Romuald left Ravenna for the seclusion of the wilderness, thus beginning a twenty-year period of quasi-nomadic treks across the Italian countryside.

The hermit, according to Damian's text, collected numerous disciples during his travels, each of whom was committed to the strict adherence of the Regula Benedicti.<sup>17</sup> From roughly 980 to the year 1000, Romuald organized a series of hermitages founded on the co-existent principles of cenobitism and eremitism espoused in Benedict's Rule. A pattern of monastic planning developed during these formative years. Churches and cloisters were constructed side by side on isolated territory, and were populated by young monks in want of spiritual education. Separated from the cenobitic house, although located in close proximity to

it, were individual huts housing the more advanced anchorites. Although separate, they were not completely segregated, for hermits were encouraged to visit the nearby monastic complex as often as they wished. There, eremites worshiped with cenobites, discussed theological and mystical issues with the inexperienced monks, and participated in the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>18</sup> Although these houses were quite different from the Benedictine monasteries upon which their communal lifestyle was based, Romuald's institutions were not intended to compete with the established Order. His followers considered themselves to be entirely Benedictine in nature, although perhaps more dedicated to the principles of the governing Regula than their predecessors.<sup>19</sup> While they eschewed the laxities of the Benedictines, they did not perceive themselves to be a competing sect in need of a separate constitution. Romuald and his disciples simply wanted to form a purer branch of the Order, not to create a new one.

As the eleventh century opened, Romuald continued to traverse the Italian countryside. Only severe illness kept him from traveling north into Hungary in 1009, a disappointing turn of events which cut short his effort to convert the Slavs to his rigid interpretation of the monastic regimen.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the hermit continued to travel and to organize hermitages throughout northern and central Italy. Near the end of his life, in 1024, Romuald founded perhaps his most famous house in the Aretine region



of the Apennines, near the tiny mountain town of Camaldoli.<sup>21</sup> Although not intended to serve as the center of a new Order, the hermitage became accepted as the epitome of the perfect blend of eremitic isolation and cenobitic education for which Romuald had always striven. The mountainous terrain provided hermits with absolute seclusion from the outside world, while the more accessible monastery and church served as a center of communal learning and worship. Here, in Camaldoli, Romuald experienced his famous dream which confirmed his final separation from the Benedictine Order. As he slept at the foot of an altar, Romuald envisioned a group of white-clad monks climbing a ladder which extended into the heavens.<sup>22</sup> Romuald believed that this dream signified his departure from the less rigorous Benedictines, and his disciples began to distance themselves from the established Order. From about 1024 on, Romuald's hermitages joined to form a cohesive movement dedicated to observant Benedictine reform, which they dubbed the Camaldolese Order in celebration of the idyllic institution located in the Apennines. From this time forward, Romuald's adherents donned the unbleached habits he had seen in his dream. These white gowns, which symbolized the purity of Romuald's spirituality, were distinct from the more luxurious black robes worn by their Benedictine counterparts.<sup>23</sup> More than any other feature, the white robes of the Camaldolese monk were the most distinctive symbols of Romuald's break with his less observant cousins.

During the next two centuries, other Benedictine reform movements sprang up in Italy and western Europe, many of which adopted not only Romuald's stringent principles, but also the white habit worn by his adherents.<sup>24</sup>

### **Camaldolese Spirituality**

Although the exact date of the Order's foundation remains unresolved, there is little doubt that Romuald's reform movement was instituted by the time of his death in 1027.<sup>25</sup> The Order became more popular after his death, with a number of hermitages appearing across Italy and Northern Europe. These new foundations were based on the Camaldolese principles of cenobitism and eremitism, with each location containing both a monastic center for communal worship and a hermitage for secluded mystical meditation. From the Order's inception, monk and recluse were encouraged to live virtually side by side, to tolerate, and, in the case of the cenobite, to admire his counterpart. As a result, the Camaldolese Order was one of the most complex religious organizations of its time, and the first of the so-called Benedictine reform movements to spring up throughout Europe after the end of the first millennium.<sup>26</sup> Valuing extreme austerity, pious devotion, ecstatic mysticism, and an unshakable faith bordering on the fanatic, Romuald's disciples considered themselves the true adherents to the Benedictine ideal and the only legitimate descendants of the

great early Christian monk. Every aspect of their lives centered on an obsessive determination to worship God in the most perfect way possible.

Because of Romuald's commitment to ascetic simplicity, Camaldolese ideology initially avoided any rigid adherence to theological writings or interpretations. Supernatural mysticism was much more desirable than scholarly analysis, and the exegetical texts of Christian thinkers were essentially ignored, if not scorned, during the Order's first years. The Camaldolese relied upon an oral tradition, rather than a written one, which allowed for the passing of myths and legends in a more personal manner. This disdain for the written word, however, soon subsided. As early as the mid-eleventh century, Peter Damian's Camaldolese writings were altering the Order's perception of Christian texts, and the balance between the spoken and written transmission of information gradually shifted toward the latter.<sup>27</sup> By the dawn of the twelfth century, the movement founded on principles of complete austerity and intellectual simplicity had been transformed into a sophisticated monastic order.

A significant effect of this interest in scholarship was a passionate drive to assemble important Christian books in Camaldolese libraries. The Eremo in Camaldoli, as well as its sister houses, bought, borrowed, and copied a wide array of texts, resulting in the accumulation of impressive collections in monastic libraries. Various scriptural writ

ings, works on liturgical usages, and theological treatises penned by the Church Fathers were meticulously added to collections.<sup>28</sup> Gradually, the Order shifted away from the pursuit of mystical piety, envisioned by Romuald, toward a more intellectual stance. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Camaldolese community was deeply involved in the theories developed during the Aristotelian revival, as Thomist and Scholastic texts were added to the Order's libraries across the European continent.<sup>29</sup> By the time of Santa Maria degli Angeli's foundation in 1295, the Camaldolese Order was immersed in theory and interpretation. It had been transformed from a purely mystical movement into a highly sophisticated and learned one, interested in the philosophy, poetry, and interpretation of the Christian religion.

### **The Camaldolese Monastic Experience**

Although the Camaldolese Order shifted away from its non-intellectual origins, the basic principles of rigorous asceticism and self-denial were strictly enforced in both hermitage and monastery alike. Monks and hermits usually consumed only one meal a day, which consisted mainly of bread, water, and raw vegetables. The brethren added fish, soup, and cooked vegetables to their diet twice a week.<sup>30</sup> If a recluse decided to abstain from eating, as many did, his sustenance was limited to one daily allowance of bread,

salt, and water.<sup>31</sup> The luxury of good food was not a part of the Camaldolese regimen.

Regular activities varied for Camaldolese adherents, depending upon their positions in the Order. Ascetic hermits devoted most of their time to private meditation, fasting, and the maintenance of small gardens planted next to their individual cells. Each recluse lived in his own small hut, which was surrounded by others of identical dimensions housing fellow hermits. These cells were simple structures, probably containing little more than a book and essential eating utensils. Hermits slept on bare floors, and were protected from the elements only by their sandals and rough-hewn habits.<sup>32</sup> Physically, psychologically, and emotionally, the Camaldolese anchorite sacrificed his entire being for the commemoration of Jesus Christ. Because of their fervent devotion to this single cause, few restrictions were applied to eremites either by the Camaldolese Rule or by the administrators of each hermitage. If hermits chose to worship at services in the church with the cenobitic community, they were heartily welcomed. If, instead, they elected to remain in their cells for years on end, refusing contact with their monastic brethren, they were lauded for setting a correct example of spiritual austerity. The anchorite was the ideal Camaldolese mystic.

Although originally founded to correspond to the letter of the Regula Benedicti, the Camaldolese Rule was gradually modified to conform to the less rigid Benedictine

interpretations so abhorrent to Saint Romuald in the tenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, most Camaldolese adherents were cenobitic followers of Romuald's Order. Ironically, these houses had more in common with that of S. Apollinare in Classe--the house shunned by Romuald for its excesses--than they did with the foundations instituted by their founder in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Monks performed worship services no less than eight times a day, the first commencing at midnight and the last beginning roughly two hours after sunset. As prescribed in the Regula Benedicti, these celebrations were:<sup>33</sup>

Vigils	Celebrated around 2:00 a.m.
Lauds	Celebrated just before daybreak, between 5:00 and 6:00 a.m.
Prime	Celebrated soon after Lauds, between 6:00 and 7:30 a.m.
Terce	Celebrated around 9:00 a.m.
Sext	Celebrated around 12:00 noon
None	Celebrated around 3:00 p.m.
Vespers	Celebrated at sunset: in the winter months, around 4:30 p.m. Could be as late as 8:30 p.m. in the summer.
Complines	Celebrated two hours after sunset, just before monks went to bed.

The day's most important services were Vigils and Lauds, celebrated during the early hours of the morning. Prime,

Terce, Sext, and None were notably shorter, thus earning them the title of the "Little Offices". The evening services of Vespers and Complines were longer than the day hours, with the latter containing more liturgical material than the former. Mass was said only once a day, usually after the Office of Terce, as was customary in most medieval monastic institutions.<sup>34</sup> This rigid schedule provided the monk with an ordered regimen that allowed him to divide his day into neat sections of time. Although roused from his slumbers twice every night, once at midnight and once again just before dawn, the monk's way of life gave him the peace, stability, and security to pursue a single course of Christian devotion without distraction.

These offices were distinguished from one another by the liturgy delegated for each of the eight hours. This liturgy revolved mainly around the recitation of the Psalms, perceived to be the most eloquent and pertinent prayers recorded in the Bible. As with their Benedictine cousins, Camaldolese monks were required to sing a specified group of these prayers on every day of the year, with the 150 poems divided among the seven days of the week according to the scheme recorded in the Regula Benedicti.<sup>35</sup> Certain Psalms were prescribed for each of the day's eight worship services, with the majority sung during the nocturnal offices of Vigils and Lauds.<sup>36</sup> The Psalms sung during these nightly services were accompanied by short antiphons complementing the text of the Psalm. These antiphons were

introduced by a specially selected monk, and were then continued in unison by the entire monastic community. The alternation between cantor and choir resulted in an active performance of the worship service, with every member of the community participating in an elaborate system of give-and-take, of proclamation and rejoinder.

Most of the antiphons and responsories used by the Camaldolese community, especially for major feasts (i.e. Christmas and Easter), were copied directly from Benedictine texts, which were in turn very close to the common Roman liturgy used in non-monastic churches.<sup>37</sup> On occasion, Camaldolese liturgy deviated from the common usage by switching the positions of particular antiphonal verses, or by occasionally abbreviating one of the lengthy responses recorded in the Roman text. For example, a Benedictine office with three antiphons could be altered in a Camaldolese text by switching the first and third responses. For the most part, however, services for the major holidays seem to have been fairly consistent with those observed in other Catholic institutions.

The similarities between Benedictine and Roman usages did not extend to all areas of Camaldolese liturgy. Significant distinctions were most noticeable during the community's veneration of specific saints and Biblical figures, especially those considered to have personified the ascetic qualities valued so highly by the Camaldolese Order. Texts written in adoration of special martyrs or religious



events diverged significantly from common liturgies, often substituting extravagant ceremonies for the more basic services prescribed in the Benedictine usage. Festivals normally commemorated with a brief passage read during Vigils or Lauds were often ignored in favor of lengthy chants devoted to the memory of an important, albeit obscure, saint pertinent to Camaldolese doctrine. Because of the Order's interest in severe austerity, ascetic figures from Judeo-Christian history received unusual veneration throughout the year. Services recorded in their honor were usually taken from patristic writings preserved in the extensive Camaldolese libraries, with exegetical passages incorporated into the antiphons and responsories recited by monks during nocturnal offices.

The two most deeply revered figures in Camaldolese liturgy were Romuald and Benedict, the Order's spiritual forefathers and founders. Both men were considered patron saints by the Order due to their respective invention and implementation of the Regula Benedicti. Their hagiographic similarities confirmed a spiritual brotherhood that bound them together. Each had spurned a life of nobility and leisure in favor of an ascetically devotional existence. Each had thrived on the rigors of isolation and seclusion, and each had organized and presided over monastic houses. Each had founded monastic orders devoted to severe observance and personal asceticism, and each had based his respective institutions on identical principles set forth in

the Regula Benedicti.<sup>38</sup> Thus, Romuald and Benedict were often depicted together in religious images as co-founders of the Camaldolese Order.

This veneration of the two Camaldolese fathers was most abundantly reflected in the liturgical celebrations of their individual feast days, observed on March 21 (Benedict) and June 19 (Romuald). Camaldolese ceremonies performed on Romuald's Day were extraordinarily intricate, especially when compared to the brief verses sung by supplicants in other monastic orders.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, Benedictine liturgy devoted only one antiphonal verse to the hermit's memory on June 19. The Camaldolese service, on the other hand, was over twenty-five folios long, with monks singing page after page of devotional phrases dedicated to their founder's deeds and teachings. Saint Benedict similarly received intricate veneration from the white-clad monks: the antiphons and responses devoted to his feast day exceed thirty folios, illustrating their dedication to the writer of the Regula Benedicti.<sup>40</sup>

In much the same way that the entire Order revered certain religious figures, individual institutions within the Camaldolese sect were allowed to venerate particular saints as they saw fit. If a monastery was endowed with funds from a secular donor for the purpose of honoring a specific patron saint, the convent was well within its rights to devise intricate liturgical ceremonies for that figure, even if its sister houses did not recognize the

festival with the same intensity. Peter Damian's convent in Fonte Avellana, for example, could conceivably devote an entire day of veneration to, say, Saint Maurus if a secular benefactor had requested, and had made financial provisions for, special services to commemorate the saint on that feast day. If the Camaldolese convent in Sitria, on the other hand, had no lay donors particularly devoted to Maurus, the monastery might only observe the Saint's festival in passing, if at all. While the Order at large had a predetermined litany of saints to be venerated throughout the year, each house within the movement was allowed to commemorate other figures as it saw fit. This provided individual convents with the freedom to accept financial gifts from the secular sphere and to revere obscure saints without fear of reprimand from Camaldolese superiors. Thus, no devotional restrictions were imposed on communities. Although required to adhere to the Order's basic provisions and liturgical prerequisites, each monastery cultivated its own venerational traditions and customs as it developed a following in the local community.

### **Santa Maria degli Angeli**

Within the context of Camaldolese practice, the Florentine institution founded by Don Orlando and Fra Guittone was fairly typical of the Order's move toward a more cenobitic stance. The commitment to communal life was

reflected in the convent's fidelity to the guidelines set forth in the Regula Benedicti. The community was strictly cloistered (in clausura) until the late fifteenth century, a condition which isolated each member from the outside world in perpetuity.<sup>41</sup> Once novices had accepted the monastic profession, they were not permitted to leave the monastery.<sup>42</sup> In this state, some of S. Maria degli Angeli's monks, including the famed Ambrogio Traversari (d. 1439), did not step foot outside the monastic walls for decades at a time.<sup>43</sup> Monks were prohibited from owning property or substantial material possessions, although they were allowed to act as business agents on behalf of relatives seeking advice or assistance.<sup>44</sup> All contact with the secular world, which lay just beyond the conventual walls, was administered by lay brethren known as conversi. Conversi collected food, clothing, and other necessities for the monastic community, while also acting as fiduciary agents responsible for transporting money to and from the convent and its business associates. Although they rigidly clung to their cloistered environment, the monks also abided by the Camaldolese tradition of welcoming visitors into their midst. The commingling of secular and monastic interests was not condemned as long as meetings were held on sacred turf.<sup>45</sup> Secular worshipers, notaries, laymen and women of stature, and political figures were never turned away from the monastery's doors. This policy allowed monks to retain relationships with their families, to maintain important

ties with political allies, and to keep abreast of events in and around the city of Florence.

As prescribed by the Regula Benedicti, manual labor was an important aspect of the monk's daily routine.<sup>46</sup> The monastery carefully designed its environment to include several secluded garden areas, thereby encouraging the brethren to cultivate plants and vegetables in their spare time. Other monks, perhaps less agriculturally inclined, concentrated their efforts on different forms of manual labor which seem to have been more intellectually stimulating than the tending of crops. In the mid-1330s, S. Maria degli Angeli began operating a small scriptorium within its walls, which was run by a group of monastic scribes who were responsible for copying liturgical and theological texts to be used in the convent.<sup>47</sup> The scriptorium was a vibrant center of productivity, growing in size and reputation throughout the fourteenth century. Some scholars have argued that the creation of the workshop was an attempt by the conventual administrators to mimic a scriptorium that had long been operating in the sister house in Camaldoli, thus establishing S. Maria degli Angeli as the Eremito's institutional descendant.<sup>48</sup> While this may have been the case, the Florentine house also seems to have engaged in book production for purely logistical concerns, a subject to be addressed in Chapter Three.

Despite similarities with other Camaldolese hermitages, the Florentine house was distinctly different from its

sister institutions in one important aspect. Whereas most Camaldolese houses contained both monastery and hermitage, thus facilitating both of the Order's cenobitic and eremitic requirements, S. Maria degli Angeli catered exclusively to conventual practices. In the early fourteenth century, the cells initially constructed near the monastic church were converted into a single dormitory, and were never replaced by other huts which could have potentially served a group of reclusive anchorites. Although it paid tribute to the eremitic tradition popularized by Benedict and Romuald, S. Maria degli Angeli was a cenobitic house from its very inception. If a monk wished to spend his life in total isolation, he was advised to transfer to the mountain hermitage in Camaldoli, where solitary meditation could be better facilitated. Indeed, many members of S. Maria degli Angeli's community elected to take this path, as may be seen in periodic statements recorded in monastic ledgers.<sup>49</sup> Despite the fact that the Florentine convent was frequently referred to by local laymen as the eremo (hermitage) and its members described as romiti (hermits), the monastery had few connections with the one aspect of Camaldolese spirituality which distinguished it from its Benedictine ancestors. S. Maria degli Angeli was never a true hermitage: instead, it was a conventual house dedicated to principles more in line with the Benedictine Order than with its own Camaldolese heritage.

The monastic experience for S. Maria degli Angeli's

monks was steeped in elaborate traditions and rituals established in the Regula Benedicti. Worship services dominated their strictly ordered regimen, which, according to their choral books, followed the standard cycle of offices performed by most Benedictine and Camaldolese institutions. Psalms were recited during every service with antiphons. Sermons were given, hymns and canticles sung, and Biblical and exegetical readings were presented by specially selected monks.<sup>50</sup> The effective performance of the liturgy was perhaps the most important aspect of the monk's life. Everything--eating and sleeping, praying, thinking, and recreating--revolved around the liturgy and its proper celebration. Novices focused their training on its execution, while older monks were expected not only to have memorized the extensive texts repeated in the church choir, but to have meditated upon the lessons presented therein.<sup>51</sup> Books, and the daily services recorded in them, were the monk's fundamental tools.

The digestion of textual material was as much a physical procedure as it was an intellectual one. In order to read and comprehend religious passages properly, a number of sensory mechanisms were employed by the individual during his meditations. Monks did not simply read texts to themselves in complete silence, but rather read them aloud.<sup>52</sup> This enabled them to hear the Word as it had been written, and to dwell upon each theme deliberately.<sup>53</sup> The oral/aural transmission of the text from mouth to ear

surrounded the reader with the sounds, words, and ideas which comprised his life's work and philosophy. The mouth was a crucial component of the reading experience, and was recognized as such by the monastic community. Two phrases recited during liturgical services called attention to the importance of oral performances: During special feast days, monks sang the words OS JUSTI MEDITABITUR SAPIENTIAM ("The mouth mediates wisdom"), while their daily devotions were begun each morning, at Vigils, with the phrase DOMINE LABIA MEA APERIES ET OS MEUM ADNUNTIABIT LAUDEM TUAM ("Lord, open my lips and my mouth shall proclaim your praise").<sup>54</sup> The proper method of reading any text, known as lectio, required a total sensory experience, and could not be adequately conducted without the monk's complete and absolute concentration.

The touching, seeing, speaking, and hearing of the Word encompassed only the first part of the monastic reading procedure. After experiencing the text on these sensory levels, the monk turned to the next stage of the reading process, his reflection upon the words he had just spoken and heard.<sup>55</sup> Reflection could only be accomplished after the monk had thoroughly read and remembered the passages before him, for intellectual comprehension could only be gained with a certain familiarity with the text. The monk's active reading helped him remember the thrust of each passage, which then allowed him to meditate upon the messages contained therein. In addition to meditating on



the issues discussed in his text, the monk usually compared his readings to others he had undertaken which dealt with similar themes. For example, a subject focusing on John's Revelation could be contrasted with the writings of the Venerable Bede, whose gloss on the Book was a standard interpretation of the Apocalyptic visions. In order to do this, the monk was required to have memorized previous texts and to be able to recall exact passages that addressed issues with which he was now presented.<sup>56</sup> The accurate analysis of distinct texts could be executed only if the reader had the ability to remember exact phrases and arguments presented in each of the disparate works.

This brings us to the third and final stage of the reading process. After speaking the words written in a text and reviewing their meanings in relation to those of related treatises, the monastic reader embarked on the final task of memorizing this new-found book. Lectio and reflection were practically useless without this ability, for he who could not remember and repeat important texts devoted to a wide range of subjects was not considered well versed in his own profession.<sup>57</sup> This was perhaps the monk's most difficult task, for he was expected to have memorized a broad selection of Biblical, liturgical, and exegetical texts pertaining to a wide range of topics.<sup>58</sup> Given the vast number of passages to be read and remembered, lengthy texts were often decorated with images which aided the reader in his recollection of numerous passages. The symbols painted

in manuscripts were highly advanced mnemonic devices, forms which related directly to the accompanying text. These images were not always pictorial, and were diverse in appearance. Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), a contemporary authority on mnemnotechniques, had recommended a system where painted forms were placed next to written texts in order to help readers recall ensuing passages.<sup>59</sup> Hugh believed that particularly lengthy or difficult passages should be adorned with painted initials or scenes referring to the phrase so that the reader, when trying to recite the text at a later date, might recall these signs as he proceeded, using them as mnemnotechnical cues to the text. Such memory devices were commonly employed in medieval theological texts, enabling monks and ecclesiastical readers to remember and recite lengthy passages from a wide spectrum of sources.<sup>60</sup>

The monks in S. Maria degli Angeli were most interested in mnemnotechnical theory, and for good reason. A number of factors made the memorization of the monastery's texts a crucial element in the successful performance of the liturgy. The antiphonal verses and responses chanted during the offices of Vigils and Lauds alone encompassed at least eighteen choral books, known as "antiphonaries". These corali were comprised of more than 4000 folios and 40,000 lines of musical text, many of which were dedicated to the nocturnal services recited during specific feast days. Although partially based on Benedictine precedents, the

intricate Camaldolese liturgy deviated significantly from the Roman rite. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's monks needed to memorize a unique liturgy, quite unlike those of other institutions or traditions with which they may have been familiar as children before entering the Florentine convent. Moreover, S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgy contained a number of ceremonies not commonly celebrated in other Camaldolese houses due to the requests of secular donors, who had paid the community to commemorate specific saints.<sup>61</sup> Despite the lengthy and unique texts required for Camaldolese worship, monks were expected to have memorized the contents of all of these books. Although the corali were usually opened and displayed in plain view during Vigils and Lauds, the dimly lit choir was not conducive to sight-reading. The successful performance of the liturgy depended upon the memorization and accurate presentation of the distinct antiphonaries used in the monastery. In order to memorize these unusual texts, the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli turned to mnemotechniques to aid in their celebration of the liturgy.<sup>62</sup>

A number of devices were employed to help ease the burden of remembering 40,000 lines of liturgical text. Each of the convent's corali was decorated with scores of painted initials placed on nearly every folio, alternating in color between red and blue. These initials were much larger than the black letters comprising the bulk of the liturgical text, and could therefore be easily seen and quickly

recognized by the monastic community standing in the choir during worship services. Rather than attempt to read the text from afar, monks probably relied upon the colored initials as cues for recalling succeeding passages that had been memorized long before.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, many of the antiphonaries contained painted miniatures with subjects devoted specifically to the accompanying text. These illuminations were usually placed at the beginning of selected ceremonies, providing the viewer with a depiction of the scene or figure to be honored in the ensuing liturgy.<sup>64</sup> For example, monks began their celebration of the feast of Saint Nicholas by singing verses from an Introit hymn which were decorated with an image of the venerated figure (fig. 40). The monastic viewer could easily recognize the image's subject matter and relate it to the ceremony he was about to perform. Indeed, the picture of Saint Nicholas at the beginning of the liturgy for December 6 may well have been used as a mnemonic device by the suppliant: Gazing upon the figure, he could use the image as a cue to the verses he was about to sing.

Figure 1, appearing in S. Maria degli Angeli's Corale 3, further demonstrates the miniature's importance for the repetition of the liturgy. The picture is set in a church choir, and depicts a group of monks surrounding a lectern upon which has been placed an antiphonary. The choral book has been opened to a page containing liturgical verses similar to those chanted by the reader of Corale 3. The

words and music sung by the painted figures mimic those sung by the monks in the choir at the very moment that they would have confronted the painted miniature.<sup>65</sup> Thus, the picture directed the viewer through the ensuing liturgical verses he had memorized long ago.

The complex nature of liturgical texts used in S. Maria degli Angeli necessitated the use of mnemonic devices. The antiphons and responsories comprising much of the nocturnal liturgy were not a mere collection of repetitive phrases murmured over and over again at every other moment. Instead, the passages were intricately woven selections, usually gleaned from multiple sources of theological texts fundamental to Christian tradition. An example of this complex liturgy can be found in the text devoted to the veneration of Saint Romuald on June 19. Spanning the lengthy offices of Vigils and Lauds, the feast's celebrations consumed twenty-six folios of text in an antiphonary dedicated to festivals observed in the month of June.<sup>66</sup> Taken primarily from Peter Damian's Vita Romualdi, the liturgy was a coherent account of the Saint's life and work.<sup>67</sup> What made the text potentially confusing for the Camaldolese monk was neither its source nor its author, but was instead the manner in which Damian's words were juxtaposed in the liturgy. Rather than tracing Romuald's life in some kind of chronological order, beginning with Peter Damian's opening chapters and ending with his concluding sections, the liturgy arbitrarily skipped from

one part of the Vita Romualdi to another with no apparent order. A phrase from the first chapter was not followed by passages from the second or third. Rather, a line from, say, Chapter Six was placed just ahead of a verse taken from Chapter Two. At one point, a phrase from Chapter Thirty-five was followed by a line recorded in Damian's Twenty-second Chapter, which in turn was followed by a verse from Chapter Sixty-seven.<sup>68</sup> There was no way for the monastic suppliant to memorize the text for Saint Romuald's feast day by simply recalling its source in Peter Damian's Vita and then uttering passages recorded in the order in which he had written them, for the liturgy borrowed from this original text only in non-sequential fragments. In order to repeat the liturgy from memory, the monk needed mnemonic devices to piece together Damian's disjointed chronicle of Saint Romuald's life. The peculiar contents of many Camaldolese ceremonies necessitated the use of effective mnemnotechnical strategies for the essential task of memorizing vital liturgical texts. The effective celebration of the liturgy, then required a thorough knowledge of the art of memory.

### **The Library and Scriptorium in Santa Maria degli Angeli**

There is no question that books played an important role in S. Maria degli Angeli's daily proceedings. In addition to the volumes of liturgical texts used in the

choir, the monastery possessed one of the most extensive theological libraries of any institution located in Florence. Thanks to the survival of two inventories listing the convent's holdings, we can reconstruct some of the library's strengths and theological emphases.<sup>69</sup>

The library in S. Maria degli Angeli contained an impressive collection of texts. Numerous copies of the Bible and its various components, including Psalters, Gospels, and Books from the Old Testament, were shelved here, along with a vast quantity of apocryphal writings and legends of the apostles. Moreover, there was a notable slant toward the writings of the Church Doctors--Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, in particular--during the library's formative stages, a probable reflection of the Order's devotion to the Fathers.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, these four Doctors received much attention from the Camaldolese community, for each was considered to have contributed significantly to the cloister's spiritual and liturgical practices. Gregory, as a disciple of Saint Benedict's Rule and as a proselytizer of monastic dogma, was probably revered as the great monk's descendant, while Augustine's monastic Rule from the fourth or fifth century may have been interpreted as the inspiration for Benedict's version. Ambrose, author of many hymns sung by the Camaldolese community during worship services, and Jerome, responsible for the Vulgate Bible containing the Latin verses read during each day's

liturgical Hours, were probably venerated for their enlightened interpretations of the Word. Indeed, the lessons read during Vigils were taken exclusively from the writings of the Fathers, thus making them extraordinarily important for the Camaldolese community. Their legendary contributions to monasticism and worship made these four Doctors the focus of special attention from the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli. Indeed, their elevated status was underscored in the high altarpiece installed in the monastic church in 1363, a picture which was comprised, in part, of four side panels occupied by depictions of Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome (see fig. 6).<sup>71</sup>

Although deeply interested in the legacy of the Church Fathers, the Camaldolese reader was also encouraged to read works by the great thinkers and writers of a more contemporary era. Tracts and treatises by Saint Peter Damian and Saint Bernard maintained their appeal for centuries after their addition to the library's collection, while Thomist and Scholastic texts were frequently read in the cloister. In addition to works devoted solely to theological subjects, S. Maria degli Angeli owned a significant group of texts which pertained to other issues important for the community. The library, as was common with other monastic houses, possessed a number of books addressing mnemnotechniques (the Ad Herennium, Albertus Magnus' De Bono, and Thomas' Summa), a copy of Peter Damian's Vita Romualdi, and a version of Isidore of



Seville's De tonsura, devoted to monastic culture. By the end of the fourteenth century, S. Maria degli Angeli boasted a rich and diverse collection of religious and philosophical texts, all of which helped make the convent a center of scholarship and erudition in Florence.

In keeping with the Camaldolese Order's shift away from Romuald's original impatience with intellectual interpretations of the Christian Faith, S. Maria degli Angeli labored to add to its prestigious collection of scholarly texts. The convent's obsession with books was manifested in its decision to organize and support a scriptorium in the mid-1330s. The scriptorium quickly became one of the monastery's most important features, for its scribes quickly earned a reputation as the finest bookmakers in Florence.<sup>72</sup> The workshop's commercial success during the latter half of the fourteenth century suggests that the monastic scribes were in high demand by local patrons. By the 1360s, S. Maria degli Angeli was accepting substantial monetary gifts from secular benefactors earmarked specifically for the scriptorium's use. From 1370 to 1410, the scribes designed and wrote a complete cycle of antiphonaries used by the Camaldolese community during festival celebrations, totaling nearly twenty choral books in all. In the 1380s, the scribes were commissioned to duplicate this assignment for the nearby church of S. Egidio, located in a hospital next to the Camaldolese convent (see Chapter Three). As we shall soon see, the

prestigious scriptorium enjoyed four decades of continual support from ecclesiastic and secular clients alike.

In addition to producing extravagant religious antiphonaries for local patrons, the scriptorium also copied theological treatises for its own library. Important texts, such as Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job and the Exposito in Cantica by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, were carefully transcribed and added to the monastery's collection of Patristic texts in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento.<sup>73</sup> This practice was continued well into the fifteenth century by Don Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and his fellow monks, who turned their attention to the translation of works by the Church Fathers from their original Greek into Classical Latin. By 1425, the scriptorium had been transformed from one which concentrated on liturgical and exegetical texts into one which strove to revive the original theories propounded by early Christian theologians. Attracting lay scholars into its midst, the Camaldolese convent established one of the first humanistic schools of Patristic thought in early Renaissance Florence.<sup>74</sup>

The monastery, then, had undergone something of a transformation by the end of the fourteenth century. On one hand, the cloister contained a vibrant community deeply concerned with maintaining many of the austere traditions established by Saint Romuald in the eleventh century. The brethren were strictly cloistered, followed the Benedictine

Rule more stringently than many Benedictine communities, and directed all their energies toward a pious and ascetic devotion to God. On the other hand, the monks were becoming more involved with scholarly interests than ever before. Regardless of Romuald's dismissal of intellectualism, the Camaldolese community embraced exegetical texts in the hopes of furthering their spiritual aspirations through a broader knowledge of Christian writers and their theories. Rational appraisals of the Christian Faith, so completely antithetical to Romuald's mystical ideals, were collected in S. Maria degli Angeli's library. By 1400, the Camaldolese monastery was a center of austere devotion, the home of an impressive collection of important theological texts, and the location of one of the most prestigious scriptoria in Europe.

#### **The Monastic and Artistic Career of Don Lorenzo Monaco**

The most famous member of S. Maria degli Angeli's community during our period was Don Lorenzo Monaco, a monk who lived in the cloister during the last decade of the fourteenth century. Oddly, Don Lorenzo is known not for his ecclesiastical career, but rather for his activity as one of the most important painters working in Florence during the first quarter of the Quattrocento. Baptized Piero di Giovanni, the monk appears to have been born in the early 1370s, although there are no records of his birth.<sup>75</sup> Don

Lorenzo spent at least part of his adolescence in the parish of S. Michele Visdomini, the same neighborhood in which S. Maria degli Angeli was located, before joining the brethren as a novice. He entered the monastery in 1390, completed his novitiate in a year's time, and was formally admitted into the community on December 10, 1391. Don Lorenzo attained the rank of sub-deacon a year later, and was ordained deacon in February, 1395.<sup>76</sup> This, however, seems to have been the extent of his rise within the Order. Don Lorenzo's name disappears from the monastic ledgers after this date, suggesting that the monk left S. Maria degli Angeli sometime after the winter of 1395.

Although nothing is known of his youth, Lorenzo Monaco appears to have served an apprenticeship as a painter prior to his entry into S. Maria degli Angeli. Examples of his earliest work--some of which are documented--date to the years immediately following his departure from the cloister, an indication that he had finished his artistic training before embarking upon his new vocation.<sup>77</sup> Don Lorenzo enjoyed almost immediate success, for he was extremely active during his thirty-year career. For the next three decades, he accumulated accolades as one of the city's best painters.<sup>78</sup> Upon his death in 1424-25, Lorenzo's remains were returned to his former convent, where they were reverently interred in the monastery's chapterhouse.

Lorenzo Monaco's departure from S. Maria degli Angeli must have been, at the very least, a drastic change in the

former monk's way of life. When he left the monastery sometime around 1395, Don Lorenzo effectively exchanged the peaceful seclusion of his cloistered life for the chaotic bustle of one of Europe's richest and most energetic cities. Fortunately, the painter benefited from the continued support of his former monastic house, which appears to have aided Don Lorenzo significantly. His Camaldolese affiliations earned him the distinction of being a "Frate degli Angioli" throughout his life, a title he maintained despite the fact that he never officially returned to the cloister.<sup>79</sup> This connection may well have helped him garner a series of commissions from other monasteries similarly associated with the Observant Movement initiated by Saint Romuald. Lorenzo executed a number of projects for Olivetan, Vallombrosan, and Camaldolese houses from ca. 1395 to ca. 1425, thus establishing himself as a painter intimately connected to institutions affiliated with Benedictine Reform Orders.<sup>80</sup> Although his artistic talents were noteworthy in and of themselves, there can be little doubt that his ties to the white-clad monks were a significant boost to his career.

On a more personal level, Don Lorenzo never abandoned his ties to the Camaldolese cloister.<sup>81</sup> In 1414 he cemented his relationship with S. Maria degli Angeli by purchasing from them a house located directly across the street from the monastery.<sup>82</sup> Don Lorenzo resided and worked in this house for the last ten years of his life, during which time

he executed illuminations for the monastic scriptorium, painted altarpieces for the Camaldolese at S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti and the Olivetans at S. Bartolomeo a Monte Oliveto, and executed a large fresco cycle for the Vallombrosans in S. Trinita.<sup>83</sup> His burial in S. Maria degli Angeli's chapterhouse indicates the amount of respect and admiration Don Lorenzo had earned from the monastic community despite his separation from them. Although he was not officially a monk after 1395, Lorenzo Monaco appears to have capitalized upon his monastic experiences throughout his life.

S. Maria degli Angeli, likewise, seems to have benefited from its affiliation with the painter. The monastery decorated its environment with a number of paintings produced by Lorenzo Monaco, including a group of manuscript illuminations for antiphonaries designed and written in the monastic scriptorium.<sup>84</sup> As we shall see in Chapter Three, the scribes appear to have relied heavily upon secular artists for the decoration of their books, and seem to have taken advantage of their connections with Lorenzo Monaco toward this end. Moreover, the monastic painter probably executed at least three major altarpieces for S. Maria degli Angeli between 1396 and 1413, one of which (the Coronation of the Virgin) was commissioned for the high altar of the church.<sup>85</sup> Thus, each party gained from their association. The convent was able to install a group of images painted by Don Lorenzo for the highly

specialized audience in S. Maria degli Angeli, while Don Lorenzo enjoyed the consistent patronage of a wealthy monastery--as well as commissions from institutions affiliated with Benedictine Reform Orders--throughout his career.<sup>86</sup>

The same bonds that tied S. Maria degli Angeli to Don Lorenzo Monaco were similarly applied to other people in contact with the monastic community. Just as the convent took advantage of its ally's artistic abilities, the cloister also manipulated its relationship with local laymen and women in the hopes of procuring from them important services and benefices. Almost always, these liaisons were formed through the aid of influential Florentines living in the monastery. Without these alliances, the Camaldolese house would not have enjoyed the great prosperity and support that it experienced throughout the fourteenth century. It is to these other important associates that we now turn.

### **Monastic Members and Secular Supporters**

Don Lorenzo Monaco's monastic brethren were mostly native Florentines. Although the first group of brethren had immigrated in 1295 from the Eremo in Camaldoli, the cloister's ranks swelled with local adherents shortly thereafter. By 1320 most of the new members in the monastic community had come from the city's environs, with many

enjoying the privileges of noble birth. The recruitment of aristocratic novices played an extremely important role in the convent's success during the fourteenth century.

Affluent families grew to trust the Camaldolese house, and sent their young kinsmen--along with substantial sums of money--into its cloister. By 1400, S. Maria degli Angeli was one of the richest convents in Florence, thanks in large part to the participation of affluent families.<sup>87</sup> Thus, the convent gained a reputation as an extension of the local aristocracy, and was perceived as an institution which catered specifically to the spiritual needs of the Florentine patriciate.

It is important to note, however, that the community's composition did not remain constant throughout the Trecento. The population fluctuated during the century, growing gradually at first, then decreasing sharply, and finally increasing so quickly that new structures were needed to house the expanding community. The convent's darkest days came during the summer of 1348, when the cloister was almost completely obliterated by the Black Death. With a fatality rate exceeding 80% (only five of twenty-two monks survived), S. Maria degli Angeli was perilously close to extinction. Only the quick response of a terrified population, convinced that the pestilence had been inflicted upon them by an angry God, brought the monastery back from the brink. Orphaned and repentant young men replenished the cloister's ranks, and the community soon equaled, and then surpassed, its



pre-plague levels. In order to replace their community with talented and well-connected Florentines, the convent appears to have actively recruited members of influential and wealthy families, thus solidifying its stature as a house for the aristocracy. This identification with society's affluent elements allowed the convent to prosper beyond its expectations and immediate needs.

Perhaps the most influential Florentine residing in S. Maria degli Angeli during the second half of the fourteenth century was a monk named Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi, the son of Niccolò di Pagno degli Albizzi. The household into which Don Niccholaio had been born was one of the city's most powerful families in the late Trecento, consistently placing kinsmen both in influential political positions and at the top of various guild hierarchies. Considering the importance of familial connections during this era, the entry of Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi into S. Maria degli Angeli provided the monastery with a vital link to the city's leading political family during a period of great volatility. This affiliation was perpetuated by the entry of other Albizzi kinsmen in the conventual cloister before Don Niccholaio's death in 1412, making the monastery a notable sanctuary for the Albizzi clan throughout the late fourteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Other aristocratic families intimately connected with the Albizzi clan took advantage of the cloister's friendly relationship with the city's ruling household. Men from the influential Aldobrandini, Strozzi,

da Filicaia, del Palagio, and della Stufa families enrolled in S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister, providing further links between the monastery and important members of Florentine society. Burial chapels were constructed by these families in the Camaldolese house, thus solidifying the relationship between secular families and their relatives in the monastic community. By the turn of the fifteenth century, the cloister was composed mainly of men who had been born into the families comprising the era's leading political faction.

As with most other religious institutions, S. Maria degli Angeli depended heavily upon financial donations from secular benefactors. No individual house, regardless of its monastic affiliation, could survive without periodic contributions from wealthy donors. Because of its connections with affluent members of Florentine society, the Camaldolese community was particularly adept at receiving substantial monetary gifts for its maintenance and upkeep. S. Maria degli Angeli accepted both cash payments and real estate holdings from its benefactors, all of which varied according to the patron's means and the monastery's immediate needs. If the coffers were running low, liquid assets were eagerly sought and accepted. Generally, however, S. Maria degli Angeli appears to have preferred gifts of property, which usually appreciated in value and were therefore better long-term investments.<sup>89</sup> The brethren were so astute in their financial dealings that they successfully expanded their monastic complex three-fold

during their first century of fund-raising, while sustaining a growing population of monks and conversi as the Trecento progressed. From an economic standpoint, S. Maria degli Angeli was a remarkably successful house.

The donations accepted by the monastery usually came in one of three ways. The first was an offering sent by the parents or kinsmen of a young man preparing to pass his novitiate and formally enter the monastic profession. A novice's guardian gave the monastery a predetermined sum of money out of gratitude for accepting the child into its ranks, thus saving the family from spending the money needed to support a young man. These gifts were much like the wedding dowries proffered by a bride's family at the time of her marriage, although they were not nearly as lucrative as those which accompanied wealthy women on their nuptials.<sup>90</sup> Dowries for monks varied in size according to each family's means: Extremely wealthy clans, like the Strozzi and Albizzi households, gave as much as 200 florins to S. Maria degli Angeli in the late 1360s, while families of a lesser station donated smaller sums. It therefore behooved the monastery to attract as many wealthy novices as possible, and may help explain the community's involvement with affluent families during the period.

The second kind of gift involved the funding of various construction projects instituted by the monastery. The convent's physical structure expanded steadily during the fourteenth century, thanks to generous donations offered by

laymen and women interested in securing the rights to burial chapels located on sacred territory. To be interred in a consecrated area insured the deceased of having access to saintly mediation at the moment of the Last Judgment. Those who could afford the expense made an effort to reserve funeral chapels as close to a church's high altar as possible. These structures were expensive to construct and maintain, and became more costly as the fourteenth century progressed. In the early Trecento, a chapel could be built and furnished for a price not exceeding one hundred florins, a sum equivalent to that required to buy two modest urban houses.<sup>91</sup> By the century's end, however, the cost of a chapel and its furnishings could exceed one thousand florins, thanks mostly to the high demand for religious burial space and to a savvy monastic community well aware of its attractiveness to potential lay donors.<sup>92</sup> By 1400, prices were so high that only families of substantial means could afford to requisition space in S. Maria degli Angeli. Yet those who selected to do so provided the monastery with vast sums of money unmatched in extravagance by the other types of donations offered by lay patrons.

The chapels built for secular benefactors were usually small structures, designed to accommodate the tombs of family members, hold an altar and altarpiece, and seat a limited number of supplicants to offer prayers on behalf of the deceased. Burial chapels were not simply places where tombs were located, but were also spaces where professional

ecclesiastics were expected to aid the souls of the departed in their quest for salvation. To meet this end, the monastic community was reimbursed for saying offices of the dead and celebrating special ceremonies to commemorate a donor's life and death. These services, usually in the form of commemorative masses, were an important aspect of the agreement for lay benefactors seeking future redemption, for to enlist the aid of monastic supplicants in the repetition of offices for the dead ensured that the ceremony would be carried out correctly. Camaldolese monks were considered professional supplicants, whose daily or weekly recommendations on behalf of a secular donor had more potential to redeem the layman than did the layman himself.

The desire to employ professional supplicants to seek a patron's redemption accounted for the third type of donation offered to S. Maria degli Angeli. Regardless of whether or not a person had reserved a burial space in the monastic complex, many Florentines bequeathed funds to the community with the stipulation that offices of the dead be said on the anniversary of their deaths, or that they be remembered with a commemorative mass on the feast day of their patron saint. Bernardo Ardinghelli, for example, gave money to the convent at the end of the Trecento in return for commemorative masses celebrated in his honor on Saint Bernard's day (August 20).<sup>93</sup> Ardinghelli enjoyed the security of knowing that this imperative task was being handled by trusted clerics. Meanwhile, the performance of Bernardo's masses

earned the monks an annual sum of three florins a year from the Ardinghelli estate, an amount which could supply the convent with enough candles to last an entire year. Combined with thirty-five similar gifts, each varying in size, the monastery relied upon a steady supply of income received annually from pious benefactors intent upon having the "experts" do their praying for them.<sup>94</sup>

S. Maria degli Angeli, while unquestionably pious in its dedication to austere spirituality, was also an institution keenly aware of economic realities. Responsible for both the spiritual well-being of its secular congregation and for the procurement of materials necessary for maintaining an adequate living environment for its brethren, the convent eagerly courted wealthy Florentines seeking religious security. In return for assurances that their souls would be remembered as often as they wished, lay patrons readily donated funds to S. Maria degli Angeli in the hope of benefiting in the afterlife. These donations enabled the convent to prosper significantly. By the mid-Quattrocento, the monastery was one of the wealthiest religious institutions located in or around the city of Florence.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

(1) See Gregorio Farulli, Istoria cronologica del nobile et antico monastero degli Angeli (Lucca, 1710), 1; and Archivio di Stato Firenze, Corporazioni Religiosi Soppressi (hereafter A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp.) 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12, which is transcribed in Appendix D, Document 1.

(2) The convent's title was probably an homage paid to Saint Peter Damian, perhaps the most famous Camaldolese adherent of the medieval period. Saint Peter Damian had written that the Virgin's miraculous Assumption was facilitated in part by a chorus of angels. These angels carried Mary's body and soul from its resting place on earth to her seat at Christ's side on the heavenly throne. See Phillipe Verdier, Le couronnement de la Vierge (Montreal, 1980), 13; the text of Damian's sermon 40 may be found in J. P. Migne ed., Patrologia Latina, 144, columns 717D-718A.

(3) Tommaso Mini, Historia del sacro Eremo di Camaldoli (Camaldoli, 1706), 461; G. Farulli, 2; and A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12 (see Appendix D, Document 1).

(4) For an estimation of Santa Maria degli Angeli's size at the end of the fourteenth century, see Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 209 ("Digest" for Document 2).

(5) The following account of Romuald's life is taken from the eleventh-century biography written by Saint Peter Damian, one of his disciples. See Saint Peter Damian "La Vita del beato Romualdo" in San Romualdo: vita iconografia, ed. Don Romualdo Bartoletti, trans. A. M. Velli (Fabriano, 1984), 21; and Henrietta Leyser, Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150 (New York, 1984), 30.

(6) Modern scholars seem to agree that Benedict did not write the Regula. Because medieval Christians believed that Benedict had, in fact, written the text, I will continue to refer to the Rule as a product of Saint Benedict's beliefs.

(7) The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981), 203ff (Regula Benedicti, Chapters 9-20).

(8) Ibid., 229, 248-251 (Regula Benedicti Chapters 32 and 48).

(9) Ibid., 173-185 (Regula Benedicti Chapters 2-5).

(10) Leyser, 11-12.

(11) Saint Peter Damian (trans. Velli), 23-24; and Gregorio Tabacco, "Vita di San Romualdo", in Bibliotheca Sanctorum 11 (Rome, 1968), 365.

(12) Saint Peter Damian, 24; and Leyser, 30.



(13) Saint Peter Damian, 25.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid., 25-26; Tabacco, 366; and Leyser, 30.

(16) Saint Peter Damian, 32; Tabacco, 367; Leyser, 30.

(17) For a description of Romuald's travels, see Saint Peter Damian, 37-44 and 50-57; Tabacco, 367ff; and Leyser, 30-31.

(18) Leyser, 14.

(19) See Richard Urban Butler and Leslie A. St. Lawrence Toke, "Camaldolese", in Catholic Encyclopedia 3 (New York, 1913), 204.

(20) Saint Peter Damian, 58-60; Leyser, 31.

(21) Ibid., 182. Oddly, this feat was omitted by Peter Damian in his biography. Archival materials, however, support the claim that the Eremo in Camaldoli was, in fact, founded by Romuald.

(22) Although not a part of Peter Damian's biography, Romuald's legendary dream of the white monks became a part of Camaldolese lore. See Tabacco, 379.

(23) Undyed wool was considered the most austere form of dress in the eleventh century, whereas black robes, which needed to be dyed extensively, were thought to symbolize luxury and self-righteousness. See Leyser, 67-68.

(24) Cistercians, Carthusians, and Olivetans mimicked the Camaldolese by donning unbleached habits. Only the Vallombrosans, founded by Giovanni Gualberto, differed, preferring gray robes to white. Thus, pure white gowns came to symbolize Benedictine reform movements and the austere principles which guided them.

(25) Romuald's various houses may have been united by a common Rule as early as 1012, twelve years before the foundation of the Eremo in Camaldoli.

(26) The Camaldolese Order inspired the formation of other splinter organizations, such as the Vallombrosan, Olivetan, and Cistercian movements in Italy and France. See Marvin Becker, Medieval Italy: Constraints and Creativity (Bloomington, Indiana, 1981), 31 and 71-73.

(27) M. Elena Magheri Cataluccio and A. Ugo Fossa, Biblioteca e cultura a Camaldoli: Studia Anselmiana 75 (Rome, 1979), 12-13.

(28) Ibid., 23-24.

(29) Ibid., 60-64.

(30) See Butler and Toke, 208; and Leyser, 66.

(31) Peter Damian favored the diet of bread, salt, and water on a regular basis, and recommended that the entire monastic community should be limited to this meagre sustenance. Few of his associates, however, could retain consciousness by

following this paltry allowance, and Peter's regimen was rejected by the Order. See Leyser, 66.

(32) Winters in the mountainous Casentino can be brutally cold, and hermits in Camaldoli must have suffered from exposure with some frequency. Charles Stinger has reproduced photographs of the Eremo's hermitage in Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari and the Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance (Albany, 1977).

(33) See the chart in John Harper, The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1991), 47.

(34) Terce was traditionally considered to have been the hour when Christ had appeared to his disciples at the Pentecost. Thus, the rationale behind performing the Mass appears to have been an attempt to mimic Christ's appearance to his followers on earth. For a concise description of the history and liturgical components of Terce, see Adrian Fortescue, "Terce", in Catholic Encyclopedia 9 (New York, 1913), 790.

(35) For a description of the Benedictine cycle of psalms, see Fry, 203-215. The liturgy dictated in the Regula Benedicti is discussed in Chapters 8-15.

(36) Nine Psalms were sung during Vigils (eighteen on Sundays), while as many as seven were performed daily during

Lauds. Vespers included four Psalms, while the other five Offices required the repetition of three Psalms each. See Fry, 203-216 (Regula Benedicti Chapters 8-19).

(37) A comparison between the liturgy used in S. Maria degli Angeli and the Roman texts collected in the Liber Usualis confirms this similarity.

(38) The only difference between Romuald and Benedict lay in the official recognition of their sainthood. While Benedict had been canonized almost immediately after his death in the sixth century, Romuald's sainthood would not be granted until the sixteenth. Thus, he remained a "beato" for over five hundred years. Despite this lag, the Camaldolese habitually referred to their founder as "San Romualdo", rather than as "Beato Romualdo", which would have been a more accurate title. In the Camaldolese constitution, written in 1080, the Order's spiritual leader is called "santo padre Romualdo eremita". See Roldolfo IV Priore dell'Eremo di Camaldoli, "Le Costituzioni Camaldolesi" in San Romualdo, ed. Romualdo Bartoletti, trans. Don Bernardo Ignesti (Fabriano, 1984), 105.

(39) Festivals devoted to an Order's saints were usually elaborate expressions of specific doctrines, quite distinct from the ceremonies performed in other institutions. Celebrations on Saint Dominic's Day, for example, were more intricate in Dominican houses than they were in Benedictine convents, while the feast of Saint Anthony of Padua was of

greater significance for Franciscan supplicants than it was for Augustinians.

(40) The text for Romuald's feast day may be found in Santa Maria degli Angeli's Corale 8, folios 72 to 98. The liturgy for Benedict's festival is recorded in Corale 13, folios 144 to 178. Both are in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.

(41) See A. Pagnani and Giuseppe Cacciamani, "La reclusion dans l'ordre Camaldule", Revue d'ascetique et de mystique 29 (1962), 137-154 and 273-287; and Stinger, 2-3.

(42) Lucia Ragusi, "Le origini del Monastero di Santa Maria degli Angeli attraverso i documenti piu antichi", Vita monastica 168, (1987), 39.

(43) Traversari claimed that he had spent thirty-one years in perpetual cloister, from 1400 to 1431. See Stinger, 3.

(44) See Ragusi, 39-42. This provision appears in the Regula Benedicti, Chapter 33. See Fry, 232.

(45) See Fry, 181-183; and Leyser, 14.

(46) This passage is recorded in Chapter 48 of the Rule. See Dom Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture (Fordham, 1961), 16; and Fry, 249-251.

(47) Magheri Cataluccio and Fossa, 64; a detailed analysis of the scriptorium's origins appears in Chapter Three.

(48) Ibid., 102.

(49) Numerous monks living in S. Maria degli Angeli requested transfer to the Eremo in Camaldoli for this very reason. Their departure was often noted in terse phrases added to each monk's personal entry. In these cases, the scribe would append a notice confirming the date of a monk's arrival into the monastery with a phrase signifying his departure for--and death in--the Eremo: "Obiit in Camaldoli maggiore".

(50) For a comprehensive list of the liturgy as specified in the Regula Benedicti, see Fry, 390-397.

(51) For the monastic experience, see Leclercq, 3-21.

(52) Monks usually read in their individual cells, softly enunciating their texts so as to avoid disturbing their neighbor. Rarely would the monk read silently, for it was believed that this lessened concentration. See Paul Meyvaert, "The Medieval Monastic Clastrum", Gesta 12 (1973), 54.

(53) See Leclercq, 19.

(54) The OS JUSTI MEDITABITUR was recited during feast days honoring non-papal confessor saints, such as Saint Romuald: See Biblioteca Laurenziana, Corale 2, folio 90; and Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "I corali di S. Maria degli Angeli, ora nella Biblioteca Laurenziana, e le miniature da essi asportate",

in Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas (Florence, 1978), 222. The DOMINE LABIA is from verse 17 of Psalm 50, and broke the silence that had been in effect since the end of Complines the night before (See Fry, 203; Regula Benedicti, Chapter 9).

(55) See Leclercq, 21.

(56) Monks were encouraged to follow examples of saints noted for their extraordinary memorization skills, such as Anthony, Francis, and Thomas Aquinas. See Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory (Cambridge, 1990), 12-13.

(57) See Leclercq, 21.

(58) For an extraordinarily valuable discussion of medieval memorization, see Carruthers, 1-45.

(59) In his De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum, Hugh of St. Victor wrote,

"It is a great value for fixing a memory-image that when we read books, we study to impress on our memory . . . the color, shape, position, and placement of the letters . . . in what location (at the top, the middle, or bottom) we saw [something] positioned. . . in what color we observed the trace of the letter or the ornamented surface of the parchment. Indeed, I consider nothing so useful for stimulating the memory as this."

For an English translation of Hugh's text, see Carruthers, 1990, 9.

(60) See Carruthers, 1-79.

(61) Among those saints honored in Santa Maria degli Angeli were Gregory and Job, neither of whom received much attention in other institutions. For a more detailed discussion of the convent's interest in these figures, see Chapter Four.

(62) Mnemonic devices had long been used to help novices remember the intricate Camaldolese liturgy. Guido d'Arezzo, an eleventh-century monk residing at the house in Avellana, had taught his students to read music by using the joints of his fingers as symbols of different notes, thus inventing a significant mnemotechnical device. Such exercises were not uncommon during his age, nor in succeeding eras, suggesting that S. Maria degli Angeli's monks used similar cues to aid in the recollection and recitation of liturgical texts. See Carruthers, 18-19.

(63) Ibid., 94. Carruthers has noted the mnemotechnical significance of painted initials in medieval manuscripts.

(64) Ibid., 24. Iconic images were important mnemonic devices, for they reminded viewers of the attributes and legends surrounding the historic figures. Viewers could then begin to recall written texts accompanying painted



pictures.

(65) In conversation, Professor William Mahrt has observed that the second CANTATE DOMINE has been incorrectly recorded in the miniature, leading him to suspect that the artist was probably not a member of the monastic community.

(66) See Corale 8, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folios 72-98 (transcribed in Appendix C).

(67) S. Maria degli Angeli owned a copy of Damian's text: See Serenella Baldelli Cherubini, "I manoscritti della Biblioteca Fiorentina di S. Maria degli Angeli attraverso i suoi inventari", La Bibliofilia 74 (1972), 26. A brief comparison of Corale 8's text with the Vita reveals Damian's work to have been the source of the liturgy for the Feast of Saint Romuald. For Damian's account of Romuald's life, see Migne, PL 144, columns 953-1008.

(68) The liturgy states: HIIS ITAQUE LOCO SEDENTIBUS CONSTRUCTIS CELLULIS ILLIC HABITARE CUM SUIS DISCIPULUS VIR VENERABILIS CEPIT [PL 144, Chapter 35, 986]. REGEBAT ERGO MONACHOS SUB DISTRICTA REGULE DISCIPLINA NEQUE ALICUI DECLINARE IMPUNE LICEBAT [PL, 144, Chapter 22, 973]. EX A QUA VERO UNDE MANUS EIUS ABLUEVANTUR PLURES LANGUIDI SAEPE RESTITUTI SUNT SANITATI [No source in Peter Damian]. QUADRAGESIMALI QUIDEM TEMPORE NISI NECESSITATE INEVITABILI COGERETUR IN CELLULA IUGITER MORABITUR [PL, 144, Chapter 67, 1004]. The liturgy sung during Vigils and Lauds on Saint

Romuald's day (recorded in Corale 8, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folios 72-98) has been transcribed in Appendix C.

(69) The first inventory was compiled in 1513, the second in 1729. For an account of S. Maria degli Angeli's bibliographical holdings, see Baldelli Cherubini, 25ff.

(70) Ibid., 25ff.

(71) For a detailed discussion of this picture and its commission, see Chapter Two.

(72) Giorgio Vasari, writing in 1568, noted that the famed scriptorium was recognized as the finest in all of Europe, a claim which cannot be substantiated (see Appendix A). There can be no doubt, however, that this reputation was, to some extent, grounded in fact. S. Maria degli Angeli's workshop clearly held the respect of local bookmakers and secular patrons. For a complete analysis of the scriptorium, see Chapter Three.

(73) Salvatore Frigerio, Ambrogio Traversari: un monaco e un monastero nell'umanesimo fiorentino (Camaldoli, 1988), 112; and Stinger, 14.

(74) Traversari's contributions to the humanist movement have been carefully traced by modern historians. For his relationship with fellow monastic scribes, see Stinger, 4-14; and Eisenberg, 71 (note 157).

(75) For a brief discussion of Lorenzo Monaco's adolescence and early monastic training, see Eisenberg, 3-4.

(76) Two entries in the monastic registers offer separate pieces of information, and both deserve to be retranscribed here. The first, written in the Registro Vecchio, states:

Don Lorenzo di Giovanni del popolo di San Michele de'Bisdomini di Firenze, che prima avea nome Piero, fece la sua professione in questo monastero a dì X di Dicembre nel MCCCLXXXI avendo prima compiuto l'anno del suo noviziato, in capitolo in domenica notte in presenza di tutto il convento, nelle mani di Don Michele Ghiberti priore di questo monastero. E poi la mattina seguente si lesse la scritta della sua professione secondo l'usanza, in presenza del decto priore celebrante la messa e degli altri fratri e di molti secolari. E allora ricevette l'abito della chocolla dal decto priore. Era allora d'anni \_\_\_\_ partissi di \_\_\_\_ 13 \_\_\_\_ tornocci mortò."

("Don Lorenzo di Giovanni, from the parish of S. Michele di Visdomini of Florence, who first had the name Piero, made his profession in this monastery on the 10th day of December, in 1391, having first finished the year of his novitiate, in the chapterhouse, on a Sunday night, in the presence of the entire convent, in the hands of Don Michele

Ghiberti, prior of this monastery. And then the next morning, he read the writings of his profession according to their usage, in the presence of the said prior celebrating the mass and in front of the other brothers and many lay people. And then he received the habit of the \_\_\_\_ from the said prior. He was then \_\_ years old. He left on the \_\_ day of 13\_\_. He returned in death.")

See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 90v.

This document was first published in Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori: Le opere di G. Vasari, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1878), 18 (note 2), and has recently been transcribed in Eisenberg, 209 (Document 1A).

The revised Registro Nuovo elaborates upon this description by adding a terse acknowledgement of his elevation to the rank of sub-deacon in 1392 and to deacon in the winter of 1395.

Don Lorenzo di Johanni del popolo di San Michele Bisdomini fece la sua professione a dì X di Dicembre 1391, prima in capitolo e poi in chiesa alla messa del convento, nelle mani di don Michele Ghiberti nostro priore, in presentia degli altri frati. Partissi quindi a dì \_\_\_\_ Fu ordinato a' IIII ordini minori di Dicembre 1391, fra due

volte, per decto vescovo de' Cipolloni et al subdiaconato di 21 di Settembre 1392, per decto messer Jacopo Altoviti vescovo di Fiesole, et al diaconato per messer frate Nofri di 26 Febraio 1395. Obiit die XXIIII Maii, hic sepultus ("Don Lorenzo di Giovanni, from the parish of S. Michele di Visdomini, made his profession on the 10th day of December, 1391, first in the chapter-house and then in the church at the mass of the convent, in the hands of Don Michele Ghiberti, our prior, and in the presence of the other monks. He left here on \_\_\_\_\_. He was ordained to the four minor orders in December, 1391, after two attempts, by the said bishop de' Cipolloni, and to the subdeaconate on the 21st day of September 1392, by the said mister Jacopo Altoviti, bishop of Fiesole, and to the deaconate by Mister Frate Nofri on the 26th day of February, 1395. He died on the 24th day of May, and is buried here").

See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registri Nuovo 96, fol. 41v (Appendix D, Document 2). This document was originally published in Osvald Sirén, Don Lorenzo Monaco (Strassburg, 1905), 179, Document II; and has recently been transcribed in Eisenberg, 209, Document 1B.

(77) In 1396 a "Piero di Giovanni" from the parish of S. Michele Visdomini matriculated into the Florentine Company

of Painters (the Compagnia dei Pittori): "Piero di Giovanni, popolo San Michele Bisdomini, LXXXXVI". See A.S.F., Accademia del Disegno I, Compagnia dei Pittori, Statuti e Matricole 1340-1550, fol. 14v.

The citation implies that Lorenzo had already been accepted into the Arte de' Medici e Speciali by this date, suggesting that by 1396 he was a member of the guild governing Florentine dipintori. Because entry into the guild required a full apprenticeship, and because it is highly unlikely that he could have received such training during his tenure in S. Maria degli Angeli, it seems highly probable that Lorenzo Monaco entered the monastery after finishing his work as a painter's assistant.

The claim that Lorenzo entered the guild of Medici e Speciali in 1396 has not been universally accepted, however. In 1402, a second Piero di Giovanni, domicile unknown, matriculated into the company of painters: "Piero di Giovanni pintore CCCII" (see A.S.F., Accademia del Disegno I, Compagnia dei Pittori, Statuti e Matricole 1340-1550, fol. 14v). However, the reference to S. Michele Visdomini and the body of work produced by Lorenzo Monaco before 1402 suggest that the first of the two listings is the one pertaining to the Camaldolese monk.

Sometime between 1395 and 1400, Lorenzo Monaco executed the Agony in the Garden for S. Maria degli Angeli (see fig. 36). Soon thereafter, in 1398-99, Lorenzo received an important commission from the Ardinghelli family to paint an

altarpiece for their chapel in S. Maria del Carmine. He was, then, a respected and talented painter well before 1402.

For an overview of the debate concerning the date of Lorenzo Monaco's departure from S. Maria degli Angeli and his subsequent enrollment in the Company of Painters, see Eisenberg, 48-49 (note 5) and 210-211 (Documents 3 and 6).

(78) In 1422, the descendants of Cardinal Pietro Corsini requested that Lorenzo Monaco, or another painter of equal skill, paint an altarpiece for the family chapel in the Florentine Cathedral. Lorenzo appears to have been considered among the most talented artists in the city at the time. See Eisenberg, 215-216 (Document 17: A.S.F., Arte della Lana, 152, fol. 36v-37).

(79) There is some question as to whether Lorenzo Monaco's departure signified an official separation from the cloister. The Camaldolese Order's strict rule of perpetual seclusion may have dictated that his entry into the secular sphere ended his work as a monk. However, the repeated references to his monastic experience in contemporary documents suggests that Lorenzo maintained his association with S. Maria degli Angeli in an official capacity despite his physical detachment from the monastery. For examples of these references to Lorenzo's ties with the frati degli Angnoli, see Eisenberg, 210-215 (Documents 4A-E, 7, 8A, 9A-D, 10-16A-B, and 16D-G).

(80) Of the surviving works attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, over thirty may be associated with Benedictine Reform Orders (see Eisenberg, 79-173, "Catalogue I"). Of these, the most noteworthy are the Monte Oliveto Altarpiece (1407-1410; Florence, Accademia), the Annunciation and frescoes of the Virgin's Life (ca. 1422-23; Florence, S. Trinita), the Annunciation Altarpiece (ca. 1418; Florence, Accademia), and the San Benedetto Coronation (ca. 1415; London, National Gallery). There is no way to know how many commissions should be added to this list, for Vasari claims that Lorenzo Monaco painted "many pictures" for S. Maria degli Angeli during his life, few of which have been identified. See Appendix A.

(81) Indeed, Don Lorenzo appears to have maintained his commitment to the spiritual training he had received in the convent. Recently published documents indicate that the former monk was hired by confraternities in Orsanmichele to act as one of the church's six chaplains between 1412 and 1415, almost twenty years after his departure from S. Maria degli Angeli. Thus, in addition to his vocational activity as a painter, Don Lorenzo seems to have undertaken free-lance work as a professional cleric. See Diane Finiello Zervas, "Lorenzo Monaco, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and Orsanmichele: Part I", Burlington Magazine 133 (1991), 754.

(82) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 65.



"Memoria come a dì 29 di gennaio 1414 vendemo a vita a don Lorenzo dipintore da siene(?) del nostro ordine una nostra casa con sporto posta qui dirimpetto a noi. . ."

(Recorded that on the 29th day of January, 1414, we sold to Don Lorenzo, painter from Siena (?) of our order, one of our houses with shop window for the rest of his life, which is located across from us . . .).

This document was first published in Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittore, scultori e architettori 9, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1885), 252, and has recently been transcribed in Eisenberg, 212-213 (Document 11).

(83) For a discussion of Lorenzo Monaco's purchase of the house from S. Maria degli Angeli, see Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo Fruosino", Art Bulletin 43 (1962), 173. The author notes that in 1426 S. Maria degli Angeli resold the house which had been used by a monk ("dove sta il Monacho"), and argues that the reference pertains to Lorenzo Monaco.

For Lorenzo's work at S. Benedetto, S. Trinita, and the Badia Fiorentina, see Eisenberg, 31, 37-45, 103-104, 124-125, and 128-136.

(84) For Lorenzo Monaco's work as a miniaturist, see Anna Maria Ciaranfi, "Lorenzo Monaco Miniatore", L'Arte 3, 1932, 285-317 and 379-399; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco", Art Bulletin 40 (1958), 175-191; and Eisenberg, 106-111.

(85) The three altarpieces are the Agony in the Garden, the

Vir Dolorum, and the Coronation of the Virgin (these images are discussed in Chapters Two, Four and Five). Giorgio Vasari, in his Lives, indicates that Lorenzo painted many pictures for S. Maria degli Angeli, although he refrains from describing any of them, save for the Coronation of the Virgin (see Appendix A).

(86) Lorenzo Monaco's departure from S. Maria degli Angeli has never been satisfactorily explained, although it appears that Lorenzo's withdrawal may have been a calculated move. The amiable relationship between the two, demonstrated by his willingness to work on numerous commissions for the brethren and by the constant references to the painter as "frate Lorenzo degli Angioli", indicates that their separation was a happy one. I should like to suggest that the Camaldolese community may have asked Don Lorenzo to leave the convent in order to allow him to serve the monastery from outside its walls. As I will argue in Chapter Three, S. Maria degli Angeli probably lacked the facilities to produce large-scaled liturgical images, a limitation which forced them to depend upon lay artists for the production of all their devotional objects. The scriptorium needed miniaturists to decorate its large and elegant antiphonaries, while periodic bequests for new altarpieces forced the cloister to search for suitable painters. With Don Lorenzo firmly established in an artistic workshop, the monastery could rely upon a trusted son for the production of the

numerous images needed for its devotional practices.

(87) Gene Brucker has noted that the value of S. Maria degli Angeli's total property (6,370 florins) between 1427 and 1438 was enough to place it among the wealthiest houses within a five-mile radius of Florence. The Camaldolese house ranked fifth on a list of 53 monasteries and nunneries located inside the city walls, and tenth on a list of 84 convents situated within 10 kilometers of Florence. See Gene Brucker, "Monasteries, Friaries, and Nunneries in Quattrocento Florence", in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, 1990), 45-49 (Tables 1.1 - 1.4) and 51.

(88) Don Placido degli Albizzi joined the house in 1373. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, folio 88v (Appendix D, Document 103).

(89) The convent sold these properties to buyers on the condition that the house or farm revert to S. Maria degli Angeli upon the tenant's death. Thus, the monastery had a stable of real estate holdings which they could periodically sell and resell in perpetuity, repeatedly reaping profits on their land.

(90) For extensive examinations of dowry gifts given to both grooms and convents by the families of young women, see Richard Trexler, "Le célibat à la fin du Moyen Age: Les

religieuses de Florence", Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations 27 (1972), 1329-1350; and Julius Kirshner and Anthony Molho, "The Dowry Fund and the Marriage Market in Early Quattrocento Florence", Journal of Modern History 50 (1978), 403-438.

(91) Florentine monetary values fluctuated throughout the fourteenth century, and are difficult to describe in modern equivalents. In 1300, one gold florin was comprised of 4 lire, while each lira was worth 12 soldi. By 1410, one florin equaled 7 lire, with each lira being the equivalent of 20 soldi (throughout most of the late Trecento, one lira was worth roughly 16-19 soldi): See Richard Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence (Baltimore, 1980), 429-430.

As late as the mid-fifteenth century, 44 pounds of veal could be bought for 4 lire, 8 soldi, while a pair of shoes cost only 18 soldi (see John Spencer, Andrea del Castagno and His Patrons, Durham, 1991, Appendix 2). A typical Florentine shop could be leased for 3 or 4 florins a year (see Marvin Becker, Florence in Transition, Baltimore, 1967, 18). It is generally thought that a Trecento Florentine could survive on 14 florins a year, while an annual income of 40 florins could support a single merchant comfortably (See Becker, 18. The author cites C. Karmin, La legge del catasto fiorentino del 1427 [Florence, 1906], 27).

The cost of a house in Florence depended on its loca-

tion and to whom the property was being sold. Elegant homes, such as those donated to S. Maria degli Angeli by its wealthy benefactors, could fetch 400 florins or more in the mid-Trecento, while more modest buildings for artisans and laborers were not nearly as expensive. In 1415, for example, Lorenzo Monaco bought a house and workshop from S. Maria degli Angeli for 85 florins, a sum which may be considered high due to the inclusion of a bottega in the agreement. See Eisenberg, 212-213 (Document 11; A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 65).

(92) In 1344, the florin was worth 61 soldi. By 1397, however, it took 78 soldi to equal a florin (see Goldthwaite, 429-430). The increase in cost for the construction of a chapel may have also been related to wages demanded by laborers. Goldthwaite has shown that the average daily wage for unskilled workers rose from 4.3 soldi in 1345 to 9.9 in 1397, while skilled laborers earning 7 soldi a day in 1345 could demand as much as 17 soldi in 1397 (see Goldthwaite, 435-438). Thus, a glaring difference in costs for the monastery's chapels was probably the result of inflation and workers' demands.

(93) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, folio 6v. See Appendix D, Document 96.

(94) The business of praying was highly lucrative, and the monks seem to have earned themselves quite a reputation for excellence in the aforementioned Albizzi family. Due proba-

bly to Don Niccholaio's presence in the cloister, S. Maria degli Angeli received no fewer than 10 annual donations from Albizzi kinsmen in return for commemorative masses recited on specified days. In the late fourteenth century, Nastagio di Pagno degli Albizzi, Don Niccholaio's brother, donated a house valued at 129 florins in return for the monks' prayers on Saint Eustace's feast day in May. Bernardo di Cino dei Nobili and his wife, Pietra degli Albizzi, similarly gave the community vast sums of money for prayers said on three specially denoted days. They also paid the monks to celebrate masses on their behalf every single day of the year, an agreement which was repeated by Pietra's kinsman, Andrea di Franceschino degli Albizzi. The Albizzi family, then, accounted for a disproportionately high number of donations for liturgical practices during the latter half of the fourteenth century. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, folios 3-9; Appendix D, Documents 89-102.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION OF S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI: NETWORKS AND MOTIVES OF TRECENTO PATRONAGE

Santa Maria degli Angeli's growth was as gradual as it was steady. Founded in 1295 and initially comprised of only a handful of monks, the monastery patiently cultivated an expanding network of benefactors and laymen interested in Camaldolese spirituality. The convent's modest structures were periodically renovated, remodelled, and occasionally razed and reconstructed during the Trecento. Much of this activity came in waves, as each decade brought new patrons and new projects, resulting in an impressive physical structure by century's end. As the monastery added to its holdings, a small, but impressive, group of liturgical art objects was collected by the monks. The three altars initially installed in the convent were joined by twenty others, expanding and enhancing the monastery's appearance markedly. By 1400, S. Maria degli Angeli was a thriving religious center, housing over sixty monks and lay brethren, and catering to an elite and exclusive community of lay worshipers.

With the exception of one brief period, the monastery was rarely in need of individual donors. The convent enjoyed continual support from a diverse group of secular patrons, each of whom belonged to various associations of

people interested in contributing to the Camaldolese house. These donors did not whimsically decide to finance the convent. In nearly every instance, some crucial set of circumstances influenced each benefactor's decision to donate money. Although S. Maria degli Angeli enjoyed a steady stream of gifts and patrons, the extraordinary events transpiring in Florence during the course of the Trecento drastically influenced and altered the social and political networks which formed around the convent. Changes in Florentine society were mirrored by changes in the type of benefactor supporting S. Maria degli Angeli. The monastery's patrons during the '30s were of a very different social class than were those of the '60s, while the patrons of the '60s were cut from an entirely different cloth than were those of the '80s.

Three distinct phases of building and decorative programs were instituted during the fourteenth century, all of which were influenced by contemporary social and political events. The first phase, beginning with the convent's founding in 1295 and lasting until the economic crisis of 1343, was marked by the exclusive participation of the city's most affluent and powerful families. The convent's patrons were primarily members of patrician households, carrying names like "Alfani", "Spini", and "Gherardesca". The second period, ranging from 1348 until 1365, was characterized by the attempt of the newly enfranchised urban middle class to mimic the acts of



patronage previously exhibited by the local elite. S. Maria degli Angeli was supported by members of the emerging class of "new citizens" (the gente nuova), upstarts with names like "Dini", "Benini", and "Partucci". The third phase, commencing with the entry of men from important aristocratic families into the monastic cloister in the late 1360s and lasting throughout the remainder of the fourteenth century, marked the return of the patriciate as exclusive patrons of S. Maria degli Angeli. Major gifts from the gente nuova ceased almost entirely during this period, and were replaced by conspicuous donations by members of upper class families intimately connected to the ruling political faction. In this final phase, only names like "Strozzi", "Albizzi", "da Uzzano", and "Bartolini" appear in the monastic ledgers, displacing the "new citizens" from their temporary participation in the monastery's funding.

Regardless of profound changes in local politics, Florentine society remained firmly rooted in its dependency on social networks and familial alliances. Blood ties and political factions were responsible for most of the business partnerships, marriage arrangements, political alliances, and networks of friendships that governed Trecento Florence.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most important connection nurtured by the fourteenth-century Florentine was the blood tie with an ancestral lineage that could be linked to Roman or Etruscan descendants. In an age marked by treachery and betrayal, only the most trusted associate could be counted

as an ally. Bonds of kinship were the most secure measure of any person's allegiance. Familial ties could be extended, however, through connections with other powerful families via marriage bonds, which automatically incorporated one household into another. Political factions were created by one or two families and their in-laws, resulting in verbal and physical battles with those of other alliances comprised of rival households. Because even distant cousins were bound to honor all family obligations, social structures were based equally on intensive intrafamilial loyalties and on intensive interfamilial hatreds. Interests of one family member could be, and often were, fiercely backed by any number of distant relatives or traditional allies, regardless of where or in what field that interest lay.

This fundamental system of familial networks was perhaps the single most important aspect of S. Maria degli Angeli's secular patronage. A wave of young supplicants enrolled in the monastic community in the years immediately following the Black Death, many of whom came from some of the most powerful families in the region.<sup>2</sup> As they officially professed their allegiance to the convent, these men brought with them significant gifts from their wealthy families as a type of "dowry" offered to the monastery for accepting them into the Order. These dowries occasionally resulted in substantial building and/or decoration projects, which eventually expanded the convent's size and improved

its appearance measurably. As the end of the century approached, the most important donations given to S. Maria degli Angeli were made by powerful secular benefactors who enjoyed intimate blood ties with individual members of the monastic community.

The network based on familial considerations was only one type of association from which S. Maria degli Angeli benefited during the century. A second network, based on political considerations, was also a crucial component of the convent's funding. This group was comprised of people and families closely associated with important members of the local government. Some were officials elected to the Signoria (the group of governors, serving two-month terms), some were ambassadors to nearby city-states, and some were connected to royal families through business associations secured during official visits abroad.<sup>3</sup> From 1366 to 1400, most of the convent's benefactors were either the siblings, cousins, or children of these powerful officials, and many were related to at least one member of S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister. As a result, the monastery profited significantly from political circumstances, and frequently collected substantial contributions from families whose star was in ascendance. By the end of the century, S. Maria degli Angeli had become the exclusive domain of the firmly entrenched Albizzi faction, with most of its donations coming from families closely linked to this most important household.

Additionally, S. Maria degli Angeli was also favored by the most influential business consortium of the day, the powerful Arte del Cambio (the Bankers' guild). From 1336 until the installation of the Lorenzo's Coronation in 1413, more building projects and acts of art patronage were instituted by members of this guild than by those of any other local organization. Of the nine decorative projects initiated between 1366 and 1400, eight were funded by individuals affiliated with the Arte del Cambio. Once again, however, this network of patronage revolved around the presence of young monks in the monastic community related to powerful members of the Bankers' guild. Eager to support their sons and kinsmen in the monastery, affluent Florentines never flagged in their support of the Camaldolese house. For much of the Trecento, the monastery attracted the patronage of some of Florence's wealthiest and most powerful citizens, an achievement which would both sustain it in times of prosperity and endanger it in times of trouble.

### **The Founding of S. Maria degli Angeli**

The history of S. Maria degli Angeli begins in 1294, when the hermitage in Camaldoli sent one of its members, Don Orlando, to Florence in order to find secular benefactors who could finance construction for a new house. Don Orlando carried with him 200 Pisan lire, given to him by the General

of the Order, to be used to purchase property upon which a monastic complex could be built.<sup>4</sup> Accompanying Don Orlando was a local knight named Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, a cavaliere and member of the confraternal order of the Virgin Mary (known as the Gaudenti), who was probably selected to assist Don Orlando as the hermit sought benefactors. As knight and monk crossed the Apennines, the two passed through lands owned by the Eremo and leased to local farmers and ecclesiastical institutions, a practice often implemented by the Camaldolese to finance its community.<sup>5</sup> As Don Orlando and Fra Guittone descended into the Arno Valley, they undoubtedly intended to follow this procedure upon the establishment of a new community.<sup>6</sup>

The city into which Fra Guittone d'Arezzo and Don Orlando entered in 1294 was a vibrant and progressive urban center. A new governmental system had been instituted in the previous year (the "Ordinances of Justice"), which took political power out of the aristocracy's hands and empowered the city's guild organizations. Dante Alighieri had recently finished his Vita Nuova and was becoming a vocal political leader. Giotto di Bondone had already launched an artistic career that would make him the most respected painter in Italy by 1305, and was collecting a group of disciples who would come to disseminate his new style throughout the peninsula. Architecturally, the city was visibly transforming into an impressive urban center. The Dominican convent of S. Maria Novella had been erected in

1279, and now, in 1294, construction was under way for two new ecclesiastical structures, the Franciscan church of S. Croce and the Cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore.<sup>7</sup> From an economic standpoint, Florence was one of the wealthiest cities in the western hemisphere. Its bankers financed many European clients (including some governments), while the Tuscan wool trade was beginning to monopolize world markets. As a producer of luxury items, Florence was recognized as an international leader, with silk merchants and exporters of art objects enjoying profitable markets abroad.<sup>8</sup> The city's population, hovering around 90,000, teemed with immigrants looking for work and a slice of the economic pie. Rivalled in scale and wealth only by Venice, late Duecento Florence was the most prominent urban center on the entire Italian peninsula.

Two features of the city must have struck Fra Guittone and Don Orlando immediately upon their arrival into Florence, providing them encouragement and optimism as they began their work. The first was the massive building projects being carried out at S. Croce and S. Maria del Fiore, two churches which were altering the urban and religious landscape markedly. These two programs, carried out at exactly the same time, suggested that Florence was wealthy enough to finance such projects and was spiritually eager to support new ecclesiastical institutions. The second feature was the astronomical affluence of the city's inhabitants. The brazen display of opulence in the merchant

districts and in the palazzi of local aristocrats must have suggested to the two ascetics that opportunities were available in this bustling town. Indeed, Florence's reputation as a town of bankers and merchants (usurers, all!), combined with the extravagant expenditures on S. Croce and the Duomo, were the two aspects of the city that had probably enticed the Camaldolese to send Don Orlando and Fra Guittone into the Arno Valley in the first place.

Not long after their arrival, the two Camaldolese emissaries found their first benefactor. In May, 1295 an agreement was struck with a prominent Florentine named Alluodi di Chiarissimo dell'Alluodo, the owner of a sizable amount of land north of the Cathedral, just outside the city walls. In return for a portion of the layman's property, Don Orlando paid Alluodi dell'Alluodo the 200 Pisan lire as a down payment, with an additional sixty lire agreed to be paid within the following nine years.<sup>9</sup> The area was only a few feet from the hospital of S. Maria Nuova and but a three-minute walk from the new Cathedral, and was therefore a perfect setting for a Camaldolese hermitage dedicated to the dual traditions of cenobitism and eremitism. Its proximity to an urban locale allowed the monastery to initiate and nurture connections with the secular community, giving it easy access to essential provisions and, more importantly, to potential benefactors. Moreover, its placement outside the city walls enabled the convent to maintain a certain amount of solitude and privacy, removing

it from the darker, impious aspects of the urban environment and allowing it to provide a cloistered setting for those members seeking seclusion and meditation.

Immediately after the Alluodi purchase, the secular dwellings of its former owner were razed and the foundations of the new convent, probably modeled on the Eremo at Camaldoli, were begun. The speed with which the monastery's construction was undertaken seems to have impressed local authorities, for the new Florentine government eagerly supported the arrival of the new Camaldolese hermitage. Three weeks after the Alluodi purchase, a procession of citizens led by city magistrates, the Gonfaloniere, and the Bishop of Florence marched to the construction site, bearing monetary gifts and liturgical items for the fledgling house.<sup>10</sup> In addition to this official welcome, a throng of citizens joined the celebration by pitching 250 lire onto the convent's turf, an amount equaling that paid to the Alluodi family by Don Orlando for the territory upon which the convent was being built. This apparently unsolicited communal donation seems to have been enough to support the remaining construction costs accrued during S. Maria degli Angeli's erection. Within two years, the Alluodi's secular dwellings had been replaced by a small monastic complex.

With Don Orlando acting as prior, four monks from Camaldoli immigrated to the Florentine house to form the first community in S. Maria degli Angeli. A rectangular church was quickly built on monastic property, which was



dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel (and referred to as "la chiesa di S. Michele").<sup>11</sup> Considering the modest number of monks in the convent at the time, the edifice was a fairly large structure, measuring roughly thirteen meters in length, eleven meters in width, and seven meters in height.<sup>12</sup> Within this setting, Don Orlando directed the construction of the high altar, which measured three meters in width and contained a sculpted tabernacle, now lost, dedicated to the Annunciation.<sup>13</sup> For reasons unknown, the church was built without a choir, an omission which was not rectified for another twenty-five years. This rectangular oratory served the monastic community throughout the fourteenth century, albeit in different forms due to significant rebuilding projects.

The sacristy, containing an altar appropriately dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, was built in the church's vestibule (for a reconstruction of the early monastic complex, see diagram A). A two-story cloister was constructed adjacent to the church, containing a refectory and kitchen on the ground floor and a small dormitory above which accommodated six people. Within the cloister were two additional rooms, which doubled as a guest house and an infirmary. Another building was constructed behind the church, with the ground floor functioning as the monastic chapterhouse and the second story serving as the dormitory for lay brethren. In addition to these spaces, Don Orlando directed the construction of a chiesetta for the exclusive

use of the convent's secular female worshipers, who were to be separated from the strictly cloistered Camaldolese community at all times.<sup>14</sup> This spartan collection of buildings, funded in part by the Florentine commune, served the entire monastic community for the next twenty-five years.

The monastery's property holdings were quickly increased. Two years after the initial Alluodi purchase, a second agreement was made which transferred to the convent a second area of adjacent Alluodi territories, as well as property owned by a member of the newly formed government, Vermiglio degli Alfani.<sup>15</sup> A prominent Florentine citizen, Vermiglio had prospered from the creation of the guild-dominated political system. In 1294 he had been selected to serve as ambassador to the papal court, representing the commune during the pontificate of Boniface VIII.<sup>16</sup> Conveniently for Don Orlando and his fellow brethren, Vermiglio degli Alfani owned considerable property bordering the newly constructed convent, and was willing to part with it for a small price. For the relatively paltry sum of one hundred florins, the Order acquired a sizable chunk of land from the Alfani and Alluodi families in 1297, expanding the monastery's territory substantially. Although the Alfani houses which had stood on the property were immediately razed, no new structures were built to replace the secular dwellings. Instead, the area was enclosed by walls and made into a garden to be used for the monks' private meditations,

a fundamental requirement for the ascetic community. The Alluodi and Alfani purchases provided all the space needed by S. Maria degli Angeli for the next half century.

The first years in the new monastery were difficult. The entire community seems to have felt uncomfortable with the unfamiliar setting. Don Orlando, in fact, was so unhappy with his sudden shift from the peaceful seclusion of the mountainous Eremo in Camaldoli to the clamor of S. Maria degli Angeli's urban location that he abdicated his position as prior soon after the Alfani purchase of 1297.<sup>17</sup> One by one, the four monks who had joined him followed Don Orlando back to Camaldoli. Replacements were sent from the Eremo in an effort to give the Florentine house a chance to succeed. These reinforcements appear to have been much better prepared than their predecessors, for they did not abandon their new home. S. Maria degli Angeli began to flourish, gaining the trust and acceptance of the local population. The monastic community grew steadily during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, with a number of monks coming to Florence from the secluded, and cold, hermitage in Camaldoli.

As hoped, important connections with the secular world were initiated by the monks during these formative years, and affluent Florentines began to contribute time and money to the house. In 1316 Beato Silvestro, the convent's most famous converso, entered the lay community.<sup>18</sup> Others followed, giving S. Maria degli Angeli a viable base of

secular support and financial backing. Because of the increase in both the monastic population and the amount of fiscal backing, a decision was made to expand the church just enough to provide more space for the growing number of supplicants in S. Michele. In 1320 a Florentine named Antonio di Santi gave the convent enough money to provide a choir for the monastic church, which had been lacking since its consecration.<sup>19</sup> Santa Maria degli Angeli's main worship center was now structurally complete. As the house moved into the century's third decade, the cloister was nurturing an ever broader base of secular benefactors.

The procedures involved in making the decision to expand S. Michele were probably dictated by protocol. If S. Maria degli Angeli was anything like other Florentine monastic houses, the initial discussion concerning the choir's construction was most likely addressed in a council formed by the prior, subprior, and a few of the cloister's most venerable members.<sup>20</sup> There, the financial and architectural aspects of the proposal were considered, with various concerns raised by each member. After agreeing on a plan, the committee's views were presented to the entire community for debate and consent. Junior monks were allowed to make inquiries and suggestions about the proposed project, and even question the wisdom of the program advocated by the select committee. However, confronting the community's most senior members was a most unwise endeavor: If a building program had the council's support, it was more

than likely to pass a general vote in the chapterhouse.

Upon the community's approval, a single monk was designated as the Praefectus operum (supervisor of work). Quite literally, the Praefectus was a monastic foreman, responsible for hiring workers, supplying their materials, and paying artisans for their labor.<sup>21</sup> He was the middleman for every construction project undertaken, the liaison between bricklayers and the monastic population. If the prior decided to alter construction plans or designs, it was the duty of the Praefectus to inform builders of his decisions. Always subject to the prior's wishes, the Praefectus was expected to give progress reports to the brethren during conventual meetings in the chapterhouse. Although the consent of the entire monastic community was required for the initiation of building projects, the prior and the Praefectus operum were clearly the most important individuals involved with any construction program. The success of the convent's structural growth and territorial expansion was due not only to the benefices of its secular patrons, but to the wise decisions of the cloister's leaders.

### **The Early Decorations: 1336-1343**

The erection of the church choir in 1320 was more than just an aesthetic, or even logistical, addition to S. Maria degli Angeli. The project signified the beginning of a

philosophical shift in the monastic community's self-perception. The convent's growing population and the increased participation of lay worshipers were instrumental in moving the brethren away from the Order's ascetic, eremitic aspects and more toward its cenobitic inclinations. This shift became more pronounced in the second half of the century, when the community multiplied to the point where constant solitude and peaceful meditation in S. Maria degli Angeli were almost impossible to maintain.<sup>22</sup> While the transition from total to partial seclusion was under way by 1320, the most significant step toward a more cenobitic, Benedictine oriented community was taken in 1322, with the election of a Florentine to the office of prior, Don Filippo degli Nelli.

Don Filippo's election was a marked departure from the early precedent set in 1295. From the time of Don Orlando's priorate, S. Maria degli Angeli had been governed by a series of priors whose initial contact with the Observant Rule had been in the Eremo in Camaldoli. The isolated mountain hermitage instilled in these monks the firm belief that the Camaldolese ideal could best be attained through reclusive asceticism. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's first priors strove to imitate this practice when they moved to the urban convent. This tradition seems to have been abandoned with Don Filippo's election in 1322, which gave the community its first prior to have advanced exclusively within the confines of S. Maria degli Angeli. Equally as

important as his roots in the urban monastery was Don Filippo's Florentine upbringing. Don Filippo had been reared in a city which boasted some of the most radical political, economic, and artistic changes witnessed in the western world during the last half of the Duecento. At the time of his election, local artists, writers, theologians, and political thinkers were devising new philosophies and modes of visual expression which were to influence European society. Arguably, this intellectual and civic sensibility extended into the ranks of most of Florence's citizens. The projects instituted during Don Filippo's twenty-six-year directorate reflect the distinctly Florentine nature of both the prior and his monastic house.<sup>23</sup> During his tenure, the convent added no less than five major altarpieces, constructed a new chapterhouse, founded a scriptorium, and substantially increased its territorial holdings.<sup>24</sup> The austere attitudes of Don Filippo's Aretine predecessors seem to have been dropped during the 1330s and '40s in favor of more urbane Florentine tastes.

The transition toward a cenobitic lifestyle, however, was gradual. For thirteen years after Don Filippo's election, the community used only three major altars, reflecting the convent's spartan setting. Only the church of S. Michele, the sacristy, and the women's chiesetta contained liturgical structures and images, a situation which gradually became inadequate. In the mid-1330s, the convent instituted projects to increase the number of

liturgical spaces within its confines. Donations from two related benefactors allowed the monks to begin the construction of a pair of altars for the sacristy. Not coincidentally, both gifts came from members of the same aristocratic family, the powerful patrician Spini clan. As they had done in 1295, the monks turned to the city's wealthiest and most influential families for support.

The two Spini projects were unique in a number of ways, for neither donation came from blood members of the clan. Instead, they were initiated by two women who had married into the Spini family and had adopted each household after leaving their own homes. The first altar, erected in the sacristy, was funded by Monna Lapa degli Spini. Monna Lapa's donation of fifty florins covered the construction of the altar dedicated to Mary Magdalen, and included the purchase of a chalice and all the furnishings needed to celebrate the mass (with the exception of a missal).<sup>25</sup> Although not specified, Monna Lapa's gift almost certainly included the funding of a painted altarpiece to decorate the space.

The second altar, dedicated to Saint Lawrence, was also initiated with funds donated by a Spini in-law, this time by the wife of Ser Filippo degli Spini, a woman named Monna Nuccia.<sup>26</sup> This altar cost Monna Nuccia sixty florins and, like the altar of the Magdalen, provided for the production of all the ornaments required to meet the convent's needs, including an altarpiece. It is significant that these two



donations were made by female members of the household. While Monna Nuccia funded the altar to Saint Lawrence for the memory of her own soul and that of her husband, Monna Lapa intentionally omitted her spouse's memory from the commemorative donation.<sup>27</sup> Instead, Lapa asked that her daughter's soul be honored along with her own, thereby making the altar a shrine specifically devoted to their mother-daughter relationship. In a patriarchal society, women's souls were usually accounted for only when a male relative bequeathed money to a religious institution to commemorate his mother, sister, wife, or daughter. The Spini probably owned other chapels in selected Florentine churches which provided male members of the clan with suitable burial spaces.<sup>28</sup> Monna Lapa's donation, then, may have been given to secure the forgotten soul of her daughter, in addition to assuring that her own soul would not be ignored as her in-laws insured their own salvation.<sup>29</sup>

The painted images accompanying each Spini altar have never been identified by modern specialists. When Tommaso Mini wrote his description of S. Maria degli Angeli in 1706, the entrance to the sacristy containing the altars to Lawrence and Mary Magdalen had long since been destroyed.<sup>30</sup> As we shall soon see, Monna Nuccia's altar to Saint Lawrence was dismantled by 1354.<sup>31</sup> As a result, there are no written clues concerning the appearance of these altarpieces, and any attempt to associate images with them would be highly speculative.

I should like to suggest, however, that the painting installed on the altar to Mary Magdalen has survived. For years, a double-sided altarpiece has been displayed on the piano terreno of the Florence Accademia (fig. 2). Each side of the small polyptych contains five compartments, with the front panel's central section depicting the Coronation of the Virgin and the central scene on the back representing the Madonna and Child. Flanking these images are iconic representations of various saints: Julian (?), Margaret, Mary Magdalen, and Saint Benedict stand next to the Coronation, while half-length depictions of Romuald, a second Magdalen, Scholastica (Benedict's sister), and Zenobius (?) appear alongside the Madonna panel. Attributed to the anonymous "Master of the Dominican Effigies" and dated to the period 1336-1349, the double-sided altarpiece has never been convincingly placed in any Trecento Florentine religious house, and has never been connected with a secular donor.<sup>32</sup>

A number of the painting's elements lead me to believe that this was the picture decorating Monna Lapa Spini's altar. First, the repeated images of Mary Magdalen, which would have been placed back-to-back when the altarpiece was put together, and the white-clad figures of Romuald and Benedict suggest that the painting was originally intended for a Camaldolese altar dedicated to the Magdalen. Secondly, the predominance of female saints in the flanking panels corresponds with the decidedly feminine commemoration

of Monna Lapa's altar. Third, the polyptych's double-sided format indicates that the picture was intended to be seen from two different angles, while its small size (64 x 193 cm) implies that the painting probably decorated a side or subsidiary altar, rather than a high altar. The location of Monna Lapa's altar at the sacristy's entrance dictated that the structure be small enough so as not to obstruct the passageway into the room. It also would have necessitated an image which could be seen by priests as they walked to and from the vestry. The compact, double-sided altarpiece in the Accademia meets these requirements nicely, for it would have been small enough to fit into a confined space, yet also would have been visible as clerics entered and exited the sacristy. Finally, the traditional dating of the panels to a period between 1336 and 1349 coincides with the year of the altar's construction and consecration, with the earlier of the two dates being the more precise. The correspondence of the picture's proposed date and subject matter to the circumstances surrounding Monna Lapa's donation leads me to believe that the altarpiece located at the entrance to the sacristy was the double-sided picture currently in the Florence Accademia.

Five years after Lapa and Nuccia Spini's joint donations, a significant redecoration of the sacristy was undertaken by two little known secular donors. In 1342 Ser Nino di Bonamico Canonico, a notary from the town of Poppi, donated a farm appraised at 300 florins to the monastery, in

return for the legal rights to a chapel located in the sacristy.<sup>33</sup> Although the chapel was already dedicated to Saint Michael, Ser Nino wished to transfer the space to his name and rededicate it to Saint Catherine. Since no secular family had purchased rights to the space when it was built in 1295-97, Ser Nino's request was taken seriously. Because the chapel was already standing, the convent would not need to spend money on a new construction project. All that was needed was an altarpiece devoted to the memory of Saint Catherine and a ceremony reconsecrating the chapel in her honor. As S. Maria degli Angeli stood only to profit from the agreement, Ser Nino's request was granted.

Ser Nino did not wish the chapel to be reserved for the exclusive interment of his own body and soul. Both his parents' souls were to be honored in the chapel, with a provision stating that monks say four masses each week on their behalf. In addition to his real estate donation, Ser Nino gave the convent a cash gift of twenty-five florins and pledged to donate an annual sum of four lire to support the convent's weekly devotions. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly for our purposes, the soul of Ser Nino's wife, the Contessa Gherardescha, was to be included in each commemorative service. Indeed, Ser Nino had married into one of the wealthiest magnate families in Florence. Whereas the Spini household held the social position of a patrician family, the Gherardescha clan was of an even higher, although politically impotent, social rank, commonly

associated with the landed nobility of the feudal era.<sup>34</sup> Despite his more humble origins, Ser Nino was considered to be a member of this fabulously wealthy social fraternity, through his association with the Gherardescha family. Thus, the Canonico donation was the third gift to come from an aristocratic benefactor in the space of seven years. The fact that S. Maria degli Angeli began the initial phase of its sacristy's redecoration with donations from the city's wealthiest households indicates its favorable reputation within Florentine patrician circles.

The final contributions to the sacristy's decorations were added at the same time that Ser Nino was providing for his family's souls. In 1342, S. Maria degli Angeli received a bequest from a Florentine named Giovanni di Lottieri Ghitti, whose will stipulated that a chapel be constructed in the sacristy and dedicated to his patron saint, John the Evangelist.<sup>35</sup> Giovanni had apparently died at a fairly young age, since his sixty-florin donation for the construction and decoration of "his" chapel was delivered to S. Maria degli Angeli by his father. The chapel was built and consecrated by September, 1342. Save for his apparent dedication to the Camaldolese convent, literally nothing is known of Giovanni Ghitti, not even the name of his local parish. His affiliations with S. Maria degli Angeli, Ser Nino Canonico, and the Spini family therefore cannot be discerned. However, because construction for the Ghitti chapel was begun at roughly the same time as the convent's

agreement with Ser Nino, we may speculate that the leaders of the monastic community considered Giovanni Ghitti's bequest to be part of a larger building project which included Ser Nino's participation. Whether or not the two lay donors had planned the gift at an earlier date, however, is unknown.

Following closely on the heels of the Ghitti and Canonico donations, a program was initiated to rebuild a number of the convent's structures.<sup>36</sup> Commencing in 1344, the two-story building containing the monastic chapterhouse and conversi dormitory was reduced in size, essentially to provide for the placement of a larger portal leading into the church choir. During this undertaking, a vestibule was constructed which separated S. Michele from the capitolo (see diagram B). The sacristy was similarly reduced in order to allow for the construction of a small bell tower (campanuzo). The refectory, located on the ground floor of the monastic cloister, was also condensed to make room for a barber shop (barberia) and additional cells in the infirmary. By 1348, S. Maria degli Angeli was a self-sufficient community, containing facilities required to address both the spiritual and physical needs of its members. Moreover, the convent was attracting the attention of wealthy benefactors into its midst. With patrons like the Spini, Alfani, and Gherardescha families in its fold, S. Maria degli Angeli could expand and amend its physical structure seemingly at will, with the knowledge that funds could be raised from

aristocratic allies whenever the need arose.

Although many significant details concerning the convent's individual patrons are not available, one pervasive quality seems to be apparent in most, if not all, of these donors. From its foundation in 1295 through the building programs of the 1330s and '40s, the convent retained donations from lay benefactors who were intimately connected with prominent patrician families in the environs of Florence. The Alluodi, Alfani, Spini, and Gherardesca clans, and perhaps even the Ghitti and Canonico families, all enjoyed the great wealth and social influence befitting their social standing. It is easy to understand why S. Maria degli Angeli looked to these families for financial support. It does not, however, explain why these wealthy families chose the Camaldolese house as a beneficiary of their generosity. As far as I have been able to discern, there were none of those familial links between donors and members of the monastic community that would become important later in the century. Instead, the convent's appeal may have been its budding reputation as a spiritual haven of the aristocracy. As we have seen in Chapter One, the Camaldolese Order was perceived to cater to the religious needs of the nobility, as opposed to the mendicant orders which generally embraced theories more popular with the middle and lower classes. Perhaps Don Filippo Nelli's connections helped propel patrician patrons toward S. Maria degli Angeli. Indeed, by the time of his election to the

priorship in 1322, the monastery was accepting more Florentine boys into its ranks than ever before, most of whom came from local patrician families. This pattern continued throughout the Trecento, as members of the Albizzi, Strozzi, Aldobrandini, Ricci, and Alberti families entered the cloister. S. Maria degli Angeli, more by design than by accident, nurtured its relationships with prominent Florentine families, and reaped substantial dividends from these associations.

#### **Renovation and Rejuvenation: 1348-1359**

The convent's seemingly exclusive affiliations with the aristocracy were soon suspended for reasons of a more political than spiritual nature. The decade of the 1340s saw a radical shift in the Florentine power structure, thanks to a number of crises which almost paralyzed the city. The depression of 1342-46, characterized by the failure of some of the city's most prominent banking houses--including that run by the Spini family--combined with the invitation and quick expulsion of a foreign despot to cause a drastic reorganization of the government. Whereas Florence had once been ruled by a small group of affluent merchants, political realignments during the 1340s greatly expanded the participation of the city's growing class of gente nuova.<sup>37</sup> The restructuring of the oligarchically controlled government inaugurated what has



since been described as the "Democratic Period" of Florentine politics, whereby a more inclusive system of nominating and electing candidates replaced the one slanted more toward the aristocracy. The number of priors comprising the Signoria was increased from six to eight, with only two of these officials coming from the seven major guilds. Three priors, selected from the five middle guilds, allied themselves with three others chosen from the remaining nine minor guilds, thus forming a dominant majority over patricians from the city's most elite organizations.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the Gonfaloniere was taken from each of the three groups on an alternating basis, thereby giving the middle and lower guilds an additional vote for two-thirds of the year.

Although recent studies have shown that the Florentine aristocracy succeeded in manipulating this new system to its advantage, the period from 1343 to 1382 is still considered to mark the century's most significant era of middle-class political participation.<sup>39</sup> The increased representation of middle- and lower-middle class elements of Florentine society resulted in an age of corporate politics, whereby merchant and trade unions from all social stations participated in the state's administration.<sup>40</sup> Although not completely toppled, the aristocracy was forced temporarily to relinquish a portion of its political power, as well as a larger amount of its social prestige. In the meantime, the up-and-coming class of "new citizens" began to assert itself

in the more open society. For the next few decades, the gente nuova would not only play a more important role in the administration of the Florentine government, but would also contribute financially to S. Maria degli Angeli's decorations in a way heretofore unseen in the Camaldolese house. In addition to the new order created by the bank failures of the 1340s and the ensuing governmental restructuring, Florentine society was altered even more profoundly by a second event which violently transformed the city's (and the continent's) demographic makeup. In addition to shaking the basic foundations of Florentine society, the Black Death of 1348 destroyed much of what S. Maria degli Angeli's community had striven to create in its fifty-year history, and caused its survivors to reconstruct their physical structure drastically.

When the Black Death began to sweep through Tuscany in the spring of 1348, many Florentines looked to S. Maria degli Angeli as a place of refuge. The house was reputed to be among the city's most sacred institutions, thanks in no small part to its continual state of isolation from the secular world and dedication to the rigors of total piety. During the height of the pestilence, which was considered by many to be the vengeance of a wrathful God on his sacrilegious subjects, penitential Florentines approached the ascetic monastery in search of absolution and salvation.<sup>41</sup> Although officially cloistered, the monks accepted these beleaguered penitents, apparently in an

effort to heal the spiritually needy and to lend emotional support to grieving victims. Perhaps as a result of this openness, the disease spread through the cloister.<sup>42</sup> Monks dropped in the compound, inflicted with hideous black boils on their bodies. In an effort to purify the "bad air" (malaria) that was perceived to be destroying their environment, the brethren desperately attempted to purge the convent by censuring perfumes and burning herbs throughout its confines.<sup>43</sup> The enclosed space, occupied by the tightly-knit monastic community, ensured that an extraordinarily large percentage of brethren would fall victim to the pestilence. Seventeen of the twenty-two monks, including prior Don Filippo Nelli, succumbed over a three month period, while four of the six lay brethren met a similar fate. When the Black Death subsided in October, 1348, there was practically no one left to inhabit the structures erected during Don Filippo's priorate.

The story of S. Maria degli Angeli's decimation was typical, for the Black Death spared few Florentine families and communities. The physical carnage wrought by the plague was equaled in severity by its extreme emotional consequences.<sup>44</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, writing just after the epidemic's waning, reported that the immediate response of many was to abandon all ethical propriety and live solely for the moment. Terror was the order of the day, often inflicted upon the masses by rogues taking advantage of a temporary lull in the observance of social norms. Perhaps

the most despicable extortionists were members of the becchini, groups of lower class men--many of whom were themselves infected--who had been organized to collect dead bodies for quick burial. Recognizing their sudden advantage in a society turned upside down, some of the becchini turned to thievery, rape, and violence, forcing their demands upon the unafflicted under penalty of infection.<sup>45</sup>

This wave of licentiousness, fortunately, seems to have been short lived. A fierce reactionary movement replaced this lawless mentality, characterized by a fervent reaffirmation of faith and a dedication to the observant philosophies of monastic life. Naturally, the ascetic Camaldolese were perceived as leaders by a secular community in dire need of spiritual guidance. S. Maria degli Angeli benefited immediately from this new movement. Wealthy families affiliated with the convent streamed into the monastic church to offer penance and to receive forgiveness for the sins they believed had caused the epidemic.<sup>46</sup> The decimated Camaldolese community, reduced to five monks and two conversi, was quickly replenished by a surge of new members, many of whom approached the house due to their newly intensified fear of God and a sudden desire for personal redemption.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the carnage wrought by the Black Death, the cloister profited immensely from the 1348 epidemic. The monks suddenly found themselves the recipients of numerous bequests from plague victims, all of which were accepted

into the treasury just after the pestilence had subsided. Furthermore, the movement embracing individual piety immediately following the summer of '48 resulted in an additional wave of financial support for the observant house. Instead of procuring funds at scattered intervals, S. Maria degli Angeli benefited from a veritable windfall of profits, all of which were obtained within a short five-year period. With the unexpected accumulation of these liquid assets, the convent was capable of improving its physical plant quickly and measurably.

The sudden increase of membership, the perceived need to purify their "contaminated" monastic complex, and the wave of financial support experienced immediately following the Black Death's passing spurred the cloister into action. The first task was to expand its territory, and new acquisitions were secured to provide the convent with a larger area to hold its growing community. The first purchase was made by Don Domenico Cenni, the newly elected prior and successor of Don Filippo Nelli, just after the plague's end. For the sum of 650 florins, S. Maria degli Angeli added a large tract of land just east of the original church, bought from Bartolomeo and Giovanni degli Alfani.<sup>48</sup> In 1353 a second purchase was made from two of Vermiglio degli Alfani's sons, Cantino and Alberto, which expanded the complex further to the south, toward S. Maria Nuova. Nine years later, the convent added a third plot of land to its compound when Cantino and Alberto sold the remainder of

their property to the Camaldolese house, save for a small house in which their mother was allowed to live until her death.<sup>49</sup> These purchases would constitute the monastery's territorial borders throughout the century. From this point, the monastery concentrated its efforts on improving its physical facilities, providing for its brethren, and attracting the good will of the city's wealthiest patri-cians, politicians, and social aspirants.

S. Maria degli Angeli began building on the newly acquired Alfani property in the early 1350s. By 1354, the original dormitory had been enlarged to hold the convent's growing number of conversi, constructed in large part with funds donated by Ser Nino Canonico, the donor of the chapel of Saint Catherine located in the sacristy.<sup>50</sup> In that same year, a new chapterhouse was built just south and west of the church choir, while additional chapels were constructed in the cloister near the bell tower.<sup>51</sup> Finally, the sacristy was reduced even further, with a chapel replacing the areas which had previously contained the Spini altars to Saints Lawrence and Mary Magdalen (see diagram C).

The chapterhouse was the first building project initiated during this period, built in part with funds donated by a wealthy Florentine named Agnolo dal Canto. Sometime before 1353, as the chapterhouse was being designed, Agnolo requested that S. Maria degli Angeli build a chapel in the capitolo, dedicated to Saint Anthony.<sup>52</sup> In addition to paying for the chapel's construction, dal Canto

agreed to pay for an altarpiece, a chalice, and all the liturgical items needed to perform a worship service, including a missal to be used during mass. Funding for the entire endeavor was to come from Agnolo's estate upon his death. The bequest allowed S. Maria degli Angeli to spend eighty florins, a substantial amount of money, on construction costs, with an additional fifty florins earmarked for the production of an altarpiece. The purchase of the chalice cost the monks ten florins, while the missal was initially priced at twenty florins. But Agnolo's gift, while generous, was not enough to cover rising manufacturing costs, for his executors were forced to add to this donation after his death. The twenty florins initially given for the missal's production were supplemented by another eleven, while an additional thirty florins were needed to complete the chapel's erection.<sup>53</sup> The dal Canto donation, then, amounted to 202 gold florins, 161 of which were taken from Agnolo's personal estate. Compared with building projects executed before 1348, which hovered around the eighty-florin mark, the cost of constructing the chapel of Saint Anthony doubled from those of pre-plague expenditures. Only those in possession of vast financial resources could afford to make significant contributions to S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>54</sup>

A broader range of families from a more diverse spectrum of economic and social standings were able to participate in the construction of S. Maria degli Angeli after the Black Death than before the catastrophe. Although

great wealth was a prerequisite for participation, people from different classes were suddenly invested with the ability to amass, and to spend, much more than ever before. The distribution of wealth and political power among the middling classes is reflected in the building projects undertaken by the convent in conjunction with that of the chapterhouse and the dal Canto chapel of Saint Anthony. In 1354-55, three burial chapels were constructed on the floor below the monastic cloister, next to the sacristy and church of S. Michele. These structures were financed by donations from three very different kinds of families: One was part of the Florentine aristocracy, the second came from the rising ranks of local urban professionals, and the third was a member of the newly favored and politically enfranchised gente nuova. The coexistence of these three donors in the same space is indicative of the changing social and economic atmosphere brought about by the Black Death, the financial crisis of '42, and the new freedoms enjoyed by the emerging class of "new citizens" during the Democratic Period of Florentine history.

The chapel installed below the cloister with patrician money was constructed in 1354 with the financial backing of Monna Giovanna Peruzzi, the wife of Luigi di Rinieri Peruzzi.<sup>55</sup> The Peruzzi clan had long been considered one of the three most powerful households in Florence, along with the Bardi and Albizzi families. The banking crisis of 1342, however, had destroyed the Peruzzi bank, and had caused a



certain amount of embarrassment for the clan throughout the decade. Although they had lost much money, the family's prestige seems nonetheless to have remained intact. Rinieri Peruzzi, Monna Giovanna's father-in-law, was selected twice during the 1350s as a member of the Signoria, serving his first two-month term in 1354 and his second in 1358.<sup>56</sup> While the Peruzzi's financial status had diminished somewhat, their's was not an impoverished lot, and Monna Giovanna was still considered an aristocrat regardless of her in-laws' business troubles.

In keeping with the Peruzzi's established veneration of Saint Francis of Assisi, the fabled founder of the Franciscan Order, Monna Giovanna insisted that the chapel be dedicated to the memory of the thirteenth-century mendicant.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the Peruzzi had recently purchased the rights to a burial chapel in S. Croce devoted to the same person, underscoring Saint Francis' position of honor within the family's private spiritual outlook.<sup>58</sup> As had been the case with Monna Lapa degli Spini in 1336, however, Giovanna Peruzzi did not fund the chapel of Saint Francis in the name of her husband's famous household. Instead, Monna Giovanna's donation to S. Maria degli Angeli was made for the remembrance of her own family's souls, particularly those of her parents and dead relatives. The Peruzzi matron beseeched the monastic community to say Offices of the Dead in honor of her kinsmen and related women who had died both in and out of Florence, probably a reference to those who

had been cut down by the pestilence in foreign cities. Giovanna, both as a female and as an indirect member of the Peruzzi family through marriage, needed to take care of her spiritual affairs on her own.<sup>59</sup>

While there is no record of the original panel decorating the Peruzzi chapel in 1354, evidence suggests that the original painting installed behind the altar of Saint Francis did not survive the fourteenth century. In the Florence Accademia stands a large polyptych (190 x 273 cm) attributed to an anonymous painter known as the Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese, which was brought to the museum from S. Maria degli Angeli during the 1810 suppression of monasteries (fig. 3).<sup>60</sup> The placement of Saint Francis, holding the crucifix and displaying his wounds, next to the iconic image of the Madonna Enthroned suggests that this picture occupied the space dedicated to the mendicant friar. The picture's stylistic elements, however, indicate that the Accademia altarpiece was probably painted sometime between 1390-1415, roughly fifty years after the dedication of the Peruzzi chapel in 1354.<sup>61</sup> If this polyptych was in fact the one which served as the altarpiece for the chapel of Saint Francis, it must be assumed that it replaced a panel painted earlier and installed in the edifice around the time of the chapel's construction. By the end of the century, the appearance of that initial work seems to have been deemed unsuitable by the monks and appears to have been replaced by a more modern version, probably the panel currently housed

in the Accademia. As we shall see in Chapter Five, this procedure was not uncommon in S. Maria degli Angeli during the early Renaissance, and accounted for one of the monastery's most important artistic commissions.<sup>62</sup>

The Peruzzi donation is consistent with the pattern of patronage established by S. Maria degli Angeli's benefactors decades before Monna Giovanna's donation. As had been the case with the Spini and Canonico gifts, donors were members of wealthy, privileged, and politically prominent families, who were providing the Camaldolese with significant financial support to help them continue their work as the spiritual advisors to the elite. The Peruzzi gift demonstrates the aristocracy's continued interest in the convent well after the government's restructuring in 1343, almost in defiance of the political and social setbacks experienced during the middle decades of the century. While aristocratic support did not wane between 1343 and 1375, the "Democratic Period" ushered in a new age of religious patronage, whereby previously unheard voices were allowed to participate. Indeed, the Peruzzi donation was accompanied by two other gifts, both of which came from families associated with the rising class of gente nuova now dominating Florentine politics. As the aristocracy would be forced to share the spotlight with these "new citizens" in the political arena for the next thirty years, they would also need to accept their participation in the funding of S. Maria degli Angeli.

The first of these donations came from a doctor named Maestro Benvenuto Medico, a long-time friend and benefactor who had been active in the convent throughout the 1340s. Maestro Benvenuto had managed to survive most of the summer of '48, but finally fell victim to the Black Death in September.<sup>63</sup> In an atmosphere shaped by uncontrollable disease and mortal fear, the doctor prepared for his own demise. In his will, Benvenuto bequeathed the substantial sum of 150 florins to the monastery, earmarked for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Benedict, the forefather of the Camaldolese Order and Benvenuto's patron saint. As would be the stipulation in Agnolo dal Canto's testament, the doctor's bequest covered the costs of construction, maintenance, and furnishing of the chapel, including the production and installation of an altarpiece. Whereas the agreement with Agnolo dal Canto focused on the commemoration of the benefactor's soul, however, Benvenuto Medico asked for much more in return for his donation than a weekly recitation of an Office of the Dead. In addition to building his chapel, the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli were also asked to accept the benefactor's sons into their community in return for the cash gift.<sup>64</sup> The wording of the will does not indicate which party approached the other, nor do we know which aspect of the pact was deemed more important by the two parties. S. Maria degli Angeli, facing rapid depopulation, clearly needed novices to replenish its nearly empty cloister and was always in search of liquid

assets. Benvenuto, on the other hand, was desperate to save his children from the pestilence and was anxious to provide for his own death, which he recognized was fast approaching. One hand washed the other. The brethren agreed to accept the 150 florins, along with at least two of the donor's sons to help maintain their ranks, while Benvenuto was secure in the knowledge that his children would be cared for and that his soul would be protected after his death through the auspices of the pious Camaldolese monks.

Although there is no documentary evidence indicating the appearance of the altarpiece in the Chapel of Saint Benedict, it is my contention that two panels, one currently located in Stockholm's Nationalmuseum and the other in the Berenson Collection, may have stood in Benvenuto's chapel (figs. 4 and 5). The pictures are devoted to images of Saint Benedict, with the Stockholm picture a full-length icon and the Berenson panel a smaller predella scene. Both have been attributed to Nardo di Cione and have been recognized as belonging to the same polyptych.<sup>65</sup> While there are no inscriptions or documents either securing the panel's execution in the early 1350s or associating it with Benvenuto's chapel, certain iconographic features suggest a Camaldolese setting for the painting. Saint Benedict's white robes clearly indicate that the picture was intended for one of the reform orders which claimed him as a spiritual forefather. Although a number of institutions connected with these orders were located in Florence, S.

Maria degli Angeli is a likely candidate for the picture for a number of reasons. First, the monastery is known to have commissioned a number of works from Nardo di Cione during his career; as we shall see, the artist executed at least two, and perhaps three, altarpieces for the convent in 1365. The brethren seem to have enjoyed an amiable working relationship with Nardo during his career, one which may have begun with the commission for the Benvenuto Medico chapel. Second, the formal elements of the Berenson panel are consistent with other predella scenes painted by Nardo for S. Maria degli Angeli during the mid-1360s.<sup>66</sup> The composition of Saint Benedict resuscitating a young monk, which places a group of monks on one side of the panel with an outcropping of rocks forming a severe background behind, corresponds closely with the later representation of Saint Romuald conferring with his disciples in Nardo's Trinity altarpiece of 1365 (fig. 13). If these two panels were in the same monastery, they would have served as visual parallels connecting Romuald with Benedict, an important association for the Camaldolese. Finally, the physical features of Nardo's Saint Benedict appear to have been well known to Don Lorenzo Monaco, who borrowed the figure for his own depiction of Benedict in the Coronation of the Virgin of 1413 (fig. 55). It is quite possible that Lorenzo selected this figure not only because of his own familiarity with the image, but because he knew that his monastic audience would immediately identify the figure as the same Saint Benedict

depicted in Benvenuto Medico's chapel. Although entirely conjectural, circumstantial evidence suggests that Nardo's effigy and narrative of Saint Benedict may have been intended for the Benvenuto Medico chapel.

The donation of the third chapel built in 1354-55 came from a donor of the same social class as Benvenuto Medico. The chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Annunciate, was funded by yet another caro amico e benefattore, an apothecary named Niccholaio di Tingho, from the parish of San Felice.<sup>67</sup> Although not a member of the aristocracy, Niccholaio di Tingho was an important figure in post-plague politics. In January 1348, and again in January 1352, Niccholaio was chosen to represent the Arte dei Medici e Speciali in the Signoria, an honor signifying his high social standing in the guild.<sup>68</sup> Although one of the seven major guilds, the guild of doctors and apothecaries did not enjoy the same status as the city's more powerful collectives, the Arte del Calimala, Arte del Cambio, and Arte della Lana (the guilds of international cloth merchants, bankers, and wool merchants), which contained members from many of the city's patrician families. Niccholaio, however, benefited from the loosened social features of Florentine society during the "Democratic Period". Of all the secular donors giving money to S. Maria degli Angeli during this era, Niccholaio is perhaps the most representative of the social and political networks dictating acts of patronage in the convent during the fourteenth century.

Perhaps more important than his affiliations with the city's "new citizens", or even with the Signoria, was Niccholaio's intimate connections with the monastic community in S. Maria degli Angeli. A careful study of the list of monks in the monastic register reveals that in 1336, almost twenty years before Niccholaio's donation, a Don Paolo di Tingho, also from the parish of S. Felice, officially joined the ranks of the Camaldolese convent.<sup>69</sup> Don Paolo appears to have been Niccholaio's brother, a familial bond which cemented the latter's obligation to the monastery. Although Don Paolo did not stay in S. Maria degli Angeli until his death, his affiliation seems to have been strong enough to tie Niccholaio to the house for the remainder of his life. As was the case with Maestro Benvenuto Medico, a familial link with one of the monks in the convent weighed heavily in Niccholaio's decision to support S. Maria degli Angeli. Of all the aspects forming networks connecting different patrons with the monastery, as well as with other lay benefactors, this was the most important. As with the structuring of business relationships, marriage unions, and political alliances, bonds of household and lineage were crucial for a religious institution's procurement of funds from the secular world. In an age marked by mistrust and acts of outright betrayal, the Trecento Florentine trusted only those known through family connections. S. Maria degli Angeli's network of patronage indicates that blood relationships often dictated



acts of religious donations, for personal connections between secular benefactors and individuals in the monastic community provided the familial tie crucial to all Trecento Florentine transactions. Without the blood bond, the requisite element of trust needed by the layman whenever he or she was to part with money was sorely lacking. Indeed, of the twenty-one donations made to S. Maria degli Angeli in the second half of the century, eleven were offered, in part, because of the presence of a family member in the monastery's cloister.

The next major donation to S. Maria degli Angeli, given by a native of Carmignano named Neri Partucci, followed this pattern of familial patronage. As had been the case with Benvenuto Medico, Neri Partucci was one of the tens of thousands of Florentines to fall victim to the Black Death in 1348, dying on the same day in early July as his wife and son, Agnolo.<sup>70</sup> Neri's second child, Bartolomeo, outlived them by only two months. Neri's third son, Don Giovanni Partucci, was shut away in S. Maria degli Angeli. Thus, Neri seems to have felt comfortable bequeathing his possessions to S. Maria degli Angeli in honor of his family, confident that Don Giovanni would outlast the pestilence and benefit from the Partucci estate. His confidence in the safety of the convent was so high that Neri sent his grandson, Andrea (the son of the doomed Agnolo), to join Don Giovanni in the monastic cloister at the plague's outbreak. The young novice quickly took the name of "Don Taddeo". As

we have seen, the belief that the pious men in S. Maria degli Angeli would be spared the ravages of a wrathful God was quickly proven to be fallacious. Miraculously, however, Neri Partucci's precautions proved not to be in vain. By some quirk of fate, two of the monastery's five survivors were Don Taddeo and his uncle, Don Giovanni di Neri Partucci.

In addition to bequeathing all his earthly possessions and his grandson to S. Maria degli Angeli, Neri Partucci requested that a commemorative chapel be built in his honor. Although the monastery could not satisfy his wishes immediately, Neri's request was finally realized in 1359, eleven years after his death. The reason for the delay seems to lie in the wording of the donation. Instead of offering S. Maria degli Angeli a cash gift, Neri instead gave the monastery a donation comprised of material possessions, the bulk of which was in the form of real estate.<sup>71</sup> In so doing, the convent could only accumulate liquid assets by reselling this land. With the Tuscan population at only a fraction of its pre-plague levels, however, the convent may have had trouble selling Neri's property, and seems to have been unable to raise the funds necessary for the construction of a chapel. Ten years after Neri's donation, S. Maria degli Angeli finally succeeded in reaping the needed dividends from the estate. In 1359, the Partucci chapel of S. Michele was constructed next to the monastic church of the same name.<sup>72</sup>

The building projects of the 1350s instituted a new, albeit limited, era of patronage in S. Maria degli Angeli. For a brief period, the convent's donors were not gleaned exclusively from the aristocracy. Instead, members of the middle class, in some cases men fearful for their souls during the aftermath of the Black Death, began to look toward S. Maria degli Angeli as an institution that had something to offer the gente nuova. This perception remained intact during the next decade, as a group of "new citizens" joined together to fund a major project in the Camaldolese house. The old belief that Romuald's romiti catered exclusively to the interests of the social elite appeared to be changing.

#### **The Reconstruction of the Chapterhouse and Church: 1363-1375**

S. Maria degli Angeli's greatest physical changes occurred between 1363 and 1375, a period during which major construction programs were undertaken on a scale rivaled only by the original building of the convent in 1295-97. Four impressive projects were initiated during this twelve-year period. In 1354, the chapterhouse containing Agnolo dal Canto's chapel of Saint Anthony was demolished and rebuilt; a new chapel was constructed in the sacristy next to the monks' dormitory; the monastic church of S. Michele was remodeled almost entirely from scratch, complete with a sculpted baldachin over the high altar; and a grand

altarpiece was commissioned for the convent in 1363, perhaps replacing the original one, which had been installed in the church in 1295. Throughout the 1360s and until the commencement of the War of the Eight Saints in 1375, the monastery profited from the patronage of local benefactors, many of whom had important personal ties with the monastic community.

The initial act of patronage during this period occurred in April, 1363, when one of the city's most important political families contributed to the convent's well-being. Monna Bandecca dell'Antella, a member of the Scolari family by birth and the wife of an influential politician, donated to the monastery a valuable house, located in the vicinity of the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>73</sup> The agreement stipulated that whatever money could be realized from the sale of property would be used to construct and decorate an altar. In return for this gift, the monks were to offer prayers on a regular basis for the redemption of the souls of Monna Bandecca's family, especially that of her sister Agostanza.<sup>74</sup> The monastic community responded immediately. The sale of the dell'Antella palazzo garnered 400 florins, a large sum by the day's standards, which provided the monks with enough money to hire the builders and craftsmen responsible for realizing Monna Bandecca's request. The altarpiece installed behind the dell'Antella altar appears to have been a large polyptych, and may have been comprised, in part, of four side panels which have

since been incorporated into the high altarpiece of S. Croce (fig. 6). The panels, frequently attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, are known to have been installed in S. Maria degli Angeli, for when the pictures were taken out of the monastery during the Napoleonic suppressions of 1809-10, a note was found attached to the back of one of the images specifying its location in the Camaldolese house.<sup>75</sup> One of the panels contains an inscription citing 1363 as the year of the painting's completion, a date corresponding with the time of Monna Bandecca's donation.

Each of the four side panels is devoted to the iconic representation of one of the Church Fathers. Enthroned from left to right are Saints Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, and Jerome, who are clothed in ornate vestments and who hold books which contain important biblical passages referring to their work.<sup>76</sup> The combination of these particular saints is rare, if not unique, in Florentine painting of the period, for there are no other examples of altarpieces devoted specifically to these singular figures in other Trecento altarpieces. However, the Camaldolese interest in early Christian theology, combined with a stipulation in the dell'Antella donation, explains the unusual depiction of these four figures. In addition to praying for the souls of Monna Bandecca and her husband, the monks were also required to commemorate the donor's sister, Agostanza. Thus, Agostanza's patron saint, Saint Augustine, probably held a prominent place in the composition in order to satisfy Monna

Bandecca's wish that her sister be remembered by the monastic community. The figures of Gregory, Ambrose, and Jerome may have been added for any number of reasons, not the least of which was the Order's dedication to the Church Doctors' "presence" in the guise of the liturgical phrases chanted during daily services (see Chapter One). Monna Bandecca's insistence that her sister be memorialized by an image of Saint Augustine may also have spurred the monastic community to commission an altarpiece comprised solely of images devoted to the Saint's spiritual brethren.

With each lateral panel measuring 1.49 meters in height and 60 centimeters in width, the entire altarpiece must surely have been one of the largest images used in S. Maria degli Angeli. Taking into consideration the dimensions of the now missing central panel, the polyptych almost certainly would have measured at least three meters in breadth. Although there is no specific information indicating the exact placement of the dell'Antella altar in the text of Monna Bandecca's donation, the size of the panels suggests that the altar was extremely large and was probably prominently located. Returning to the description of the convent's altars, we find that the monastery already possessed one altar that could have accommodated a polyptych as large as the one painted by Giovanni del Biondo in 1363.<sup>77</sup> This was the high altar of the monastic church, which was originally decorated with a sculpted tabernacle executed in the late Duecento, depicting an image of the

Annunciation of the Virgin. Spanning three braccie, or roughly the equivalent of three meters, this was probably the largest consecrated altar in the entire convent.

Because there is no mention in the monastic register of the installation of a new altar in 1363, it is probable that the monks chose to spend the money earned from the dell'Antella donation on a new devotional image to be installed on their preexisting high altar. The dell'Antella gift, therefore, may well have resulted in the production of a new high altarpiece, replacing the original image of the Virgin Annunciate.

The commission of the dell'Antella altarpiece was only the beginning of S. Maria degli Angeli's busiest phase of construction and decoration. By the mid-1360s, the convent was enjoying its status as one of the wealthiest landowners in Tuscany. Affluent Florentines had contributed to the monastery's land holdings for roughly seventy years, and the Camaldolese house was beginning to reap profits from the resale of these properties.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, the convent was now attracting the attention of the city's leading citizens, who were anxious to have the privilege of owning consecrated space in the pious religious institution. Immediately following Monna Bandecca dell'Antella's generous donation, S. Maria degli Angeli received two additional gifts from rich supporters, one in the form of liquid assets, the other in the more lucrative form of territorial holdings. Both donations had a direct bearing on the convent's appearance

in the ensuing years.

The first gift came from a relative of one the convent's brethren, and was made during a particularly tense time in Florentine history. On May 29, 1363 Giovanni di Geri Ghiberti, the son of a prominent banker and the brother of the Angeli's Don Michele Ghiberti, officially renounced his earthly inheritance.<sup>79</sup> One week later, in early June, Giovanni turned all of his assets over to Don Michele and the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>80</sup> Giovanni must have been a relatively young man with no wife or children to support when this agreement was reached, for his father was still an active participant in the Arte del Cambio and the city government. Furthermore, Don Michele had yet to see his thirtieth birthday in 1363, suggesting that Giovanni was of a similar age at the time of his agreement with the monastery. For such a young man to bequeath everything in his possession to a monastic institution in the prime of his life suggests that Giovanni may have been in the midst of a grave personal crisis. Yet there is no mention of protracted illness in either of the documents recording the transfer of his funds to S. Maria degli Angeli, nor is there any hint of criminal or spiritual wrongdoing. The problem seems to have stemmed from circumstances beyond his control. In the spring and summer of 1363, the city experienced another outbreak of plague. While neither as pervasive nor destructive as its predecessor in 1348, the epidemic killed thousands of Florentines. This recurrence was taken very



seriously by local citizens, most of whom could remember the sights and sounds of kinsmen and neighbors suffering from the first onslaught of the Black Death. In light of the plague's sudden return to Florence in the spring of 1363, as well as of the collective mentality of a community decimated by the plague only a generation before, there is reason to believe that Giovanni Ghiberti was preparing himself and his family for the worst. He was wise to have done so. On July 15, young Giovanni died, presumably carried off by the pestilence he feared so much.<sup>81</sup>

One month after Giovanni's death, S. Maria degli Angeli received a second large donation, this one in the form of valuable real estate holdings. On August 15, Bindo di Lapo Benini, a wealthy landowner and one of the convent's trusted conversi, arranged to give to S. Maria degli Angeli a substantial amount of property in the local parish of S. Michele Visdomini.<sup>82</sup> Although its sum was never specified in written transactions, the donation appears to have been generous. Naturally, the convent did not stand to gain much initially by this gift, but with the passing of time the monastery could profit nicely through the sale and resale of this land. Whereas Giovanni Ghiberti had apparently given his possessions to S. Maria degli Angeli without stipulations, Benini made one request: In return for his generous gift, Bindo wanted a burial chapel. The monks agreed to construct an edifice dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, and vowed to pray for Bindo's soul in front of his

altar on every day of the year. Finally, because his donation of real estate would not benefit the convent in the short term, Bindo agreed to provide the house with a limited amount of cash--120 florins--in order to help pay for some of the raw materials needed to build his chapel.

Save for his vast property holdings, little is known about Bindo Benini's secular life. In addition to being a member of the growing class of gente nuova, Benini appears to have taken his religious convictions seriously. A member of the confraternity of the Knights of the Hospitallers, Bindo, along with the help of his brother, Bartolomeo, had funded the construction of a church dedicated to his father, Lapo Benini.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Bindo was active in S. Maria degli Angeli, and seems to have enjoyed three very strong and important connections with its monastic community.<sup>84</sup> The first was Bindo's participation in the house's daily proceedings as a converso, a position which entitled him to maintain and to nurture intimate associations with the monks. As a member of the monastic family, Bindo undoubtedly was among the most trusted of the convent's benefactors. In addition to acting as a liaison between the convent and its secular connections, Bindo and his lay brethren were probably entrusted with the cloister's most intimate affairs. Benini's second link was through his brother, Bartolomeo, who, having attained the rank of prior in the Pisan house of S. Giovanni, was himself an important member of the Camaldolese Order.<sup>85</sup> Finally, the two Benini

brothers were closely associated with Don Giovanni Partucci, one of the five monastic survivors of the Black Death and the son of Neri Partucci, for whom the chapel of Saint Michael had been built in 1359. The Benini family had at one time owned property adjacent to the Partucci household, and had even acted as the executors of Neri's will after his death in 1348.<sup>86</sup> Thus, Bindo Benini was as close to the Camaldolese community as he could have been without actually entering the monastic profession. Bindo's relationship with the house continued until his death in 1376, at which time the caro amico e benefattore was interred inside the monastic complex in his private burial chapel.

The decision to build the Benini chapel indicates the monastic community's willingness to expand its physical structure in the mid-1360s. Although they understood that the fruits of the Benini donation were not to be harvested until a much later date, the monks appear to have been confident that the costs of building a chapterhouse could be met if another donor, supplying a cash gift, could be found. The recently acquired Ghiberti assets could certainly be counted as a start, but a third donor would be needed if the monks were to have enough capital to finance their venture. Rather than look for secular patrons in the ranks of the patriciate, as they had done earlier in the century, the monks sought a member of the gente nuova. Their quarry was one of the most successful of these "new citizens", an ironmonger named Tellino Dini.<sup>87</sup> Although not of noble

birth, Dini accumulated enough wealth to become one of the city's biggest financial backers during the decades of the 1350s and '60s. During times of need, Tellino had loaned the Florentine government over 600 florins, and was rewarded for his generosity with political appointments and entry into the Signoria. Dini married into the Arringhieri family, and became an outspoken ally of the conservative Ricci faction throughout his political career. He ultimately became one of the "otto della guerra", supporting the city's war with the papacy in the mid-'70s and influencing the direction of Florentine policies against the Church. Tellino Dini, however, does not seem to have been involved with S. Maria degli Angeli in the same way that Bindo Benini was. Dini lived in the parish of S. Maria Novella, located at the opposite end of town, and does not appear to have been active as either a lay brother or as a member of its secular congregation. However, Dini had one connection to the monastery which appears to have influenced the ironmonger to agree to support the convent in 1363-5.<sup>88</sup>

Tellino Dini, like Benvenuto Medico, Nicholaio di Tingho, and Giovanni Ghiberti before him, enjoyed intimate familial links with S. Maria degli Angeli. In November, 1336, at the same time Don Paolo di Tingho entered the convent, the community accepted into its ranks one of Tellino's relatives, Don Bartolo Dini Stracciabendi.<sup>89</sup> Although the two seem to have been contemporaries, the exact nature of Tellino's relationship with Don Bartolo is unclear.

Because the monk had come to the convent from the parish of S. Brancaccio, located in the Oltr'arno, it is unlikely that the two were brothers. Most probably, Tellino and Don Bartolo were cousins. Like most of his peers, Don Bartolo's monastic career was prematurely terminated by the 1348 epidemic, which claimed the monk's life along with sixteen of his comrades. These circumstances may well have contributed to Tellino's interest in S. Maria degli Angeli.

The Dini donation was substantial. The ironmonger gave five hundred gold florins to the convent for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Job, the Old Testament ascetic.<sup>90</sup> The edifice was to serve as the family burial chapel, and masses were to be said not only for Tellino's soul, but for those of all his dead relatives, presumably including Don Bartolo Dini Stracciabendi. The selection of Job as the "saint" honored in his chapel probably reflects Tellino's desire to pay tribute to family members victimized by the Black Death. As Millard Meiss has demonstrated, Job was not represented in Trecento Tuscan art until the plague's arrival in 1348, at which time his trials and tribulations were suddenly regarded as being remarkably similar to those suffered by the Black Death's survivors.<sup>91</sup> The sores infesting Job's skin as he lay on his dung heap were compared to those which had appeared on doomed plague victims, while the destruction of all his worldly possessions mirrored the economic woes felt by many during the financial crisis of the '40s. Job's story was

particularly poignant during the 1360s, when the recurrence of the plague brought back memories of the epidemic experienced fifteen years earlier. That Job was the saint chosen for reverence in the Dini chapel suggests that the space was specifically dedicated to members of the Dini family who had fallen prey to the pestilence. This, combined with Don Bartolo Dini Stracciabendi's death in 1348 and the recurrence of plague in Florence in 1363 (a date coinciding with the Dini donation), indicates that Tellino's gift was probably offered to commemorate the family's losses to the pestilence.

By early 1364, the monastery had collected donations from three prominent benefactors, all of whom were associated with the gente nuova. With generous donations of valuable land and money by Bindo Benini and Tellino Dini already in hand, the monastic community allocated 320 florins from Giovanni Ghiberti's estate for the construction of the new chapterhouse, honoring the plague victim with his own burial chapel dedicated to the founder of the Camaldolese Order, Saint Romuald. The old capitolo was demolished, save for the single structure of the dal Canto chapel dedicated to Saint Anthony, which was retained and incorporated into the new building. In addition, the rooms comprising the infirmary, located underneath the monastic cloister, were reduced, as the walls of the sickrooms were moved in. In its place rose the new chapterhouse, complete with the three new chapels dedicated to Saints John the

Baptist, Job, and Romuald, joining the old dal Canto chapel remaining from the previous capitolo.<sup>92</sup> In all, the monastery used 940 florins from the Benini, Dini, and Ghiberti donations to pay for construction costs accrued during the project. The first masses celebrated in each of the three new chapels were said on the same day, November 1, 1364, the feast of Ognissanti.

The altarpieces installed in the Dini, Benini, and Ghiberti chapels were each inscribed with the secular donor's name and the date of the panel's completion. The first to be painted was the Presentation in the Temple for the Benini chapel, probably executed by Giovanni del Biondo in 1364 (fig. 7).<sup>93</sup> In the central panel, the Virgin offers her son for circumcision, while Joseph reverently mimics Mary's action by presenting two doves for sacrifice in the Judaic tradition. Flanking the main compartment are full-length images of John the Baptist, for whom the chapel was dedicated (fig. 8), and a white-clad Benedict, forefather of the Camaldolese Order. Below these panels are three predella scenes from the life of the Baptist, undoubtedly incorporated into the altarpiece to underscore the chapel's dedication (figs. 9-12).

The other two altarpieces installed in the chapterhouse chapels were not finished until at least a year after Giovanni del Biondo's picture had been completed. These two altarpieces, the Trinity and the Enthroned Madonna, were designed in the shop of Nardo di Cione as a complementary

pair, and contain inscriptions noting their date of completion in 1365 (fig. 13-21).<sup>94</sup> The central image of the Ghiberti altarpiece is devoted to the Trinity, with God the Father blessing the viewer over the floating Dove of the Holy Spirit and the limp body of the crucified Christ. On either side appear Saint Romuald, to whom the chapel was dedicated, and Saint John the Evangelist, who was probably included to honor the secular donor, Giovanni Ghiberti. The predella was devoted to scenes from Romuald's life, again emphasizing his importance as the chapel's patron saint. The Dini altarpiece, meanwhile, is also a triptych, and is a fairly standard depiction of the Madonna and Child. Images of Saints Job and Gregory the Great, two rarely depicted figures, flank the central panel. Because of the dedication of the chapel to the Old Testament figure, the predella panels were devoted to the story of Job's trials. Combined with the dal Canto altarpiece dedicated to Saint Anthony, the chapterhouse was decorated with altars devoted to some of the most important ascetic figures in Judeo-Christian history, a fitting symbolic program for any Camaldolese monastery.<sup>95</sup>

Although the convent was forced to reduce the size of its infirmary to accommodate the enlarged chapterhouse, the monastic hospital was not forgotten during this period. Just one year after the first mass had been said in the chapels of Romuald, Job, and John the Baptist, the chapel located in the infirmary was completely refurbished, thanks



to a gift received through an interesting agreement between an individual and a group of his associates. In 1365, the monastery received 196 gold florins in the name of Ser Francesco di Ser Berto, a notary by trade, who was intimately connected to two religious confraternities, the Misericordia and the Orto di S. Michele (Orsanmichele).<sup>96</sup> During his lifetime, Ser Francesco had agreed with these institutions to assist him in funding a chapel in S. Maria degli Angeli, the sole act of corporate patronage in the monastery during the fourteenth century. In this pact, the notary was to pay one third of the cost of refurbishing a chapel in the convent's infirmary, dedicated to Ognissanti, while the two compagnie were to cover the remaining two-thirds of the costs. In addition to the production of an altarpiece, all of the liturgical objects needed to service the chapel, including a missal and an altarpiece, were funded by these three sources. The panel installed in the chapel of Ognissanti was probably similar in form to the triptychs made for the Dini and Ghiberti chapels. The monastery spent seventy-four florins for the altarpiece's production, a sum which suggests that the picture was rather extravagant by the day's standards.<sup>97</sup> While no firm support has been offered to associate a surviving picture with the chapel of Ognissanti, I believe that a picture executed by Nardo di Cione, and subsequently dismantled, may be linked to Ser Francesco's chapel.

In 1960 Richard Offner suggested that a triptych

painted in Nardo's workshop, currently divided between the collections of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, was originally intended for S. Maria degli Angeli (figs. 22, 23 and 23a).<sup>98</sup> Indeed, several features of the picture confirm Offner's hypothesis. The side panels in Munich are devoted to the representation of ten saints, who stand as witnesses to the central scene of the Coronation of the Virgin.<sup>99</sup> A warrior saint (Julian?), Benedict, and Peter are aligned in the front row of the left panel, with a bishop saint and an unknown male saint above and behind the first tier. On the right panel are John the Baptist, Saint Giles (Egidio), and a figure Offner recognized as the Blessed Gherard of Vallamanca.<sup>100</sup> Behind these three stand Saint Paul and a female saint, possibly Catherine of Alexandria. Although there is no specific reference to Saint Romuald, which would immediately determine the placement of the altarpiece in a Camaldolese institution, the white robes worn by Saint Giles and Saint Benedict indicate their affiliation with the Camaldolese Order. Furthermore, the appearance of Saint Giles is probably a reference to the hospital church in S. Maria Nuova, known as S. Egidio, which was a dependency of S. Maria degli Angeli. Additionally, the appearance of multiple saints suggests that this picture may have been painted to honor the feast day of Ognissanti. Indeed, the very anonymity of some of the figures indicates that they were included to represent "every saint", and therefore make

the altarpiece particularly suited for a festival devoted to each canonized Christian. Given the date of Ser Francesco's donation and the festival to which it was dedicated, the Munich and London panels correspond to the specifications of the 1365 gift. Moreover, the design on the carpet covering the ground upon which the assembly of saints stands closely resembles the matching textile patterns used by Nardo's assistants in the two triptychs painted for the Dini and Ghiberti chapels, which were installed in the same year as the altarpiece for the chapel of Ognissanti (see figs. 13 and 17). Finally, Nardo was intimately connected to Ser Francesco and his corporate patrons, for the painter himself was a member of the Compagnia della Misericordia, the confraternity assisting in the chapel's funding.<sup>101</sup> Given the importance of the corporation's role in the transaction, Nardo's participation in the commission would seem probable, especially when his business affiliations with S. Maria degli Angeli are considered. While the evidence is highly circumstantial, the picture's formal and iconographic elements--along with Nardo's noted friendship with the monastery in 1365--strongly suggest that the Munich and London panels comprised much of the Ognissanti altarpiece.

The new chapterhouse and the restructuring of the old infirmary, completed at the end of 1365, cost S. Maria degli Angeli well over 1100 florins. The construction of a new dormitory during this period added a considerable amount to this figure. Were it not for the convent's connections with

wealthy laymen, its treasury would have been completely sapped after this project.<sup>102</sup> Fortunately, the convent continued to grow even after this extraordinary expenditure, thanks in no small part to the generosity of its own members, most of whom had come from the ranks of the local aristocracy. In May, 1366, Don Giovanni di Niccholò degli Strozzi entered the monastic community, bringing with him a "dowry" similar to that accompanying Benvenuto Medico's sons and Neri Partucci's grandson.<sup>103</sup> As Don Giovanni formally completed his novitiate, the convent accepted his family's offer to pay the Camaldolese house 200 florins, to be delivered in ten annual installments of twenty florins. In addition to this gift, the Strozzi family donated a chalice valued at fifty-two florins and enough cash to pay for the execution of two paintings, one either a crucifix or a crucifixion scene, and the other a picture containing the image of the Magdalen, worth thirty florins. Finally, the Strozzi family agreed to contribute forty florins to the monastic treasury in order to help pay for the new dormitory (see diagram D).<sup>104</sup> From 1366 to 1372, workers constructed a new cloister for the conventual community, a period during which the convent busily expanded a number of its edifices.<sup>105</sup>

According to the terms of the Strozzi gift, a painting of the crucifixion (la dipintura del crocifixo) was to be executed and installed in the monastic refectory below the old cloister and next to the church of S. Michele. The

descriptive language used in the entry does not indicate whether the painting was intended to be a cut-out crucifix or a larger narrative panel depicting the scene of Christ's crucifixion, leaving us with few clues as to its precise appearance. Of S. Maria degli Angeli's surviving images, only one is exclusively dedicated to this particular subject matter (fig. 24). This picture is a large dossal dominated by the central figure of Christ's last moments on the cross. At his feet sit the mourning Virgin and Saint John, while weeping angels catch the blood and water streaming from his wounds. Above, the partially obscured image of a pelican, sacrificially piercing her side to nourish her starving chicks, serves as an allegorical parallel to the image of Christ's martyrdom below. The panel was taken from S. Maria degli Angeli during the Napoleonic suppressions and was stored in the nearby monastery of S. Marco before its placement in the Florence Accademia.<sup>106</sup> Long attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (active 1368-1415), the picture's narrative content is entirely consistent with the specifications of Don Giovanni Strozzi's 1366 dowry.<sup>107</sup>

Considering Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's youth at the time of the Strozzi donation, however, it is difficult to imagine that the Crucifixion could have been executed at such an early stage in the painter's career. Indeed, the picture's stylistic qualities suggest that the panel was executed sometime after 1385, two decades after the Strozzi gift. At first glance, this seems to indicate that Gerini's

Crucifixion was not commissioned with Strozzi funds. As we shall soon see, however, the turbulent social and political events of the 1370s and early '80s forced S. Maria degli Angeli to suspend its involvement in art patronage and building programs. It is therefore possible that the Strozzi request was not realized until the end of the Democratic Period in 1382.

Don Giovanni Strozzi's entry into the cloister was soon followed by that of perhaps the most important member of the community during the late Trecento. In February, 1368, young Alessandro di Niccolò degli Albizzi, a nephew of one of the convent's monks, officially professed his allegiance to the Camaldolese Order. Although not a direct descendant of the most powerful branch of the Albizzi family, Alessandro was nonetheless a member of the clan, and was therefore a crucial link to the influential household. Observing a custom practiced for centuries, Alessandro exchanged his worldly name for a holy one. In honor of his father, Niccolò di Pagno degli Albizzi, young Alessandro took the name "Don Niccholaio", altering the spelling just enough to avoid an exact repetition of his father's name.<sup>108</sup> A dowry of two hundred gold florins accompanied Don Niccholaio as he took his vows, a sum which could not have come at a more opportune time. Two projects were bolstered by the donation, each of which alludes to S. Maria degli Angeli's growing prosperity.<sup>109</sup> The first was the expansion the seventy-year old monastic church, necessitated by the

convent's increasing population and its growing popularity with lay supplicants. Although reconstruction would not begin until 1372, the hundred florins offered for the church's remodeling was a significant contribution to the convent's treasury, and encouraged other benefactors to donate funds for the same purpose. The second beneficiary of the Albizzi gift was the monastic scriptorium, created in the 1330s (to which we shall devote our attention in Chapter Three). Don Niccholaio's dowry appears to have been responsible for renewing activity in the workshop, which had been slow to recover from the chaos of the Black Death.

In addition to the financial benefits gained from Don Niccholaio's entry, the monk's enrollment was significant for a second reason. The Camaldolese community was now inextricably linked to what would become the most powerful familial unit in Florence. From 1382 to 1434, the Albizzi household dominated the city by controlling an impressive faction of wealthy and politically active clans. After Don Niccholaio's profession of vows in 1368, a stream of men born and raised by families closely allied with the Albizzi consortium entered the cloister. His presence in the Camaldolese house drew scions of elite Florentines into the cloister, making S. Maria degli Angeli an institution comprised of men who were associated with extraordinarily influential and powerful families. For the remainder of the century, the convent profited financially from donations given on behalf of its elite members.

Meanwhile, attention was unexpectedly returned to the chapterhouse during the early 1370s, for S. Maria degli Angeli received two large donations to alter the capitolo's space. The first gift came in 1371 from Piero del Palagio, a wealthy member of the secular congregation living in the parish of S. Michele Visdomini, and the relative of one of the convent's conversi, Guido del Palagio.<sup>110</sup> Piero's father was Neri del Palagio, one of the most prominent aristocrats in Florence, an ally of the Albizzi faction, and a frequent member of the Signoria.<sup>111</sup> For the price of 300 florins, Piero initiated a new building program for the construction of a chapel opposite the dal Canto space, which the donor dedicated to Saint Peter.<sup>112</sup> As was the custom, Piero di Neri Palagio paid for all its necessary liturgical furnishings (an altarpiece, missal, chalice, etc.), which were installed by 1372. Despite attempts to connect disparate panels with the altarpiece in the del Palagio chapel, no convincing reconstructions have been offered, and the altarpiece must be presumed lost.<sup>113</sup> Nonetheless, the chapel joined the others in the capitolo, bringing the total number of burial spaces to five.

The second donation came in 1371 from Andrea di Ugo Lotterighi della Stufa, a wealthy member of an aristocratic family and an active participant in the Florentine government. Andrea was a fixture in the Albizzi faction, and was rewarded for his loyalty with official appointments well into the fifteenth century, including stints in the



Signoria, ambassadorships to Sicily, Lucca, and Pisa, and participation in advisory councils created to guide the priory during the war with Milan in 1398.<sup>114</sup> To coincide with the Palagio donation, Andrea directed the monastery to create a chapel dedicated to Saint Andrew, thereby pairing the apostle with his biblical brother, Saint Peter, in adjacent spaces in the chapterhouse.<sup>115</sup> The gift appears to have been made to commemorate the entry of Andrea's brother, Don Benedetto, into the community in 1355. The original contribution amounted to ninety florins, a paltry sum compared to the other gifts donated for the chapterhouse, and not nearly enough to fund the construction of a chapel on the scale of the others in the chapterhouse. This donation, however, differed from the others involving the chapterhouse, for instead of building an entirely new edifice, the monks were simply asked to rededicate a preexisting structure in Andrea's name, transferring the title of ownership to the della Stufa family. In order to satisfy Andrea's wishes, the monks shifted the burial rights of the Ghiberti chapel of Saint Romuald to the della Stufa household, rededicating the space to Saint Andrew. The Trinity altarpiece, installed in 1365, was slightly altered to accommodate Andrea's wishes; a slender cross, the remnants of which are barely visible to the human eye today, was appended to the Evangelist's left arm, transforming the figure into Saint Andrew (see fig. 13). The inscription was rewritten to indicate not only the Saint's new identity, but

the presence of the della Stufa family in the chapel, as well.<sup>116</sup> Thus, by 1372 the chapterhouse contained five private chapels, each reserved as a burial space for the convent's secular patrons; the dal Canto chapel of Saint Anthony, the Benini chapel of John the Baptist, the Dini chapel of Saint Job, the Palagio chapel of Saint Peter, and the della Stufa chapel of Saint Andrew (formerly the Ghiberti chapel of Saint Romuald).

With the chapterhouse, dormitory, and infirmary completed, the monks turned their attention to the condition of their ecclesiastical center. By 1372, the church of S. Michele was seventy-five years old, and had not been significantly altered since the addition of the choir in 1320. With an expanding monastic population and a modernized physical plant, the members of the convent seem to have perceived a need for a more elaborate church, on a par with the more cosmopolitan and reputable community who worshiped there. A fund-raising campaign was initiated, which collected over two-thousand florins earmarked for the project. Five hundred came from the familiar source of Tellino Dini, while Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi, Bindo and Bartolomeo Benini, and Don Lionardo Maffei also contributed significant funds for the church's reconstruction.<sup>117</sup> In 1373 a benefactor named Antonio di Santi gave an additional 500 florins for the reconstruction of the church choir, a project completed on Christmas day, 1374. Three years later, Antonio di Santi donated another fifty florins to the

convent to fund the production of sculptures installed above the high altar as decorations for two choir lofts used for musical performances during mass.<sup>118</sup> One cantoria contained the figure of the Virgin Mary, while the second was adorned with the image of Saint Michael the Archangel, thereby honoring the two saints to whom the church and monastery were dedicated.<sup>119</sup>

These figures, set into the new choir, decorated not only the rebuilt church, but a restructured high altar, as well. In 1374, one of Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi's relatives made a significant contribution to S. Maria degli Angeli to enhance the setting of the high altar. Bernardo di Cino Bartolini dei Nobili, a wealthy Florentine married to Piera degli Albizzi, donated 400 florins for the project.<sup>120</sup> At the time of his donation, Bernardo was one of the more cosmopolitan businessmen working in Florence. As a member of the wealthy and powerful Bartolini family, Bernardo had worked closely with the French government (presumably as a financier), earning the surname "dei Nobili" from King Charles V on one of his many visits.<sup>121</sup> Although he himself was never elected to the priory, two of Bernardo's brothers were members at various times between 1374 and 1409, probably due to the family's connections with the powerful Arte del Cambio.<sup>122</sup> Had Bernardo spent more time in Florence, he, too, might have been selected for such an important post. Instead, Bernardo contented himself with being one of the wealthiest and most influential businessmen

in Tuscany.

Although there are no details about the nature of his gift, archival sources indicate that Bernardo dei Nobili paid for work on the ciborium above the high altar and for an iron gate around the entire structure.<sup>123</sup> Precisely what work was executed above and around the choir remains a mystery, but it must be assumed that a new canopy, sculpted from marble, was designed and installed over the altar. Combined with the dell'Antella altarpiece and the sculpted figures engraved onto the two choir lofts above, the canopy and iron enclosure around the high altar must have made the new choir the most luxurious sacred space in the monastic complex, and easily worthy of the aristocratic brethren in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>124</sup> The project was not finished until August, 1375, marking the end of the venture to restructure the monastic church. By now, a new chapterhouse and rebuilt church stood next to the redesigned sacristy, infirmary, and refectory, while two new dormitories, one for lay brothers and the other for an expanding monastic community, were added to the south and east of S. Michele (see diagram D). By 1375, the convent must have been an elegant and even sumptuous institution, a far cry from the spartan setting envisioned by Don Orlando when the administrators of the commune had marched to the construction site with a mass of coin-tossing citizens in 1295. After 1375, S. Maria degli Angeli could no longer be considered a true hermitage. It was now a full-fledged

cenobitic convent, complete with all the trappings of a monastic institution reserved for the members of society's elite.

This second phase of secular patronage lasted from 1348 to 1375, and was paralleled by two important and related social phenomena. The first was the recurring incidence of plague experienced in Florence after 1348, which spurred its citizens toward renewed interest in religious patronage and increased their involvement in ascetic organizations. The second was the rise of a more powerful urban middle class, which grew in prestige and political influence as a result of the economic crises of the 1340s and the social revolutions caused by the demographic upheavals of the Black Death. The patronage of S. Maria degli Angeli during the third quarter of the fourteenth century vividly reflects these two circumstances. Four chapels constructed during this period, donated by Benvenuto Medico, Neri Partucci, Giovanni Ghiberti, and Tellino Dini, had been built in honor of plague victims, while the 1348 territorial purchase from the Alfani family had been made at the height of the Black Death. As the pestilence faded, projects aimed at rebuilding the chapterhouse, church, dormitory and infirmary were initiated, in part, to destroy the structures "contaminated" during the epidemic and to accommodate the massive influx of penitent monks who flooded into the convent immediately following the summer of 1348. Although the monastic community was almost completely wiped out that

year, a fresh group of supplicants quickly replenished the depleted ranks, literally breathing new life into the venerable house. Finally, the good works performed by the monks during the crisis of 1348 established S. Maria degli Angeli as a sacred institution worthy of unqualified respect and support in the minds of local aristocratic worshipers. During the decades immediately following the Black Death, the number of secular benefactors and professed members of the house increased greatly. Whereas the convent had benefited from the patronage of seven major donors during the fifty-three years from 1295 to 1348, the ensuing twenty-five years brought twice as many lay patrons to the monastery and would account for a complete face-lift by the mid-1370s.

Similarly, the growing contingent of gente nuova among the monastery's patrons reflects Florence's changing economic and political landscape immediately following the constitution of 1343 and the summer of 1348. The city suffered severe food shortages throughout the decade, as agricultural commerce and transportation ceased altogether for four months in 1348. As bodies piled up in the streets, wealthy inhabitants either fled from the urban area for isolated country homes or locked themselves within their houses, afraid to confront their friends, family, or neighbors.<sup>125</sup> The stature of doctors and notaries rose unexpectedly, the former due to their "expertise" in handling the diseased and the latter because of their role

in recording the tens of thousands of testaments and bequests made for infected victims.<sup>126</sup> With merchant competition reduced after the plague and a more inclusive form of government, the city's "new citizens" found themselves imbued with greater economic and political power than ever before. It is no surprise, then, that of the fourteen secular patrons contributing to S. Maria degli Angeli's reconstruction program between 1348 and 1374, eight were members of the gente nuova.<sup>127</sup> Of these donors, two were participants in the Signoria (Nicholaio di Tingho and Tellino Dini) while a third (Giovanni Ghiberti) was the son of a politician, indicating the convent's popularity with members of the Florentine government. Although the Camaldolese Order had always been affiliated with the aristocratic elements of Italian society, the prospering members of the growing middle class now began to gain access into this socially elite organization.

The increasing participation of gente nuova in S. Maria degli Angeli's building programs, however, did little to hinder the aristocracy's involvement with the monastery. While patrons from the middle class were rubbing shoulders with members of the patriciate in the convent, a group of prominent families continued to invest in the house and support its activities. This group revolved around the alliance formed by the Strozzi and Albizzi households, two of the wealthiest and most politically powerful families in Florence. Monna Bandecca dell'Antella had been born a

Scolari, Bernardo di Cino dei Nobili was married to an Albizzi, and Andrea della Stufa Lotteringhi and the del Palagio family were prominent members of the alliance throughout the Trecento. Their interest in the convent, naturally, was facilitated by the participation of family members in the monastic community. In 1366 and 1368, Don Giovanni degli Strozzi and Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi officially joined Don Benedetto della Stufa and Guido del Palagio in the cloister, thus providing S. Maria degli Angeli with four crucial links to this important political faction for the next fifty years.<sup>128</sup> Although members of the middle class were participating in the monastery's growth during this period, essential connections with powerful patrician families were nurtured by the monks during the 1360s and '70s. By 1378 S. Maria degli Angeli was considered by most Florentines to be an institution intimately allied with the city's rich and powerful, a reputation the house seems to have done little to refute. It was this association with the aristocracy which almost destroyed the monastery completely, and isolated the community from its most important secular contacts for seven years.



**Destruction and Reconstruction: The Albizzi Faction,  
1378-1411**

Secular patronage of S. Maria degli Angeli stopped abruptly after S. Michele's rebuilding in 1375, due to circumstances beyond the monastery's control. From 1375 until 1378, the city was engaged in a destructive conflict with the papal states, which was instigated by a number of factors stemming from Florentine mistrust of clerical power.<sup>129</sup> The War of the Eight Saints halted the economic progress made by the city after 1348. The maintenance of mercenary and civic armies sapped both the state's treasury and the assets of the city's merchants whose taxes paid for the war. As citizens struggled under the burden of excommunication and papal interdict, Florentine clerics found themselves caught between the two belligerent parties. The war had a significant effect on S. Maria degli Angeli, for the Church's censure denied its congregation entry into, or donation to, the convent. Florentines were banned from receiving communion from any member of the clergy throughout the conflict, a situation which not only dissuaded potential patrons from giving funds to the house, but also prohibited the pro-papal convent from accepting these tainted gifts.<sup>130</sup> Despite economic, political, and spiritual hardships, the Signoria, led by a few prominent families and a number of gente nuova (including Tellino Dini), insisted on continuing its battle with the papacy.

Desperate for peace and exasperated with an inflexible

government, some elements of the populace began to take matters into their own hands. In June 1378, members of the aristocracy hatched a plot to end the war and return Florence to the economic prosperity and spiritual legitimacy it had once enjoyed. A coup d'état was planned to overthrow the militant government of the gente nuova and replace it with one willing to negotiate with the Vatican. In addition to calling a truce with Rome, the plotters hoped to reestablish aristocratic rule in Florence and return power to the patrician households of old. The plan, however, was discovered before it could be implemented. Disfranchised wool workers, known as the Ciompi, confronted both the middle class government and the aristocratic coup leaders, taking on both factions simultaneously and, temporarily, beating them at their own game.<sup>131</sup> After an armed skirmish in the Piazza della Signoria ended with the defeat of a small band of upper guildsmen at the hands of the sottoposti, the Ciompi rioted in the streets on the night of June 22, attacking homes owned by patrician families and sacking those of the conspiracy's suspected ringleaders. Special attention was paid to members of the Albizzi consortium, many of whose homes were burned to the ground.

Because of affiliations with both the Strozzi and Albizzi households, as well as connections with Tellino Dini and the gente nuova controlling the government's war against Rome, S. Maria degli Angeli was one of the Ciompi's primary targets. According to Tommaso Mini, over 10,000 people

flooded into the convent that night, intent on destroying the spiritual citadel of the local elite and a symbol of the aristocracy's domination.<sup>132</sup> While this figure is suspect (10,000 people would have constituted roughly a fifth of Florence's entire population), the gravity of the attack on S. Maria degli Angeli is not. With monks fleeing from their assailants, the sottoposti attacked the monastic dormitory and infirmary, breaking beds and shredding clerical vestments. The rebels searched for, and discovered, numerous items held in deposit by the convent for its wealthy amici e benefattori, all of which were carried off by the disgruntled invaders.<sup>133</sup> Although the sacristy was saved from desecration, the church and one of the dormitories were violated, while some of the images installed in the complex were damaged.<sup>134</sup> Using torches, the Ciompi set fire to the infirmary, a blaze which quickly spread throughout the rest of the monastery, killing at least two of the monks. Were it not for the efforts of some of the conversi, including Guido Palagio, the entire convent would have been destroyed.<sup>135</sup> Nonetheless, the infirmary and monastic cloister were seriously damaged. Only three years after its reconstruction, much of S. Maria degli Angeli lay in ruins.

The Florentine government was dominated by radical members of the popolo minuto for six weeks after the sack, a period which must have greatly troubled the already shaken monks. With their aristocratic allies scurrying for cover, there were no assurances that the monastery would be spared

from further attacks. Although replaced by a less stringent administration in August, 1378, the government was controlled by lower guildsmen during the next four years. The city's affluent power brokers remained quiet during this period, their participation in the Signoria neither offered nor requested. Perhaps this explains the paucity of secular donations received by S. Maria degli Angeli during these years, for any contact between patrician donors and the Camaldolese community could have been potentially dangerous. Despite the convent's dilapidated state, no building projects were initiated during this period, nor were any programs of reconstruction begun. The burned west cloister remained in disrepair. Aside from income received from real estate holdings, the convent did not improve its financial situation measurably during the four-year reign of the lower guilds. Well aware of its tainted reputation among the newly empowered elements of the lower classes, the monastic community appears to have made itself as unobtrusive and inconspicuous as possible between June 1378 and January 1382.

The overthrow of the government by the Ciompi in June 1378 and the subsequent four years of rule by lower guildsmen were, in the end, unsuccessful ventures. Like its "corporate" predecessor, the lower-class coalition lacked the strength needed to avoid annihilation by its aristocratic enemies. Through political intrigue, scandal, and a brief battle in the Piazza della Signoria, the Albizzi

faction and its patrician supporters ousted the lower guildsmen from the political arena in 1382.<sup>136</sup> Upon retaining political control, the oligarchy spent fifty years consolidating its power base within an elite social network. But the old corporate system, characterized by an administration of wealthy (but legislatively untrained) merchants was now replaced by a new political machine, based on the talents of professional statesmen, often selected from the legal and notarial trades.<sup>137</sup> This cadre of skilled bureaucrats effectively replaced the amateur merchants who had formerly struggled to run the state, thus transforming the city into a more efficient civic entity than it had been before. The fledgling bureaucratic state, initiated by the Albizzi faction in 1382, has thus been interpreted by many as being one of the most important landmarks in the transformation of the city from a medieval to a modern society. If this analysis is correct, then the transformation of S. Maria degli Angeli from a small hermitage resting outside the city walls into an urban convent supported by leading Florentine families may be interpreted as a direct reflection of the social, economic, and political changes experienced by the city during the fourteenth century.

With the return of the Albizzi faction to power in 1382, S. Maria degli Angeli suddenly found itself in a position of prominence. With its traditional allies controlling the government, the monastery was able to

address some of its most pressing structural needs.<sup>138</sup> Almost immediately after the aristocratic restoration, donations flowed into the convent from members of the Albizzi consortium. The damaged infirmary was soon rebuilt, new chapels were added to the cloisters, and liturgical objects were commissioned to replace those lost during the attack of 1378. From 1386 to 1393 the monastery received seven major contributions from members of the Giani, Stoldi, da Filicaia, Nobili, Aldobrandini, da Uzzano, and Alberti families. Of these seven households, five were closely allied with the Albizzi faction. Only gifts from the Stoldi family, whose allegiances are unknown, and the Alberti family, professed opponents of the Albizzi, came from donors unaffiliated with the ruling clan. Moreover, all but Giovanni Giani could claim to have a relative living in the cloister. Once again, familial links connecting members of the elite with individuals in the convent were clearly responsible for the procurement of greatly needed financial backing. The favorable position of the aristocracy in Florentine society undoubtedly provided a tolerant and supportive atmosphere for the convent and its affluent patrons after 1382.

In 1383, Federigo di Nerone Stoldi, the brother of a monk in S. Maria degli Angeli named Don Filippo di Nerone, began the move to rebuild the convent's destroyed infirmary and replenish its collection of religious images and objects. Federigo donated over three-hundred florins for

the production of a drappo, a white screen decorated with angels, which were either sewn or painted onto the cloth in gold.<sup>139</sup> The screen covered the high altarpiece during particular times of the year when images appearing in the picture were deemed inappropriate for the season's feast days.<sup>140</sup> Although Federigo's political and business affiliations are unknown, he seems to have come from a wealthy and powerful family connected with the Arte della Lana, the influential guild of wool merchants. Additionally, his family had been active in politics, having placed one of its kinsmen in the Signoria during the 1360s.<sup>141</sup> While Federigo's donation was the first major gift given to the convent since the beginning of the War of the Eight Saints, his would not be the last from the Stoldi clan. The next major building program, undertaken in 1386, was funded by another major gift from the family, allowing the convent to repair damages left untouched for almost a decade.

This second project focused on the reconstruction of the monastic infirmary destroyed in 1378, and was sponsored by perhaps the largest donation received by the Camaldolese house up to that point. In 1386, Giovanni di Giani, a prominent member of the silk guild (the Arte della Seta), came to the convent's aid with a lucrative gift of 1154 florins, most of which was earmarked for the rebuilding of the hospital, located on the pian terreno beneath the west cloister (see diagram D).<sup>142</sup> After an initial installment

of fifty florins, Giovanni di Giani quickly contributed another 900 florins, and then an additional 200, for the completion of the project. For three years, until 1389, construction continued in the infirmary, with an expanded space (including at least two burial chapels) replacing the previous structure. It is tempting to interpret the three-year building project as a symbolic show of support for the convent by a rejuvenated Florentine aristocracy. The infirmary, destroyed by the popolo minuto, seems to have been viewed by the elite as an example of the anarchy and mismanagement of the Ciompi regime. Thus, the program to rebuild the hospital may well have been a conscious, collaborative effort by a group of like-minded patrons intent on showing their solidarity and gratitude to the aristocratic convent.

A chapel was erected in the new infirmary with funds donated by Agnola degli Stoldi, Federigo's mother. This second Stoldi gift was given to commemorate the presence of Don Filippo di Nerone Stoldi, Agnola's second son, in the conventual cloister.<sup>143</sup> To supplement a farm that had been given to the monastery by her late husband twenty-three years earlier, Monna Agnola bequeathed 500 florins to S. Maria degli Angeli in return for a burial space.<sup>144</sup> Dedicated to Saint John Decollato, the "Beheaded Baptist", the foundation was laid on May 10, 1386 and the first mass celebrated on September 23, 1387, despite the fact that the rest of the infirmary was still under construction at the



time.<sup>145</sup> The gift cannot be interpreted as a monastic dowry, like those offered by the Strozzi and Albizzi families on the occasion of their children's entry into the convent, for the transaction was made nearly three decades after Don Filippo had taken his vows in 1357. Instead, the donation seems to have been a means of rewarding S. Maria degli Angeli for its special place in the lives of both Don Filippo and the Stoldi family, and perhaps as a show of support for the monastery in light of its trials at the hands of the Ciampi.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, the presence of a kinsman in the cloister presented Monna Agnola with the perfect opportunity to provide for her family's needs in the afterlife. With her son firmly established in the monastic community, Monna Agnola had every right to ask for a burial space in S. Maria degli Angeli, and could not be denied.

Fortunately, the altarpiece executed for the Stoldi chapel has survived (as have most of the paintings made for S. Maria degli Angeli after the sack of 1378), and is in the National Gallery in London (figs. 25 - 27). The triptych's central panel is devoted to the Baptism of Christ, complete with kneeling angels and the requisite dove of the Holy Spirit marking the occasion above the pair. Flanking the main compartment are Saints Peter and Paul, who stand on a carpet decorated with the same design used by Nardo di Cione in the three altarpieces made for the chapterhouse and infirmary in 1365 (figs. 13, 17, 22, and 23).<sup>147</sup> The predella panels beneath the main register are devoted to

scenes from the Baptist's life, accompanied by full-length representations of Saints Benedict and Romuald, the founders of the Camaldolese Order (figs. 26 and 27).

An inscription was noted as running along the triptych's base when the altarpiece was originally accepted into the collection of the London National Gallery in 1836, although it was later removed during a conservation project. According to a nineteenth-century source, the inscription contained the words, "CCCXXII. DOMN. PHILIPP'NERONIS. FECIT. FIERI. HANC. ... (C?) E. AGEELE. MA . . . SVE & SUORUM MON."<sup>148</sup> While this acknowledgment of Don Filippo's presence in the community and his importance for the picture's commission unquestionably connect it to the Stoldi donation, the early dating initially led scholars to believe that the triptych had been executed in the first half of the fourteenth century. Because of its dating, the painting was originally attributed to Taddeo Gaddi.<sup>149</sup> More recently, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini has been connected with the Stoldi altarpiece, a much more reasonable alternative on stylistic and chronological grounds.<sup>150</sup> Whereas the formal aspects of the picture are consistent with Niccolò's other known works, the year of its completion (probably coinciding with the Stoldi chapel's completion in 1387) places the execution of the altarpiece well within Gerini's most active years. Meanwhile, the appearance of the letters "CCCXXII" on the inscription requires explanation, for it continues to cause consternation. I would propose that the inscription

originally read "CCCLVII", referring to the year of Don Filippo's entry into S. Maria degli Angeli, rather than "CCCXXII", a date that seems to have been erroneously copied when the picture entered the National Gallery. Indeed, the ruinous condition of the inscription and the inaccurate transcription of its lettering confirms that the date may have been distorted when it was recorded in 1836. Thus, the picture appears to have been an image commemorating the union between the Stoldi family and S. Maria degli Angeli's family, initiated by Don Filippo's entry into the cloister in 1357.

Two more chapels were constructed in the infirmary immediately following the Stoldi donation, both of which enhanced the area directly below the cells in the west cloister. Funded by the da Filicaia and Bartolini dei Nobili families, two households closely allied with the ruling Albizzi faction, these two chapels mark the most intensive period of political patronage enjoyed by the monastery throughout the entire fourteenth century. In February 1387, Monna Piera degli Albizzi, the wife of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini dei Nobili and the cousin of Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi, died in Florence. Due undoubtedly to her kinsman's presence in the cloister, Monna Piera bequeathed fifty gold florins to the Camaldolese house to pay for the celebration of commemorative masses in her honor.<sup>151</sup> Bernardo, her survivor and the donor of the sculptures decorating the choir lofts above the high altar,

quickly supplemented this initial donation. In an effort to perform his duties as executor of Monna Pietra's will, and in order to care for his wife's soul in the afterlife, Bernardo made an agreement with the monks to fund the building of a burial chapel, which was to be dedicated to Saints James and John Decollato.<sup>152</sup> The transaction was negotiated in June, 1387, only four months after Pietra's passing, and called for Bernardo to cover literally every expense of the chapel's construction with periodic cash installments. The mourning widower immediately contributed 200 florins for the structure's foundation, which was begun in July. Over the next eight months, Bernardo gave S. Maria degli Angeli an additional 1000 florins for the erection of the chapel, which was located next to the doorway leading from the infirmary to the chapterhouse.<sup>153</sup> The first mass was celebrated on Easter Sunday, March 28, 1388, only ten months after Bernardo's initial donation had been made to S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>154</sup>

In 1759, Giuseppe Richa described the Nobili chapel as it appeared in the eighteenth century. In addition to noting its impressive form, which boasted twelve choir stalls to accomodate visitors, Richa remarked that the painting installed behind the altar was the largest, most beautiful ancona he had ever seen.<sup>155</sup> Richa, however, did not describe the picture, nor did he attribute it to any artist. More recently, a number of specialists have linked a large polyptych, attributed to Agnolo Gaddi and currently

in the Bode Museum, Berlin, with the altarpiece installed in the Nobili chapel (fig. 28).<sup>156</sup> In 1950, Hans Gronau associated three predella panels in the Louvre with the Nobili altarpiece, and in 1964-65 Federico Zeri concurred, adding three further scenes in London, New York, and Milan to the ensemble (figs. 29 - 31).<sup>157</sup> The principal elements of the reconstructed polyptych is the altarpiece in Berlin, with the Madonna Enthroned and iconic representations of John the Evangelist, the Baptist, James, and Bartholomew flanking the central panel. According to the reconstruction, in the predella were the central image of the Crucifixion and, at either side, scenes from the lives of John the Baptist and James, including The Baptism of Christ, The Feast of Herod, Saint James and the Sorcerer Hermogenes, and Hermogenes destroying the Sorcerer's Books. Additionally, Zeri astutely associated with the predella a small panel of kneeling female supplicants, identifying the women as Monna Pietra degli Albizzi and her daughters.<sup>158</sup> Zeri noted that the punch marks were identical to those employed in the Paris, London, and New York predella panels, and that its size corresponded perfectly with the others. The author, however, did not propose a connection between the predella and the Berlin polyptych. Had he discerned the relationship of the predella and the Berlin polyptych, Zeri surely would have noticed that the carpet painted in the Berlin picture matches the pattern painted beneath the kneeling women, strengthening the argument that the predella

panels identified as part of the Nobili altarpiece originally lay beneath the Berlin picture.

The second chapel built during this period followed closely on the heels of the Nobili donation. In 1388, Monna Gemma da Filicaia, the widow of an Albizzi ally named Manetto da Filicaia, agreed to fund the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas.<sup>159</sup> Upon the death of her first husband, Niccolò, Monna Gemma had married Manetto, a wealthy widower with a number of children by a previous marriage, one of whom was a son named, coincidentally, Niccolò. Although neither Manetto nor Monna Gemma seem to have been related to the Albizzi family, their political and social relationship with the most powerful household in Florence tied them to the consortium in unusually strong terms. The da Filicaia family lived on the Via Burghi, in the parish of S. Pier Maggiore, owning houses literally next door to a number of Albizzi households. Indeed, one of their neighbors was Nastagio di Niccolò degli Albizzi, Don Niccolao's brother by birth.<sup>160</sup> As an example of his loyalty to the ruling clan, Manetto funded the construction of his burial chapel in the church favored by the Albizzi family, S. Pier Maggiore.<sup>161</sup> Manetto was indeed an important member of the Albizzi faction, for he wielded great power during his five terms in the Signoria (1349, 1352, 1358, 1362, and 1366). His participation in the Albizzi alliance was so strong, in fact, that Manetto was exiled from Florence immediately following the Ciompi

rebellion in 1378.<sup>162</sup> The da Filicaia influence did not end with his ostracism, however. Manetto's sons, Luca and Niccolò, were each elected to the priory on four separate occasions later in the century, thus continuing the household's alliance with the Albizzi clan through the remainder of the Trecento.<sup>163</sup>

Monna Gemma's donation was a clever attempt to honor both of her adopted families at the same time, insulting neither the memory of her first husband nor the legacy of her second. As opposed to Monna Lapa degli Spini and Monna Bandecca dell'Antella before her, Monna Gemma did not reserve the chapel exclusively for her own parents or their households. By selecting Nicholas of Bari as the saint of veneration, Monna Gemma was honoring the patron saint of both her first husband and one of her step-sons, Niccolò da Filicaia. Thus, the commemorative chapel symbolized Monna Gemma's identification with the households that had welcomed her into their midst at two different times. The chapel cost Monna Gemma 416 gold florins, in addition to the proceeds reaped by the convent from a transfer of property from the family to S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>164</sup> The cash donation paid for all construction costs, covered the purchase of liturgical objects needed to conduct the mass, and permitted the commission of a painted altarpiece. Located in the west cloister near the Nobili chapel (adjacent to the doorway of the chapterhouse), the da Filicaia chapel occupied a space in the vicinity of the reconstructed

infirmary.

For centuries, the whereabouts of the altarpiece used in the da Filicaia chapel was unknown. In 1988, however, Riccardo Spinelli persuasively suggested that a painting in the convent of Santa Margherita a Tosina, located outside of Florence, was the picture originally installed in the chapel of S. Niccolò (fig. 32).<sup>165</sup> Until an extensive conservation project was recently undertaken, the altarpiece appeared to be devoted to the image of the Madonna Enthroned, with Saints Anthony, Romuald, Margaret, and Francis flanking the central compartment. After a thorough cleaning, however, it was discovered that the figures of Romuald and Margaret had been painted over two figures who originally appeared in the panel--Saints Nicholas and Lawrence--suggesting that the altarpiece may have once been part of a chapel dedicated to one of the two saints.<sup>166</sup> Further evidence connecting the altarpiece with the da Filicaia chapel was discovered when an inscription written below the central panels was found, which stated, "A.D. MCCCLXXXVIII. HANC. CAPELLAM. FECIT. FIERI. DOMINA. GEMMA. OLIM. UXOR. MANETTI. DE. FILICARIA," clearly connecting the polyptych with the chapel donated by Monna Gemma da Filicaia. As there are no known instances of da Filicaia patronage in S. Margherita a Tosina, and as Saint Nicholas appears next to the Virgin, we are led to conclude that this was the picture originally installed in the chapel of S. Niccolò in 1389.

Spinelli attributed the picture to Mariotto di Nardo in



his earlier period.<sup>167</sup> In addition to assigning the image to Mariotto, Spinelli also connected three predella panels to the ensemble (dispersed among collections in Rome, London, Cambridge, and Leipzig), resulting in a reconstruction wherein scenes from the lives of Nicholas and Lawrence were placed on either side of an image of the Last Supper (see the reconstructed altarpiece, fig. 32).<sup>168</sup> Combined with the Nobili altarpiece in the infirmary, the da Filicaia polyptych provided the monks with yet another luxurious devotional object for their meditations, effectively obliterating the memory of the old dormitory destroyed by fire in 1378.

The addition of new burial chapels continued into the next decade. In 1392, a chapel was constructed under the direction of the Aldobrandini family, another household affiliated with the Albizzi faction. The sons of Lanfredi di Bellincione Aldobrandini had entered the convent in 1385 and 1386, assuming the names Don Bartolomeo and Don Agnolo.<sup>169</sup> As had been the case with other wealthy novices joining the Camaldolese house during the fourteenth century, the brothers brought with them a dowry from their father and their uncle, Lionardo di Bellincione, as a material expression of thanks and devotion to the monastic community. As a member of the Arte del Cambio and a trusted aristocratic supporter of the Albizzi faction, Lanfredi di Bellincione was a visible figure in the community.<sup>170</sup> The Aldobrandini donation dictated that a burial chapel be built

in the church of S. Michele, but not until after Lanfredi's death.<sup>171</sup> While he could have begun the project during his lifetime, Lanfredi obviously wished to have the chapel built in his memory, as his final act of piety.

A number of stipulations accompanied the Aldobrandini donation. In addition to funding the chapel's construction in the church choir, Lanfredi and Lionardo agreed to pay for two altars and altarpieces to be installed within the sacred space. The altars were to be placed at opposite ends of the chapel, facing one another, with the first dedicated to Saint Martin and the second to Saint Leonard.<sup>172</sup> Unfortunately, neither of the two altarpieces has survived. In addition to the construction of the chapel and its decoration, Lanfredi and Lionardo also paid for the erection of a number of cells in the west cloister, located above the new infirmary, allowing the convent to complete work on the dormitory (which was still unfinished fifteen years after its destruction). All told, Lanfredi and Lionardo spent 980 florins for the chapel of Saint Martin, the altar to Saint Leonard, and the final touches on the west cloister, a sum approaching those donated by the Nobili, Giani, da Filicaia, and Stoldi families during the 1380s.<sup>173</sup>

This brings us to the last major building project undertaken in S. Maria degli Angeli in the fourteenth century, a commission which is easily the most intriguing, complex, and controversial of the era. In March, 1393, barely six months after the Aldobrandini chapel in S.

Michele had been consecrated, the monks signed an agreement with Gherardo di Benedetto degli Alberti to add a new structure to the monastic complex.<sup>174</sup> Although I have not been able to confirm his motive of patronage, Gherardo degli Alberti seems to have felt obligated to S. Maria degli Angeli because of the presence of an uncle in the monastic community, Don Filippo di Nerrozo.<sup>175</sup> As a member of one of Florence's wealthiest patrician families and the scion of a former Ciompi sympathizer, Gherardo represented what the Albizzi faction considered to be one of the more dangerous elements in Florentine politics. His father, Benedetto degli Alberti, had intervened on behalf of the sottoposti in 1378, representing them in the priory and earning the scorn and mistrust of the local aristocracy forever after.<sup>176</sup> Upon their return to power in 1382, the Albizzi faction conspired to oust Benedetto from Florentine politics. In 1387, he and a number of his relatives were accused of plotting a coup d'état, and were sentenced to a two-year exile on charges of high treason.<sup>177</sup>

As the son of this political criminal, it is surprising that Gherardo di Benedetto degli Alberti was able to negotiate with S. Maria degli Angeli, an Albizzi stronghold. However, the bonds of social patronage, so important in the secular world of the Trecento Florentine, also seem to have extended to the Camaldolese brethren in the monastic sphere. Indeed, just as members of Florentine families stuck by one another in times of controversy, the "family" of monks in

the cloister sought to look after their own in a similar manner, regardless of political concerns or possible repercussions. Thus, the presence of Don Filippo di Nerrozo degli Alberti within their midst may have made the monastic community more amenable to Gherardo's request than they otherwise might have been. Additionally, the prospect of receiving a significant donation from an extraordinarily wealthy family must have influenced their decision. Despite his controversial father, Gherardo's gift was accepted, and plans were initiated to begin construction of his chapel in the east cloister.

Within months of the agreement, however, the wisdom of the pact was called into serious question. In October 1393, a second conspiracy was uncovered, involving those members of the Alberti family still living in Florence as well as their kinsmen in exile.<sup>178</sup> Although probably the result of trumped-up charges brought forward by Albizzi supporters, the uproar was great enough to lead to the banishment of the entire family, including Gherardo degli Alberti.

Additionally, the family was hit with two seemingly contradictory penalties: The first declared the Alberti family to be members of the magnate class, which precluded their participation in governmental affairs. The second penalty was the confiscation of most of the Alberti fortune, seriously impoverishing the clan. The once mighty household was reduced to a powerless, disfranchised, and ostracized band of political criminals.<sup>179</sup>

Gherardo's exile suddenly left the monks with a serious dilemma. On one hand, the convent had in its possession a legal agreement to build a chapel on his behalf, and stood to gain a considerable sum of money from the disgraced donor. On the other hand, Gherardo was persona non grata in his native city, and was therefore physically unable to execute the contract, thus costing the monastery hundreds of florins. The problem was compounded in 1405, when a bounty hunter assassinated Gherardo in Bologna.<sup>180</sup> The individual responsible for the chapel's funding was now dead, his family was exiled, and all Alberti assets in Florence were frozen.

The combination of these factors must have put S. Maria degli Angeli in an awkward position. Although they certainly needed the money, Gherardo's disgrace, banishment and death, along with the presence of so many Albizzi in their midst, forced the convent to tread lightly. The monks neither negated nor acted upon their agreement with the exiled Alberti family, biding their time by tabling the matter for a later date. Finally, six years after Gherardo's murder, the community elected to honor its commitment to him and his household, and the initial stages of the Alberti commission were initiated.<sup>181</sup> In memory of their assassinated kinsman, Ricciardo, Lorenzo, and Benedetto degli Alberti began funneling money from Padua to Florence, using their business procurators in the Tuscan city as conduits.<sup>182</sup> By 1411, over 1000 florins had been

collected, and construction was begun.<sup>183</sup> The chapel took two years to build, with the first mass ironically celebrated on the festival of Saint Reparata, October 8, 1413: The donor, forever exiled from the city of Florence, was officially commemorated in his burial chapel on the feast day of one of his homeland's patron saints.

The contract between Gherardo degli Alberti and the Camaldolese monastery, while peculiar in its political ramifications, was also unusual in content. Gherardo had requested that the chapel be dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin Mary, and was adamant about the appearance of the altarpiece to be installed. Nowhere else in S. Maria degli Angeli's records do we find such specifications, which note not only the saints to be venerated, but also the painting's exact subject matter.<sup>184</sup> The agreement stipulated that the image be devoted to the Madonna and Child, with Christ at the Virgin's breast. At least two angels and "two other figures" were to accompany the pair in the main compartment, while two side panels were to flank the central scene. In the first, Saints Benedict and Gherardo were to be placed together, undoubtedly joined to represent Gherardo's relationship with his disgraced father. In the other panel were placed Saints Lawrence and Anthony, the first the onomastic saint of Gherardo's brother, Lorenzo, and the second the prototypical Christian hermit.<sup>185</sup> Considering the fact that Gherardo's wishes for a chapel were ultimately honored, we may assume that his requests for the appearance

of the altarpiece and its specifications were similarly honored.

Quite unexpectedly, the altarpiece described by Gherardo degli Alberti seems to have survived. In the Florence Accademia stands a panel which was originally located in S. Maria degli Angeli, and later moved to S. Maria Nuova sometime before 1809 (fig. 33).<sup>186</sup> The image corresponds to the description in the Alberti contract, and may well have been the central panel of the altarpiece in Gherardo's chapel. The Madonna is seated on a cushion in the foreground, holding the Christ child in her arms. Adoring angels hover in the background on either side of the holy couple, as the baby reaches up to his mother's breast.<sup>187</sup> Above, God the Father blesses the action, while the dove of the Holy Spirit descends toward the nimbed Christ. Although there are discrepancies between the image and Gherardo's descriptive request--eight angels flank the Holy couple rather than two--the subject matter and angelic figures suggest that this may have been the painting used as the altarpiece for the Alberti chapel.<sup>188</sup>

The composition is based largely on a panel painted sometime after 1375 by Jacopo di Cione, now in the National Gallery, Washington (fig. 34).<sup>189</sup> Although attributions for the Alberti altarpiece have varied, the most recent have concluded that one of the convent's monks, Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, was responsible for its execution.<sup>190</sup> As we shall see in Chapter Three, this attribution must be

questioned for a number of reasons. First, there is no evidence to suggest that Don Silvestro, who died in 1399, enjoyed an artistic career.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, it is highly doubtful that the picture was executed before 1410, for the document describing the Alberti chapel suggests that it was not furnished with an altarpiece until construction had been initiated.<sup>192</sup> Therefore, it seems most probable that the panel in the Accademia was executed sometime between 1411 and 1413, at the same time as the building of the Alberti chapel and at least twelve years after Don Silvestro's death. This late date, combined with the panel's uninspired mimicry of Jacopo di Cione's prototype, suggests that the Alberti altarpiece was executed by an anonymous, and highly conservative, painter, working sometime during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

Gherardo degli Alberti's chapel was the last building project planned by the monks in the fourteenth century. Since 1336, the original structures comprising the monastic complex had been seriously altered to a point well beyond their original appearance. With the exception of the women's chiesetta, literally every building erected in 1295-97 had been renovated or entirely rebuilt at some point during the century. By its hundredth anniversary, the monastic hermitage had been transformed into a large and prosperous institution. By 1400, S. Maria degli Angeli had four functioning spiritual centers: The church of S. Michele, the chiesetta for female worshipers, the sacristy,



and the chapterhouse. Together, they contained a total of sixteen chapels to be used for private worship by the lay and monastic communities. In addition to three cloisters for the monastic and conversi communities, S. Maria degli Angeli also possessed a small infirmary, a guest house, a refectory, and a kitchen. Somewhere in the complex, probably on the lower floor of the west cloister, were the monastic library and scriptorium, filled with numerous theological and liturgical books, and housing a busy group of scribes designing and writing antiphonaries for various clients (see Chapter Three).<sup>193</sup> By the opening of the fifteenth century, S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic population was somewhere between forty and sixty monks, having grown steadily since the depletion of its ranks in 1348.<sup>194</sup> In the half century following the plague, the monastery had become one of the most vibrant and important institutions in the city.

The lack of building projects in the late 1390s and early 1400s does not mean that S. Maria degli Angeli did not enjoy significant donations from wealthy secular benefactors. The monastery continued to receive a variety of gifts from its patrons during the period, earmarked for different purposes. In addition to bequests made in return for masses to be said by the Camaldolese community, a number of donations were offered for the production of altarpieces. As we have seen, the picture of the Crucifixion, attributed to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, was probably executed sometime

during the 1380s, and may have been the result of the dowry accompanying Don Giovanni degli Strozzi at the time of his entry into the community in 1366 (fig. 24). A large dossal of the Vir Dolorum, painted by Lorenzo Monaco and dated 1404, may also have been installed in S. Maria degli Angeli to enlarge its already prestigious collection of liturgical images from the fourteenth century (fig. 35).<sup>195</sup> Finally, a second panel by Lorenzo Monaco, the Agony in the Garden, was probably installed in the convent during the last decade of the century (figs. 36-38).

While there are no specific references in archival records noting the presence or location of Lorenzo Monaco's altarpieces in the convent, a possible donor for the Agony in the Garden may be found among the entries appearing in the monastic register.<sup>196</sup> In April 1394, a group of benefactors comprised of Barduccio di Cherichino, Bernardo Ardinghelli, and Antonio and d'Agnolo da Uzzano contributed 346 gold florins to the convent to aid in the production of liturgical books and an unspecified altarpiece.<sup>197</sup> Conforming to the pattern of patronage followed by most of S. Maria degli Angeli's secular benefactors, the da Uzzano and Ardinghelli families were tightly allied with the Albizzi clan, and enjoyed personal connections with the monastic community.<sup>198</sup> Indeed, one of the convent's most respected monks, Don Girolamo da Uzzano, was a member of the household by birth, perhaps explaining Antonio and d'Agnolo's interest in the Camaldolese house.<sup>199</sup> Although entire-

ly conjectural, the timing of this donation roughly coincides with Lorenzo Monaco's departure from the monastery in 1395 and the probable date of the Agony in the Garden. Therefore, there is reason to believe that this gift may have funded Lorenzo's commission for the Agony in the Garden.

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The patrons of the monastery during the last two decades of the fourteenth century were gleaned almost exclusively from the Florentine aristocracy. Most were either personally active in the political sphere or were intimately associated with powerful members of the civic government. The patronage of so many members of the Albizzi consortium, namely from the da Filicaia, Bartolini dei Nobili, da Uzzano, and Aldobrandini families, indicates that some sort of political or social networks influenced the activity of S. Maria degli Angeli's patrician benefactors. As had been the case during the forty-year "Democratic" phase of Florentine political history (from 1343 to 1382), the social status of the convent's major donors reflected the political situation of the time. After the return of the Albizzi consortium to power in 1382, the political landscape was once again dominated by members of this alliance, who combined to impose an oligarchic grip upon the Signoria, not to be relinquished until Cosimo de' Medici's

coup d'état in 1434. In the wake of the Albizzi return, S. Maria degli Angeli became a spiritual center for the family's allies, a type of satellite institution hovering near the Albizzi's private devotional seat.

While S. Maria degli Angeli undoubtedly profited from the benefices of the local ruling clans, the Albizzi themselves were not singularly involved in this Camaldolese congregation. The family had long supported their parish church, the Benedictine nunnery of S. Pier Maggiore, with relics and lavish donations. Because of limited space, however, Albizzi allies could not build burial chapels in S. Pier Maggiore, thereby isolating the ruling household from its wealthy supporters. Furthermore, the fact that S. Pier Maggiore was restricted to female residents forced the sons of faction members to look elsewhere for a monastic home. In response, the Albizzi consortium seems to have selected S. Maria degli Angeli as the alternative to S. Pier Maggiore. In addition to housing its scions, the monastery's surplus of territory provided ample ground upon which chapels and liturgical structures could be built. This resulted in a wave of patronage by politically enfranchised donors following the fall of the popolo minuto in 1382, reflecting S. Maria degli Angeli's popularity among Albizzi faction members and its position as an institution in favor with the aristocracy. While the Albizzi family itself was centered in S. Pier Maggiore, its political allies were clustered together in the nearby monastery.

In addition to its proximity to S. Pier Maggiore, the selection of S. Maria degli Angeli as a political "satellite" institution by members of the Albizzi consortium seems to have been based on two basic principles. The first was the Camaldolese Order's long-standing concern for the special spiritual needs of the elite, undoubtedly a carry-over from the aristocratic origins of its noble founder, Saint Romuald, and his Benedictine forefathers. For the Florentine patriciate, this policy of acceptance was a crucial factor in their acts of patronage. Excessive wealth was considered to be one of the most dangerous and damnable sins a Trecento Christian could take with him to the grave. With its cloisters filled with men from similar social backgrounds, the Camaldolese Order lent a sympathetic ear to nervous members of a noble class desperately in search of forgiveness for usurious behavior. This was evidently the case with S. Maria degli Angeli, since at least ten of the convent's major patrons came from families which had earned their fortunes through the banking industry.<sup>200</sup> Ties between the Arte del Cambio and the monastery were so strong, in fact, that in 1395 the guild formally agreed to fund the building of a second Camaldolese house--S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti--on the outskirts of Florence. Significantly, this new house was designed as a replica of S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>201</sup> Whereas the latter had been built with donations from independent patrons, S. Benedetto was funded by the direct aid of a single guild.<sup>202</sup> The political

alliances fostered by the Albizzi faction, combined with the socioeconomic network formed by Florentine patrician families associated with the Arte del Cambio, provided the aristocratically oriented Camaldolese house with needed funds at every important juncture during its first hundred years of existence.

The second major reason the Albizzi consortium was attracted to S. Maria degli Angeli was the presence of kinsmen in the monastic community. The presence of an Albizzi in the Angeli's cloister, along with a member of the Strozzi clan, two Aldobrandini boys, an important scion of the da Uzzano household, and a member of the della Stufa family, contributed to the ruling faction's patronage of S. Maria degli Angeli. This point is underscored by the sudden influx of aristocratic donations to the convent immediately following Don Niccholaio's entry into the community in 1368. This pattern continued as children of Albizzi led families officially took their vows as members of the cloister. The patrician patronage of S. Maria degli Angeli was in many ways a self-fulfilling prophecy, and was probably designed as such. The aristocratic order attracted wealthy men into its ranks, and then encouraged their relatives to donate funds on their behalf. This network of patronage earned the house a reputation as an institution sympathetic to aristocratic concerns, which catered to the needs of the wealthy. The cycle provided the monastery with the economic resources needed to construct an impressive physical

structure, to care for its community, and to stock its buildings with the finest objects it could possibly obtain. In return, patrician families could feel safe in the knowledge that one of their kinsmen, officially associated with the pious institution, was imbued with the spiritual power to earn redemption for the souls of his entire clan. Aristocratic families wanted to send their offspring to S. Maria degli Angeli almost as much as the convent wanted to receive them. Although it had accepted contributions from people of all social stations during most of the century, S. Maria degli Angeli was identified as a stronghold of the Albizzi faction and as a satellite institution for consortium members as the fourteenth century came to a close.

Finally, the manipulation of social networks by the monastic community appears to have extended into the sphere of the artists hired to install liturgical images for the Camaldolese house. Commissions given to painters for the production of altarpieces appear to have been offered to a select group of Florentines, each of whom was influenced--either directly or indirectly--by the important workshop operated by Nardo di Cione. Giovanni del Biondo, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Mariotto di Nardo, and Lorenzo Monaco (all of whom were followers of the Cionesque tradition) appear to have been hired by the cloister, and in many cases were employed on more than one occasion. With similar styles and common interests in depicting narrative

images on liturgical panels (an issue which will be discussed extensively in Chapter Four), these painters formed an exclusive core of dipintori from which the brethren could choose when initiating an artistic project. In as much as a network of patronage was cultivated by the monastic community during the fourteenth century, a similar network of artists appears to have been formed and utilized by the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli.

Social, political, and professional networks, then, played a vital role in the economic and spiritual maintenance of the fourteenth-century urban "hermitage". Without these alliances and connections, neither the funding needed for expensive decorative projects, nor the artists desired to implement them, could have been found with such success. The networks of patrons, painters, and monks that revolved around S. Maria degli Angeli created an intimately interrelated web of benefactors, supplicants, and artisans which helped to create a flourishing center of religious and artistic activity.



## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

(1) The literature on this subject is vast. Among the many excellent studies focusing on particular kinds of social networks, see F. W. Kent; Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai (Princeton, 1977); Dale Kent, The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434, (Oxford, 1978); F. W. Kent and Dale Kent, Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence (Locust Valley, New York, 1982); David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427 (New Haven, 1985); Gene Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977); and Ronald Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1982).

(2) Many of the brethren had been brought to Florence from the hermitage in Camaldoli, an indication that there were few familial ties between the pre-Plague monastic community and the Florentine population at large.

(3) A new political system, known as the Ordinances of Justice, was inaugurated in 1293, which took control out of the hands of the few magnate families which had ruled Florence for decades. The Ordinances of Justice dictated that candidates from each of the twenty-one guilds be nominated by their peers for election to a six-man priory. A seventh member of the Signoria, the Standard Bearer of Justice

(Gonfaloniere), was selected as the first among equals in the priory. With the assistance of a group of advisory councils comprised of aristocratic Florentines, the priory made administrative decisions for the entire city. The ostracism of the magnates was quickly replaced by a new oligarchy of wealthy merchant families, a shift which transferred power from one aristocratic class to another. For a brief outline of the Ordinances of Justice, see Ferdinand Schevill, The History of Florence (New York, 1936), 145-160; and John Najemy, Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400 (Chapel Hill, 1982), 43-67.

(4) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. The history of the monastery's construction during the fourteenth century, written in 1402, appears in the monastic register between folios 12 and 14v. See Appendix D, Document 1.

(5) The Camaldolese owned much of the rural land around its monastery. See Philip Jones, "A Tuscan Monastic Lordship in the Later Middle Ages: Camaldoli", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 5 (1954), 168-183.

(6) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 1-3. Santa Maria degli Angeli received donations of property from local Florentines immediately after its foundation.

(7) For a brief discussion of the history of the construction of these structures, see John White, Art and Architec-

ture in Italy, 1250-1400 (New York, 1966), 30-34 and 51-52. Santa Maria del Fiore was begun in 1293, only to be halted the next year. The project was rejuvenated in 1296, with Arnolfo di Cambio hired as capomaestro.

(8) Richard Goldthwaite, "The Economy of Renaissance Italy: The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption", I Tatti Studies II, 1987, 15-39.

(9) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1295 Maggio 31. The tale of the Alluodo sale is also recorded in three secondary sources: A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12 (see Appendix D, Document 1); Tommaso Mini, Historia del Sacro Eremo di Camaldoli (Camaldoli, 1706), 460-462 (see Appendix A); and Gregorio Farulli, Istoria cronologica del nobile ed antico Monasterio degli Angioli di Firenze (Lucca, 1710), 2. Farulli also implies that some of the land bought by S. Maria degli Angeli in 1295 was owned by the Albizzi family, but this has not been confirmed. These sources will be referred to repeatedly during the course of this discussion.

(10) See Farulli, 2. Among the items donated to the convent was a crucifix. The author cites a document executed by a notary named Ser Bonaiuto, under the employment of the Signoria, which states, "Dopo 20 giorni, Orlando ordinò a Maestro Rustico d'Albizo, che nel detto terreno facesse i fondamenti del nuovo Eremo, sopra de quali si portò la Signoria, i Magistrati col seguito di tutto il popolo. In

essi calò giù il Gonfaloniere insieme col Vescovo di Firenze, e nella prima mossa di calcina gettarono 250 moneta pisane. . . e dall'altra di una croce, arme della città, lasciate a tal effetto dal fondatore".

(11) After the purchase of land, Fra Guittone disappears from the scene altogether. His participation in the founding of S. Maria degli Angeli, therefore, seems to have been limited to the role of assisting in the procuring of funds and land from local benefactors.

(12) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12-13; and Mini, 460. The exact measurements as recorded in these sources is ". . . lungo braccia XIII, largo XI et alto VII." My conversion of braccie into feet is based on the common assumption that one braccia was the rough equivalent of one yard.

(13) See Farulli, 2. The author claims the panel to have been executed by "Vanni Pisano", a name which might be a shortened version of "Giovanni Pisano". The lack of archival evidence supporting Farulli's eighteenth-century contentions, in addition to the fact that the tabernacle in question has not survived, makes it impossible for me either to accept or to refute the feasibility of this claim.

Although there is no description of the altar's appearance, a contemporary text notes that most altars were decorated by two candles and a crucifix. Gulielmus Durandus,

Bishop of Mende, argued that each candle represented the joy of Jews and Gentiles at Christ's coming. The cross, meanwhile, was placed between each candle as a symbol of Christ's role as mediator between Jew and Gentile. See Guglielmo Durandus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, trans. J. Neale and B. Webb (London, 1893), 58-59.

(14) Descriptions of this church do not clearly indicate the exact location of the chiesetta within the monastic complex. If my interpretations of Mini, Farulli, and the monastic register are correct, then the chiesetta was built adjacent to the cloister, with the altar wall abutting the dormitory.

The need for the separation of monks and women was a basic tenet of monastic life. The sources for this concept are many, one of which may be found in the Divinis rationale, written by Bishop Guglielmus Durandus around 1295. Durandus believed that the sexes should be segregated, for those "most advanced in holiness should stand against the greater temptations of this world"; see Durandus, trans. Neale and Webb, 31.

Each of the buildings constructed for S. Maria degli Angeli at this time contained a symbolic significance for the monk. Durandus writes:

In (the) cloister the diversity of office chambers is the diversity of virtues. The chapterhouse is the secret of the heart. . . . The refectory is the love of holy meditation. The cellar, Holy

Scripture. The dormitory, a clean conscience.

The oratory, a spotless life. The garden of trees  
and herbs, the collection of virtues.

See Durandus, trans. Neale and Webb, 30.

(15) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1297 Luglio  
26 (see Appendix D, Documents 3 and 4); and Farulli, 3.

(16) A.S.F., Prioristi Mariani, Manoscritti 248, tome 1,  
fol. 231 (hereafter abbreviated "A.S.F., PM, MS 248, t.1").  
See Appendix D, Document 5.

(17) See Mini, 461 (Appendix A).

(18) Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese fioren-  
tine VIII (Rome, 1972: originally published in 1759), 146.

(19) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.  
12ff (see Appendix D, Document 1).

(20) For an excellent account of Dominican procedures, see  
Joanna Cannon, "Dominican Patronage", (Ph.D. dissertation,  
Courtauld Institute, 1980), 119-120.

(21) Ibid.

(22) The leasing of antiphonaries from S. Pietro a Poteoli  
in 1332 is emblematic of the increasing population of local  
novices into the community, and the perceived need to pro-  
vide for the education of a new generation of brethren.

(23) The shift in attitude toward the arts may also reflect a certain competition with the Franciscans in S. Croce, who commissioned Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi and Maso di Banco to decorate chapels in the monastic church during Don Filippo's priorate at S. Maria degli Angeli. Furthermore, S. Croce may be seen as a barometer of S. Maria degli Angeli's theological shifts, for the Franciscan community was undergoing severe scrutiny from both outside and inside its ranks. The debate between Conventuals and Spirituals came to a boil during the 1320s, with the more cenobitic Conventuals ultimately defeating the more observant Spirituals in the battle for control over the Order. While there are no written accounts of a similar confrontation in S. Maria degli Angeli during this era, the convent's increasing contact with the lay community suggests that the Camaldolese, too, were reassessing their role in the secular world.

(24) For an example of the donations of property to S. Maria degli Angeli during Don Filippo's priorate, see A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 25. In 1325 the Alfani family gave S. Maria degli Angeli property that had been appraised at 308 florins. The following year, Ciandro Arrighi gave the monastery additional holdings similarly valued at 300 florins (S. Maria degli Angeli later sold the land for 250 florins, under the provision that the property be returned to them upon the death of the renter). In 1331, Monna Margherita, wife of Ser Alamanno degli Obizzi of Lucca, gave the convent a house valued at 200 florins.

As a result of these and other real estate donations, S. Maria degli Angeli became a significant property owner during the early Trecento, and strove to increase their holdings throughout the century.

(25) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 14v. See Appendix D, Document 6.

(26) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 14v; Appendix D, Document 7.

(27) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 14v. See Appendix D, documents 6 and 7.

(28) The earliest recorded example of a Spini burial space in an extant Florentine church is a chapel in S. Trinita, bought by the family in 1371. The Spini family continued to use S. Trinita as its official church well into the seventeenth century. Although there are no records of the Spini clan having owned chapels elsewhere in the city, there can be no doubt that the household possessed the rights to at least one chapel in a Florentine religious institution at the time of Lapa and Nuccia's donations. For information on the Spini chapel in S. Trinita, see Walter and Elizabeth Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz V, (Frankfurt am Main, 1952), 271.

(29) For an interesting account of commemorative gifts donated by female worshippers in the fifteenth century, see



Sharon Strocchia, "Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence", Renaissance Quarterly XLII, (1989), 635-654.

(30) See Mini, 495 (Appendix A).

(31) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff (Appendix D, Document 1). The sacristy was reduced on two occasions, once in 1343 and again in 1372.

(32) See Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section III, Volume II, Part I (New York, 1930), 196-197. The only suggestion as to its initial location has been by Julian Gardner, "Fronts and Backs: Setting and Structure", in La pittura nel XIV e IX secolo: Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte (Bologna, 1979), 301 and 306-307 (note 33), whose suggestion that the altarpiece was made for the convent of S. Marta a Montughi (founded in 1343) was offered only as a conjecture, assuming that the image of Saint Margaret was instead a representation of Saint Martha.

(33) For Ser Nino's bequest, see A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 14v; Appendix D, Document 8.

(34) The devaluated status of magnate families is perhaps demonstrated by the Countess's marriage to Ser Nino, a notary. This union may have been formed in order to allow the Gherardescha clan to maintain ties with the politically enfranchised merchant community.

(35) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff and fol. 14v. See Appendix D, Documents 1 and 9.

(36) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. An excerpt from this text reads, "Poi circa l'anno 1344 erebbono la chiesa per lungheza per insino a mezo il detto capitolo e conversi disfare il detto dormetorio chera sopra il capitolo e la celluza e in chiesa ridussono il capitolo in testa diestro al coro dove è oggi il leggio grande e era uno ùscio di graticola di legnio in testa del coro nel mezo donde andavano a capitolo." See Appendix D, Document 1.

(37) For an overview of the political events of 1343, see Marvin Becker, Florence in Transition I (Baltimore, 1967) and Florence in Transition II (Baltimore, 1968); and Schevill, 218-225. The depression of 1342 caused many of the most powerful families in Florence to mistrust the quasi-democratic government set up by the Ordinances of Justice in 1293. In an effort to regain economic stability and political control, the magnate families invited a Frenchman, Walter of Brienne (the Duke of Athens), to govern their city and restore the nobility to its rightful place at the head of society. The duke's tenure was short-lived, however. Dedicated to the French feudal system, the Duke of Athens seemed more interested in pageantry and the fealty of the local aristocracy than in supporting those powerful nobles

who had asked him to come to their rescue in the first place. In 1343, the Duke was expelled and in the ensuing riots a number of Bardi palazzi were burned to the ground. From 1343 until the Ciompi uprising in 1378, the "new men" from both upper and lower guilds had a much greater impact on governmental affairs than they did either before or after the period. The Ciompi rebellion in 1378 and the ensuing reactionary period halted the swift climb of the "new men", who would not attain such political prominence for another century.

(38) The greater guilds were the (1) Arte del Cambio: Bankers; (2) Arte del Calimala: International Cloth Merchants; (3) Arte della Lana: Wool Merchants; (4) Arte della Seta: Silk Merchants; (5) Arte dei Medici e Speciali: Doctors and Apothecaries; (6) Arte dei Giudici e Notari: Judges and Notaries; and (7) Arte dei Furrieri: Importers of Fur Garments. The five middle guilds were the (1) Butchers, (2) Shoemakers, (3) Blacksmiths, (4) Builders and Stonemasons, and (5) Second-hand Dealers. The nine lower guilds were the (1) Retailers of Wine, (2) Innkeepers, (3) Sellers of Salt, Oil, and Cheese, (4) Tanners, (5) Armorers, (6) Ironworkers, (7) Harnessmakers, (8) Woodworkers (other than carpenters), and (9) Bakers.

(39) For general studies of this period, see Gene Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton, 1962) and The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Prince-

ton, 1977); Becker, 1967 and 1968; and Najemy, 1982.

(40) In 1962 and 1977, Brucker demonstrated that the one major obstacle in gaining entry into the Signoria was a candidate's affiliations with "Ghibellinism". In the aftermath of the Black Death the specter of such an accusation was usually enough to cause the target to withdraw his name from the list of possible candidates. Some aristocratic factions used the fear of this label to deter potential opponents from running, an effective tactic in controlling the components of the Signoria. For a full treatment of the political growth of the Florentine middle class from 1343 to 1378, see Marvin Becker, "Florentine Politics and the Diffusion of Heresy in the Trecento", Speculum 34 (1959), 62-75.

(41) For contemporary interpretations of the Plague, see Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, (Princeton, 1951), 74-93.

(42) For a medical analysis of the spread of Plague, see Robert Gottfried, The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe (New York, 1983), 1-15 and 33-76.

(43) See Mini, 463 (Appendix A). "L'anno 1348 fu una gran pestilenzia a Firenze, con tale stragia, che non visitude mai sui spaventevole imagine di morte, et agli Angeli amazzo monaci xxi solo sette scampiatone, in fra i quali fa il Priore Don Filippo, il quale cessaga che fu la contagione, purgo tutta la casa, e tutte l'habitazioni con profummi, et

con herbe adorifere, chi vi abbruccio."

(44) The most stirring statements on this subject are two chapters in Meiss, 1951: "The Two Cities at Mid-Century" and "Guilt, Penance, and Religious Rapture".

(45) See Gottfried, 47.

(46) See Mini, 463 (Appendix A): "Rinovando poi la familia, secondo che molti, e molti si inducevono per tutta la città a fare penitenzia per lo sbigottimento. . ."

(47) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, f. 12ff: "Cresendo la fama e la devotione del monasterio cominciorono dopo la detta mortalità a multiplicare i monaci eromiti." See Appendix D, Document 1.

(48) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff (Appendix D, Document 1): "Cresendo la fama e la devotione del monasterio cominciorono dopo la detta mortalità a multiplicare i monaci eromiti. Et per la detta cagione e ancora perchè aveano mala vicinanza fu loro forza comperare e comperarono case e orti da vicini d'allato. E in prima comperamo a dì xxviii d'ottobre 1348 da Bartolomeo e Johi Alfani tanto orto e case . . ." See Farulli, 8, who records the amount of money given to the Alfani brothers in 1348.

(49) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff (See Appendix D, Document 1): "Poi del mese di luglio 1353, comperamo da Cantino e Alberto Alfani orto e case. . ."

dove sono oggi lo capelle di Sco Francesco, di Sco Benedetto, e dell'annunziata e lo capitolo. . . . Del mese di Maggio 1362 comperammo da Chantino e Alberto per detti degli Alfani terreno, case e corte. . . excepto la casa della fabrica cherano remase a monna Margherita di Vermiglio Alfani. . . . Poi a dì XVI di Marzo 1365 comperammo da Frati perdicatori lo detto casolare e case cherano rimase monna Margherita le quali ella avea gia date loro."

(50) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. See Appendix D, Document 1.

(51) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. See Appendix D, Document 1.

(52) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. See Appendix D, Document 1.

(53) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15. See Appendix D, Document 10.

(54) For an overview of recent historical evaluations of the Italian economy during the decades following the Black Death, see Judith Brown, "Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy?", Renaissance Quarterly XLII (1989), 761-780.

(55) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 26v. See Appendix D, Document 11.

(56) A.S.F., PM, MS 248, t. 1, fol. 91ff (see Appendix D,

Document 12). Simone di Rinieri, Luigi's brother and Monna Giovanna's brother-in-law, was also a member of the priory during the decade of the '50s, serving in 1350 and 1357. Simone was also elected Gonfaloniere in 1364.

(57) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 26v. See Appendix D, Document 11.

(58) For a general recounting of the literature concerning the decoration of the Peruzzi Chapel in S. Croce, see Julie Codell, "Giotto's Peruzzi Chapel Frescoes: Wealth, Patronage and the Earthly City", Renaissance Quarterly XLI (1988), 584-585.

(59) While it may have been consistent with other Peruzzi acts of patronage during the fourteenth century, the choice of Saint Francis was not exactly consistent with the type of saint usually venerated in S. Maria degli Angeli. In addition to being the spiritual founder of a rival organization, Saint Francis' fervent admonition against wealth and social hierarchy would have made him an odd choice for reverence within the aristocratically oriented Camaldolese monastery. The monastic community appears to have capitulated to Monna Giovanna's wishes because of their need of the 100 florins she was willing to donate.

(60) The panel measures 190 x 273 cm. See Giorgio Bonsanti, La Galleria della Accademia (Florence, 1987), 90.

(61) Ibid. The identity of the painter has never been determined by modern connoisseurs. It is usually associated with a body of work painted by the "Pseudo Ambrogio Baldese," an artist who was active at the turn of the fifteenth century.

(62) The replacement of images as a result of changes in aesthetic taste was not uncommon in the Trecento. Perhaps the most famous example is the "modernization" of Guido da Siena's altarpiece for the Sienese monastery of San Domenico by a follower of Duccio around 1300.

(63) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15. See Appendix D, Document 13. Maestro Benvenuto, as far as I can tell, was not related to the Medici family.

(64) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15. It is not clear how many boys the house was asked to accept: "I quali danari noi avemmo di certi suoi danari checci lascio che noi dovessimo servare e dare a figliuoli."

(65) Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section IV, Volume II, (New York, 1960), 9-11.

(66) Ibid., 12. The dimensions of the predella panel (16 x 33 cm) and the Stockholm panel (84 x 34 cm) indicate that the two were probably part of the same altarpiece.

(67) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.



15v. See Appendix D, Document 14.

(68) A.S.F., PM, MS 250, t. 3, fol. 732. Niccolao di Tingho's terms are listed, as is his name and occupation: "Nicholaus Tinghi Spetiarus." See Appendix D, Document 15.

(69) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 36. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(70) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15v. See Appendix D, Document 16.

(71) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15v. See Appendix D, Document 16.

(72) See Mini, 495 (Appendix A). The altar to S. Michele, located in the sacristy and part of the convent's original structure, had been destroyed in 1343 in order to make room for Ser Nino Canonico's chapel of Saint Catherine. The monastic community was probably eager to install a new altar dedicated to the Archangel: The saint for whom their church had been dedicated not been honored with a liturgical structure for over fifteen years.

(73) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Aprile 4 (see Appendix D, Document 17). Bandecca dell'Antella's husband was Simone di Neri dell'Antella, a widely respected, but cantankerous, Florentine politician. Simone was twice elected Gonfaloniere during the 1350s, and indeed was asked to serve in the Signoria only three months after his wife's

bequethal to S. Maria degli Angeli. Although married to a member of the Strozzi clan, Simone dell'Antella refused to play partisan politics, and abstained from joining any of the factions rampant in Florence. See A.S.F., PM, MS 248, t. 1, fol. 43 (Appendix D, Document 18); and Brucker, 1962, 153 (note 18).

(74) Again, this donation was offered by a woman to provide for the souls of her female kinsmen. The Spini gifts, then, were not the only bequests made specifically for the care of a family's female members.

For a record of the agreement between Monna Bandecca and S. Maria degli Angeli, see A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Aprile 4 (Appendix D, Document 17).

(75) The note has since disappeared. For a complete description, attribution, and provenance of the pictures, see Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section IV, Volume IV (New York, 1968), 55-59.

(76) The inscriptions are as follows. Ambrose: "LIBER GENERATIONIS IESU CHRISTI FILII DAVID FILII ABRAHAM VIR IOSEPH MAGIS QUAM MARIE GENERATIO DESCRIBITUR CUM MARIA" (from Matt. I,1); Gregory: "VIR ERAT IN TERRA HUS NOMINE IOB . . . VIRTUTIS EXPRIMAT . . . QUIS NASCIAT QUOD SIT TERRA" (from Job I,1); Augustine: "IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM ET RU HOC EVANGELUM QUOD CONTRA ARRIANOS VECTUM EST FRATRES QUI VECTIS SIMI PURUM OCCVUUM CORDIS (from John I,1); Jerome

"IN PRINCIPIO CREAVIT DEUS CAELUM ET TERRAM TERRA AUTEM ERAT INANIS ET VACUA ET TENEBRAE SUPER FACIEM ABYSSI ET SPIRITUS DEI" (from Gen. I, 1-2).

(77) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. See Appendix D, Document 1.

(78) The customary practice was to receive a farm or house, valued at a certain amount of money, from a secular donor in return for prayers and meditations devoted to that person. The property was often sold by the monastery to a buyer for a price roughly equivalent to the appraised value of the land, which, in the case of the Antella donation, could be as much as 400 florins. The real earnings from this property, however, came later. After this first buyer had either died or left the property for a new home, the land would revert back to S. Maria degli Angeli, which could then resell the property to another buyer. Upon the death or departure of the second buyer, the convent would receive the property and start the whole process over again. In sum, a donation of a farm or house valued at 300 florins could actually earn the monastery three or four times that amount over the course of a few decades, depending on the longevity of the tenants. When we factor into this equation the produce delivered to the monastery as gifts from its tenants, S. Maria degli Angeli appears to have profited nicely from its real estate holdings.

(79) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Maggio 29. Geri Ghiberti's association with the bankers' guild may be found in A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, 23 Aprile 1366.

See Appendix D, Document 19.

(80) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Giugno 5. See Appendix D, Document 20.

(81) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 16v. See Appendix D, Document 21. "Il quale Johi passò di questa vita a dì XV di Luglio, 1363."

(82) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Agosto 15 (see Appendix D, Document 22). Bindo had also given land to S. Maria degli Angeli in 1363: see A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 4.

(83) Dillian Gordon, David Bomford, Joyce Plesters, Ashok Roy, "Nardo di Cione's 'Altarpiece: Three Saints'", National Gallery Technical Bulletin 9 (1985), 21.

(84) Indeed, Bindo's life is somewhat dull compared with those of his sons. Piero and Stefano di Bindo Benini were avid opponents of the Albizzi faction, and participated in the Ciompi rebellion in 1378. For their activities, Bindo's children were exiled from the city, and apparently never returned. See Brucker, 1962, note 95; and Becker, 1968, 118.

(85) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Agosto

15 and A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.

17. See Appendix D, Document 22-23.

(86) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Contratti Antichi 65, fol. 28.

(87) For a discussion of Tellino Dini and his activities in Florence, see Brucker, 1962, 235 (note 113) and 518; and Becker, 1968, 221-222.

(88) The exact date of Tellino's gift is unknown, but he must have given the convent his donation well before 1 November, 1364, the date of his chapel's consecration.

(89) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 36. "Don Bartolo Dini Stracciabendi del popolo di San Brancatio fece la sua profession di xiiii di novembre 1336, in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati. Obiit in loco isto Anno 1348." See Appendix D, Document 2.

(90) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 30, and Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 16v. See Appendix D, Documents 24 and 25.

(91) See Meiss, 68.

(92) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff. "Nel 1364 si erebbe il capitolo e la capella di Sco Antonio si ridusse uso l'anfermeria et fecionsi tre capelle." See Appendix D, Document 1.

(93) The Presentation is located in the Florence, Accademia. For the literature on the picture and its painter, see Luisa Marcucci, Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I dipinti Toscani del secolo XIV (Rome, 1965), 117-118; and Offner, 1968, 67-72.

(94) For the literature on these pictures, see Marcucci, 74-77; and Offner, 1967, 85-96. A possible reason for their delay may be the timing of their execution. Nardo di Cione was elderly and infirmed when the commission was given in 1364-65, and died in the spring of 1365. These altarpieces represent two of the last pictures produced in the master's workshop, and may have been late in their completion due to Nardo's failing health.

(95) The symoblic and iconographic implications of these pictures will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

(96) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 30v, and Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 116v. See Appendix D, Documents 26 and 27.

(97) By 1365, the price of small panel usually cost less than ten florins, whereas larger altarpieces could be as much as eighty to a hundred florins. The Saint Matthew Altarpiece, executed by Orcagna and Jacopo di Cione in 1367-68, cost the Arte del Cambio forty florins: See Miklós Boskovits, La Pittura Fiorentina alla vigilia del

Rinascimento (Florence, 1975), 169-170. Lorenzo Monaco, meanwhile, received at least thirty-five florins from the Ardinghelli family when he executed an altarpiece for their chapel in S. Maria del Carmine in 1398-99 (see Eisenberg, 210, Documents 4A-E).

(98) See Offner, 1960, 20. The author suggested that Saint Benedict's appearance in a prominent position, combined with his white robes, made S. Maria degli Angeli a possible candidate for its original location. In a footnote, Offner went on to say that this would seem likely, given the fact that Nardo seems to have painted two other pictures for the institution in 1365, that is, the Dini and Ghiberti triptychs.

(99) The pointed crown placed on the Virgin's head may be a reference to the papal tiara (fig. 22). If, in fact, the altarpiece was installed in S. Maria degli Angeli, this allusion may have been included as a sign of the monastery's allegiance to the papacy. As we shall soon see, this alliance seriously hindered the cloister's ability to raise funds and administer sacraments during the War of the Eight Saints, from 1375 to 1378.

(100) See Offner, 1967, 20.

(101) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria Nuova, 21 Maggio 1365. In his will, Nardo bequeathed money to the Florentine cathedral, the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, and the confraternity

of the Misericordia, suggesting that he was intimately associated with the societa. For a published transcription of this document, see Gaetano Milanese, Nuovi documenti per la Storia dell'arte toscana dal XII al XV secolo (Rome, 1893), 58-59.

(102) The liquid assests from the Ghiberti, Dini, and Benini donations amounted to 940 florins, while the cost for refurbishing Ser Francesco's chapel of the Ognissanti (196 florins) increased this sum to 1136 florins.

(103) Don Giovanni degli Strozzi's entry is recorded in A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 38v. "Don Johi di Niccholò degli Strozzi fece la sua professione a dì XXIIII di Maggio 1366 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto die XXVIII mensis Julii 1412." Don Giovanni outlived Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi by four months. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(104) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 32. See Appendix D, Document 28. The forty florin donation to aid in the building project was considered to be enough to cover the costs of building one cell in the new cloister, which was located in the garden between S. Maria degli Angeli and S. Maria Nuova.

(105) See Mini, 498 (Appendix A). Mini suggested that the Strozzi donation paid for the entire enterprise, but the sum



of 240 florins could not have funded such a project by itself. The convent undoubtedly used money obtained through the re-sale of its property and smaller donations by members of the lay community.

(106) For the provenance of the Crucifixion, see Marcucci, 106.

(107) For a history of attributions, see Boskovits, 323. Marcucci (106ff) attributed the Crucifixion to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, while Boskovits suggested that Jacopo di Cione also participated in its execution.

(108) The spelling of Alessandro's chosen name is significant. Florentine tradition prohibited children from having the same name as living relatives. Rarely do we see instances of a "Francesco di Francesco", or a "Giovanni di Giovanni". By choosing to alter the spelling of his spiritual name, Don Niccholaio was able to honor his father without breaking any local customs.

(109) The Albizzi gift, divided equally between the two projects, was recorded in the monastic register as follows:

MCCCLXVIII: Memoria sia a noi e a chi dopo noi succedera che Don Niccholaio di Nicholò di Pagno degli Albizzi, nostro monaco, ci diede per l'amore di dio innanzi che facesse la sua professione, F. cento d'oro per aiuto affare l'antifonare del di in tre vilumi, F. cento d'oro per aiuto accrescere

la nostra chiesa.

See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, 95, folio 32 (Appendix D, Document 29).

(110) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 34 and Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17. See Appendix D, Document 30 and 31. In these entries, the patron's name is noted simply as "Piero di Neri", with no surname attached. Richa (164) recorded the inscription of a tombstone in the chapel, stating: SACELLVM HOC D. PETRO DICATVM CONSTRVCTVM FVIT A PETRO NERI DEL PALAGIO ANNO DOM. MCCCLXXII. CAMMILLVS ET FRANCISCVS FRATRES EX EADEM FAMILIA POSVERVNT ANNO DOM. MDCXXIV.

(111) Neri di Lippo del Palagio was elected to the Signoria at least five times between 1328 and 1343. By 1399, either Neri or one of his sons had been a member of the priory on twenty separate occasions. See Brucker, 1962, 34; and Najemy, 117 (note 30), 133, 202, 298, and 324.

(112) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, 95, folio 34: "Piero di Neri del popolo di San Michele di Bisdomini di Firenze cia facta per l'amore di dio per rimedio dell'anima sua e de suoi morti, una cappella la quale e nel nostro capitolo di rimpetto a quella di Sco Anthonio". See Appendix D, Document 30.

(113) See Miklós Boskovits, "Su Don Silvestro, Don Simone e

la 'scuola degli Angeli'", Paragone 265 (1972), 37-39.

(114) Andrea's biography is briefly recorded in A.S.F., PM, MS 250, t. 3.

(115) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 34, and Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17. See Appendix D, Document 32 and 33.

(116) The inscription states: A.D. MCCCCLXXII. ANDREAS D. UGONIS DE STUFA FECIT FIERI HANC CAPPELLAM AD HONOREM S. ANDREE APOSTOLI, & PRO REMEDIO ANIME SUE, & SUORUM MORTUORUM. Underneath the figure of Saint John/Saint Andrew are the obscured words, S. ANDREAS APOSTOLI. For a brief history of the Trinity's provenance, see Marcucci, 74-75.

(117) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 35. Tellino Dini donated 500 florins, while Don Niccholaio, Bindo Benini, and the Comandatore di S. Antonio each contributed 100 florins. Bartolomeo Benini, the Camaldolese prior, gave 200 florins to the project, as did Bardo Corsi. See Appendix D, Document 34. See also Mini, 496 (Appendix A).

(118) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff, and Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 35. "Et avemo d'Antonio di Santi per lo coro F. CCCCC per lo leggio grande e figure di sopra il coro, F. L." The monastic church required two choir lofts in order to facilitate the antiphonal singing performed by the brethren in S. Michele. See Appendix D,

Documents 1 and 35.

It is interesting to note that the name of the donor is identical to that of the man responsible for funding the construction of the original choir in 1320. There is a strong possibility that the Antonio di Santi responsible for the 550-florin donation in 1372 was a relative of the Antonio di Santi who had funded the original choir fifty years earlier. If this was the case, we may assume that the younger Antonio di Santi felt some sort of obligation to the monastery, and wished to continue his ancestor's patronage. This would not have been unusual for the period, as families commonly maintained traditional ties with specific institutions over a period of decades, even centuries.

(119) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 35: "Item che a dì \_\_\_\_ di dicembre, MCCCLXXVII ci die il detto Antonio per aiuto de leggio grande di coro e delle figure che sono ne canti del predetto coro cioè dall'uno canto la Nostra Donna e dall'altro l'Agnolo. F. cinquanta c'oro." See Appendix D, Document 35.

(120) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 122. See Appendix D, Document 36.

(121) Hans Gronau, "The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 92 (1950), 217; and Richa, 148-149.

(122) A.S.F., PM, MS 251, t. 4, fol. 805ff. Guccius di Cino was selected in May 1374, November 1388, and March 1399,

while Paolo di Cino was active in July 1392, November 1404, and July 1408. See Appendix D, Document 37.

Marvin Eisenberg (1989, pages 130-131) elaborates on the Bartolini affiliation with the Arte del Cambio. Bernardo's visits to the French royal family may well have been on behalf of his family's business interests, for France often looked to Florence for financial backing during the Hundred Years War.

(123) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 122. See Appendix D, Document 36.

(124) Separating the lay congregation from the altar and monastic community was a crucial aspect of most conventual churches. Durandus informs us that the rail surrounding the high altar and dividing the choir from the nave, ". . . teacheth the separation of things celestial from things terrestrial." See Durandus, trans. Neale and Webb, 26.

(125) Giovanni Boccaccio describes the fear and frenzy of the era in the preface of The Decameron, perhaps more effectively than any other chronicler of his time.

(126) See Gottfried, 47.

(127) Agnolo dal Canto, Benvenuto Medico, Nicholaio di Tingho, Neri Partucci, Giovanni Ghiberti, Tellino Dini, Bindo Benini, and Ser Francesco di Ser Berto constitute the group of "new men" patronizing S. Maria degli Angeli.

Benvenuto and Nicholaio were members of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, while Ser Francesco was a notary. Their professions had gained in status due to the effects of the Black Death.

(128) Don Niccholaio was later joined in the monastery by another member of his family, Don Placido degli Albizzi. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 39 (see Appendix D, Document 2).

(129) For an extensive and detailed account of the causes and effects of the War of the Eight Saints, see Brucker, 1962, 282ff.

(130) For a brief, yet informative, synopsis of S. Maria degli Angeli's trials during the War of the Eight Saints, see Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Arte e politica: L'Interdetto, gli Albizzi e la miniatura fiorentina del tardo Trecento", in La Miniatura Italiana in età romanica e gotica: Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana (Florence, 1979), 461-487.

(131) The literature concerning the Ciompi revolt is extensive. I have relied on Marvin Becker's "Church and State in Florence on the Eve of the Renaissance, 1343-1382", Speculum 37 (1962), 509-527; and Gene Brucker's Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (1962). Frederick Antal, Florentine Painting and its Social Background (Cambridge, 1986: originally published in 1948), also discusses the rebellion with

particular attention paid to its implications for art patronage.

(132) See Mini, 489 (Appendix A). "Entrarono ind. giorno dentro all Clausura del sacro luogo più di dieci mila persone, andando i gridi, delle voci in sino al cielo, urla il popolo."

(133) Both Mini (489, Appendix A) and Farulli (19) note that gold, silver, and jewelry was deposited in S. Maria degli Angeli, and that the Ciompi carried off most of the convent's material possessions during the attack.

(134) The looting of S. Maria degli Angeli may well explain why so many of the altarpieces used by the house before 1378 are now lost to us. Damage done to the infirmary may account for the dismembered state of the Ognissanti altarpiece, which may have been painted for the chapel funded by Ser Francesco di Ser Berto and his two confraternities. The fire may have also affected the chapels of Saints Benedict, Francis and the Annunciation, for they would have been in the area closest to the damaged west cloister. The fact that the altarpieces used in the chapterhouse were untouched suggests that none of the marauding rebels gained access to the capitolo. See Mini, 488-490 (Appendix A); Levi D'Ancona, 1979, 461ff; and Eisenberg, 51-52 (note 21).

(135) Both Farulli (19) and Mini (488-490) attribute the salvation of S. Maria degli Angeli to the intervention of

two parties: Guido di Ser Tommaso Pelagio (related to Piero Pelagio, donor of the chapel to Saint Peter in the chapter-house) and Jesus Christ, who bestowed his blessing on the monastery by blowing out the flames before the entire complex was engulfed.

(136) For a concise description of the fall of the government in January, 1382, see Brucker, 1977, 60-73.

(137) Lauro Martines, Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1968), 387-404 and 467-476; and Brucker, 1977, 8.

(138) For the return of the oligarchy, see Schevill, 336ff; and Najemy, 263ff.

(139) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 21. See Appendix D, Document 38.

(140) Durandus tells us that a white curtain covering an altarpiece signifies ". . . the flesh of the Savior, that is His humanity: because it was made white with many toils". He goes on to say that ". . . the altar is covered with white and clean cloths, because the pure heart is adorned with good works." See Durandus, trans. Neale and Webb, 39-40.

(141) One of Federigo's relatives, Stoldo di Lapo Stoldi, was listed as a member of the Signoria in 1364. This entry notes his profession as lanaiolus. See A.S.F., PM, MS 251,



t. 4, p. 822.

(142) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 43. Unlike most of the entries in the monastic register, this document is recorded in Latin, perhaps as a way of recognizing its uniqueness. Sometime after Giovanni's death, an appendix was added to the original donation: "Somma che abiamo avuto di quello di Johi Giani doppo la sua morte della decta ottava parte, FF. millecentocinquantaquattro, L. iiii."

An additional 25 florins were used to make another drappo for the high altar. With the Stoldi gift of 1383 supporting the curtain for the altarpiece, Giovanni's pallium apparently covered the table itself. See Appendix D, Document 39.

(143) Nerone Stoldi's profession is unknown, but there is some likelihood that he was a member of the Arte della Lana, the wool guild. One of his relatives seems to have been Stoldus di Lapi Stoldi, a member of the Signoria in 1360 and again in 1364. Next to his name is inscribed the title Lanaiolus, noting his participation in the wool guild. There is a good chance that Nerone, too, worked in the Arte della Lana, although this is conjectural. For Stoldus di Lapi Stoldi's identification in the priory, see A.S.F., PM, MS 251, t. 4, fol. 822ff.

(144) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 41v and Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17v; and Diplomatico, S.

Maria degli Angeli, 1363 Agosto 13. See Appendix D, Documents 40-42.

(145) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17v. See Appendix D, Document 41.

(146) Indeed, the Stoldi family had made its fortune in the Arte della Lana, the guild from which many of the Ciampi leaders had come. Needless to say, some animosity must have existed between the pezzi grassi in the guild and the sotto-posti who took power from them in 1378.

(147) Stencils used to paint decorative patterns on floors, thrones, and backdrops by Nardo and Andrea di Cione were apparently passed to their assistants after Orcagna's death in 1368. Among the recipients of these designs were Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Jacopo di Cione, and Giovanni del Biondo, and later Agnolo Gaddi and Lorenzo Monaco. See Brigitte Klesse, Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerie des 14. Jahrhunderts (Bern, 1967), 329-349; Lisa Monnas, "Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Bernardo Daddi, Andrea di Cione and their Followers", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 1990, 39-50, and Erlang Skaug; "Punch Marks--What are they Worth? Problems of Tuscan Workshop Interrelations in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Olive Master and Giovanni da Milano", in La Pittura nel XIV e XV secolo: Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte (Bologna, 1979), 253-282.

(148) The most recent study of this altarpiece may be found

in M. Davies, The Early Italian Schools Before 1400, revised by Dillian Gordon, (London, 1988), 90-91, where a chronology of attributions is presented.

(149) Werner Cohn was the first to note the connection between the "DON PHILIPP'NERONIS" mentioned in the inscription and the presence of Don Filippo di Nerone Stoldi in the monastic register between 1357 and 1400. See Werner Cohn, "Notizie storiche intorno ad alcune tavole fiorentine del '300 e '400", Rivista d'arte 31 (1956), 66-67.

(150) See Davies, 90-91.

(151) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 18v-19. "Item per l'anima di Monna Piera sua donna siroccchia cugina di Frate Niccholaio nostro monaco degli Albizzi la quale passò di questa vita a dì XVII di Febraio 1387, fiorini cinquanta d'oro." See Appendix D, Document 43.

(152) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 18v-19. See Appendix D, Document 43. For a fundamental study of the Nobili chapel, see Gronau, 217-218.

(153) In addition to the archival references to this donation, see Richa, 148-150.

(154) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 19. See Appendix D, Document 43.

(155) See Richa, 166.

(156) Gronau and Zeri believed the predella panels to be among Lorenzo Monaco's earliest works. See Gronau, 217-218; and Federico Zeri, "Investigations into the Early Period of Lorenzo Monaco", Burlington Magazine 106 (1964), 554-558.

Boskovits, in 1975, attributed the Bode altarpiece to Agnolo Gaddi, and connected it to the Nobili chapel (see Boskovits, 119 and 295-296). He also agreed that Lorenzo Monaco painted the predella panels (see Boskovits, 351).

Bruce Cole accepted Boskovits' attribution of the Bode polyptych to Agnolo Gaddi in 1977, but assigned the predella panels to an anonymous assistant (Agnolo Gaddi [Oxford, 1977], 84-87). Eisenberg concurred with this opinion in 1989 (200-201).

For a complete bibliography concerning these panels, see Cole, 84-87; and Eisenberg, 200-201.

(157) See Gronau, 217-218; and Zeri, 554-558.

(158) See Zeri, 557 (plate 12).

(159) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 18. See Appendix D, Document 44.

(160) A.S.F., Prestanze 200, fol. 116 (1370). The families included in the register were listed in order of their domicile on each street. Filicaia family members lived on the same street and next door to Albizzi households.

(161) See Annegret Hoyer, "Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkapelle und zu Familienkapellen und Altaren des Trecento

in Florentiner Kirchen", Inaugural-Dissertation (Bonn, 1976), 183 (note 313) and 197.

(162) See Brucker, 1962, 382-383 (note 139). Brucker cites a document from the proceedings which banished Manetto da Filicaia: A.S.F., Provisioni 67, fol. 9-13v.

(163) A.S.F., PM, MS 248, t.1, fol. 108ff. Of his five terms in the Signoria, Manetto was chosen Gonfaloniere three times.

(164) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 18. See Appendix D, Document 44.

(165) Riccardo Spinelli, "Sull'antica collocazione del trittico di Mariotto di Nardo di Santa Margherita a Tosina", Paragone 455 (1988), 44-51.

(166) Ibid., 44-45.

(167) Ibid., 44-51. The wording of the inscription provided the author with a precise dating for the picture, that is between 1388 and 1389.

(168) Marvin Eisenberg, in litteris, was the first to suggest that the Last Supper was a part of this predella. See Boskovits, 390.

(169) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 20- 20v and A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, folio 53. See Appendix D, Documents 45 and 46.

Farulli (12) claimed that Lanfredi was a member of the Aldobrandini family. The fact that Don Bartolomeo and Don Agnolo came from the parish of S. Pier Maggiore, an Albizzi stronghold, suggests that the siblings were, in fact, members of the Aldobrandini household.

(170) Lanfredi is listed in some of the guild's tribunal meetings during the 1360s. In 1364, Lanfredi agreed to serve as the legal guardian of a young apprentice, whose father had just died. Lanfredi was to care for the boy in conjunction with another member of the Arte del Cambio, Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca, a mysterious figure whom we shall encounter in Chapter Five. See A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, 1364 Dicembre XVI.

(171) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 20. See Appendix D, Document 45.

(172) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 20. "Ancora facciamo memoria che il detto Lionardo loro zio donò al monasterio fior. C d'oro per lo terreno \_\_\_\_ della detta cappella e per farcii dentro uno coro et nella detta cappella a fatto fare e posta una tavola allato all'altare per reunitia di Sco. Lionardo per rimedio dell'anima sua e noi siamo tenuti di pregare i Dio per lui. . . . Item facciamo ricordo che il detto Leonardo ordinò inanzi che morisse che nella detta capella si potesse dall'altro lato della tavola dell'altare una tavola di Sco. Martino e così

dopo la sua morte si fece." See Appendix D, Document 45.

(173) Compared to the prices demanded by the convent during the 1360s and early '70s, the going rate for commissioning a chapel in S. Maria degli Angeli after the return of the Albizzi faction in 1382 seems to have doubled, and in some cases tripled.

(174) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1393 Marzo 23. See Appendix D, Document 47.

(175) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1393 Marzo 23. See Appendix D, Document 47.

Farulli (22) noted the presence of Don Filippo di Nerrozzo degli Alberti in S. Maria degli Angeli, although he recorded the name as "Don Filippo di Nerone", the son of Agnola and Nerone degli Stoldi.

(176) For Benedetto Alberti's role in the rebellion, see Najemy, 239 and 257; and Brucker, 1962, 206, 364, and 391. Benedetto was targeted for retribution by the Albizzi faction after the 1379 execution of Pietro degli Albizzi, an aristocrat accused of conspiring to overthrow the government. See Schevill, 339.

(177) See Brucker, 1977, 78-80. For an outstanding summary of the Alberti family during its exile in 1401-1428, see Susannah Baxandale, "Exile in Practice: The Alberti Family In and Out of Florence, 1401-1428", Renaissance Quarterly XLIV (1991), 720-756.

(178) See Brucker, 1977, 90ff.

(179) According to the Ordinances of Justice, the denouncement of the Alberti family as being members of the magnate class (or feudal barons from the early medieval period) dictated that the clan could never again participate in city government. In one stroke, the Alberti household was stripped of all its financial and political resources. See Brucker, 1977, 90ff; and Schevill, 1961, 344ff.

(180) See Baxendale, 727 (note 32).

(181) With Gherardo dead, the monastery could not be accused of providing an exiled Florentine a safe haven in the city. While the monks seem to have been concerned for the Alberti's soul, they did not wish to open themselves to the scrutiny of the local government.

(182) Lorenzo degli Alberti, Gherardo's brother, is best known for siring the most important art theorist of the fifteenth century, Leonbattista Alberti.

There is reason to believe that the agents responsible for the transfer of funds from Padua to S. Maria degli Angeli were female members of the Alberti family. While the entire male line of the clan had been exiled in 1401, the Alberti women and children were allowed to remain in Florence. Some, like Margerita di Messer Niccolao degli Alberti, served as procurators for their banished kinsmen. See



Baxendale, 744.

(183) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.

22. See Appendix D, Document 48.

(184) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 1393 Marzo 23 (Appendix D, Document 47). The document states in part, "Item voluit iussit diposuit et mandavit quod in decta clena(?) fratus S. Marie de Angelis fiat et fieri debeat una chappella ad honorem et reverentiam beate Marie Virginis sub eius vocabulo voluit decorari cum choro in duabus partibus in qualibus parte sex locorum et fenestra una vitreata decenti. Et quodam sempanario, et lampada et una tabula cum quinque figurio, ut in medio cum figura Virginis Marie cum puero in collo sum sexta partii et duobus angelis et duabus aliis figuras ex omni parte in latere vi delicet ex catere duabus figuris beatorum Benedecti et Gherardi et ex alio latere duabus aliis figuras vi delectit Beatorum Laurentii et Antonii. . ."

(185) It is unclear whether the figure of Anthony was included as a reference to Riccardo or another Alberti family member, or was instead an allegorical parallel to the isolated household in general. Similarly, the Camaldolese community may have requested the addition of Anthony as a symbol of the order's reclusiveness.

(186) See Marcucci, 136-137; and Bonsanti, 88 and 93. The panel was placed in the public domain in 1900, originally in

the Uffizi. Marvin Eisenberg has informed me that his statement that the panel was lent to the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo is erroneous (1989, 52, note 27); the loan in 1930 was to the Accademia di Belle Arti, Carrara. Subsequently the panel was returned to the Florentine Soprintendenza and then placed on exhibition in the recent reinstallation of early Italian pictures in the Accademia (No. 3161). Bonsanti notes that the original location was S. Maria degli Angeli, a provenance not mentioned by Marcucci. The dimensions of the panel are 164 X 89 cm.

(187) The suckling child was an important intercessory image in the fourteenth century. The intimacy between Christ and the Virgin, with the latter providing her son with bodily nourishment, singled to the viewer their extraordinary relationship. Thus, prayers to the lactating mother were considered to assure supplicants of benefits from the prime intercessor. For a brief description of medieval interpretations of the Madonna del Latte, see Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death (Princeton, 1978), 145-156; Caroline Walker Bynum, Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women (Berkeley, 1987), 269-272; and Nigel Morgan, "Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England", England in the Thirteenth Century (Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium), ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Stamford, 1991), 93-95.

(188) The original altarpiece in the Alberti chapel was replaced in 1529-30, when the liturgical items located in the Camaldolese house of S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti were taken to S. Maria degli Angeli. Vasari reports that a Coronation of the Virgin, painted by Lorenzo Monaco (National Gallery, London), was installed on the altar in the Alberti chapel at that time. The panel it replaced has never been discussed. See Eisenberg, 139.

(189) For attributions of the panel to Jacopo di Cione, see Offner and Steinweg, 1965, 107ff and plate X; and Boskovits, 1975, 330. The picture has also been attributed to Orcagna, with the assistance of Jacopo. See Meiss, fig. 140.

(190) Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci e il Maestro dei Canzoni: Due miniatori trecenteschi della scuola di S. Maria degli Angeli a Firenze", Rivista d'arte XXII (1957), 9-11; Marcucci, 136-137; Bonsanti, 88 and 93; and Eisenberg, 7 and fig. 267, concur that Don Silvestro was the painter.

(191) A complete discussion of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci's proposed artistic career appears in Chapter Three. See also George Bent, "The Scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli and Fourteenth Century Manuscript Illumination: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Lorenzo Monaco and Giovanni del Biondo", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, forthcoming.

(192) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.

22. See Appendix D, Document 48.

(193) There is no mention of the scriptorium's location in any descriptions of the convent. Because of its origins in the 1330s, I am hypothesizing that the workshop was located underneath the monastic dormitory, known today as the west cloister. For a list of books housed in S. Maria degli Angeli in 1513, see Baldelli Cherubini, 1972, 9-47.

(194) See Levi D'Ancona, "Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco", Art Bulletin 40 (1958), 175 (note 2); and Eisenberg, 209. A document from 1393 records the presence of forty monks during a legal proceeding. This number was noted to have represented two-thirds of the community in S. Maria degli Angeli, placing the total number of monks at sixty. See A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 7 Marzo 1393.

(195) Eisenberg (14) suggests that the picture may have been used in S. Maria degli Angeli, and that the commission may have been offered well before the inscribed date of 1404. Due to its subject matter, Lorenzo's affiliation with the convent, and Vasari's comment that the monastery owned many pictures by the former monk's hand, I have come to believe that the Vir Dolorum was, in fact, located in S. Maria degli Angeli.

(196) Marvin Eisenberg has suggested that the Agony may have been located in the sacristy, because of the inclusion of a

rare representation of the Stripping of Christ as one of its two predella scenes; see "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco", in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 286 and 289 (note 25).

(197) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 55v-56. See Appendix D, Document 49. The witness of the agreement was Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, the subprior.

(198) The da Uzzano family had amassed a huge fortune in the banking industry, and was firmly entrenched in the Albizzi consortium. See Brucker, 1977, 403.

(199) See Mini, 497 (Appendix A); and Farulli, 20. Don Girolamo eventually attained the highest rank possible in the Camaldolese hierarchy, the General of the Order. Mini also notes the benevolence of Agnolo da Uzzano toward S. Maria degli Angeli, stating that he had been "di grande utilità".

(200) The Spini, Peruzzi, Ghiberti, Bartolini, Albizzi, Alberti, dell'Antella, Aldobrandini, da Uzzano, and Strozzi families comprised ten of the most important banking houses in the city of Florence at different times during the fourteenth century. Other families patronizing S. Maria degli Angeli which may have been involved in the Arte del Cambio include the Alluodo, Alfani, da Filicaia and della Stufa households. As we shall see in Chapter Five, yet another

family connected to the bankers' guild was intimately involved in the funding of S. Maria degli Angeli during the period, bringing the possible total of patrons from the Arte del Cambio to fifteen, or roughly sixty percent of the convent's major donors.

(201) See Mini, 498 (Appendix A); and Farulli, 24.

(202) One of the most influential members of the guild was Jacopo Ricci, whose brother, Don Alessandro, was a member of S. Maria degli Angeli. With the help of Girolamo Rinuccini and Girolamo degli Spini, Don Alessandro collected over one thousand florins from the counsel of the Arte del Cambio and left S. Maria degli Angeli to begin the house of S. Benedetto. See Mini, 498 (Appendix A).

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **THE MONASTIC SCRIPTORIUM: DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

S. Maria degli Angeli benefited from a cadre of loyal secular benefactors, each of whom donated enough funds to allow the monastic population to live according to their professional vows and sensibilities. Through the procurement and resale of real estate holdings, the cloister reaped significant financial dividends. Cash payments helped the monks buy food, pay for building projects, and decorate their structures with liturgical objects. Moreover, bequests from wealthy donors also appear to have provided the funds needed to establish and maintain a productive scriptorium, responsible for the manufacture of liturgical antiphonaries and lectionaries. Although the scriptorium's exact location within the monastic complex remains unknown, its prestige was recognized throughout Tuscany and Italy during the second half of the Trecento.

The scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli operated during two distinct periods, separated by a brief lull caused by the catastrophe of the Black Death. While documentation for the first period is practically nonexistent, a few scraps of information may be pieced together which suggest that monastic scribes were working in the scriptorium roughly a decade before the Plague decimated

the monastery's population in 1348. Book production seems to have ceased at this juncture. Of the twenty-two monks populating S. Maria degli Angeli in April, 1348, only seven lived to see October. Understandably, the sudden loss of two-thirds of the monastic community made manuscript production the least of the convent's concerns. The monastery labored to rebound from the disastrous effects of the Plague, replenishing its depleted ranks with young Florentines and rebuilding its physical structure with funds procured from a cadre of wealthy secular donors. By the late 1360s, S. Maria degli Angeli had fully recovered. The scriptorium was revived, and monastic scribes began designing antiphonaries that are among the most luxurious manuscripts produced in fourteenth-century Italy.

The choral books designed and penned in S. Maria degli Angeli during the second phase were sources of great pride in the monastery. Due to the sumptuousness of twenty large liturgical manuscripts produced by the monks for their own use during these years, the legend of the monastic scriptorium was passed from one generation of Camaldolese to the next. Finally, with the publication of the second edition of Vasari's Lives in 1568, the legend entered into the public sphere. In his chapter devoted to Lorenzo Monaco, Vasari recounted the expertise of the convent's scribes and painters, claiming that the antiphonaries produced there were the most beautiful in all of Europe, propaganda which was probably provided by the monks



themselves.<sup>1</sup> According to Vasari, Pope Leo X wished to take some of the books back to Rome after his visit to the monastery in the early sixteenth century. Only the unusual Camaldolese liturgy, as well as the importance of the antiphonaries in S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgical performances, kept the pontiff from carting them off. In addition to the twenty choral books created for their own use (presently housed in the Biblioteca Laurenziana), the monks also produced at least ten additional antiphonaries for the neighboring hospital of S. Maria Nuova, located just a few meters from S. Maria degli Angeli, and copied a number of theological texts for their own library. By 1420, the monastic library's extensive holdings of rare Greek and Latin texts established S. Maria degli Angeli as one of the first centers of Florentine Christian Humanism in the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Vasari has often been criticized by modern readers for his perpetuation of myths and legends surrounding various Italian artists. As we shall see in this chapter, the tale of the scriptorium's reputation falls into this category. Vasari skillfully manipulated a paucity of facts, expanding upon them to create a monastic workshop that was, in his view, responsible for every aspect of manuscript production. Since this initial foray into the subject in 1568, Vasari's general assessment of S. Maria degli Angeli's scriptorium has been accepted by art historians as fact, with sometimes extraordinary efforts made to support his claims by

connecting manuscript illuminations with members of the monastic bottega.

This chapter will reexamine the Angeli's scriptorium, concentrating on the books executed both for S. Maria Nuova and for the monastery itself during the last half of the fourteenth century. Along the way, we will analyze the workshop's operational aspects, the individuals involved in manuscript production, and the procedures of book manufacture followed in the scriptorium. This investigation will demonstrate that the scriptorium, while clearly worthy of the praise offered by Vasari, was not as self-sufficient as either he or succeeding generations of scholars have claimed. It is my contention that a broad network of artists and artisans was employed for the decoration of the bottega's liturgical books, a collaborative network which intimately connected the Camaldolese community with painters working in the secular sphere. It is my hope that a clearer picture of the process of book production will have been painted by the end of this chapter, with a deeper understanding of the inner workings of a Florentine monastic scriptorium attained.

### **The Founding of the Scriptorium**

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the original monastic community had been comprised mainly of mature monks who had agreed to make the short pilgrimage from the Eremo in

Camaldoli to the new urban monastery in Florence. The cloister's composition began to shift, however, as the local population became more familiar with the brethren at S. Maria degli Angeli. By 1330, the convent had begun to attract a number of young Florentines who, after enrolling in the monastery, formed a sizable group of youths unfamiliar with the liturgy and philosophy of the Camaldolese Order.<sup>3</sup> Whereas older monks from the Eremitani could recite the antiphons and responsories of worship services from memory, the appearance of uneducated novices in their midst must have presented the community with a dilemma. Until this time, the brethren had had no real need for liturgical books, for theirs was a life committed to memory and dependent upon daily ritual. But with the arrival of young boys, all in need of formal monastic training and theological indoctrination, some kind of action was necessary.

In the summer of 1332, Prior Filippo Nelli and his associates in S. Maria degli Angeli responded to the situation. On August 4, an agreement was made with the Camaldolese convent at S. Pietro di Poteoli to borrow a number of liturgical books.<sup>4</sup> For the sum of seventy gold florins, S. Maria degli Angeli was loaned seven nocturnal antiphonaries and two diurnal, with the understanding that the books would be returned to S. Pietro di Poteoli at a later, undisclosed date. The sudden infusion of nine, large choral books into the convent was an extraordinary addition

by any standards. Although we cannot be sure, this does not seem to have been a simple procurement of objects pertaining to obscure festivals. Instead, the seven antiphonaries probably covered the entire liturgical calendar, with every service of every feast day recorded in letters and neumes large enough to be seen and sung by the entire community, on every day of the year. The agreement with S. Pietro di Poteoli provided the Florentine monastery with the instructional tools needed to teach novices the proper manner of Camaldolese worship. A young monk could study the liturgy during his novitiate, and commit a large portion of it to memory before officially taking his vows when he had reached an appropriate age.<sup>5</sup>

Based on the contents of liturgical manuscripts produced by and for the monastery during the latter half of the century, we may hypothesize about the services recorded in these borrowed choral books. The seven antiphonaries probably contained the liturgy to be recited for the offices observed during nocturnal hours. Included would have been services for feast days celebrated annually by the Order, chants honoring minor martyrs, confessors, and virgin saints, and feast days connected with Advent and Easter. The two diurnal, meanwhile, probably covered services recited during daytime hours. These diurnali incorporated into the liturgy a greater quantity of Psalms and specialized hymns than did the antiphonaries used during weekday masses.<sup>6</sup> Based on the diurnals used in S. Maria

degli Angeli after 1409, we may assume that one of these antiphonaries was devoted to the Sabbath days falling between Advent (December) and Trinity Sunday (June), while the second probably recorded Sabbath services chanted during summer and autumn months. With one agreement, then, S. Maria degli Angeli had acquired a full set of liturgical books from which its novices could follow the daily offices of the Camaldolese Rule.

The agreement with S. Pietro di Poteoli allows a number of assumptions to be made concerning the scriptorium's foundation. The monastery was obviously in need of liturgical manuscripts when it borrowed the nine choral books from S. Pietro di Poteoli in 1332. The lengthy texts probably served as redactions from which the scribes in S. Maria degli Angeli could copy their own set of books. This indicates that the loaning of liturgical manuscripts to the Florentine house, and their subsequent copying, may have been the first project executed in the scriptorium. Thus, by 1332, a calligraphic workshop appears to have been formed in the Camaldolese monastery.

While no written record of the exact year of its foundation has been found, the scriptorium was clearly operational by mid-century. Whereas 1332 may be considered a terminus post quem, the year 1348 should be seen as the terminus ante quem for the foundation of the workshop in S. Maria degli Angeli. This latter date is derived from a citation appearing in the convent's monastic register. In

its list of monks, an unusual reference was inserted at the end of a passage devoted to the life of one Don Jacopo Brandini. The entry states:

Don Jacopo Brandini del popolo di San Piero  
Maggiore fue offerto a questo luogo dal suo padre  
nella età di xi anni nel 1333 il dì della natività  
del Signore. Et poi fece la sua professione a dì  
ii di Febraio 1336, in presentia del detto priore  
e degli altri frati alla messa del convento.  
Obiit in loco isto a dì V di Giugno 1348--hic  
fuit pulcer scriptor.<sup>7</sup>

No other mention of Don Jacopo Brandini exists in the monastic records, but the information recorded in this concise statement is very suggestive. The young Florentine entered S. Maria degli Angeli as an eleven year-old child in 1333, one year after the convent had received the nine antiphonaries from S. Pietro a Poteoli. After three years of novitiate training, during which time he would have studied and memorized the Camaldolese liturgy, the fourteen year-old boy took his monastic vows and began his professional life in S. Maria degli Angeli. During his fifteen-year tenure, Brandini established his reputation within the monastery as a talented calligrapher. His epitaph, "hic fuit pulcer scriptor", leaves little room for speculation about his skill as a scribe, as he is identified as one of the scriptorium's most important members. Indeed,

none of his contemporaries received such praise. Don Jacopo was the only monk of his time to have been singled out in this fashion, making him our only link with the first phase of manuscript production in the scriptorium. Sadly, Don Jacopo's participation in the making of manuscripts was severely limited. On June 5, 1348, he became one of the first of the convent's fifteen monks to succumb to the Black Death. He was only twenty-six years old.

The brief career of Don Jacopo Brandini and the entry describing his dexterity provide us with enough information to approximate the period when the scriptorium began its operations. Assuming that Don Jacopo was not active until he had attained a certain level of maturity, it seems safe to suggest that the monk did not begin working as a scribe until he had reached the age of sixteen years, that is, in 1338. Exactly what he wrote in the scriptorium remains unknown, but there is a strong possibility that his duties would have included copying theological treatises for the monastery's library.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Jacopo Brandini was probably involved in the copying of the nine choral books leased from S. Pietro a Puteoli in 1332.

The borrowed antiphonaries were used in S. Maria degli Angeli for sixteen years. In January, 1348, six months before Don Jacopo Brandini's death, the nine books were returned to S. Pietro di Puteoli, suggesting that S. Maria degli Angeli had found a way to replace the antiphonaries borrowed in 1332.<sup>9</sup> Since there is no evidence indicating

that a second purchase of antiphonaries replaced the first set, and noting the presence of a gifted scribe in S. Maria degli Angeli in the 1330s and 1340s, we may assume that the scriptorium was created during this period to copy S. Pietro di Poteoli's borrowed choral books. Don Jacopo's honorary title of "pulcer scriptor", therefore, may well have referred to his role in this project.

The impact of the Black Death on S. Maria degli Angeli was devastating. With fifteen of its twenty-two members dead, the convent was literally a shadow of its former self. Priorities must have been drastically revised, as the copying of liturgical and theological texts slowed considerably. The monks seem to have been more concerned with the problems of revitalizing their community than they were with maintaining a book-making scriptorium. For at least three years, and for perhaps as long as two decades, activity in the scriptorium appears to have been suspended as the monks worked to improve their physical plant and repopulate their depleted ranks.

The monastery's recovery began almost immediately, and in completely unforeseeable ways. During the summer and autumn of 1348, as the population of Florence shriveled to a fraction of its pre-Plague level, four boys entered S. Maria degli Angeli in order to begin their training as novices, all of whom were between the ages of seven and eleven years.<sup>10</sup> These children would mature to form the backbone of the monastic community for the next seven decades. Two



of the boys, Don Michele Ghiberti and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, would attain the rank of Prior during their lifetimes, while two others, Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi and Don Niccolò di Pietro, would become the central figures of the prolific scriptorium. In the midst of the destruction caused by the greatest epidemic in the history of Western civilization, seeds were planted for arguably the greatest flowering of manuscript production in Florentine history.

### **The Revitalization of the Scriptorium: 1368-1399**

By 1370, S. Maria degli Angeli had fully recovered from the Black Death. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the brethren were receiving donations and buying property from some of the city's most prestigious citizens, and could count members of the Albizzi, Strozzi, Peruzzi, Alfani, and Spini families, aristocrats all, as their secular benefactors, while gente nuova from the Dini, Benini, and Ghiberti families provided funding for the new chapterhouse.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, the ranks of the house gradually equaled, and then surpassed, pre-Plague levels, as more young novices entered the monastery than ever before. With its finances in order and its cloister filled, the monastic community could afford to turn its attention to the purchase of luxurious liturgical items, as well as enter into the potentially lucrative business of manuscript production. By the end of the 1360s, the scriptorium seems to have been

completely reactivated.

The first hint that the scriptorium had been revived comes in the form of a donation to S. Maria degli Angeli from the Albizzi family, one of the most powerful clans in Trecento Florence. We may recall that in February, 1368, Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi took minor orders in the Camaldolese house.<sup>12</sup> In addition to adding a member of an important family into its ranks, the monastery also received a substantial monetary gift from Don Niccholaio's household.<sup>13</sup> Don Niccholaio's 200-florin dowry was instrumental in revitalizing the monastic scriptorium. The entry in the monastic register, "F. cento d'oro per aiuto affare l'antifonare del di in tre vilumi", specifies that the Albizzi gift was intended to help in the production of antiphonaries ("affare l'antifonare") rather than to borrow them as the convent had done in 1332.<sup>14</sup> It must be understood, however, that the 100 florins designated for the scriptorium were used to "help make" (aiuto affare) the books, suggesting that this money was not the only source of income supporting the bottega. This information suggests that the workshop received funding from other sources, and had already begun the process of manuscript production by the time of the Albizzi gift. Finally, the entry specifies the number of antiphonaries to be made with this donation as tre vilumi, which implies that the monastery had already designed their books and had arranged for their production. The preliminary work, deciding which parts of the liturgical

year were to be covered by the three antiphonaries and the financial assets needed to produce them, seems to have been completed by the time of the Albizzi gift. From this brief entry in the monastic register, then, we may conclude that by 1368 the scriptorium had begun production of three choral books, thanks to a significant gift from Don Niccholaio and the Albizzi family.

Of the three Albizzi antiphonaries, one book may be firmly connected with the 1368 donation. Corale 2, currently in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, contains a colophon which states:

"COMPLETUS EST LIBER ISTE ANNO DOMINO MCCCLXX VII  
KL FEBR. IN LOCO SCE MARIE DE ANGEL DE FLORENTIA.  
CUIUS LIBER EST ISTE. DEO GRATIS AMEN" (This book  
was completed in the year of our Lord MCCCLXX, on  
VII Kalends February, in S. Maria degli Angeli.  
This is that book. Thanks be to God, Amen)"<sup>15</sup>

Completed in late January 1370, two years after Don Niccholaio's donation, Corale 2 was probably one of the three manuscripts produced with Albizzi money, and should therefore be considered one of the first products of the revamped scriptorium. The book is a Proprium Sanctorum, containing the Introit hymns of major feast days celebrated throughout the year.<sup>16</sup> The incipit page is devoted to the celebration of the Dedication of the Church (fig. 39), with a text reading,

"TERRIBILIS EST LOCUS ISTE HIC DOMUS DEI EST ET  
 PORTA CELI ET VOCABITUR AULA DEI" (This powerful  
 place, this house of God and door of heaven, is  
 designated the hall of God).

That the opening ceremony in the first antiphonary produced in the revitalized scriptorium should be the Dedication of the Church is not surprising. The image, depicting a bishop saint and two nimbed deacons consecrating a religious structure, would have been an excellent way of propagating the monastery's sanctity. Although the church's pictorial representation cannot be directly associated with the actual appearance of S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic church, the ceremony probably celebrated three important events in its history. The first was the anniversary of its founding in 1294, the second referred to its position as a place of charitable activity, and the third reflected its status as one of the most influential, and physically impressive, monasteries in the city, thanks to the newly built chapterhouse and infirmary.<sup>17</sup> Rather than immediately observing the Calendar of feasts and saints, as did most antiphonaries, S. Maria degli Angeli's Proprium Sanctorum began with a celebration of its own edifice's importance in the Florentine community.

Only after the convent had been so honored did the standard Calendar commence, beginning with the Feast of St. Andrew, observed on November 30.<sup>18</sup> This festival,

interestingly enough, was not decorated with a painted miniature. Instead, the first of the thirty-eight illustrations (following the introductory image of the Dedication of the Church) adorned the text for the Feast of Saint Nicholas, which was observed on December 6 (fig. 40). The decision to honor St. Nicholas' Day with the first iconic representation in the book may have been due to the circumstances surrounding the book's production. Because Corale 2 had been made with funds provided in part by the Albizzi family on the occasion of Don Niccholaio's entry into S. Maria degli Angeli, the image of Saint Nicholas may well have been inserted as a way of recognizing one of the scriptorium's financial benefactors. The depiction of Saint Nicholas referred not only to the patron saint of children and lost seamen, but to Don Niccholaio and his father, Niccolò di Pagno degli Albizzi, the men who had been responsible for the 200-florin gift in 1368.<sup>19</sup>

The Albizzi contribution was only the beginning of the scriptorium's support. At least four major donations followed Don Niccholaio's dowry, gifts which provided the scriptorium with enough money to produce liturgical books for the next forty years. The first of these offerings came in 1375, when one of the cloister's senior members bequeathed a substantial sum to his monastery. Don Lionardo dei Maffei, an elderly monk, donated over 340 florins to the Camaldolese house, a sum almost twice that given by the Albizzi family seven years earlier. The monastic community

allocated 100 florins to the scriptorium, while the rest of the gift was diverted to other projects. As was the case with Don Niccholaio's gift, this bequest was recorded in the monastic register, where one of Don Lionardo's successors wrote, "Item che ne togliamo per gli antefanarii nostri F. C d'oro" ("We took 100 gold florins for our antiphonaries").<sup>20</sup> Because Don Lionardo had not specifically earmarked the 100 gold florins for the scriptorium, it appears that the amount of money channeled to the workshop was set according to the workshop's budgetary needs. Since the scriptorium had been producing its own antiphonaries since the Albizzi donation in 1368, the gift was probably used to pay whatever debts the scriptorium had accumulated during the seven-year period, as well as to provide materials needed by the scribes to continue their work on S. Maria degli Angeli's choral books.

The nature of Don Lionardo's bequest and the Albizzi gift implies that the scriptorium operated under the direction of monastic administrators, who gave funds to the workshop from the conventual treasury according to need. In both donations, money had been given to S. Maria degli Angeli as an institution, which was to be used as the cloister saw fit. The portions received by the scriptorium were allocated by the community as a whole, under the influence of their prior's urgings. The scriptorium was subordinate to the will of the monastic community as a whole.

The scriptorium's second donation was also procured

through an in-house connection. In 1382, Don Clemente Baroncelli secured a large commission for the workshop through the auspices of his family, which contracted the monastic scribes to produce an antiphonal series for the nearby hospital of S. Maria Nuova. On April 20, Don Clemente's three brothers, Niccolò, Agnolo, and Cionaccio Baroncelli, agreed to pay S. Maria degli Angeli an annual sum of twenty-four florins over a seventeen-year period for their services.<sup>21</sup> While the exact number of manuscripts to be made for S. Maria Nuova was not specified, ten volumes (now located in the Bargello Museum and in S. Maria Nuova) have been identified as part of the commission. The books made for the hospital's church were similar in content to those used in S. Maria degli Angeli. The layout and appearance of each manuscript was similar in format, the liturgical text was roughly the same, and the major feast days emphasized in S. Maria Nuova's antiphonaries corresponded with those in the convent's choral books. The only discernible difference between the hospital cycle and the monastic cycle was the length of each book. Whereas each of S. Maria degli Angeli's books usually runs under 200 folios, S. Maria Nuova's antiphonaries are much longer, sometimes approaching 300 folios each. In addition to the number of pages in each book, the number of lines on each folio is greater in the S. Maria Nuova antiphonaries (six per page) than in manuscripts for S. Maria degli Angeli (five per page). Thus, the scriptorium's designers decided

to cram more liturgical text into each of the hospital's books than they did in their own. In so doing, S. Maria Nuova had a liturgical cycle compressed into ten antiphonaries, while S. Maria degli Angeli had the same text spread out over twenty. The monks at S. Maria degli Angeli received over 400 florins from the Baroncelli brothers between 1382 and 1399, easily the most substantial sum received by the scriptorium in the fourteenth century.

The third major donation to the scriptorium came from a familiar source. In 1394, Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi added to the 200-florin gift that had accompanied him upon his entrance into S. Maria degli Angeli in 1368. In the name of his recently deceased mother, Don Niccholaio donated 100 florins to the administrators of S. Maria Nuova in order to assist in the production of the hospital's antiphonaries, supplementing the 1382 Baroncelli contract. The agreement was recorded in one of S. Maria Nuova's account books, stating,

Al priore di Santa Maria degli Angnoli di Firenze  
e a frate Giacobbo de detti frati e di detto  
convento da i quali denari ebbono per parte di  
paghamento d'intefanari checci fanno per la  
chiesa. I quali ebbono da frate Nicholaio degli  
Albizi per lascito della madre . . . . F. C  
d'oro.<sup>22</sup>



Rather than donate the money directly to the scriptorium, Don Niccholaio instead chose to give the 100 florins to S. Maria Nuova. Perhaps this had been the wish of his deceased mother, for wealthy Florentines often bequeathed money to hospitals in a pious display of support for charitable institutions.<sup>23</sup> The transfer of funds from Don Niccholaio to S. Maria Nuova were to be given back to S. Maria degli Angeli, a stipulation which underscores the importance of the middleman in the scriptorium's business dealings. Even though the money was ultimately to be given to the bottega, Don Niccholaio initially directed the money to the institutional patrons, providing them with the authority to administer the sum accordingly.

The fourth benefactor donated his gift to the scriptorium only one year later, in 1395. Ser Antonio degli Alberti, a member of the ostracized clan and a relative of Gherardo degli Alberti, sent a small sum to S. Maria Nuova, apparently directing the hospital to use it to cover the costs of book production. Twenty-five florins were given to the scriptorium, a transaction which, like the 1394 Albizzi donation, was recorded in the hospital's financial books:

A frati di Santa Maria degli Angnoli e di detto F.  
venticinque d'oro i quali ebbono per parte di  
paghamento degl'intefanari checci fanno ebbono per  
noi da Messer Antonio degli Alberti . . . . F. xxv  
d'oro"<sup>24</sup>

While not on the same scale as the Baroncelli or Albizzi donations, the Alberti contribution was a significant offering. Remembering that S. Maria degli Angeli was collecting twenty-four florins a year from the Baroncelli brothers, the Alberti gift would have doubled the scriptorium's revenues for the year 1395. Although his donation was offered to the hospital instead of the monastery, Ser Antonio appears to have known that his twenty-five florins would eventually go to the convent's treasury. While outwardly a gift to S. Maria Nuova, his was truly a contribution to the workshop in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to forming important connections with certain wealthy Florentine benefactors, the scriptorium also cultivated vital networks with some of the city's religious institutions. S. Maria Nuova, as we have seen, was obviously one of these establishments. Yet the scriptorium also looked to other local monasteries for commissions during the height of its productivity, one of which was the Benedictine nunnery of S. Pier Maggiore, located not far from S. Maria degli Angeli. In 1385 the sisters in S. Pier Maggiore agreed to send some of their antiphonaries to the scriptorium in order to have the monastic scribes make copies of their books.<sup>26</sup> The monks were reimbursed two years later, receiving over thirty-four florins in the first of at least two payments.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the scriptorium was probably involved in the production of books for S.

Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti, the Camaldolese house founded in 1395 by members of S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister. Located just outside the walls of Florence, S. Benedetto was something of an extension of its sister house, and relied on the good standing of its predecessor to bolster its own structure.<sup>28</sup> While there is no documentary evidence indisputably proving S. Maria degli Angeli's involvement in the production of S. Benedetto's antiphonaries, it would be only natural to assume that the important liturgical books needed for the implementation of specific religious services were designed and written in the Camaldolese scriptorium.

By 1400, S. Maria degli Angeli had collected from its own members 300 florins earmarked for the manufacture of liturgical books.<sup>29</sup> In addition, at least two institutions, the Benedictine nunnery of S. Pier Maggiore and the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, and quite possibly a third also contributed close to 500 florins to the scriptorium's coffers. Due to the generosity of a number of benefactors, most of whom enjoyed close connections with members of the community, the scriptorium had the financial support needed to replace the antiphonal cycle copied in the 1340s from the S. Pietro di Poteoli series, as well as the means to provide S. Maria Nuova with a set of liturgical books needed in the hospital's church.<sup>30</sup> Of the 767 florins documented to have gone to the scriptorium, all but fifty-nine had been procured through monastic ties with wealthy family members.

Both Albizzi gifts were related to Don Niccholaio, the Baroncelli commission was administered by Don Clemente, and Don Lionardo's bequest was a direct donation from one monk to his Camaldolese associates. Thanks in large part to the wealth of S. Maria degli Angeli's monks, the scriptorium thrived during the last three decades of the fourteenth century.

**Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi and  
the Members of the Scriptorium**

In addition to naming the scriptorium's benefactors, documentary evidence provides the identities of a handful of monks directly involved in the designing and writing of the monastery's antiphonaries. The Albizzi gift of 1394, recorded above, notes the participation of one of the monks involved in the production of the S. Maria Nuova antiphonaries, a certain "frate Giacobbo", who apparently accepted the 100 florins from the hospital on behalf of the scriptorium. Indeed, careful examination of the Baroncelli payments made between 1387 and 1396 reveals that Frate Giacobbo was frequently singled out as the monk responsible for the writing and making of the S. Maria Nuova antiphonal series. With the sole exception of Don Jacopo Brandini, who had died in 1348, Frate Giacobbo was the only person ever specifically cited as being directly involved in the scriptorium's activities.

Of the twenty-nine monks comprising the monastic

community in 1389, only one went by the title "Don Giacobbo". This was Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi, one of the four children who entered the monastery at the end of the Black Death. The boy was eleven years old when he joined the ranks of S. Maria degli Angeli in November, 1348.<sup>31</sup> His family enjoyed intimate connections with the monastery earlier in the decade, as Giacobbo's uncle, Don Jacopo Geri (d. 1345), had been a revered member of the convent during the 1340s.<sup>32</sup> This may well explain why young Don Giacobbo was offered to S. Maria degli Angeli rather than to one of the city's other monasteries, for his parents probably felt more comfortable enrolling the boy in a house already familiar with their kinsmen. Perhaps in an effort to distinguish him from his eminent uncle, the boy's chosen name was spelled "Giacobbo", rather than "Jacopo", an alteration which was used less and less as he grew older and as the memory of his uncle faded in the minds of his peers. By the end of his life, "Frate Giacobbo" was often referred to in documents as "Don Jacopo".<sup>33</sup>

While Don Jacopo Brandini's epitaph tersely noted his calligraphic skills, Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi was honored with elaborate praise in the monastic register. Upon his death in 1396, the final evaluation of his life was added to his biography by an admiring monk:

Don Giacob di Franceschi del popolo di Sto. Lorenzo  
venne in questo luogo di primo di Novembre

MCCCXLVIII. Poi fece la sua professione di XXVII d'Ottobre MCCCL in presenza del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto di xxi di Luglio MCCCLXXXVI. Hic fuit magna et pulcer scriptor. Scrisitas omnium librum il nostra ecclesia.<sup>34</sup>

This adulation was expanded in the more elaborate Registro Nuovo:

Don Giacobbo di Francesci del popolo di San Lorenzo venne in questo monasterio essendo d'età d'anni XI a di primo di Novembre 1348. Poi fece la sua professione a di XXVII d'Ottobre 1350. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto die XXII Julii 1396. Anno etates sue LX. Omnium scriptorum suo tempore existentium gloria cuius industria ac indefesso usque ad mortem labore abundantia omnium generum librorum ecclesia nostra refloret.<sup>35</sup>

Both of these documentary passages noted Don Giacobbo's particular dexterity in the writing and production of books, attributing every manuscript written in the last half of the fourteenth century to his hand. While it is unlikely that he alone was responsible for the writing of every antiphonary made in S. Maria degli Angeli, there can be no question that of all the scribes, Frate Giacobbo was

considered the most talented. As had been the case with Don Jacopo Brandini before him, Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi was the only person of his generation honored by these words of adulation. Moreover, Don Giacobbo was the only monk ever mentioned in the Baroncelli payments as participating in the S. Maria Nuova commission, suggesting that he was probably the scriptorium's chief administrator. From the evidence provided by his epitaph in the monastic register, as well as his role as the recipient of payments from S. Maria Nuova, Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi should be regarded as the most important member of the scriptorium until his death in 1396.<sup>36</sup>

The quantity of antiphonaries produced in the scriptorium, however, should not lead to a misinterpretation of Don Giacobbo's responsibilities. While he was undoubtedly an important figure in the bottega, Don Giacobbo did not work alone. The 1382 contract with the Baroncelli brothers notes the participation of several frati in the production of antiphonaries, while a number of installment payments to the scriptorium mention the work of anonymous scribes (see Appendix D, Documents 61-72). Furthermore, passages in the monastic register suggest that three other members of S. Maria degli Angeli worked in the scriptorium alongside Don Giacobbo, while a legal document from the fifteenth century provides us with the identity of a fourth participant. Although their cases are based on circumstantial evidence, I should like to suggest that Don

Niccolò di Piero, Don Tommaso di Tommaso, Don Girolamo di Dardano, and Don Lorenzo di Giovanni (Lorenzo Monaco) may have been active as scribes in the monastic scriptorium during the last three decades of the fourteenth century.

The first of these calligraphers, Don Niccolò di Piero, was a Florentine by birth and took his monastic vows in S. Maria degli Angeli in 1351.<sup>37</sup> From 1362 until his death in 1383, Don Niccolò worked as a monastic notary, writing legal agreements and contracts involving S. Maria degli Angeli and various second parties. Numerous entries in the monastic register bear Don Niccolò's name as the meeting's stenographer, suggesting that the monk was a quick thinker and a skilled writer.<sup>38</sup> His work confirms this postulation, for Don Niccolò's handwriting in the Registro Vecchio was delicate, precise, and remarkably ornate. Although there is no proof that he worked as an assistant to Don Giacobbo in the production of choral books, Don Niccolò's elegant calligraphic sweep suggests that he may have been one of the members of the scriptorium during the 1370s and early '80s.

Don Niccolò's death in 1383 did not hamper the scriptorium's productivity (as had Don Jacopo Brandini's passing in 1348). A number of monks continued his work in the late 1390s and early 1400s, two of whom are recorded as having copied entries from the Registro Vecchio into the Registro Nuovo at the turn of the century.<sup>39</sup> On folio 2, a passage notes that a monk named Don Tommaso di Tommaso had participated in the project, acting as the scribe



responsible for transcribing the records from the Registro Vecchio into the Registro Nuovo. This passage, written in 1402, also explains that Don Tommaso's contributions were made only after the untimely death of his peer, Don Girolamo di Dardano, who had begun the project sometime before:

Questo è il registro nuovo del monasterio de  
romiti di Sca Maria degli Agnoli di Firenze del  
ordine di Camaldoli sco e riformato in parte de  
Registro Vecchio del detto Monasterio e in parte  
secondo carte scripture e informazioni che noi  
abbiamo avute da persone degne di fede cominciato  
a scrivere per Don Girolamo di Dardano nostro  
monaco e perchè morì innanzi chel compresse e  
stato seguitato per me, frate Tommaso di Tommaso  
monaco del detto monasterio al tempo del  
venerabile padre Don Matheo di Guido priore di  
questo monasterio sotto gli anni della Salutifera  
incarnatione del nostro Signore Jesus Christi nel  
Mille Quattrocento Due, del mese di Luglio."<sup>40</sup>

Like Don Giacobbo and Don Niccolò di Piero before them, Don Tommaso and Don Girolamo seem to have been talented calligraphers, who may well have assisted in the writing of liturgical manuscripts produced in the scriptorium in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Don Girolamo's death in 1402 suggests that he was probably active as a scribe during the 1380s and '90s, and that he

may have participated in the writing of antiphonaries for both S. Maria Nuova and S. Maria degli Angeli. Don Tommaso, meanwhile, outlived Don Girolamo, and appears to have been a member of the scriptorium during the early fifteenth century, suggesting that he may have worked on the manuscripts completed between 1406 and 1410. Again, there is no direct evidence linking Don Girolamo and Don Tommaso with the antiphonaries made for either S. Maria degli Angeli or S. Maria Nuova, but their activity in other capacities relating to the monastery's written texts provides sufficient circumstantial evidence to connect the two monks with the scriptorium.

Finally, a case has been made by Marvin Eisenberg for the presence of Don Lorenzo Monaco in the scriptorium during his tenure at S. Maria degli Angeli from 1390 to 1395.<sup>41</sup> After being ordained a deacon, Lorenzo left the convent in order to pursue a career in the secular world as a painter of liturgical objects, including the illumination of his former convent's antiphonaries, various altarpieces, and at least one extensive fresco cycle.<sup>42</sup> Lorenzo Monaco accepted some of the largest commissions available to Florentine painters well into the 1420s. He was also used by Florentine magistrates to evaluate the work of his peers when legal disputes arose between artists and their clients. One of these proceedings provides us with a clue concerning Don Lorenzo's affiliation with the scriptorium during his monastic career.

In 1416, Lorenzo Monaco was asked to act as an arbitrator to settle a dispute between a local painter, Pietro Nelli, and the hospital of San Giovanni. As was the custom, Lorenzo evaluated a panel executed by the artist for his patron, thereby establishing the price owed to Pietro by the hospital.<sup>43</sup> Lorenzo Monaco, Giovanni Pucci (the prior of the hospital), Pietro Nelli, and Domenico di Giovanni (the notary) each wrote passages acknowledging their participation in the action, providing us with examples of the different kinds of penmanship used by fifteenth-century Florentines (fig. 41). When compared to the awkward handwriting of his three counterparts, as Eisenberg has observed, Don Lorenzo's graceful script indicates that he may have received formal calligraphic training before his departure from S. Maria degli Angeli after 1395.<sup>44</sup> The form of his uncials corresponds with the type of writing found in the antiphonaries written for S. Maria degli Angeli at the end of the Trecento, as may be seen on folio 60v of Corale 16 (fig. 42). As with Don Niccolo di Piero, Don Tommaso di Tommaso, and Don Girolamo di Dardano, Don Lorenzo's activity as a scribe is not formally documented in either his epitaph in the monastic register or in the payments surrounding the project for S. Maria Nuova. Again, only Don Giacobbo received such commendations. But Lorenzo's calligraphic skill, as well as his association with the scriptorium as a miniaturist after 1395, suggest that he could well have participated in the writing of antiphonaries during the

early 1390s.

The exact number of monks participating in the scriptorium is unknown. Their anonymity has been argued to reflect the monastic humility that was instilled in all members of the ascetic order.<sup>45</sup> Considering the quantity and quality of books produced in S. Maria degli Angeli, along with the span of time during which they were completed, the scriptorium must have included many members. Although Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi was the only person mentioned by name in the payments made to the scriptorium during the 1380s and '90s, it must be assumed that a number of talented scribes assisted him in the process of manuscript production. Indeed, these assistants continued working in the scriptorium after Don Giacobbo's death in 1396. Four antiphonaries were made for S. Maria degli Angeli between 1406 and 1410, indicating that the workshop was highly productive long after the master's death.<sup>46</sup> We may surmise, then, that young monks were trained in the art of book production, ensuring that even after Don Giacobbo's passing the legacy and reputation of the monastic bottega would survive.

### **The Responsibilities of the Scriptorium**

The scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli was, quite obviously, an extremely productive throughout the second half of the fourteenth century. Less obvious, however, were

the actual responsibilities of the workshop, the duties performed therein, and the manner by which the liturgical choral books were manufactured. Modern scholarship has, unfortunately, failed to detail exactly which aspects of manuscript production were undertaken by the monks themselves, and which were delegated to people living and working outside the convent in the secular sphere.<sup>47</sup> While documentation is admittedly scarce, a few clues enable us to understand more fully the procedures involved in the making of S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgical antiphonaries.

The production of a medieval manuscript was a lengthy and expensive process. The highest costs were probably accrued during the initial purchase of the animal skins upon which designers, scribes and artists were to work. Books with large folios, like those made in S. Maria degli Angeli, naturally required the dried skins of large animals, usually calves which had been slaughtered by farmers for their meat.<sup>48</sup> Books with many folios, again like those made in S. Maria degli Angeli, required the dried skins of many animals. Considering the size of the convent's antiphonaries, the scriptorium probably relied on entire herds of calves for the procurement of the necessary amount of vellum required to meet their needs. Of all the materials that went into a choral book's production, animal hides were easily the most expensive. Because a farmer was being asked to part with a significant portion of his livelihood, a high fee was usually demanded to compensate

for the loss of an animal. To buy the hides of, say, 100 calves would sap much of the budget allotted for the making of a large and lengthy antiphonary.

The scriptorium, however, may have found a way to limit the amount of money expended on this single transaction. As noted in Chapter Two, S. Maria degli Angeli owned significant properties in and around Florence. In addition to leasing small houses to local citizens, the monastery also frequently rented farms to people working the land in the contado. This practice, called mezzadria (sharecropping), was common during the period: S. Maria degli Angeli's sister convent, the Eremo in Camaldoli, similarly leased out property to local Aretines, receiving yields of cash, wool, and lumber from its tenants in addition to annual rents.<sup>49</sup> It is highly probable that S. Maria degli Angeli similarly enjoyed a precentage of the produce reaped by its tenant-farmers. If it was anything at all like the hermitage in Camaldoli, the Florentine house probably received a good quantity of calf skins from its farmers free of charge through contractual agreements.<sup>50</sup> Those hides that were not given to the monks outright were probably sold to them at market rate. As long as the cloister procured animal skins in volume, they were ensured of saving a great deal of money.<sup>51</sup> While it would be hasty to suggest that each calf bought to make vellum was raised on farms owned by S. Maria degli Angeli, or that the monastery exploited its renters for their animal hides, it is very

probable that the convent owned enough rural property in and around the Florentine countryside to ensure an inexpensive flow of animal hides into the scriptorium. In this manner, costs could be controlled and less money expended on the bottega's needs.

The members of the monastic scriptorium began the process of preparing raw animal hides immediately upon receiving the skins from herdsmen. One of the Baroncelli installments, sent to the scriptorium in 1388, reimbursed Frate Giacobbo and his assistants for "leghatura et ghovernatura d'uno messale" ("binding and grooming a missal").<sup>52</sup> The entry suggests that, in addition to writing their choral books, the monks undertook the more mechanical aspects of manuscript preparation, activities which would have been consistent with the rigorous philosophy espoused by the Camaldolese Order. The time spent exerting their energies on the manual labor required for the proper manufacture of liturgical books would have suited the community's self-imposed drive to perform humble, yet noble, deeds.<sup>53</sup> Because the Camaldolese Rule encouraged manual labor, it seems likely that the monks would have gladly labored to complete this, the most basic and arduous of tasks associated with the making of an antiphonary.

Once the animal skins had been purchased, the vellum was dried, scraped, smoothed, and cut to specific sizes to make parchment suitable for writing and painting. Large folios were folded and grouped to form quires comprised of

eight leaves. Only then would designers begin the long process of designating appropriate spaces for text and images, taking into consideration the book's length and the areas which were to receive the greatest emphasis. Scribes began their work only after the entire manuscript was mapped out, writing both the text and the musical notations onto the folios in large letters legible from significant distances. Bypassing the spaces reserved for primary initials, which were to be handled by foliage and figure painters, scribes decorated secondary initials within each service with red and blue pigments, as may be seen on folio 60v from Corale 16 (fig. 42).<sup>54</sup> These secondary initials either denoted the beginning of sentences within the liturgy, announced new sections within a service, or represented a shift from verse to response, or vice versa, within the text. In a sense, the red and blue initials helped readers to organize their meditations, allowing them to follow breaks in the liturgy and to recognize changes in the service. Moreover, these alternately colored letters were probably used to aid young monks in their memorization of the text. Painted initials were commonly used as mnemonic devices during the late medieval and early Renaissance period, especially by monastic readers who had to digest and recollect vast amounts of specialized texts daily.<sup>55</sup> While decorative in appearance, the numerous colored letters adorning the monastery's antiphonaries almost certainly had functional purposes.



Corale 18 (unpainted, but nonetheless inscribed with the phrase, "COMPLETUM EST HOC OPUS ANNO DNI MCCCCX"), illustrates the appearance of an antiphonary at this juncture (fig. 43). The liturgy has been clearly written, with neumes and words beautifully scripted on the folio. At this point, the book was ready for use during liturgical services, and was considered to be "completed". Painted decorations, while highly desired by the monastic reader, were not integral components of the text, for the messages contained in these worship services were easily ascertained without the help of pictorial images. Nonetheless, colorful miniatures were incorporated into each antiphonary's design, and were executed after the liturgical text had been recorded by monastic scribes.

Upon the completion of the text, attention was turned toward the aesthetic quality of the book. As did most monastic scriptoria in the fourteenth century, the workshop now sent its "completed" antiphonary to a secular bottega,<sup>56</sup> where illuminators, called miniatori, were commissioned to paint foliage patterns surrounding the areas designated for decoration by monastic designers.<sup>57</sup> This elaborate ornamentation could extend around the entire folio, although it was more common to restrict designs to only one or two sides of the page (fig. 44). Figure 45, from the unfinished Corale 18, demonstrates the illuminator's job. Interwoven foliage wraps around a rectangular box, which has been reserved by the designer for the placement of figures or scenes. Com-

pared to the repetitious use of two colors in the painting of secondary initials by monastic scribes, miniatori employed a much more diversified palette, with different hues of yellow, green, rose, and blue combined to create a lush contrast to the somber liturgy written in black letters.

Although the illuminators responsible for painting these decorative images were living and working in the secular sphere, the scriptorium did not lose its control over the book. Neither secular commissioners nor institutional patrons seem to have dictated the use of specific painters for S. Maria degli Angeli's books. Instead, the monks carefully selected the miniatori to paint marginal decorations, and acted as their employers and protectors throughout the duration of the painters' commission. One illuminator, Soldo di Paolo Soldini, has been identified as participating in the scriptorium's production of antiphonaries for S. Maria Nuova.<sup>58</sup> Rather than receiving payment from the hospital's secular donors or from S. Maria Nuova's administrators, Soldo di Paolo was subcontracted by the scriptorium to paint foliage patterns in specified areas. The monks collected his money from the hospital and then paid him his wages as his official employers.

An entry in S. Maria Nuova's ledgers reveals the agreement between the scriptorium and its hired miniature. On May 19, 1388, S. Maria Nuova's administrators paid the monks twelve lire for the decoration of one of their choral

books, a portion of which was then to be passed to Soldo di Paolo, the secular painter responsible for its execution. The payment states,

"A frate Giacobbo frate degli algnoli (sic) di XVIII di Maggio lire dodici denari ebbe per parte di paghamento d'intefanari checci fa et miniare a Soldo di Paolo Soldini . . ."59

Don Giacobbo received the payment on behalf of his fellow scribes, as well as for Soldo di Paolo, who was responsible for the decorations surrounding the book's historiated initials. Soldo's fee was then given to him by Don Giacobbo, acting as the subcontractor in this arrangement.

The relationship between Soldo di Paolo and his monastic employers, however, also appears to have extended beyond that of a purely business nature. Indeed, Soldo seems to have used Don Giacobbo as his political patron in times of need. At one point during Soldo's employment, a payment was delayed by the hospital, forcing Soldo to wait for his overdue earnings longer than expected. Losing patience with S. Maria Nuova, the miniature went to Don Giacobbo in April, 1388 to plead his case, asking the monk to act as an intermediary to pressure the hospital into paying his wages. The monk agreed, and sent a note to S. Maria Nuova's administrators, explaining his meeting with Soldo and asking the hospital to honor its agreement:

Sabato fu qui a me Soldo miniatore che minia  
 l'antifonario vostro et chiedevami parechi danari  
 dissigli chom io non avea avuti anchora danari da  
 voi. Onde egli mi disse che al postutto egli avea  
 pur bisogno che per l'amor di dio io gliene  
 prestassi al camerlingo nostro L. XII. Altro non  
 dico dio sia vostra guardia.

Frate Jacob.<sup>60</sup>

The note had its intended effect. Within a month the scriptorium received Soldo's money and paid the illuminator for his work on the antiphonary. Don Giacobbo's support for Soldo di Paolo speaks volumes for the monk's loyalty to his secular employees, and suggests that he actively protected their well being. Furthermore, the monk's intervention on Soldo's behalf confirms Don Giacobbo's authority in the scriptorium.

With only the figure paintings remaining, antiphonaries were sent to their final destination before returning to the scriptorium for collation and binding ("leghatura et ghovernatura"). Secular artists, known as dipintori, now added the final pictorial representations of saints honored in the liturgical text (fig. 46). Thanks to Vasari's sixteenth-century evaluation of the scriptorium in his Lives, modern scholarship has traditionally assumed that the painters responsible for the figures appearing in S. Maria degli Angeli's choral books were members of the monastic community.<sup>61</sup> Documents from the period, however, point to a

different system of artistic production. Archival evidence suggests that the scriptorium looked to the secular sphere to hire dipintori to execute figure paintings, in much the same way that they hired miniatori, such as Soldo di Paolo Soldini, to paint marginalia.

The most vivid piece of documentary evidence supporting this postulation appears in an entry recorded in S. Maria Nuova's account books. During the height of the scriptorium's activity in 1396, S. Maria degli Angeli received a payment from the hospital to cover the costs of azzurro purchased by the monastery, to be used in the decoration of one of the Baroncelli antiphonaries. The monks were then directed to give the two florins' worth of pigment to "Giovanni del Biondo dipintore". The entry states:

A frate Bartolomeo de frati delglingnoli (sic) a  
di detto F. due d'oro ebbe per azzurro comperarono  
per glintefanari nostri posti a carte de frati  
delgli angnoli al memoriale Verde a carte 162 e  
per loro a Giovanni del Biondo dipintore.

F. II d'oro.<sup>62</sup>

Although there is no specific mention of the painter's participation in the decoration of the antiphonary, this previously unpublished payment clearly associates Giovanni del Biondo with the decoration of S. Maria Nuova's choral books. It also underscores the scriptorium's links with one

of the most talented and popular Florentine painters of the day.

While it has been suggested that Giovanni del Biondo may have been a miniature painter in the 1380s, no documentation has ever been produced to support such a theory.<sup>63</sup> The entry in S. Maria Nuova's ledger, however, confirms the suggestion that Giovanni was an active manuscript illuminator, and that he was employed by S. Maria degli Angeli's scriptorium to paint figures in liturgical books.<sup>64</sup> The hospital's payment to S. Maria degli Angeli for the purchase of pigment and the scriptorium's subsequent employment of Giovanni del Biondo provides us with incontrovertible evidence that the job of painting the convent's miniatures was left to dipintori working outside the monastic sphere.

The hypothesis that the scriptorium consistently relied upon secular painters is supported by two other important pieces of evidence. First and foremost, the miniatures painted in the antiphonaries from S. Maria degli Angeli seem to have been painted by a number of different artists, rather than by one or two monastic miniaturists as has been suggested by a number of modern specialists.<sup>65</sup> The stylistic properties of these miniatures varies greatly from book to book, thus casting doubt over the postulation that these miniatures were painted by only one or two monastic painters.

Archival materials recording early Quattrocento

transactions between painters and their commissioners offer further evidence that secular artists were hired to decorate the scriptorium's choral books. S. Maria Nuova's records indicate that two dipintori, Don Lorenzo Monaco (who, by this time, had left S. Maria degli Angeli) and Bartolomeo di Fruosino, were employed to execute figure paintings for the Baroncelli antiphonaries that had been designed and written in the convent.<sup>66</sup> The hospital paid Bartolomeo di Fruosino for his work in 1411:

A Bartolomeo di Fruosino dipintore a dì XX  
d'Aghosto per opere cento seidici checiato overo a  
lavora a miniatare glinterfanari di chiesa, e per  
lo crucifixo chenne rifettorio a d'altre cose.<sup>67</sup>

Two years later, Don Lorenzo was paid for executing similar work for S. Maria Nuova:

A frate Lorenzo di (sic) degli Agnoli a dì VII di  
Dicembre per ighure che fecie ne mini dello  
antifonari di chiesa. Fior. due, portò Pippo di  
Bartolo. . ."<sup>68</sup>

These payments underscore the importance of secular artists in the production of the scriptorium's liturgical manuscripts. The two dipintori were hired because monastic scribes had not been trained to execute figure paintings. While the scriptorium was responsible for designing and writing antiphonaries, artistic decorations were entrusted

to secular painters.

Once the designing, writing, and painting of folios had been completed, the quires were sent to yet another secular artisan. This craftsman was responsible for adding the final supports to the bound sections. A wooden cover, wrapped in leather for strength and protection, was attached to the binding for added support.<sup>69</sup> Metal studs were nailed to the front of the book as clasps, while two leather straps encircled the book to ensure a tight fit when the antiphonary was closed. The book could now be handled and displayed without fear of damage, for its cover and supports minimized the effects of wear and tear accumulated through daily use. The antiphonary's weight and dimensions were extraordinary. Each opened book could be as large as one hundred centimeters across and nearly as long from top to bottom. After its cover and binding had been added, the antiphonary could weigh as much as thirty pounds.<sup>70</sup> The book's painted miniatures were equally extravagant, with some pictures having the appearance--in size and in quality--of the predella panels in the convent's altarpieces. Each antiphonary was treasured both for its functional importance as a vital part of the liturgy and for its aesthetic qualities as an exquisite art object.

Stored either in the sacristy or in the church choir, these antiphonaries were removed whenever liturgical services dictated the book's employment. At that time, the manuscript was brought before the worshipping community,



placed upon a lectern in the middle of the choir, and used by the monks as a guide for their meditations. An image from Corale 3 provides an interesting description of an antiphonary's use during a worship service (fig. 1, dated 1409). Ten Camaldolese monks surround a lectern located in the church choir, upon which stands a large liturgical antiphonary. With young monks occupying the front row and senior members in the back, the brethren sing the words "CANTATE DOMINO, CANTICUM NOVUM", as directed by the text. In this miniature, the elder monks do not seem to have memorized the liturgy, as they rely instead upon the words and music recorded on the folio. Similarly, their enthusiasm appears to be somewhat muted when compared to their adolescent peers, who sing the liturgy with all the fervor expected from unjaded novices.

What makes this illustration so important for our purposes is its relationship with the monastic audience for whom it was intended. The image on folio 41v is a representation of the very people who would have seen the picture during the mass. This service would have been recited on the fourth Sunday after Easter, and the miniature mimics the actions probably taken by the monks as they performed this chant. The words chanted by the ten monks in the painting are identical to those accompanying the painted image, "CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM ALLELUIA", although the musical neumes sung by the brethren have been altered in the miniature.<sup>71</sup> The figures depicted here were probably

not intended to be actual portraits of specific individuals in the monastery, but were rather intended to represent each member of the community as they sang the text for DOMENICA IIIII POST PASCHA. As a result, the monks could see a picture of themselves singing the text appearing before them as they used Corale 3.

**The Absence of an Artistic Workshop:  
The Case Against Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci**

The scriptorium's subcontracting of painters helps clarify its operational relationship with secular artisans, and also presents us with a perplexing problem concerning the historiography of Florentine manuscript illumination and the legends surrounding S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic artists. For centuries, the scriptorium was reputed to have contained the most celebrated monastic miniature painters in Trecento Italy, and was hailed as one of the most influential centers of manuscript illumination in Europe. Recent findings, however, indicate that the superlatives traditionally attached to the scriptorium's painters should be withdrawn.

The legend of the artistic workshop in S. Maria degli Angeli entered the public sphere in 1568, when Vasari published his second edition of The Lives. The passage pertaining to the scriptorium appears in the Life of Don Lorenzo Monaco, and begins with the assertion that Don

Giacobbo's reputation had been kept alive by Latin verses written in the fifteenth century by one of the Angeli's monks, Don Paolo Orlandini. With the information gleaned from these lines, Vasari reconstructed a highly plausible picture of the scriptorium and its operations. Vasari envisioned a workshop, led by Don Giacobbo, which was recognized throughout the continent as the most important center of manuscript production in Italy. In addition, he created a relationship between the scribe and a second monastic personage, a "Don Silvestro", who was responsible for painting the illuminations accompanying the text written by Giacobbo. Fascinated by the image of this monastic duo collaborating on some of the largest and most beautiful manuscripts made in the Trecento, successive chroniclers and historians adhered closely to Vasari's depiction of the scriptorium.<sup>72</sup>

Because his description of the Angeli's scriptorium has been the basis for literally all of the scholarship devoted to the history of the monastic workshop since the sixteenth century, a brief examination of Vasari's text is in order. The author wrote,

Experience has sufficiently proved that from one sole germ, the genius and industry of men, aided by the influences of time, will frequently elicit many fruits, and thus it happened in the aforesaid monastery of the Angeli, of which the monks were ever remarkable for their attainments in the arts

of design and painting. Don Lorenzo was not the only excellent master among them; on the contrary, there flourished for a long space of time in that monastery many brethren of merited distinction in art, some of whom preceded him: among them was one whom I can by no means pass over in silence, a certain Florentine monk called Don Jacopo, who lived long before Don Lorenzo, and was a good and worthy brother of his order, as well as the best writer of large letters that had ever then been known in Tuscany, or indeed in all Europe; nor has his equal been seen even to the present day. And of this we have still proof, not only in the twenty large choral books which he left in his monastery, and which are the most beautiful, as respects the writing, as they are perhaps the largest, to be found in Italy, but also in many other works from his hand, preserved in Rome, Venice, and other cities in different parts of Italy. Some that may be particularly specified are in San Michele and San Mattia di Murano, a monastery of his own order of the Camaldolese. For these his labours this good father well merited the homage paid to him by Don Paolo Orlandini, a learned monk of the same monastery, who wrote a large number of Latin verses to his honour many years after Don Jacopo had himself

passed to a better life. His right hand, moreover, that namely with which he had produced those admired works, was preserved, with the utmost veneration, in a tabernacle, together with that of another monk called Don Silvestro, who adorned the same books with miniatures, no less excellent--the knowledge of those time considered--than the writings of Don Jacopo. I have myself often examined these books, and have been astonished at the accuracy of design, and beauty of execution displayed in works of a period when the arts of design were almost wholly lost, for the productions of these monks date from about the year of our salvation 1350, a little more or a little less, as may be seen on any one of the books themselves. . . .<sup>73</sup>

As we have seen, documentary evidence proves Vasari to have been correct in some of his more fundamental points. The scriptorium was, in fact, operational by the middle of the century, although it had probably been active for a full decade by the year 1350. Similarly, the monk responsible for the foundation of the scriptorium was indeed named "Don Jacopo". Don Jacopo Brandini had been involved with manuscript production until his death in 1348, and Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi (another "Jacopo") had played an important role in the reactivation of the bottega in the

late 1360s. The great irony, however, was that Vasari's description of "Don Jacopo" was based on the lives of three different people, Jacopo Brandini, Giacobbo dei Franceschi, and, as we shall see at the end of this chapter, Jacopo Geri, who were then conflated to create the legend of a single, great "Don Jacopo".

In the early eighteenth century, two Camaldolese writers, Tommaso Mini and Gregorio Farulli, connected Vasari's "Don Jacopo" and "Don Silvestro" with Frate Giacobbo dei Franceschi and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, respectively. Whereas Don Giacobbo's activity as a monastic scribe was easily ascertained, thanks to his epitaph in the monastic register, the case for Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci's artistic career was entirely speculative. Don Silvestro had entered S. Maria degli Angeli in 1348 as a mere nine year-old boy. He remained cloistered in the convent for the rest of his fifty-one years, ultimately attaining the position of prior in 1398. His epitaph in the Registro Nuovo records this information, stating,

Don Salvestro (sic) dei Gherarducci del popolo di San Michele Visdomini venne in questo luogo anno 1348 essendo d'età d'anni VIIII. Poi fece la sua professione a dì XV d'Agosto 1352 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Hic fuit electus prior huius monastero anno domini 1398 die II Mai. Obiit in loco isto prior existen die V Ottubris 1399.<sup>74</sup>

While Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci was obviously a contemporary of Don Giacobbo, neither Mini nor Farulli could provide any documentary evidence supporting their claim that he had been a monastic artist. As opposed to the laudatory epitaph at the end of Giacobbo's entry, Silvestro's biography offers no information concerning his alleged artistic career whatsoever. The link with Vasari's "Silvestro" was based solely on the fact that Gherarducci was the only member of the convent bearing the name "Don Silvestro" during the second half of the fourteenth century. By the process of elimination, Vasari's "Don Silvestro" was identified by Mini and Farulli as Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci.<sup>75</sup> Both scribe and artist were linked to monastic personalities, while Vasari had been proven correct in his description of the Angeli's bottega.

A number of cursory efforts describing the miniatures from S. Maria degli Angeli's antiphonaries were made during the first half of the twentieth century, as European scholars tried to identify the individuals comprising the "scuola degli Angeli".<sup>76</sup> While the careers of Don Simone Camaldolese and Don Lorenzo Monaco were examined with some rigor, no attempts were made to specify which paintings in S. Maria degli Angeli's books had been executed by Don Silvestro. Finally, in 1957, a significant contribution was made by Professor Mirella Levi D'Ancona. Levi D'Ancona elaborated upon her predecessors' identification of Don

Silvestro dei Gherarducci as a monastic painter by associating him with specific miniatures from the Angeli's choral books, thereby creating an abbreviated body of work for the monk.<sup>77</sup> Crucial to the reconstruction of Don Silvestro's artistic career was a signature reputed to have identified the monk as a miniature painter. In 1832, eight manuscript illuminations from the Ottley collection were auctioned at Sotheby's, London.<sup>78</sup> According to the description in the catalog, one of these pictures contained an inscription reading "Don Silvestro Gherarducci", which ran down the left side of an initial containing the image of two standing apostles flanked by four half-figures in roundels (fig. 47). The other Ottley pictures, while unsigned, were attributed to the same painter, based on formal elements common to all eight miniatures. Although its location was unknown in 1957, Levi D'Ancona connected the signed Ottley miniature and its seven companion cut-outs to S. Maria degli Angeli's Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, thereby corroborating the suggestion made by Mini and Farulli that the monk was responsible for some of the painted miniatures in the convent's antiphonaries.

Not long after her discovery, the lost Ottley miniature appeared in the Nelson-Atkins Gallery in Kansas City, with the signature intact. A thorough investigation at the Pierpont Morgan Library followed in 1962, revealing the painted image to be genuine, but the signature to be false, added sometime during the late eighteenth or early



nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup> The "signature" was removed (fig. 48), erasing the "proof" that Don Silvestro had painted the eight Ottley miniatures. Oddly, the monk's reconstructed artistic career continued to be accepted by the majority of Trecento scholars. Publications by Miklós Boskovits in 1972 and 1975 extended Don Silvestro's output by adding a number of panels to his oeuvre, but did so without the weight of documentary evidence to support his claims.<sup>80</sup>

In 1979, a second piece of archival evidence was published by Professor Levi D'Ancona which seemed to reaffirm her initial conclusions. Levi D'Ancona cited a document connecting Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci with the antiphonaries produced in the scriptorium for S. Maria Nuova.<sup>81</sup> This entry, one of the Baroncelli payments made to S. Maria degli Angeli in the 1390s, named Don Silvestro as the recipient of the money and seemed to link him to the scriptorium. The passage, recorded in S. Maria Nuova's account books for the years 1395-96, stated:

A frate Salvestro (sic) de frati degli angnoli a  
di VII di Novembre F. sei d'oro ebbe per parte di  
paghamento delgl'intefanari checci fanno per la  
chiesa . . .<sup>82</sup>

This document was published as being written in the year 1395, and was used to attribute the miniatures in one of the hospital's choral books (Bargello Codex C 71) to Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci. The discovery of the Baroncelli

payment naturally enhanced the claim that this Don Silvestro was indeed the artist mentioned by Vasari in 1568, and that members of the scriptorium were involved not only in designing and writing the books made in S. Maria degli Angeli, but in their painting, as well.

A number of problems surround the publication of this passage, however. When the citation was published, the passage was not adequately explained in the context of the other payments made by S. Maria Nuova to the scriptorium. Moreover, and more troubling, the entry itself was misdated. As a result, the document "proving" the participation of Don Silvestro in the painting of the scriptorium's antiphonaries was inaccurately presented, resulting in a misinterpretation of the passage. To understand the meaning of the payment accepted by Don Silvestro, the entry must be reexamined in the context in which it was written. In order to do so, an analysis of other payments made to the scriptorium from 1385 to 1396 must be undertaken.

The quarterly installments paid by S. Maria Nuova to the scriptorium during this eleven-year period do not differ greatly in either content or cadence. Indeed, when the Baroncelli payments are considered as a group, a pattern emerges whereby a basic formula was followed by the administrators of S. Maria Nuova as they recorded the transaction of funds from the hospital to the monastic bottega. The terminology used in these payments is consistently limited to a few descriptive phrases. In every

case where the "frati degli Angnoli" were designated as receiving money for their work on the antiphonaries, the brethren were noted as being paid for either "making" (fanno) or "writing" (scrivono) the liturgical books for S. Maria Nuova. One payment made to the convent in 1394, for example, states,

A frati di Santa Maria delgli Angnoli di Firenze a di detto F. sei d'oro ebbono per parte di libri checci scrivono per la chiesa ebbono per noi da Niccholò, Angnolo, et Cionaccio Baroncelli . . .<sup>83</sup>

The phrases in the other Baroncelli payments made to S. Maria degli Angeli in the 1380s and 1390s do not differ significantly. Entries in the hospital's records usually noted the specific reason why S. Maria Nuova was paying a second party a designated amount of money, a practice which held true for all transactions emanating from the hospital, not just those dealing with book production.<sup>84</sup> Specific persons receiving payments from S. Maria Nuova for services rendered were always noted, as were the messengers responsible for delivering funds from the hospital to the recipients. In the case of S. Maria degli Angeli, a single monk was often named as accepting payment for the entire scriptorium. Only occasionally was this format ignored, in favor of a more general note explaining that the frati as an ensemble had received money from the hospital for making or writing the liturgical books, as may be seen in the passage

cited above.

Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi, the maestro and administrator of the scriptorium, was the monk most often cited as the recipient of S. Maria Nuova's payments. Nine of the eighteen recorded installments made to S. Maria degli Angeli from 1385 to 1396 identify Frate Giacobbo as the person responsible for accepting money for the scriptorium. The language used in these entries illuminates Don Giacobbo's singular contribution to the writing of S. Maria Nuova's antiphonaries. With only one exception, whenever Don Giacobbo received payment from the hospital, he was compensated for writing (scribe) or making (fa) books for the church in S. Maria Nuova (the exception being the payment concerning the scriptorium's "binding" and "grooming" of books, noted above). This semantic point is essential, for it once again underscores Don Giacobbo's importance in the scriptorium. The use of the third person singular form of the verbs scrivere and fare implies that only one person was responsible for that action. When Don Giacobbo was paid "per parte di paghamento d'intefanari checci fae" or "per parte di libri checci scrive", it meant that he alone was responsible for the work completed.<sup>85</sup>

When other members of the monastery accepted funds from S. Maria Nuova, however, the use of the third person singular conjugation was dropped in favor of the more general plural forms, scrivono and fanno, implying that the monks in the scriptorium had collectively made the books as

a group. Hence, when the prior of the convent, Don Michele Ghiberti, accepted funds on behalf of the scriptorium in 1394, it was "per parte di paghamento d'intefanari checci fanno" ("as part of a payment for antiphonaries that they made").<sup>86</sup> With this pattern established, let us return to the payment accepted by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci in the document cited by Professor Levi D'Ancona in 1979.

As we have just seen, when Don Giacobbo received payment for work on a manuscript, he was noted as being responsible for either writing (scrive) or making (fae) the book. In the payment accepted by Don Silvestro, however, the plural form of the verb fare was employed, suggesting that the payment was not made to an individual, but rather to the scriptorium as a whole:

A frate Salvestro (sic) de frati degli Angnoli a  
di VII di Novembre F. sei d'oro ebbe per parte di  
paghamento delgl'intefanari checci fanno per la  
chiesa . . .

Instead of being an integral member of the scriptorium, Don Silvestro appears to have been merely the agent responsible for accepting funds on behalf of his fellow brethren working in the scriptorium. They, the "frati", had made the books intended for the church in S. Maria Nuova, not Don Silvestro, who would have been acknowledged as making (fae) the books had he been directly involved in the project.

Furthermore, had Don Silvestro been responsible for painting the books, the verb dipingere would certainly have appeared somewhere in these entries. But this activity is conspicuously absent from the wording of the Baroncelli commission, suggesting that while the monks in the scriptorium were definitely responsible for preparing, designing, and writing the books, they did not paint them.

But this does not explain why Don Silvestro was selected to receive the payment on behalf of the scriptorium. If he had not been involved in the production of books, why was he cited in the payment from S. Maria Nuova? And secondly, why was Don Giacobbo, the revered master of the scriptorium and customary recipient of the Baroncelli installments, excluded from the transaction?

Answers to these questions may be found by reexamining the document citing Don Silvestro's participation in the scriptorium. When the entry was published in 1979, it was incorrectly dated 7 November 1395. In fact, the payment accepted by Don Silvestro was made a year later, on 7 November 1396.<sup>87</sup> Returning to the entry in the monastic register, we find that Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi had been dead for four months when the Baroncelli installment was sent to the convent.<sup>88</sup> With the master of the scriptorium dead, a different official from the convent would naturally have been chosen to accept the payment from S. Maria Nuova, thereby explaining the presence of a new agent in the entry.

The choice of Don Silvestro as the recipient of these

funds must not have been a difficult one to make in 1396, for the monk had been a respected member of the convent for almost fifty years. Significantly, by 1396 Don Silvestro had held the rank of sub-prior for at least eight years, making him the second ranking member of the community at the time of the Baroncelli payment.<sup>89</sup> For the sopriore to have accepted payments for services rendered by other members of the convent would have been a customary practice, well within the scope of his assigned duties.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the failing health of Don Michele Ghiberti, the prior of S. Maria degli Angeli in 1396, may also have contributed to the selection of Don Silvestro as the recipient of the Baroncelli payment. The monastic register indicates that Don Michele was forced to abandon his office in the spring of 1398 due to his failing health, and that he died two years later:

. . . Hic fuit electo prior huius monastero anno 1386. Rifiuto l'uficio del priorato essendo molto agravato d'infermita e essendo ancora molto vecchio a di 29 d'Aprile, 1398. Obiit in loco isto die XII mensis Martii 1400.<sup>91</sup>

The length of Don Michele's illness suggests that his was a gradual and debilitating decline, and that it had begun well before his abdication in 1398. With the passing of Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi and the prior's deteriorating health, Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci appears to have been

the only person of authority remaining in the convent to receive payment from S. Maria Nuova in November, 1396. This interpretation of events is supported by Don Silvestro's elevation to the position of prior upon Don Michele's abdication from the office in April, 1398.<sup>92</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the payment to Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci in 1396, as well as the language used to describe the nature of the payment, make it doubtful that this esteemed member of S. Maria degli Angeli had any role in the execution of decorations made for the scriptorium's antiphonaries during the latter half of the fourteenth century. There is, in fact, no evidence suggesting that the monastery supported an active workshop involving miniature painting within its walls, nor that it had the facilities necessary to execute paintings on panel. While the scriptorium was clearly responsible for the "writing" and "making" of antiphonaries, it seems to have had no hand in the illumination of these books.

### **Giorgio Vasari and "Don Silvestro"**

If this analysis of the scriptorium's responsibilities is correct, an effort must be made to explain Vasari's erroneous identification of Don Silvestro as a monastic artist. In writing his history of the Angeli's bottega over a century after its apex, Vasari seems to have relied almost exclusively upon the myths surrounding the scriptorium. The



observation that Don Paolo Orlandini had written verses about Don Giacobbo confirms this assumption, for Vasari would not have mentioned these passages had they not served as his textual source. These myths were probably instrumental in Vasari's identification of "Don Jacopo" as the great scribe in the scriptorium, and may also explain his statement proclaiming "Don Silvestro" as Jacopo's artistic collaborator.

Upon closer inspection, Vasari's entire reconstruction of the scriptorium seems to have been the result of mistaken identities. As we have seen, when discussing the activity of "Don Jacopo", Vasari inadvertently confused the lives of Don Jacopo Brandini and Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi, attaching the date of the former's death with the latter's scribal output. Similarly, Vasari's identification of Silvestro as the "great illuminator" was probably based on the legend of a second "Silvestro" associated with S. Maria degli Angeli at roughly the same time, but who does not appear in the convent's monastic registers. From 1315 to 1368, the convent benefited from the pious energies of a lay brother known as "Beato Silvestro". Unlike monks, lay brothers were not formally listed in the register, nor did they have the honorific title "Don". This explains why Mini and Farulli did not consider Beato Silvestro to be Vasari's "Don Silvestro" in their eighteenth-century studies. After his death, the converso's bones were ceremoniously buried along with those of another heroic figure from the monastic

community, Don Jacopo Geri, in a tabernacle beneath the church's high altar. In 1557, the remains of Jacopo and Silvestro were transferred to the convent's chapterhouse, and placed underneath the altar dedicated to John the Baptist in the Benini chapel.<sup>93</sup>

Returning to Vasari's passage, we find that the bones of Don Jacopo Geri and Beato Silvestro were, in fact, mistaken for those of Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci. Vasari writes,

(Jacopo's) right hand, moreover, that namely with which he had produced those admired works, was preserved, with the utmost veneration, in a tabernacle, together with that of another monk called Don Silvestro, who adorned the same books with miniatures, no less excellent--the knowledge of those times considered--than the writings of Don Jacopo.<sup>94</sup>

Knowing only the first names of the two men interred, Vasari seems to have conjectured that the remains of the Jacopo therein were those of the great Don Giacobbo. Silvestro, whose relics accompanied those of Don Jacopo, would logically have been those of a monastic collaborator. Vasari apparently assumed that the two men were partners during their monastic careers, explaining the joining of their relics in one tabernacle. That the bones chosen for reverence were those of the monks' hands only furthered

Vasari's suspicions. Thus, Silvestro was linked to the scriptorium due to his connection with the relics of Don Jacopo Geri. Subsequent authors automatically assumed "Don Silvestro" to be a reference to Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, and linked him to Vasari's mysterious painter. The identity of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, then, was premised on the inaccurate conclusion that the tabernacle in the chapterhouse contained the relics of two of the scriptorium's members.

In summary, the monastic workshop in S. Maria degli Angeli appears to have excelled in practically every aspect of manuscript production. Only in the area of artistic decoration did the monks defer to outside assistants. Archival evidence indicates that the convent's scribes focused on designing, writing, and binding antiphonaries for Florentine religious institutions, but sent these books to secular artists for illumination. Just as the cloister depended upon skilled painters to produce effective devotional altarpieces, so too did the monks rely upon trained miniatori and dipintori working in the secular sphere for the decoration of their antiphonaries.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

(1) Vasari enjoyed two important links with the Camaldolese Order and with the monks at S. Maria degli Angeli. As an artist of great fame, Vasari had been invited to paint frescoes in the Eremo in Camaldoli around 1540, where the painter enjoyed a comfortable and amiable stay with his hosts: See Giorgio Vasari, Vasari on Technique, trans. Louisa Macle hose, ed. G. Baldwin Brown (New York, 1907), 233 (note 2). Furthermore, as a member of the Accademia del Disegno, Vasari would have come into contact with the brethren at S. Maria degli Angeli through the association with S. Maria Nuova. The hospital frequently provided the draughtsmen the opportunity to execute life drawings by offering cadavers as models. There can be little doubt that an artist with Vasari's stature, along with the connections he enjoyed, benefited from interviews held with the monks in the Florentine Camaldolese house. For S. Maria degli Angeli's role in the Accademia del Disegno, see Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present (Cambridge, 1940), 299-301 ("Capitoli et Ordini dell'Accademia et Compagnia dell'Arte del Disegno", chapters XII, XXI, and XXVI).

(2) Ambrogio Traversari presided over meetings attended by the most famous of Florentine thinkers and political leaders, among whom were Niccolò Niccoli, Agnolo Acciaiuoli, and Cosimo de' Medici. See Lauro Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460 (Princeton, 1963), 311-

312; and Charles Stinger, Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance (Albany, 1977), 23.

(3) Many of these were mere children, offered to the convent by their parents before reaching their teens. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 35-41 for examples of young men entering S. Maria degli Angeli.

(4) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 4 Agosto 1332 and 7 Agosto 1332 describe the original agreement between the Angeli and S. Pietro a Poteoli. See Appendix D, Documents 50-51.

(5) S. Maria degli Angeli often accepted young boys as novices, trained them for one to three years, and then formally admitted them into their ranks. There does not seem to have been a written code concerning age requirements, for a number of monks took their vows not long after their fourteenth birthday. See Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 48 (note 3).

(6) See The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981), 203-216. Because the Camaldolese were closely identified with the Benedictine Order, we must assume that these nine manuscripts followed the Rule with great precision.

(7) "Don Jacopo Brandini, from the parish of S. Piero Magg-

iore, was offered to this place by his father at the age of eleven years in 1333, on the day of the birth of God. He then made his profession on the 2nd day of February, 1336, in the presence of the said prior and in front of the other brothers at the mass of the convent. He died in this place on the 5th day of June, 1348. This man was a beautiful writer." A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 36. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(8) In 1350, barely two years after the death of Don Jacopo Brandini, the first volume of Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job was being copied by Don Zanobi da Strada, demonstrating that the scriptorium was making an effort to build a theological library at mid-century. The going was slow, however, for the second volume was not completed until 1415, when Don Giovanni da Sanminiato finished the text. See Stinger, 14.

(9) A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 26 Gennaio, 1348. With the blessing of S. Pietro di Poteoli, the nine antiphonaries were sent to the Sienese monastery of S. Maria delle Rose, another Camaldolese house. See Appendix D, Document 52.

(10) A.S.F. Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, ff. 36v-37v. In light of the human suffering endured by the city, one must assume that these children had been orphaned by the Black Death, and were offered to the convent by their guardians as a last resort. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(11) The monastic records are filled with listings of secular donations made during the 1350s and '60s. For example, A.S.F. Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, ff. 4-6, 11, 25-28, 88-88v contain references to deals made between the Angeli and wealthy Florentine families.

(12) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 38v. The text states, "Don Niccholaio di Niccholò degli Albizzi del popolo di San Piero Maggiore di Firenze fece la sua professione a dì IIII di Febraio 1368 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Fu ordinato prete a dì XVIII di Settembre 1372. Da messer Luzi vescovo di ceseno que in casa et diacono prima dì 21 di Settembre 1370 dal detto vescovo. Obiit in loco isto die XVIIIII mensis Martii anno domini 1412". See Appendix D, Document 29.

For Don Niccholaio's given name, see Paolo Litta, Le famiglie celebri italiane II (Torino, 1876), Plate III, "Albizzi di Firenze". Litta writes, "Ritengo ch'ei sia quell'Alessandro degli Albizzi che si disse Don Niccolaio tra i monaci Camaldolensi del monastero di Santa Maria degli Angioli nel 1368. Nel 1397 era stato eletto abate di Santa Maria di Prataglia, ma rinunziò per gli obblighi inerenti allora ai monaci degli Angioli, cioè che nessuno di esse potesse ricevere prelature. Morì il dì 19 Marzo 1412."

(13) Later in the century, for example, Lanfredi di Bellin-

cione Aldobrandini gave to S. Maria degli Angeli almost 1000 florins immediately following the entry of his two sons into the monastery. A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, 95, fol. 53. See Appendix D, Document 46.

(14) See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 32 (Appendix D, Document 29).

(15) The date of the antiphonary, "MCCCLXX VII Kl Febr" (appearing on folio 207), confused scholars for years. Corale 2 was thought to have been completed either in 1370 or 1377. Mirella Levi D'Ancona clarified the issue by noting that the "VII Kl Febr" referred to the month and day--26 January--while the "MCCCLXX" was a reference to the year the book was completed. Professor Levi D'Ancona speculated that Corale 2 was probably made on the occasion of Don Niccholaio's entry, offering a donation made by the monk's mother in 1394 as evidence of an Albizzi connection: See Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Arte e politica: L'Interdetto, gli Albizzi e la miniatura fiorentina del tardo trecento", in La Miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica: Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana (Florence, 1979), 462. The 1368 entry in the Registro Vecchio (see above) proves Levi D'Ancona's hypothesis to have been correct.

(16) The complete liturgical text for each festival is recorded in the other antiphonaries used by the community.



(17) The monastery's role as a hospital for the infected during the Plague summer of 1348 probably established the convent as a charitable institution, boosting S. Maria degli Angeli's reputation in Florence.

(18) The liturgical year was commonly thought to begin with the Feast of St. Andrew. For a concise description of the Calendar, See Andrew Hughes, Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office (Toronto, 1982), 3-20.

(19) Indeed, one of Saint Nicholas' legendary acts of benevolence was his secretive donation of a dowry to three destitute girls.

(20) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 35v. See Appendix D, Document 53.

(21) A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Libro Giallo di Testamenti, vol. 67, fol. 89v. Mirella Levi D'Ancona first called attention to this document in 1985: See Levi D'Ancona, "La miniatura fiorentina tra gotico e rinascimento", in La miniatura italiana tra gotico e rinascimento I: Atti del II Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana (Florence, 1985), 454. For a full transcription of this document, see Appendix D, Document 54.

(22) "To the prior of S. Maria degli Angeli of Florence and to Frate Giacobbo of the said brothers, and of the said convent, was paid some money as part of a payment for antiphonaries that they made for the church, money given by

Frate Nicholaio degli Albizzi in the memory of his mother . . . 100 gold florins." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4447, fol. 78v. See Appendix D, Document 55.

(23) The money may also have been given to S. Maria Nuova to allow the hospital to purchase other liturgical objects, such as crucifixes, chalices, or altarpieces, which would have enabled the administrators to use the gift as they pleased.

(24) "To the brothers of S. Maria degli Angeli on the said day, twenty five gold florins, which was given as part of a payment for antiphonaries that they made, money given to us by Sir Antonio degli Alberti. . . . 25 gold florins."

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4450, fol. 24v. See Appendix D, Document 56.

(25) We have already seen the complex nature of the Alberti family's relationship with S. Maria degli Angeli (see A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli, 23 Marzo 1393: Appendix D, Document 47). Were it not for the presence of an Alberti in the cloister, it is doubtful that the scriptorium would have received or accepted Ser Antonio's donation.

(26) See A.S.F., S. Pier Maggiore, Volume 51 (1381-1390), fol. 41; "Prestai ai Romiti degli Angeli la prima parte degli antiphonari . . ." The volume from which this citation has been taken is no longer available in the Archivio di Stato due to water damage suffered during the 1966 flood.

See Levi D'Ancona, 1985, 454.

(27) A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4440, fol. 85; "A frati degli Angnoli di Firenze di detto Fior. Trentaquattro e mezo d'oro i quali denari ebbono per parte di pagamento ditefanari checci scrivono i quali denari ebono in due partite al quaderno di chassa carte 6." This payment is repeated in A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, 5037, fol. 6. See Levi D'Ancona, 1982, 454. See Appendix D, Documents 57 and 68.

(28) In addition to housing some of the Angeli's members in its new cloister, the convent hired Lorenzo Monaco to repeat his work for the high altarpiece of S. Maria degli Angeli by painting a nearly identical polyptych for the monks in S. Benedetto sometime after 1413. See Martin Davies, "Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin in London", Critica d'Arte 8 (1949), 202-120 and Eisenberg, 138-145.

When the monastery was intentionally destroyed by the Florentines in 1530 in order to defend the city from invading armies, all of S. Benedetto's liturgical objects were reputedly transferred to S. Maria degli Angeli, suggesting that a solid alliance survived throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (see Vasari, Appendix A).

(29) The magnitude of this sum may be understood when one considers that a single Florentine male could survive on annual earnings of only 15 florins. The money raised by the scriptorium would have been enough to build a house in the

center of Florence, buy a farm and all of its property in the contado, or fund the construction and decoration of an entire burial chapel in 1400. The financial support enjoyed by the scriptorium, then, was most substantial.

(30) For a brief analysis of the books used in S. Maria degli Angeli, see Appendix B.

(31) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 37. See Appendix D, Document 2. A full transcription is given below.

(32) Don Jacopo Geri was an important member of the convent during his tenure in S. Maria degli Angeli. Geri was so respected that he was honored twice by his monastic brethren: once in the Registry, where part of his epitaph states, "Et in eius morte angeli fuerunt auditi tu exultatione caner" (A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, f. 36), and again underneath the high altar of the monastic church, where his remains were buried after his death: See Gregorio Farulli, Istoria cronologica del nobile et antico monastero degli Angeli (Lucca, 1710), 9-10. We shall come across the legend of Don Jacopo Geri again, for homage paid to this important figure was instrumental in causing great confusion among art historians for centuries.

(33) Don Giacobbo was also referred to as "Don Giacobbo", with only one "b", as may be seen in the Albizzi payment cited above. In an effort to avoid confusion with Don

Jacopo Brandini and Don Jacopo Geri, I will follow the original spelling of the younger monk's name, "Giacobbo", throughout this chapter.

(34) "Don Giacob di Francesci, from the parish of S. Lorenzo, came to this place on the first day of November, 1348. He then made his profession on the 27th day of October, 1350 in the presence of the said prior and of the other brothers at the mass of the convent. He died in this place on the 21st day of July, 1396. He was a great and beautiful writer. He wrote all of our church's books." A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 87. See Appendix D, Document 58.

(35) "Don Giacobbo dei Francesci, of the parish of S. Lorenzo, came to this monastery, being of the age of 11 years, on the first day of November, 1348. He then made his profession on the 27th day of October, 1350 in the presence of the said prior and of the other brothers at the mass of the convent. He died in this place on the 22nd day of July, 1396. He was in his sixtieth year. Every glorious writing from his time exists due to his industry, stamina, and abundant work until his death. He remade all of our ecclesiastical books." A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 37. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(36) The legend of Don Giacobbo continued well into the sixteenth century. As we shall soon see, Vasari's description of the scriptorium commenced with, and revolved around,

the personality of a "Don Jacopo", to whom Vasari attributed the writing of all the antiphonaries used in S. Maria degli Angeli. See Appendix A.

(37) Don Niccolo's brief epitaph in the register states:

"Don Niccholò di Piero, del popolo di S. Maria Novella, fece la sua professione a dì XVIII di Giugno 1351, in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto die XXV July, 1383". A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 95, fol. 87. See Appendix D, Document 59.

(38) One such entry involving Don Niccolò is an agreement whereby the convent leases a house to Luca and Margherita Pinzochera, a Florentine couple. The beautifully inscribed document ends with the phrase, "La sopradetta scritta avemo abbiato di mano del detto Luca, ed egli n'è una simile da noi di mano di me Don Niccholò di Piero." See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 39. Examples of Don Niccolò's calligraphic talents may be found in this volume for those entries written between the years 1362 and 1383.

(39) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 2. See Appendix D, Document 60.

(40) "This is the Registro Nuovo of the monastery of the hermits of S. Maria degli Angeli of Florence, of the Camaldolese order, written and copied in part from the Registro

Vecchio of the said monastery. The second part has writings and information that we have had from people of faith, initially written by Don Girolamo di Dardana, our monk, and (because of his sudden death) continued by me, Don Tommaso di Tommaso, monk of the said monastery, at the time of the venerable father, Don Matheo di Guido, prior of this monastery during the year of the incarnation of our Father, Jesus Christ, in the year fourteen hundred two, in the month of July." A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 2. See Appendix D, Document 60.

(41) For the most recent discussion of Lorenzo Monaco's career, see Eisenberg, 3-75.

(42) Two monographs formulate Lorenzo Monaco's artistic career: Osvald Sirén, Don Lorenzo Monaco (Strassburg, 1905); and Eisenberg, 1989.

(43) In this particular case, Lorenzo judged that the painting was worth twenty florins. Lorenzo Monaco is known to have acted as artistic arbitrator on two other occasions. See Eisenberg, 5 and fig. 263.

(44) Ibid., and fig. 263.

(45) Marvin Eisenberg, "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco", in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 273.

(46) Corali 3, 4, 7, and 18 contain inscriptions noting the

dates of their completion. Corale 7 was completed in 1406, Corale 3 in 1409, and Corali 4 and 18 finished in 1410.

(47) Some work has been done on secular artists involved in the decoration of the S. Maria Nuova and S. Maria degli Angeli antiphonaries, but there has been no attempt to discuss the concept of book production in the scriptorium. Mirella Levi D'Ancona has done the most work on the subject of secular artists employed by the scriptorium; Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secoli (Florence, 1962), and "Bartolomeo di Fruosino", Art Bulletin XXXXIII (1961), 81-98. Miklós Boskovits has also discussed the miniaturists involved in the decoration of choral books in "Su Don Silvestro, Don Simone, e la 'scuola degli Angeli'", Paragone 265 (1972), 35-61.

(48) Daniel V. Thompson, The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting (New York, 1956), 27.

(49) Philip Jones, "A Tuscan Monastic Lordship in the Later Middle Ages: Camaldoli", The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 5 (1954), 168-183.

(50) While the huge quantities of calf skin used by the scriptorium may seem to border on excess, it must be remembered that calves were frequently slaughtered by Tuscan farmers. The Florentine diet relies on veal as a staple, and obviously requires the slaughter of the animals. Indeed, the leather makers in the city also used bovine hides,



suggesting that the herds in Tuscany were routinely slaughtered to provide meat for the area and to sell skins to book-makers and tanneries.

(51) The account books for S. Maria Nuova demonstrate this procedure. The hospital received a constant flow of goods from its sharecroppers, ranging from eggs and dairy products to meat, grain, and wine.

(52) A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4442, fol. 34. See Appendix D, Document 61.

(53) For a discussion of the Benedictine work ethic, see Chapter One.

(54) In a letter to Giustiniani in 1429, Ambrogio Traversari requested a shipment of lapis lazuli for his convent, explaining that, "fuere semper in nostro monasterio (nec modo quidem desunt) qui illo orandis voluminibus scitissime, et venustissime utantur" ("there were always monks in our monastery--nor indeed are they lacking now--who used it in a most skillful and beautiful way for decorating manuscripts"). This passage has been used to support the theory that the scriptorium was responsible for the painted figures in the antiphonaries. The fact that the monastery had been employing secular miniaturists and painters for over three decades by 1429 suggests that this theory should be reevaluated. I believe that in his letter to Giustinia-

ni, Traversari was discussing the use of ultramarine in the monks' decoration of secondary initials, rather than the large historiated initials. For a transcription of Traversari's letter, see Stinger, 1977, 4 (note 12).

(55) See Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory (Cambridge, 1990), 9.

(56) Secular illuminators were predominantly responsible for the decoration of manuscripts by 1200. By 1300, few monastic scriptoria contained cloistered painters. See Leopold Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits II (Paris, 1868-81), 126; Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis (Berkeley, 1977), 7-8 and 11-15; and, most recently, Jonathon J. G. Alexander, Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work (New Haven and London, 1992), 52-71, 95, and passim.

(57) Luciano Bellosi, "Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: Il 'Maestro del Codice Squarcialupi' e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli", in Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili I and II (Naples, 1984), 307-314. Bellosi makes the distinction between illuminators and painters, with the latter being responsible for applying pigments to parchment.

(58) See Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 242.

(59) "To Frate Giacobbo, brother of the Angeli, on 19 May, 12 lire was paid as part of a payment for an antiphonary

that he did and decorated by Soldo di Paolo Soldini".

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, vol. 4442, fol. 34. See Appendix D, Document 61.

(60) "On Saturday, Soldo the miniaturist, who decorated your antiphonary and who must be paid by me, said that I had not yet received the money from you. He then told me that he needed me to get 12 lire for him, for the love of God. I will speak nothing more to you about this matter. Frate Giacobbo." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4442, fol. 33v. See Appendix D, Document 61.

(61) A detailed analysis of the historiography of the "Scuola degli Angeli" follows.

(62) "To brother Bartolomeo of the brothers of the Angeli on the said day, two gold florins were given for the azurro they bought for our antiphonaries, appearing on the folio for the brothers of the Angeli in the Green book of Testaments on page 162, and from them to Giovanni del Biondo, painter." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4450, fol. 82. See Appendix D, Document 62.

(63) See Mario Salmi, La miniatura fiorentina gotica (Rome, 1954), 20-21, 43, and plate XLV.

(64) See George Bent, "The Scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli and Fourteenth Century Manuscript Illumination: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Lorenzo Monaco, and Giovanni

del Biondo", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, forthcoming.

(65) See Levi D'Ancona, 1957 and 1979; and Boskovits, 1972 and 1975.

(66) From 1411 to 1420, both Lorenzo Monaco and Bartolomeo di Fruosino were paid for executing miniatures for the S. Maria Nuova antiphonal series. See M. Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 44-48 and 171-173. See also A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4463, fol. 28 and 83v; A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4465, fol. 76; A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa, 5046, fol. 90v; and A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa, 5049, fol. 217.

(67) "To Bartolomeo di Fruosino, painter, on the 20th day of August, for 116 works, that is his work to paint the church's antiphonaries and for the crucifix in the refectory, and other things." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4463, fol. 28.

(68) "To Frate Lorenzo of the Angeli on the the 7th day of December, for figures that he made in miniature for the church's antiphonary. Two florins, carried by Pippo di Bartolo." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4465, fol. 76. See Siren, 182; Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 172; and Eisenberg, 1989, 212 (Document 9D).

(69) On three separate occasions, secular book binders were paid nominal fees by S. Maria Nuova for adding the finishing touches to their antiphonaries. In 1412, Giovanni di Mic-

hele was paid for "varie forniture per l'antifonario" (A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4463, fol. 90). Pierozzo di Giovanni and his son Giovanni received 13 lire and 23 soldi for constructing the cover of an antiphonary that had recently been painted by Lorenzo Monaco ("Gli interfanari di chiesa deono dare levati in questo a c. 18 da Pierozzo di Johanni dati a lui per compassi L. 10 s. 10 e da Johanni suo f. per bullette L. 3 s. 13 e da Frate Lorenzo per mini fior. dieci", A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa, 5046, fol. 90v). For transcriptions of these documents, see Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 46 and 172.

(70) This is an estimation, based on my experience with Corali 2, 3, 9, and 16 in the collection of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, and with Codex C 71 and Codex H 74 in the Bargello Museum.

(71) In conversation, Professor William Mahrt has observed that the painter responsible for the image of the Monks Singing the Liturgy could not have been a monk. The neumes depicted in the painted choir book have been incorrectly placed only on the intonations, indicating that the artist was unfamiliar with the liturgical texts chanted by the monastic community. Had a monk been responsible for the image, he would have represented the musical notations more accurately. Thus, the painter was probably a secular miniaturist, hired by the scriptorium to execute the monastery's antiphonary, rather than a member of the cloistered communi-

ty.

(72) As Eisenberg has observed (1989, 6), a careful reading of the sixteenth- and eighteenth-century texts devoted to S. Maria degli Angeli and the monastic scriptorium reveals that the authors relied exclusively on Vasari's testimony. See Agostino Fortunio, Historiarum Camaldulensium (Venice, 1579), 125-126; Mini, 500-502 (see Appendix A); and Farulli, 10-11.

(73) The English translation of Le Vite is from Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, I, ed. J. Foster (London, 1855), 282-283. The Italian version here recorded is from the Milanesi edition, II, 1878, 22-23. "E perchè spesso, come la sperienza ne dimostra, da un solo germe, col tempo, mediante lo studio ed ingegno degli uomini, ne sorgono molti; nel detto monasterio degli Angeli, dove sempre per addietro attesero i monaci alla pittura e al disegno, non solo il detto Don Lorenzo fu eccellente in fra di loro, ma vi fiorirono ancora per lungo spazio di molti anni, e prima e poi, uomini eccellenti nelle cose del disegno. Onde non mi pare da passare inniun modo con silenzio un Don Iacopo fiorentino, che fu molto innanzi al detto Don Lorenzo; perciocchè, come fu ottimo e costumatissimo religioso, così fu il miglior scrittore di lettere grosse che fusse prima o sia stato poi, non solo in Toscana, ma in tutta Europa: come chiaramente ne dimostrano non solo i venti pezzi grandissimi di libri da coro che egli lasciò nel

suo monasterio, che sono i più belli, quanto allo scritto, e maggiori che siano forse in Italia, ma infiniti altri ancora che in Roma ed in Venezia ed in molti altri luoghi si ritrovano: e massimamente in San Michele ed in San Mattia di Murano, monasterio della sua religione Camaldolense. Per le quali opere meritò questo buon padre, molti anni poi che fu passato a miglior vita, non pure che Don Paolo Orlandini, monaco dottissimo nel medesimo monasterio, lo celebrasse con molti versi latini; ma che ancora fusse, come è, la sua mano destra, con che scrisse i detti libri, in un tabernacolo serbata con molta venerazione, insieme con quella d'un altro monaco chiamato Don Silvestro; il quale non meno eccellentemente, per quanto portò la condizione di que'tempi, miniò i detti libri, che gli avesse scritti Don Iacopo. Ed io, che molte volte gli ho veduti, resto maravigliato che fossero condotti con tanto disegno e con tanta diligenza in quei tempi che tutte l'arti del disegno erano poco meno che perdute: perciocchè furono l'oper di questi monaci intorno agli anni di nostra salute 1350, o poco prima o poi; come in ciascuno di detti libri si vede."

(74) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.

37. See Levi D'Ancona, 1957, 8; and Appendix D, Document 2.

"Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, from the parish of S. Michele Visdomini, came to this place in 1348, being of the age of nine years. He then made his profession on the 15th day of August, 1352, in the presence of the said prior and the

other brethren at the mass of the convent. He was elected prior of this monastery in 1398, on the 2nd day of May. He died in this place, as the prior, on the 5th day of October, 1399".

(75) See Mini, 500-501 (Appendix A); and Farulli, 10-11.

(76) Paolo D'Ancona, "Don Simone miniatore fiorentino della fine del secolo XIV", La Bibliofilia XVI (1914), 1-4; R. van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting 9 (The Hague, 1927); Anna Maria Ciaranfi, "Lorenzo Monaco miniatore", L'Arte III (1932), 285-317 and 379-399; and Salmi, 20-40.

(77) See Levi D'Ancona, 1957, 3-37.

(78) Ibid., 8-11.

(79) The announcement that the signature was a later addition was not published until 1979. See Francis Russell, "A 'Signature' Unmasked", Bulletin of the Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum V (1979), 39-40.

(80) See Boskovits, 1972, 35-61.

(81) See Levi D'Ancona, 1979, 467.

(82) "To Frate Silvestro of the brothers of the Angeli, on the 7th day of November, six gold florins were paid as part of the payment for the antiphonaries that they are making for the church. . ." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4450,



fol. 81v. See Levi D'Ancona, 1979, 464 (note 17), and Appendix D, Document 63.

(83) "To the brothers of S. Maria degli Angeli of Florence, on the said day, six gold florins were paid for part of the books that they wrote for the church, given to us by Niccolò, Angnolo and Cionaccio Baroncelli. . ." A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4447, fol. 79v. See Appendix D, Document 64.

(84) For example, when the hospital gave money to laborers or farmers, the tasks for which they were paid were always described: Farmer N was paid X lire for delivering eggs, while laborer Y was paid Z florins for building a wall, etc. The same held true for payments to painters: In 1380 the hospital paid "a Jacopo di Chorso di pittore di' XIII di Marzo per di pittura d'una lettera S. venti" (A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4430, fol. 79). This kind of specific, descriptive language was used throughout the Uscita books of the hospital during the second half of the fourteenth century.

(85) A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4444, fol. 75 and S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4442, fol. 32v. See Appendix D, Documents 65 and 66.

(86) A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita, 4447, fol. 78v. See Appendix D, Document 67.

(87) The entry is listed on a page containing other transactions made by S. Maria Nuova in November, 1396, with the month and year written at the top of the folio.

(88) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 37. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(89) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 44v-45v. See Appendix D, Document 68. He is identified as "Don Salvestro (sic) Gherarducci sopriore".

(90) As sub-prior, Don Silvestro acted as the convent's representative when laymen donated property or funds to the convent. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 55v-56r, Appendix D, Document 49.

(91) "He was elected prior of this monastery in 1386. He rejected the office of the priorate, being aggravated by illness and being very old, on the 29th day of April, 1398. He died in this place on the 12th day of the month of March, 1400". A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 36v. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(92) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol 37. See Appendix D, Document 2.

(93) See Farulli, 9-10.

(94) ". . . ma che ancora fusse, come è, la sua mano destra, con che scrisse i detti libri, in un tabernacolo serbata con molta venerazione, insieme con quella d'un altro monaco

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ALTARPIECES AND IMAGERY: ARTISTIC PROGRAMS, SYMBOLS OF FAITH AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES**

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, S. Maria degli Angeli owned at least sixteen major liturgical pictures, each of which was used on a regular basis. As each new chapel was constructed, an altarpiece was added to the space, so that by 1400 the monks could boast of a detailed and focused group of images devoted to particular tenets espoused by their community. These images had important functions within the monastery, for they served as instrumental liturgical tools that helped each monk focus his meditations during both private and communal religious rites. Every painted image in the monastery was executed to impart specific, and often distinctive, messages to its homogeneous Camaldolese audience. Together, the altarpieces housed in S. Maria degli Angeli formed a cohesive group of images reflecting the most important dogmatic concerns of the monastery.

Each altarpiece in S. Maria degli Angeli was designed by carefully considering its placement within the context of the monastery's other pictures. Although seldomly seen in succession, the images worked together as an ensemble, presenting a coherent program of interdependent themes. This program addressed its monastic audience on three

separate levels. The first stressed the monk's membership in the Christian community; the second emphasized his activity in the Camaldolese Order; and the third reminded him of his participation in S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister. Thus, pictures conveyed vital theological messages, as well as themes directed at, and understood by, Camaldolese worshipers. Biblical scriptures, Saint Romuald's teachings, and the liturgical texts used in services at the monastery were all influential in altarpiece design and decoration. These three levels were successfully interwoven into one coherent artistic program, which served the community for centuries.

It is doubtful that the entire monastic house participated in the planning of the artistic program.<sup>1</sup> Instead, a select council of monks, led by the prior and subprior, was probably formed to discuss the contents of all liturgical images to be installed. Although there are no references to this council in the records of S. Maria degli Angeli, such bodies were common in Florentine convents.<sup>2</sup> Comprised of experienced monks, this group most likely discussed the theological focus of each proposed chapel and its altarpiece, the lay patron's special desires, and the feast days to be celebrated before the object.<sup>3</sup> After considering the subject matter of the other altarpieces in the monastery, as well as the donor's requests, the ideological focus of the picture would have been debated.<sup>4</sup> Upon reaching a consensus, the council would then bring its

findings before the entire community for discussion and approval. While amendments altering some of the original proposals could be made, the council's basic decisions were rarely overturned.

At this stage the community calculated logistical problems regarding the size and appearance of the altarpiece, and selected local artists to execute the project.<sup>5</sup> With the brethren's consent, the sacristan was instructed to hire and compensate the artists selected in much the same way that the Praefectus operum was expected to organize construction projects in the monastic compound. Artists were then commissioned for the project, and were given specific instructions pertaining to the pictorial content of the altarpiece. While stylistic and compositional decisions were unimpeded, the painter was expected to fulfill whatever requirements had been dictated to him by his institutional patron. In order to ensure that the wishes of the monastery were fulfilled, the sacristan monitored the artist's work periodically, checking the appearance and condition of the altarpiece during and after its installation. Any inconsistencies with the cloister's instructions were reported to the community.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the program of images installed in S. Maria degli Angeli was probably devised and, to some degree, supervised by Camaldolese monks.

**Marian and Christological Imagery in S. Maria degli Angeli**

From its very inception, S. Maria degli Angeli's artistic program focused on the cult of the Virgin. Eighteenth-century sources indicate that most of the monastery's early altarpieces were dedicated to Marian themes.<sup>7</sup> Two of the convent's first three pictures, in fact, commemorated her unique stature. The altarpiece located in the women's chiesetta depicted the Virgin Annunciate, while that in the church of S. Michele seems to have been a simple iconic rendition of Mary.<sup>8</sup> This trend continued throughout the Trecento. The double-sided Spini altarpiece, which was probably installed in 1336 near the entrance of the sacristy, contained central images of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Virgin and Child (fig. 2), while Niccholao di Tingho's chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Annunciate, probably contained an altarpiece depicting her humble genuflection before the Archangel.<sup>9</sup> Unhappily, most of the pictures installed in the convent during its first fifty years are lost, prohibiting a thorough analysis of its initial pictorial program. While we do not know if the Partucci, Canonico, or dal Canto chapels similarly contained images devoted to the Virgin, the pattern of Marian and Christological themes established during the second half of the century suggests that the monastery's early altarpieces were probably dedicated to her.

Without exception, every altarpiece installed in S. Maria degli Angeli after 1364 contained an image focusing on

either Jesus Christ or His Virgin mother. Using the Book of Luke as a textual source, the brethren decorated their house with images representing crucial moments from Christ's life, death, and resurrection, while continuously underscoring the Virgin's stature as the Mother of God and patron saint of their monastery. Each figure represented extreme piety, humility, sacrifice, mercy, and love. Each was both human and divine, stretching the conceptual limits of the corporeal world as could no others in Christian doctrine. Each had a special place in the hearts and minds of the convent's members, for Christ and the Virgin represented all of the traits and qualities valued by the Camaldolese Order. Piety, mercy, dedication, and intense love of all mankind were embodied in these figures. The two were often paired together in order to present a doubly powerful focus for the monk's private meditations (figs. 7 and 17).

The earliest surviving group of pictures indicating the implementation of an artistic program dates from 1364-65, when four altarpieces executed by Giovanni del Biondo and Nardo di Cione were installed in the convent's rebuilt chapterhouse and infirmary (figs. 7, 13, 17, 22, and 23). Each of these four altarpieces represented a crucial moment in the story of Christ. His nativity and infancy were represented by images of the Madonna and Child and the Presentation in the Temple, while his mortal death and divine reign in the Kingdom of Heaven were depicted in pictures devoted to the Holy Trinity and the Coronation of

the Virgin. These four central events were supplemented later in the century with other images depicting different moments from Christ's life and death. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, most of the important events described in the four Gospels had been included in S. Maria degli Angeli's pictorial program, including images illustrating the Baptism, Agony in the Garden, Passion, and Crucifixion (for a complete list of the pictures installed in the monastery between 1363 and 1413, see Chart I). These paintings served as the foundation upon which more detailed accounts of the Marian and Christological legends were added. The crucial events from their lives and deaths were represented in the main panels of these twelve pictures.

The subject matter of these altarpieces, however, was not entirely dictated by narrative themes. Of considerable concern was the intended liturgical function of the picture. The emphasis on Christ's infancy and martyrdom was undoubtedly based on a need for specific images to be displayed during the most important periods of the year: Advent, Lent, and Easter.<sup>10</sup> Camaldolese services for December and early January focused on the miracle of Christ's incarnation, thus requiring the use of pictorial objects devoted to these seasonal themes. Similarly, the Paschal season could not be adequately celebrated without images representing the Passion and Resurrection. Although all of the altarpieces were covered during weekdays in Lent, images were ceremoniously revealed during sabbath days in



order to provide monks with devotional images on such vital occasions. Specific Lenten images ensured proper behavior in monks during the most ascetic period of the year. All twelve of S. Maria degli Angeli's late Trecento pictures, save for the Coronation of the Virgin, were devoted to events or issues which pertained to Christmas, Lent, or Easter. Only the Coronation of the Virgin, venerated on August 15 (the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin), was honored at a different time. As we will see in Chapter Five, even this subject could be manipulated to function throughout the liturgical year. Because of the importance of feast days and ceremonies celebrated during Advent, Lent, and Easter, the convent's artistic program was designed to aid in the performance of liturgical rituals enacted during these crucial periods.

This coherent program of thematically intertwined images was an important aspect of S. Maria degli Angeli's worship, and was recognized as such outside the conventual walls. Near the end of the fourteenth century, the monastery received a papal indulgence granting benefits to the community whenever its collection of altarpieces was honored by the entire population.<sup>11</sup> According to this agreement, monks and lay brethren were required to pray before every altarpiece installed in the monastic complex during specifically denoted feast days. Thirteen major festivals were designated for the performance of this ritual. Monks congregated, presumably at the church's high

altar, and processed through their circuit on the feasts of the Immaculate Conception and Birth of the Virgin (December 8 and September 8), the Nativity (December 25), Epiphany (January 6), and Annunciation (March 25), and the observance of the Resurrection (Easter Sunday), Pentecost (Whit Sunday), the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), and the Dedication of the Church (date unknown). In order to receive their Indulgence, the brethren also marched through the convent on the feast days of Benedict (March 21), John the Baptist (June 24), Michael the Archangel (September 29), and Leonard (November 6), revealing these figures' importance for the Camaldolese community.<sup>12</sup> On these special occasions, the monk could see the unfolding of Christ's life from start to finish as he moved from one altarpiece to the next. Indeed, these twelve days were probably the only times during the year that the monk could consider the implications of the thematic program in its entirety. The specific narrative content of each altarpiece was vividly underscored during these processions, as was the image's place within the broader context of the convent's other pictures. The disparate parts of the program became a cohesive unit on these special ceremonial days.

Naturally, pictures containing images pertaining to a particular feast day received special attention during these processions. For example, while each monk was required to visit every altarpiece on August 15, the image of the Coronation of the Virgin (figs. 22 and 23 -- painted by

Nardo di Cione and assistants, and located in Ser Francesco di Ser Berto's chapel in the infirmary) probably received the most intense veneration of all, for the subject on its central panel was a direct reference to the celebration observed on that day. Likewise, the Ghiberti altarpiece received its greatest attention on Trinity Sunday, due to its visual representation of that feast day. This pattern also held true for images appearing in side and predella panels. Those altarpieces adorned with images of Saint Benedict, for example, were given more attention on March 21 than they were on feast days for other saints, while pictures of John the Baptist were particularly revered on June 24. After completing the circuit, the congregation would probably have returned to the choir of the church to continue the liturgical services for the day. Because the pictures had only recently been seen and revered, each monk had a vivid mental picture of the images he had just venerated, helping him to recall the significance of the day's liturgy. As the choir book was opened to its proper place, the monk was often confronted with a painted miniature which referred specifically to that day's feast. These images aided him in his meditations and recitations, for the manuscript illuminations decorating the antiphonaries used in S. Maria degli Angeli frequently resembled the altarpieces located elsewhere in the monastery (see Chart I). By recognizing the subject and form of the miniature, the suppliant could remember and contemplate the

larger liturgical image he had just seen during his procession through the convent. Thus, associations tying painted images to orally transmitted legends, written liturgies, and other painted images formed an integral part of Camaldolese worship.

#### 1. Marian and Christological images: 1364-65

The decorations in the monastic chapterhouse provide the first concrete example of a distinct visual program. The three chapels built in 1364, dedicated to Saints John the Baptist, Romuald, and Job, joined the 1354 dal Canto chapel of Saint Anthony, which had been preserved during the reconstruction of the chapterhouse.<sup>13</sup> An altarpiece was added to each structure which contained images filling the convent's particular programmatic needs. These chapels were in close proximity, allowing each image to be seen in relation to its partners. The altarpieces produced for these chapels were devoted to three major Christological themes. A general reference to Christ's incarnation was highlighted in the Dini Madonna and Child (fig. 17), while a more specific moment from His life, the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 7), was the focus of Bindo Benini's devotional triptych. The Ghiberti chapel, meanwhile, contained an image of the Trinity, referring to Christ's crucifixion and the "three-in-one" concept surrounding the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (fig. 13). The panels' thematic grouping

allowed for a number of important theological ideas to be emphasized in adjacent liturgical pictures. God's humanity and divinity were underscored in the Madonna and Trinity altarpieces, while the Presentation referred to the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies of Christ's arrival. In these triptychs the Camaldolese community possessed pictorial representations of the fundamental doctrines central to Christian dogma.

The Madonna and Child of 1365 (fig. 18) is the most strictly iconic of the three images. In the altarpiece's central compartment a full-length representation of the Virgin is placed upon a sloped bench, most probably symbolizing a throne. The Christ child leans on Mary's thigh, supported by her left arm and steadied by her grasp of his feet. The image is a simple homage to two important themes: God's incarnation as man, in the person of Jesus Christ, and the Virgin's role in his divine conception. The pictorial relationship between the two figures, however, suggests that this basic idea was supplemented by a more modern adaptation of the subject. The smiling baby, clinging to his mother's neck and gently touching her throat with his tiny hand, gazes directly into the Virgin's eyes, suggesting a warmth and intimacy between the two figures. Although the picture emphasizes both the Child's divinity and his mother's sinless perfection, the image also underscores the personal relationship between Virgin and Infant. The two sacred figures are portrayed as human

beings with human emotions.

Whereas the Madonna and Child was devoted to the basic concept of God's gift to mankind, manifested in the act of Christ's incarnation, the 1364 Presentation referred instead to the Messiah's historical destiny as determined in Old Testament prophecies. According to Jewish custom, male infants were circumcised eight days after birth, a ceremony that purified children from sin. Thirty days after his birth, the boy was "presented" in a temple, and ten days later his mother was purified from her ordeal by providing a blood sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> Two doves were offered to release the child from perpetual servitude to the Synagogue, and to cleanse the mother from the ordeal of childbirth.<sup>15</sup> Relying upon the text in Luke 2:21-40, Giovanni del Biondo's Presentation combines these proceedings in stark detail. The Virgin, holding Christ over the altar's burning flame, offers her child to Simeon, an elderly Israelite who has been divinely informed of the Messiah's coming. Next to Simeon glares the rabbi, or mohel, who prepares to perform the circumcision and to sacrifice the two turtle doves offered by Joseph (at the left). Across from Joseph stands Anna, the eighty-four year old prophetess who has recognized the presence of the Lord in the child. The scene anticipates Simeon's brief speech in the Book of Luke, which foretells both the success of the Savior's ministry as well as His ultimate sacrifice for the people of Israel:

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel. . . . Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that is spoken against (and a sword will pierce through your own soul also), that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed.

Luke 2:29-35

Although celebrating a moment from Christ's infancy, the symbolic content of the image also refers to his Crucifixion and to Hebrew prophecies of his untimely death. The sacrificial turtledoves have been painted directly below the infant, a visual parallel which compares Christ's youthful blood sacrifice to his ensuing martyrdom. The Circumcision foreshadows a later blood-letting on behalf of all mankind. Similarly, a Eucharistic theme has also been included, for the image depicts the exact moment when Christ is passed directly over the altar.<sup>16</sup> The infant's placement over the sacrificial flame symbolizes the ceremonial acceptance of Christ's body and blood before the consecrated altar. Just as the wafer is passed over the altar by the priest, so too is the child held over the table by Christ's devout mother. Thus, the monk was encouraged to remember the symbolic

significance of the Eucharist, during the ceremonial taking of the bread and wine of Holy Communion.

Nardo di Cione's Trinity (fig. 13), the last of the three chapterhouse triptychs, was installed in the Ghiberti chapel in 1365. Rather than paying homage to the Virgin's motherhood or Christ's incarnation, as did the Dini and Benini pictures, the Ghiberti altarpiece was devoted to Christ's divinity. The Trinity is both a narrative picture and a didactic image, representing a crucial moment in the life of Christ and containing vital symbolic messages in an iconic format. God the Father sits upon a slanted bench identical to the one upon which the Virgin rests in the Dini Madonna (fig. 18). With a book in his left hand, the Father blesses both the viewer and the small-scale image of the Crucified Christ. Trickles of dried blood cling to his palms, ribs, and toes, indicating an emphasis on Christ's mortality and sacrifice. The nimbed Dove of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, hovers between the heads of Christ and the Father. In the pinnacle above, the Agnus Dei lies asleep upon the Book with Seven Seals, an allusion to John's Apocalyptic vision. Not coincidentally, to the right of the central panel stands the Evangelist, so that the pinnacle and lateral panel are thematically connected.

The picture's formal qualities offer two seemingly divergent messages, requiring the viewer to interpret the painting from both a narrative and a didactic perspective.



The image of the Crucifixion, so prominently displayed in the central panel, is an explicit attempt to recall the most important narrative event from the Life of Christ. The skull submerged in the rock below the cross is a direct reference to the historical nature of this episode, underscoring the concept that the crucifixion actually occurred at a specific place (Golgotha) and time (Good Friday). Similarly, the dried blood encrusted on his wounds recalls his agony on the cross, the blow struck by Longinus, and his death. The nails embedded in his limbs and the Crown of Thorns further highlight the corporeal suffering on that day. In these aspects, the image clearly refers to an actual event in the history of man, and serves as a vital narrative component of the convent's artistic program.

The Trinity, however, is also a didactic icon, far removed from more common depictions of the Crucifixion. The entire scene has been pared down considerably, especially when compared to other pictures devoted to the same subject (see fig. 24). Absent from the composition are the mourning figures of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. Grieving angels have also been omitted, as have other witnesses and participants central to the Passion story. In fact, this crucifixion has been taken out of its setting almost completely and resituated in an entirely otherworldly context, whereby a larger-than-life mystical Father looms behind the martyred Savior, while a haloed bird floats in perfect harmony between the two male figures. The Trinity

transcends the realm of the purely narrative and enters into that of the abstract. In addition to reminding viewers of Christ's corporeal trials on Good Friday, the picture carries crucial theological overtones, establishing the tripartite authority of the Trinity and emphasizing the significance of the body and blood. Thus, the altarpiece is both an image referring to a narrative moment in the Life of Christ and a stringently dogmatic picture devoted to vital theological concepts beyond the scope of historical events.

The fourth altarpiece installed during the mid-1360s, Nardo di Cione's Coronation of the Virgin, was located in Ser Francesco di Berto's chapel in the monastic infirmary (figs. 22 and 23). The iconographic content of this picture was designed to complete the pictorial program in the chapterhouse. Although highly didactic in content, these pictures dealt with narrative events that had transpired on Earth and that had been recorded in the Gospels. These subjects, however, did not comprise the complete cycle of events important to the Trecento worshiper, for they omitted a concept fundamental to Christian faith. Despite their depictions of crucial moments from Christ's life, there were no references to his divine reign in the Heavenly Kingdom. A visual interpretation of the final resting place of every devout Christian was needed to complete the cyclical narrative begun in the chapterhouse chapels. Furthermore, the convent's dual emphases on Christ and the Virgin dictated that the illustration of Heaven include both the

Savior of Man and his earthly Mother, thereby giving equal authority to each figure. The Coronation of the Virgin allowed the monastery to continue its veneration of the Holy couple while completing the narrative of its visual program.

The central compartment of the Coronation is devoted to the basic theme of the Virgin's entry into Heaven after her death.<sup>17</sup> Although not a part of the scriptures, the veracity of the Coronation was accepted by medieval Christians as an example of both the Virgin's individual sanctity and of Christ's pious affection for his earthly mother.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the gestures of the figures indicate a sense of mutual respect between the two, as Mary bows her head to receive the Crown of Heaven. As Mary's clasped hands indicate her reverence for her son, his personal devotion to the Blessed Virgin is reflected by his coronation of her as the Celestial Queen, Mother, and Bride. The two rule the Kingdom of Heaven in tandem, with Christ as objective Judge and the Virgin as intercessor on behalf of all Christians. With Mary sitting alongside Christ on the Heavenly throne, the ultimate entry of the devout into Paradise is all but assured.

This image carried serious overtones for the monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary and under the authority of the Catholic Church. In addition to her various theological roles, the image of the Virgin Mary traditionally symbolized the institution of the Holy Church, just as Saint Peter personified the institution of the papacy. Saint Bernard,

in his sermons devoted to the Canticles, repeatedly referred to the Church as the bride of Christ, and interpreted the Virgin to be the symbolic vessel in which his will was manifested. The Church, through which Christ's doctrines were promulgated, was identified with Mary, the bearer of the Savior. By the end of the twelfth century, the image of the crowned Virgin was interpreted not only as symbols of the Queen of Heaven and Christ's Celestial Bride, but also as a representation of the entire Christian Church. As a result, the action of the Virgin's Coronation was considered to be a reference to Christ's consignment of authority to the Papacy and his condoning of all ecclesiastical actions. In this sense, the crown placed upon Mary's head may have been interpreted as an allusion to the papal tiara, underscoring the connection between the Virgin, the Church, and the See of Rome. By displaying such an image in their house, S. Maria degli Angeli was implying that it was a proud member of the institution ordained by Christ to do his bidding. This fundamental concept was so important for the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli that it was to be repeated by Lorenzo Monaco in his version of the Coronation over a half century later.

The Coronation of the Virgin completed the Marian/Christological sequence initiated by the Benini altarpiece in a number of distinctive ways. The Dini Madonna and Child underscored the humanity of the Messiah and emphasized the Virgin's role in his mortal conception.

The Presentation repeated the motif of his humanity by highlighting his Circumcision, the Virgin's Purification, and the first episode of Christ's blood-letting in the scriptures. The Ghiberti Trinity addressed Christ's mortality and the suffering endured during his execution, but also referred to his divinity through his association with the Holy Trinity. Finally, Ser Francesco's Coronation depicted him in Paradise with his Mother/Bride/Queen, thus fulfilling his role as the King of Heaven and Holy Redeemer. The Child matured before the viewer's eyes, evolving from his mortal to his divine nature. The chapterhouse images, then, formed the nucleus of the convent's artistic program. Fundamental issues were here represented in images located in close proximity, allowing viewers to connect pictures into a lengthy narrative and thematic sequence. As the century progressed, the monks continued to expand their program by adding to these images.

## 2. The Expansion of the Program: 1385-1413

The iconographic program revolved around the veneration of both Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. With the sole exception of the Ghiberti Trinity, the monastery's pictures enabled the Camaldolese audience to worship both figures with equal passion according to prescriptions recorded in its liturgical texts. With a core group of images representing major Christological and Marian themes

installed in the monastic complex, few alterations or additions were initiated for over a decade. However, the destruction of the infirmary at the hands of the Ciompi in 1378 and the ensuing tension caused by the rebellion appear to have forced the monks to reconsider their situation. The sudden attack on S. Maria degli Angeli may well have resulted in the partial destruction of Ser Francesco's Coronation of the Virgin in the doomed infirmary. This predicament forced the monks to reevaluate, and ultimately expand, their program. Although an important part of the narrative series was ruined, the construction of a new infirmary brought new chapels and altarpieces, thus adding to its collection of images. With the restoration of the Albizzi faction in 1382, the monastery began broadening the scope of its visual program.

A distinct shift in iconographic emphasis is evident in the pictures executed for the convent during the decades following the Albizzi restoration. Although images of the Virgin were included in six of the eight pictures commissioned between 1385 and 1413, the focus of most of these panels was on Christ, rather than his mother. Three altarpieces were standard Madonna types, devoted to the Enthroned Virgin and Child (figs. 3, 28, and 32).<sup>19</sup> A fourth was the Madonna of Humility for the Alberti chapel, which focused on the image of the Madonna del Latte seated on a pillow (fig. 33). The surplus of Madonna images quickly rendered the themes of her humanity and motherhood

repetitious. The monks appear to have been more interested in images depicting Christ's trials in a narrative form than they were in simple iconic pictures. This attitude is reflected in four pictures installed during this period, which omit references to the Virgin and concentrate instead on important scenes from the life of Christ. These four altarpieces represent the events of the Baptism, Agony in the Garden, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, each of which is recorded in the picture's central compartments (figs. 24, 25, 35, and 36). Although the Virgin received a considerable share of pictorial veneration, the primary goal of the cloister's revised visual format was to expand their collection of Christological images.<sup>20</sup>

The four altarpieces devoted to specific moments from the life of Christ confronted the Camaldolese viewer on two important levels. The first was a reminder of the theological significance attached to Christ's suffering, martyrdom, and triumph over death. Each narrative moment emphasized an event crucial to the Christ legend: the Baptism represented Christ's first recorded appearance as an adult and referred to his self-imposed exile in the wilderness immediately after conferring with John the Baptist. The Agony in the Garden depicted Christ during the most spiritually trying moment of his mortal existence, anticipating the arrival of his persecutors and making a prayer to the Father. The Crucifixion recalled Christ's sacrifice for mankind on Good Friday, underscoring the pain

and suffering experienced during his execution. Finally, the Man of Sorrows alluded to his Passion and Resurrection, emphasizing both Christ's anguish on behalf of all people and his promise of eternal life for his followers. Each picture symbolized an important phase in Christ's life on earth and his triumph over mortality. Yet these pictures were also designed to speak to monastic viewers on a more personal, emotional level, thus eliciting intensely empathetic responses from supplicants. In each altarpiece, Christ was depicted as the ultimate martyr, the sacrificial lamb offered as a gift to mankind. His emaciated limbs underscored his vulnerability as a man of peace and love, and reminded viewers that he had been the target of wickedness and violence. He was the model of perseverance, of righteousness, and of sacrifice. In these four pictures, the Passion and compassion of the human Christ was emphasized with a fervor commensurate with the importance of the event represented in each narrative panel.

The Stoldi Baptism of Christ (fig. 25), painted by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, was the first narrative painting installed during this wave of decoration. In addition to depicting John's baptism of Christ, full-length images of Saints Peter and Paul stand in two side panels flanking the central scene. Below, miniature figures of Benedict and Romuald form pictorial parentheses for predella scenes of the Baptist's Birth and the Feast of Herod (figs. 26 and 27). The emphasis on the Baptism, however, appears to be



inconsistent with its donors' wishes. According to monastic records, the Stoldi chapel was dedicated to the feast of "Sco Ioannis decollato", the martyrdom of Saint John, rather than to the feast of Christ's baptism.<sup>21</sup> Although the scene of John's decapitation was included in the altarpiece, it was relegated to a subordinate position in the predella below the principal register. The central image of the Baptism, an event commemorated on Epiphany and its octave, received the main focus of veneration. The altarpiece, then, had special significance for the monk on August 29--the feast of John's martyrdom--and on Epiphany. Thus, the thematic emphasis of the chapel and altarpiece was reversed, with the feast day of "Sco Ioannis decollato" subordinated to that of the Baptism.

The reversal of emphasis in the Stoldi Baptism was probably due to the community's desire to have a picture devoted to this centrally sacred Christian rite. The moment of Baptism was one of the seven sacraments, an event which both fulfilled the prophecies of the Old Testament and presented the promise of redemption to the devout.<sup>22</sup> The Christian religion prescribed Baptism as a purification of the soul. Both Peter and Paul spoke of its symbolic significance in their Epistles, with the latter referring to the Baptism as every Christian's resurrection with Christ, and the former considering the ritual a demonstration of the victory of the righteous over the damned.<sup>23</sup> Their adamant espousals of the importance of the sacrament may well

explain the presence of Peter and Paul in the triptych's side panels. The baptism transplanted the Judaic tradition of circumcision and blood sacrifice, depicted in the Presentation altarpiece, and was universally incorporated into common religious practice throughout western Europe. Trecento viewers could easily empathize with the painted image of Christ's Baptism, for they had all experienced similar purification at some point in their lives. Even if the individual suppliant had been baptized as an infant, he or she could still look upon the painted image and derive some sort of reciprocal sentiment from it.

In addition to its glorification of Baptism, the episode also represents Christ's first appearance as an adult in the New Testament. The Gospels of Mark and John open with this event, while those of Matthew and Luke jump from a description of Christ's childhood to his recognition as the Messiah at the River Jordan, now a thirty-year old man.<sup>24</sup> The Baptism marked Christ's sudden arrival as Savior and the beginning of his ministry. The scene addressed monastic viewers spiritually and personally, reminding supplicants of the shared experience of immersion and recalling a crucial moment in the history of Christianity.

Although the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli gave special attention to the Stoldi chapel and its altarpiece on a number of specially denoted days, its most important time of veneration came in early January.<sup>25</sup> Christ's Baptism was observed on Epiphany, one of the thirteen major feast days

that required a processional visit to each of the convent's images.<sup>26</sup> Because of its proximity to the Lenten season, the Stoldi Baptism must have represented a particularly important image. Indeed, it was probably considered to be the first symbol of the approaching season. According to the three synoptic Gospels, Christ's Baptism was immediately followed by His self-imposed exile in the wilderness, where for forty days and nights he fasted and resisted the Devil's temptations.<sup>27</sup> These seven weeks were recognized by the Christian community as the season of Lent, a time when observant worshipers traditionally devoted their energies to piety, self-denial, and good works in commemoration of Christ's purgative experiences. The feast of the Baptism represented the the beginning of Lent, for it was this event which initiated Christ's forty-day fast in the desert.

The need for images representing specific liturgical ceremonies probably influenced the commission of Lorenzo Monaco's Agony in the Garden (fig. 36).<sup>28</sup> This painting refers to Christ's reflections in the Garden of Gethsemane and to his ensuing arrest and humiliation immediately thereafter. In the main compartment, Christ kneels in prayer before a chalice-bearing angel, contemplating Judas' inevitable betrayal and beseeching God for mercy. Peter, James and John lie asleep, unable to keep vigil during Christ's final hours. Mimicking his actions, a minute suppliant, probably the donor, genuflects in the lower left, while an even smaller lion lurks behind a tree in the

upper right.<sup>29</sup> Save for these figures, the desolate scene conveys Christ's isolation from his disciples and his final moments of solitude.

The first predella scene breaks this tranquil setting, as Judas leads a squad of Roman soldiers to his accused leader. With his kiss, Judas identifies Christ as their target. Peter, in an impetuous rage, slices off the ear of Malchus, the Jewish servant leading the guard, only to be rebuked by Christ's reprimand ("all who take the sword will perish by the sword": Matt. 26:52). In the next panel, Christ is stripped by his guards just before being nailed to the cross. His garment will soon be divided among a group of disrespectful soldiers, vying for His robes. Thus, the Agony in the Garden represented a poignant illustration of the events occurring on Maundy Thursday, the day immediately preceding the crucifixion on Good Friday.<sup>30</sup> While this powerful image could be venerated at any time during the year, its pictorial focus dictated special consideration during Holy Week, when Christ's suffering and victory received concentrated attention.

The pathos of Maundy Thursday was followed by the anguish of Good Friday, the day of Christ's Crucifixion. Like most Trecento religious institutions, S. Maria degli Angeli owned at least one image pertaining to this subject, and probably more. We have seen in Chapter Two that the Strozzi family funded the production of a Crucifixion for the Refectory in the late 1360s, and that the monks probably

owned a painted Crucifix somewhere in their church. Most monastic orders, including the Camaldolese, used the painted crucifix as a central part of their visual liturgy.<sup>31</sup> One of the most prolific painters of the crucifix image at the turn of the fifteenth century was, in fact, Don Lorenzo Monaco, who executed at least eight such icons during his career.<sup>32</sup> Although no documented evidence has been found in its support, it is highly probable that S. Maria degli Angeli owned a painted crucifix executed by Lorenzo Monaco, which would have been placed above the congregation near the church transept. Together, the Strozzi Crucifixion and a painted crucifix would have been constant reminders of Christ's sacrifice.

The Strozzi Crucifixion was probably painted by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini for the Refectory sometime in the mid-1380s (fig. 24).<sup>33</sup> The composition of the dossal is fairly traditional. A full-length image of the crucified Christ dominates the scene as four angels hover by his side, lamenting his death and catching the blood and water flowing from his wounds. The Virgin and Evangelist are seated on a shelf of rock below, quietly mourning the Savior's death. A now-obscured Pelican, plucking her breast and feeding her young with her own blood, sits in a nest atop the cross, while a human skull has been placed in a niche of the rocky base supporting the crucifix.

Iconographically, the Crucifixion contains a number of symbolic elements common in Trecento renderings of the

subject.<sup>34</sup> The first is the pelican placed at the picture's apex. Popularized in the twelfth century, the legend of the pelican was commonly interpreted as a symbol of Christ's death and Resurrection.<sup>35</sup> According to an ancient text, the Physiologus, the female pelican frequently showed affection for its young by returning its infants' adoring pecks with such fervor that her chicks often died. Overcome with grief, the mother mourned for three days, at which time she tore open her own side with her beak. Miraculously, the blood spurting from her wound fell on her young, bringing them back to life.<sup>36</sup> Understandably, the pelican soon came to be interpreted as an analogy both for Christ's blood sacrifice on the cross and for his triumph over death.<sup>37</sup>

The Eucharistic implications of the Crucifixion dominated the image's symbolic content. Monastic viewers were presented with signs pertaining to Christ's body and blood, implicitly referring to the sacrament of Communion. The very presence of his haggard body on the cross offered monks a visual symbol of the body offered by Christ to his disciples at the Last Supper. The blood caught in chalices by mourning angels only furthered this allusion, adding a Eucharistic component to the image. The location of this image in the monastic Refectory would have held great significance for the viewer for precisely this reason. Every day, as he ate his meal, the Camaldolese monk looked upon the picture and remembered the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Comparing these to the food and drink he was

consuming at that moment, the monk recalled the physical sacrifice made on his behalf by the Savior. The picture was both a powerful narrative image and a didactic picture to be meditated upon daily.

Furthermore, the placement of Mary and John on either side of Christ was carefully planned. Each figure was considered a symbol of the competing institutions of Christianity and Judaism. As we have seen, the Virgin was commonly associated with the Church, a symbol which had great importance in Crucifixion scenes.<sup>38</sup> Her vigil during his execution won her the privilege to be depicted at her son's right side, in the position of highest honor. John the Evangelist, on the other hand, was often associated with the Synagogue whenever he appeared in Crucifixion scenes alongside the Virgin.<sup>39</sup> Although commonly known as "the one whom Christ loved", John was associated with the Temple because of a single incident immediately following the Crucifixion. In his Gospel, John records how he and Peter were notified by Mary Magdalene of Christ's disappearance and sprinted to Joseph of Arimathea's tomb to see if Jesus' body was inside (John 20:1-10). John arrived at the site before Peter, but fearfully stepped aside to let his comrade enter first. The Church Fathers, especially Gregory the Great, considered the story an analogy of the Church's superiority over its uncertain predecessor, the Synagogue.<sup>40</sup> According to Gregory, the Temple stepped aside at a crucial moment, thus allowing the Church to take authority over

God's chosen people. With John seen as the symbol of the Synagogue, the Virgin's traditional role as symbol of the Church could be usefully employed in Crucifixion scenes. The placement of the Evangelist/Synagogue to the left of the Crucifixion was intentionally juxtaposed with the Virgin/Church on Christ's right. While the two mourning disciples referred to the historical account recorded in the Gospels, their positioning on either side of the cross also contained strongly didactic overtones.

In this sense, one of the most unusual pictures in the monastery's entire collection was the fourth altarpiece devoted to Christ's legend, Lorenzo Monaco's Man of Sorrows, which includes episodes and emblems of the Passion, the Arma Christi (fig. 35). This image was popular with Tuscan religious patrons during the Trecento, for it allowed painters to depict the complicated narrative of the Passion on a limited surface by including scattered symbols throughout the composition. Rather than designing five panels with easily readable renditions of the Betrayal of Judas, Peter's Denial, the Mocking of Christ, the Crucifixion, and the Deposition, a Florentine artist could condense each story into its essential elements and present them in a single abstracted composition. Whereas many images of the Man of Sorrows were limited to only three or four incidents preceding Christ's martyrdom, Lorenzo Monaco's picture refers to no less than twenty events occurring during the Passion, making it one of the most



comprehensive examples of this pictorial type for its time.

Although highly dramatic in its subject, the abstracted images and mystical interpretations of the Passion made the Man of Sorrows a rigidly didactic altarpiece. The composition is dominated by the image of the Dead Christ rising from his open sepulcher, wounds prominently displayed for the viewer. Mary and John, holding each arm, support his limp body. A chalice, standing at the foot of the sarcophagus, has been placed underneath a decorative pattern of grape vines, symbolizing the Eucharistic wine offered by Christ during the Last Supper ("Drink of it, all of you, for this is my blood of the covenant").<sup>41</sup> Behind Him rises the cross, topped by a sprouting branch (the arbor vitae) containing the familiar image of the bleeding pelican feeding her young. On either side of the nest are representations of the sun and moon, symbolizing both the eclipse which covered Jerusalem at the moment of Christ's death, and the comparative light of Christ's message as opposed to the darker alternatives which preceded his ministry. Below are references to Peter's Denial and the Kiss of Judas. A confluence of hands, separated from their bodies, appears beneath the horizontal beam of the cross, recalling moments from Pilate's distancing from the condemnation, Peter's attack of Malchus, the bribing of Judas, the beating of Christ, and the lottery for his garments. On either side of the composition stand the instruments of his crucifixion and death: the ladder, robe,

and pincers used for his Deposition are joined by the nails and Longinus' spear on the right. The column and scourges employed during his torture are coupled with the hammer, cock, and vinegar-sponge to the left. Indeed, nearly all of the major events leading up to, and including, the Resurrection are included in an abbreviated form, forcing the viewer to recognize and remember each event in the Passion legend. The abstracted image has been rendered in both a narrative and didactic manner, requiring the viewer to fill in whatever gaps have been left in the depiction.

Although placed out of chronological order, Lorenzo Monaco did not insert Passion symbols arbitrarily. As Marvin Eisenberg has demonstrated, the picture's elements were carefully organized to present a clear message to his viewer.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, this accounts for the central Eucharistic theme running down the picture's spine, as the pelican, crown of thorns, opened side-wound, grape-vines, and chalice form the panel's vertical axis.<sup>43</sup> The crucifix itself divides the composition into two distinct halves, with the emblems of the Passion placed on either side of the cross according to subtle guidelines. We have already noted John the Evangelist's unusual symbolic association with the Synagogue when paired with the Virgin Mary in Crucifixion scenes.<sup>44</sup> The symbols surrounding the Man of Sorrows would seem, then, to have been organized according to their respective relationships with Church and Temple, and to have been positioned thematically in relationship to each other.

The objects appearing on the left side of the panel--to Christ's right--were to be associated with Rome, the Church, and Christian faith. The references to Peter and Pilate coincided with the Roman motif, while the ladder, robe, and pincers alluded to the Descent from the Cross and Christ's ensuing Resurrection. The image of the sun, too, may be interpreted as a symbol of the Church's enlightenment and its victory over the darkness of ignorance, symbolized by the moon on the opposite side of the composition.

Just as the left half of the composition may have referred to Roman/Christian themes, the right side--to Christ's left--may have been devoted images addressing the perceived "evils" of the Synagogue. Judas' betrayal is twice represented on this side of the panel, as is Malchus's fateful encounter with Peter. The instruments of Christ's torture, carried out by Herod's men, are joined by the vertical sponge mockingly offered to Christ near the end of his life by a heckler. As with the Crucifixion panel, the Man of Sorrows tilts His head in the direction of Mary, symbol of the Church, perhaps in recognition of her superiority over her Judaic counterpart. Indeed, his hand wraps around her shoulder, drawing her nearer in acceptance. The division of symbolic elements in the Man of Sorrows, then, may have been based on theological theories pitting the Christian Church against the Synagogue.

Although the provenance of Lorenzo Monaco's Man of Sorrows is unknown, its iconographic content suggests that

the picture may have been prominently displayed somewhere within the monastic complex. Because of the dominating theme of Resurrection, the panel may have been a major part of the ceremony devoted to his triumph over death, celebrated on Easter Sunday. Of all the pictures and altarpieces revered on Easter Sunday, this panel would have received the greatest amount of attention by the monastic audience. This festival was of special importance for the monks, for it was one of the thirteen feast days which required a communal procession through the convent.<sup>45</sup> Upon completion of their journey through the conventual chapels, the monks returned to the choir of S. Michele, faced the high altar, and began reciting the liturgy for Easter Sunday. With the image of the Man of Sorrows burned in their memory, the monks would have had no trouble recalling the text associated with the holiest of all days in the Christian year.

Thus, the Marian and Christological program instituted in S. Maria degli Angeli during the latter half of the Trecento emphasized the roles played by the two most important characters in the New Testament. The monastery's imagery focused on the humanity and divinity of Jesus Christ and his Virgin mother by concentrating on specific narrative moments from their lives. Their corporeal existence, underscored by references to actual historical events, were combined with their immortal power in the afterlife, a theme based on theological dogma and legend. Although the program

seems to have satisfied a need to depict certain exemplary narrative moments from their lives, the monks wanted their images to contain didactic messages based on ideological concerns. These pictures were intended to compel the viewer to follow in Christ's footsteps. The altarpieces commissioned by the community, then, were designed to conform to this specific Marian/Christological program, a program constructed to appeal both to the monk's intellectual understanding of the Christian legend and to his emotional zeal for the Savior.

### 3. The Camaldolese Lineage

The monastery's altarpieces were not exclusively dedicated to Marian and Christological themes. Of equal importance were two subsidiary concepts directed at the Camaldolese audience in S. Maria degli Angeli. The first established a spiritual lineage linking the Camaldolese Order with instrumental figures from Biblical and early Christian history. Through an evocative interpretation of scriptural passages and ideological stances, important leaders of the faith were tied to Camaldolese forefathers and, by association, to individual members of the observant Order. The second theme focused on the values and significance of ascetic devotion, a characteristic common in the figures linked to Camaldolese tradition. Appearing in lateral and predella panels, these themes were attempts to

draw the monastic viewer into an empathetic relationship with his Christian predecessors. These two strains propagated myths and legends vital to the monastic institution, and provided spiritual legitimacy and historical continuity among the Order's members.

As Creighton Gilbert has recently demonstrated, monastic orders often strove to identify themselves with figures in the Judeo-Christian tradition.<sup>46</sup> In an age when mendicant houses could point to specific people as their saintly founders, many institutions sought to trace their roots to famous figures reputed to have been imbued with great powers handed down by God. The Carmelites, for example, emphasized their spiritual heritage by using the prophet Elijah as an historical predecessor. This depiction established a legacy of spiritual legitimacy extending back to the Old Testament.<sup>47</sup> Due in part to an ongoing competition with the Mendicants, who could claim Saints Francis and Dominic as their founders, the Carmelites designed artistic programs glorifying their own forefathers and adding the factor of historical legitimacy enjoyed by the Franciscans and Dominicans. Although the Camaldolese could also claim a modern saintly figure as their founder (Romuald), they, too, carefully traced their roots to the Old Testament via intermediary figures from the New Testament and contemporary history.

The most overt attempt to connect the Camaldolese Order with important historical figures may be seen in the program

for the three chapterhouse altarpieces installed in 1364-65. Saints Gregory and Job (flanking the Dini Madonna), John the Baptist and Benedict (in the Benini Presentation), and Romuald and John the Evangelist (on either side of the Ghiberti Trinity) were prominently displayed in order to extend the Camaldolese lineage from the New Testament and to the Old (figs. 7, 13, and 17). These six saints, when divided into two groups of three, represented the core of this lineage. The first group, comprised of Job, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist, represented Old and New Testament hermits, the prototypes for the Camaldolese eremitical sentiment. All three saints spent significant amounts of time in solitude, enduring incredible hardships through the strength of faith alone. Job, symbol of pre-Christian asceticism, was famed for his steadfast devotion to God while his family, flocks, and health were destroyed before his eyes. John the Baptist, born before Christ but witnessing his arrival on earth, was a transitional figure connecting the two Testaments. The Baptist earned an important place in Camaldolese eremitic lore due to his wanderings in the desert before his appearance as a prophet. His severe lifestyle, symbolized by his hair-shirt and unshod feet, raised to great heights the ideal of Christian mortification of the flesh, a fundamental feature of all observant movements. Finally, the depiction of the elderly Evangelist, representative of the New Testament, marked an important phase in Biblical asceticism. Late in life, John

was exiled to the island of Patmos, where he lived in total isolation for many years. John's Apocalyptic visions were revealed to him during this period, signifying for the Camaldolese the fruits reaped through solitary meditation, simplicity, and unwavering faith. These three Biblical figures, representing the Old Testament, New Testament, and the transitional stage between the two, provided the exempla for a Camaldolese community dedicated to the principles of ascetic eremitism and somber Christian observance.

The second group of saints was similarly connected. Benedict, Gregory, and Romuald, while famed for their commitment to monasticism, were all historical figures from the post-Biblical era. Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese Order, was an obvious choice for this lineage. Indeed, he was the direct link between the monastic viewer and all other figures depicted in the Chapterhouse images. As we have seen in Chapter One, his connection to Benedict had long been heralded. From the very beginning, Romuald had insisted that his followers incorporate the Benedictine Rule into their monastic rituals, thus linking the new order to an established sect. Gregory's association with Romuald, as we shall soon see, was based on his role as the chronicler of Saint Benedict and as the writer of a treatise dealing with the proper conduct for members of monastic institutions. As one of the most famous members of the Benedictine Order, Gregory was an intermediary figure linking Benedict to Romuald in Camaldolese lore. Thus,



these three figures were connected through their devotion to monasticism and their adherence to the Benedictine Rule.

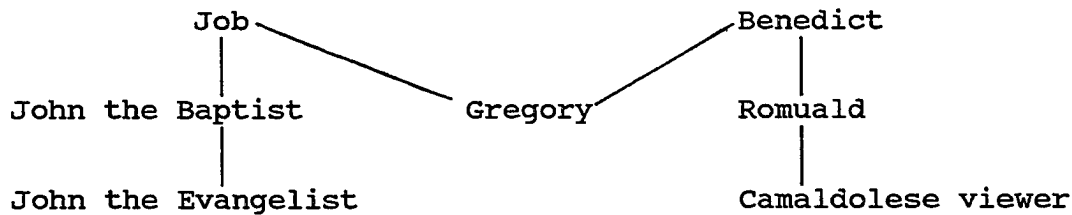
The two groups of three, while initially appearing to be isolated from one another, were, in fact, linked by a subtle reference inserted in the image of Gregory the Great. Gregory, while a staunch advocate of the monastic life and a fundamental figure in papal history, was probably best known for his theological writings. Two of his most important books--the Dialogi, containing the first literary treatment of Saint Benedict's life, and the Moralia in Job, a primer written specifically for the monastic reader--were dedicated to the subject of proper monastic behavior, and were owned by the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Gregory's text was the first recorded treatment of Saint Benedict's life, and remains one of the most complete hagiographic tales ever written. Job, meanwhile, was immortalized for monastic readers through the Moralia, a text which identified the Old Testament ascetic as the ideal servant of God, and as a model for all devout monks. Because of his writings on Benedict and Job, Gregory was viewed as a link between the Old Testament and Christian monasticism. Thus, the two groups of saints could be associated through the writings of one figure.

A number of pictorial motifs were used in the Dini triptych to associate Gregory with both Benedict and Job. The Pope is clad in white robes commonly used to denote a figure's participation in a Benedictine reform order. The

closed book under his left arm indicates his importance as a writer of holy texts, particularly those pertaining to the founder of the movement whose habit Gregory wears, and to the text which appears in the book held by Job on the other side of the altarpiece. This latter figure, crowned with a pill-box hat, stands opposite Gregory holding a book in which is inscribed the first verse from the Book of Job, VIR ERAT IN TERRA HUS NOMINE JOB ET ERAT ILL.<sup>49</sup> This was also the first verse discussed in the body of Gregory's Moralia. A monk in S. Maria degli Angeli would have immediately recognized the connection between this phrase and Gregory's writings. In 1363, barely two years before the completion of the Dini triptych, the monastery had installed behind its high altar the large altarpiece containing iconic images of the four Church Doctors, each of whom was depicted holding an open book containing important passages of their writings (fig. 6). Whereas the verses in texts held by Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine referred to their Biblical translations and interpretations, Gregory's text stated, VIR ERAT IN TERRA HUS NOMINE JOB. The fact that this was the same phrase as that displayed in Job's book in the Dini altarpiece could not have been lost on the Camaldolese viewer. This passage linked Gregory to Job as his spiritual relative and thus connected the Benedictine Pope to the Old Testament ascetic.

Gregory's connection with Job provided the direct link between the three Camaldolese/Benedictine patriarchs and

their Biblical ancestors. Monastic affiliations linked Romuald and Gregory with their spiritual predecessor, Saint Benedict. These three were, in turn, associated with Job through Gregory's Moralia in Job, which connected the great Pope with the prototypical Old Testament ascetic. The figures of the Baptist and the Evangelist, furthermore, were linked to Job just as Romuald and Gregory were associated to Benedict, for they were both descendants of the pre-Christian ascetic. Seen diagrammatically, then, Saint Gregory was affiliated with both groups through his Dialogi and the Moralia in Job, serving as the intermediary:



The pairing of Gregory and Job in the same devotional image was extremely unusual for the period, and demonstrates the unique theological bent of the Camaldolese Order. Only one other image connecting the two figures has survived, a fresco located in the chapel of S. Gregorio in the Benedictine monastery of the Sacro Speco in Subiaco, the site of Saint Benedict's early hermitage.<sup>50</sup> The thirteenth-century picture depicts an enthroned Gregory, labeled by an inscription and accompanied by a bird perched

on his shoulder, towering over a reclining, sore-infested Job (fig. 49). The text of Gregory's book contains the same phrase found in S. Maria degli Angeli's two Gregory/Job images--VIR ERAT IN TERRA HUS NOMINE JOB. The ascetic ideal inherent in Job's legendary struggle is glorified in the fresco, as Gregory, the great papal and monastic supporter, lauds the strength of the Old Testament hero. This exaltation of unwavering faith was particularly appropriate both for the Sacro Speco and for S. Maria degli Angeli, two hermitages where pious asceticism was considered a crucial facet of daily life. The appearance of the Sacro Speco fresco in the Benedictine hermitage may have influenced the Florentine convent to underscore this spiritual alliance in the Dini triptych. The Camaldolese were indebted to Benedict's legacy as the founder of western monasticism, and heralded him as one of their forefathers. By following the theological connection between Job and Gregory highlighted in an image appearing in the mother hermitage of the Sacro Speco, the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli may have been announcing their exemplification of Benedict's original dedication to the eremitic life.

Both as prototypical ascetics and as the spiritual founders of the Camaldolese Order, the figures depicted in the Chapterhouse triptychs had an essential symbolic importance for the specialized audience in S. Maria degli Angeli. By associating himself with Romuald, Benedict, and Gregory, the monk could also identify with Job's trials, the

Baptist's wilderness years, and John the Evangelist's exile on the island of Patmos. Each monk was the descendant of these great patriarchs. Reaching back to the Old Testament and continuing through the eleventh century, these figures represented all of the eremitic qualities vital for any member of the community at S. Maria degli Angeli.

#### 4. Heroic Ascetics

Whereas the side panels of the chapterhouse altarpieces reflected the monastery's attempt to present an historical lineage associating important Biblical and Christian figures with the Camaldolese viewer, the smaller predella panels were used to illustrate episodes from the lives of these ascetics that depicted the virtues valued by the monastic viewer. The predella panels were devoted to narrative moments from the lives of three illustrious ascetics (Job, John the Baptist, and Romuald) from three distinct periods of Judeo-Christian history (Old Testament, New Testament, and post-biblical). Despite physical abuse and psychological torment, each of these prominent ascetics exhibited an unflinching personal faith that exemplified the Camaldolese ethic. These figures were exempla for every hermit in the convent, guiding and instructing the pious monk in his private spiritual struggles. Because monks entered the chapterhouse on a daily basis, viewers were constantly confronted with messages reminding them of their

vows, their purpose in the monastery, and the behavior expected of them by their peers and superiors.

The imagery was especially important for the community's youngest members. The chapterhouse was used for the induction of novices into the monastic profession.<sup>51</sup> As they prepared to take minor orders, aspiring monks were led through the chapels in the capitolo to see visual representations of the principles they were expected to embrace. The stories and homilies presented in the chapterhouse altarpieces were used for pedagogical purposes, teaching novices that they would soon enter into a grand tradition begun long before the birth of Christ. The benefits of eremitism were revealed to the convent's inductees, and their spiritual affinities with these legendary ascetics were firmly established. Above all, these images presented a visual affirmation of Camaldolese ideology, and taught young monks valuable lessons about the demands that were about to be made on them. Chapterhouse images were used to propagate legends and dogmas affirming the monks' legitimacy as servants of God, and must have been impressive for novices.

The story of Job, recorded in the Dini predella, is the most vivid of all the pictures devoted to suffering ascetics. Three panels were devoted to his story, which recounts Job's inspiring legend in abbreviated form. In the first scene, located beneath the image of Saint Gregory, Job is seen enduring his children's unwarranted deaths, the

first of many tests put to him by God (fig. 19). Although surrounded by falling bodies, Job holds firm to his conviction in the righteousness of the Lord. Unimpressed by Job's display of faith, God increases the stakes by inciting rustlers to steal all of Job's flocks, an event depicted in the middle panel (fig. 20). As he is informed of the catastrophe, the old man laments his loss by tearing his garment in grief, a gesture suggesting both intense sadness and rage. But still, Job perseveres. The third scene shows the final episode of Job's tribulations (fig. 21). In spite of his personal and financial sacrifices, a reclining Job defends his God before three doubting associates, who marvel at his unyielding faith despite his afflictions. Neither the ruthless actions of an apparently heartless God nor the seemingly rational arguments of friends can shake Job's devotion.

Although the Job legend concludes prematurely in the predella, the enlightened monk knew how the tale ended. After listening to his affirmation of faith before the three acquaintances, God rewarded Job with twice the riches he had lost. Money, sheep, camels, and ten offspring filled his home, and Job was able to spend the rest of his 140 years in complete comfort and spiritual happiness. The sequence taught the eremitically inclined viewer an important lesson. The hermit needed to prepare himself for the hardships to come, for they would be numerous and frequent and painful. Regardless of these personal struggles, continued faith and

undying devotion to God the Father were imperative if the individual expected to reap his ultimate reward.

The Trinity altarpiece dedicated to Saint Romuald continued the theme of holy asceticism in its predella, but from a more contemporary standpoint. Romuald had lived around the turn of the first millennium, when increased piety and severe self-denial were popular due to the perceived potential for apocalyptic destruction.<sup>52</sup> As with the pictures devoted to Job's legend, the Trinity predella of Saint Romuald focused on the benefits to be reaped from humility, piety, and commitment to Christ. In the first panel, Romuald kneels before an altar in a private chapel. Before him stands an apparition of Saint Apollinaris, who celebrates the mass before the young mystic (fig. 14). As every Camaldolese monk knew, this was the vision that spurred Romuald to seek a solitary life during which he could practice uninterrupted devotion to Christ.<sup>53</sup> True to the legend, the next panel continues the story (fig. 15). The first half relates the story of Romuald's formative years as a hermit, when he was repeatedly disciplined by the reclusive Marinus for his infractions. Like Job before him, the nimbed Romuald accepted his punishment quietly, anticipating the rewards to be won through stoic perseverance. The panel then shows Romuald on his own, suffering the inner battles of temptation. The Devil, who repeatedly offered the hermit worldly goods and material possessions (ironically, the very rewards given to Job by



God), is fended off by Romuald's steadfast faith. Again, the monastic viewer was only too familiar with Romuald's legendary tenacity, and knew that the Devil's temptations were no match for the Camaldolese founder.

The third predella panel illustrates Romuald's dream, the vision that led directly to the foundation of the Camaldolese Order (fig. 16). Romuald, asleep at the foot of an altar (placed in the mountainous setting of Camaldoli), envisions a ladder dropped from the heavens and surmounted by white-clad monks devoted to the observant worship of Christ.<sup>54</sup> This was the most important part of Romuald's legend, for his dream spawned the very Order to which the viewer in S. Maria degli Angeli belonged. Indeed, the monk knew the rest of the story from memory, even though it was omitted from the predella pictures. After waking from his dream, Romuald collected money from a Tuscan nobleman and established the hermitage in Camaldoli. Romuald's piety, acceptance of physical abuse, and strength in the face of satanic temptations allowed him to succeed in the eyes of God, just as Job's unwavering faith had brought good fortune to him and his sacred family. The Trinity predella taught the monk to endure the trials of Christian piety, acknowledged that he, too, would battle the demons of temptation, and demonstrated how private meditation and monastic devotion could lead to spiritual triumph. Just as Job was rewarded for his steadfastness, so too did Romuald flourish after spurning the devil and continuing his chaste

crusade for a pious monastic order.<sup>55</sup>

Bridging the gap between Job and Romuald was John the Baptist, the one Biblical figure who straddled both Old and New Testaments, and who embodied the ideals inherent in ascetics from each period. The scenes included in the Presentation predella were devoted strictly to events recorded in the Bible. The first panel illustrates the Annunciation to Zacharias, who was informed by an Angel of Elizabeth's pregnancy and of his own role in the infant's christening (fig. 9). The second panel depicts the Baptist's birth, with Elizabeth lying in her bed with attendants by her side (fig. 10). Next comes the moment of John's naming, with Elizabeth holding her new-born son before a seated Zacharia, who scratches the name IOHANNES on a tablet (fig. 11). The final predella panel passes to the Baptist's martyrdom, completely ignoring his adult years as a hermit and prophet. Here, the Dance of Salome is graphically depicted, with the presentation of John's severed head reminding the viewer of King Herod's order of execution (fig. 12). Whereas the Dini and Ghiberti predella's concentrated on ascetic behavior, the Benini scenes explicitly omitted John's reclusive past.

The predella did not address John's ascetic years in the wild for two reasons. First, Giovanni del Biondo's Presentation was commissioned for the Benini chapel, dedicated to John the Baptist. Bindo Benini, we might recall, specified that the chapel and altarpiece receive

special veneration on the Feast of the Baptist, celebrated on June 24, the anniversary of the Saint's birth. Because the triptych's central compartment was devoted to the Presentation, the predella panels appear to have been reserved for the lengthy illustration of the events surrounding John's arrival. As we shall soon see, the liturgy for June 24 dictated that the altarpiece contain as many references to the legend of the Baptist's conception, birth, and christening as possible. The scene of John's decapitation was probably included for strictly traditional purposes. Most altarpieces dedicated to martyred saints included depictions of execution as a visual means of reaffirming his or her commitment to Christ. This was especially true in monastic imagery, for the monk was instructed to consider himself a living martyr, rejecting the worldly pleasures of the flesh in favor of the simpler--and more ascetic--rituals of the cloister. For liturgical and traditional reasons, the Benini predella focused on the Baptist's birth and death, rather than on his legendary adolescence as a hermit.

The second reason for the omission of John's ascetic youth in the predella sequence is that a significant reference to the Saint's solitude had already been made in the lateral panels of the main register (fig. 8). The story of the Baptist's extended seclusion in the desert was symbolized by the hair shirt in which the standing figure was represented. This garment was a common way of alluding

to John's ascetic lifestyle and his habit of constant self-denial. The uncomfortable camel-hair shirt reflected his severe asceticism and total commitment to the mortification of the flesh. Although the Baptist was here clothed in the garb of a Knight of the Hospitallers (see Chapter Two), the coarse attire traditionally associated with him was prominently displayed underneath the cloak. Therefore, the Baptist's ascetic upbringing was not illustrated in the predella because it had been alluded to in the more didactic, iconic image in the side panel. In an effort to avoid redundancy, the smaller narrative scenes addressed different issues which, nonetheless, were of particular interest to viewers on the feast day of June 24.

The Camaldolese ascetic aesthetic, then, was a prominent feature of the chapterhouse altarpieces. While predella panels illustrated qualities which made hermit saints exemplary, the images contained in side panels established a lineage of important figures who collectively embodied the ideals established in the predella scenes. Job was linked to John the Baptist, who was in turn tied to John the Evangelist. Gregory was connected to Job and Benedict by his patristic writings, and Romuald was tied to Gregory because of his reliance on the Benedictine Rule. Most important, of course, was the final inclusion of the contemporary viewer, who was encouraged to see himself as the next link in the spiritual chain. The pious monk, devoted to emulating the lives led by the figures painted in

the Chapterhouse triptychs, could see himself as a descendant of some of the greatest Christian heroes.

### **Altarpieces and Liturgy: The Function of Images**

As has been demonstrated, the altarpieces in S. Maria degli Angeli were an integral part of the convent's observance of liturgical rituals. Pictorial messages and themes appealed to the suppliant's intellect and emotions, and influenced his perception of the chants repeated in the church choir. These images worked together with recorded texts and their accompanying miniatures to impart the central message of the liturgy. Whether the day's services were devoted to a Saint's martyrdom or to an event from the life of Christ, words and images collaborated in presenting the monk with a focused interpretation of their religious significance. While written verses provided him with phrases describing each ceremony, pictures offered him visual images upon which he could meditate while pondering the ritual's implications. As the monk sang liturgical passages, he thought of the altarpieces installed in the monastic complex which pertained to the words he was reciting, comparing and contrasting the ideas presented in each medium.

Monks were completely familiar with the contents of every image in their convent. As we have seen in Chapter Two, S. Maria degli Angeli's altarpieces were usually

located in small burial chapels scattered throughout the convent and funded by wealthy secular benefactors intimately affiliated with the monastic community. According to donors' bequests, the monks were obligated to send at least one of their members into a space at specified intervals in order to offer commemorative prayers for the benefactor's soul. These prayers usually included a Mass for the Dead, a text that interceded for a favorable reception of the deceased's spirit when his or her soul reached the Heavenly Kingdom. The Mass itself was a standardized ritual, performed with only a few variations limited to the insertion of the deceased's name at appropriate moments. Individual monks were selected to recite this office by the prior, an honor rooted in the Benedictine Rule.<sup>56</sup> In order to provide some diversity, the prior often rotated this responsibility among the brethren, sending different monks to each chapel for various lengths of time. As a result, each member of the cloister prayed before every altar in an official capacity at some point during the liturgical year. Thus, new members could memorize the details of every image used in S. Maria degli Angeli within a very short period.

Whereas Masses for the Dead were usually recited by solitary monks in virtually empty private chapels, most of the important worship services were conducted in the choir of the conventual church. Here the community gathered to worship as an ensemble, with extensive chants performed--mostly from memory--by the entire monastic

congregation.<sup>57</sup> Almost every day, special liturgies were chanted which honored important figures or events from Christian legend. These passages were unique to each festival and were unlike any others recited throughout the year. During the early morning Hours of Vigils and Lauds, one monk sang opening phrases pertaining specifically to that feast day. The remainder of the congregation continued these antiphons.

As we have noted, books containing the written liturgy were big enough to be seen from afar, and as the ceremony progressed each monk could follow the music, words, and images in the antiphonary. Corale 2, the Proprium Sancto-rale (written in 1370 and painted shortly thereafter), was filled with texts and images used during the monastery's most important ceremonies. The book was placed on a lectern in the choir, facing the congregation, and opened to the folio containing the specific liturgy for that festival. Alongside the text, a painted picture was often included to illustrate the subject of the ceremony. In a vast majority of cases, the miniature's appearance was identical to a larger image painted on an altarpiece located elsewhere in the convent (see Chart I). When monks saw the manuscript illumination from their distant perch in the choir, they would have been instantly reminded of larger images elsewhere in the monastic complex. Because of their frequent, even regular, supplication before the convent's pictures, monks surely would have had no trouble recalling the exact

appearance of every image housed in their environment. Cued by painted miniatures, monks concentrated on their memorized perceptions of the altarpiece's details, remembering and reconstructing the image's form. As antiphons were recited in the church choir, monks probably meditated upon the corresponding altarpiece installed in the distant chapel, etched into their memory after long and habitual sessions in front of that object.

An example of the interaction between miniatures and altarpieces may be found in the images used during the Feast of the Virgin's Purification. This celebration, like most major festivals, was performed in the church choir, rather than in the isolated Benini chapel which housed the altarpiece dedicated to this event. As the priest processed toward the high altar, the choir book containing the Feast of the Purification was opened to the Introit and placed on the lectern where the entire congregation, waiting in the choir, could see it as he approached. There, decorating the folio, was a miniature devoted to the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 50), a direct reference to the Benini altarpiece. Many of the miniature's formal features duplicated those included in the panel, ranging from the poses, gestures, and actions of the Holy Couple to the pointed hat worn by the Mohel. This similarity was clearly intentional. While the miniature's composition and general form were large enough to be identified by the entire community, its details were too small to be seen from any



great distance. By recognizing the scene, however, each viewer could immediately connect the image in Corale 2 with the larger, more descriptive altarpiece in the Benini chapel. The recollection of this picture, in turn, stayed in the monk's mind as he recited the liturgy for the Feast of the Purification, thus providing him with an extensive image of meditation upon which to dwell. The convent's manuscript illuminations worked as intermediaries with larger altarpieces to connect liturgical passages recited in the church choir with painted images standing elsewhere in the convent.

The extent to which these images matched their liturgical sources varied with each picture. Some paintings illustrated a festival's text almost verbatim, with a number of passages carefully represented in the altarpiece's composition. Others were used to complete a story that had only been partially described in the liturgy, supplementing the written text by adding ideas or concepts omitted in the antiphonal verses.<sup>58</sup> In either case, the painted image was directly related to the liturgical text in a significant way, either complementing or supplementing the phrases recited during worship services.

The Benini Presentation in the Temple is an excellent example of an altarpiece that supplemented the liturgical verses from which it had been derived (fig. 7). As we have seen, the central compartment of the triptych was devoted to the celebration of Christ's Presentation, which, along with

the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, was observed on February 2.<sup>59</sup> All of the characters participating in the Presentation are here represented, and the action taking place is clearly that of the circumcision. The Holy Family, Simeon, Anna, the Mohel, and the Hebrew witnesses are all characters from the Gospel of Luke, while the setting and flame underscore the event's significance as Christ's first blood sacrifice. The painted image, however, in no way refers to the Purification of the Virgin, the second festival celebrated on February 2. Instead, the moment of the Presentation in the Temple is given total prominence.

The narrative and liturgical thrust of the Benini picture, however, appears to have been balanced by the heavy emphasis placed on the Purification of the Virgin in the written liturgy.<sup>60</sup> The festival's text begins with the opening verse of Luke's rendition of the Presentation: "when the parents brought in the child Jesus, he [Simeon] took him up in his arms and blessed God, saying, 'Now let thy servant go in peace'".<sup>61</sup> This phrase was repeated three times, focusing the monk's meditations on the Presentation, which were no doubt influenced by the image appearing in the Benini altarpiece. The liturgy, however, quickly shifted to accentuate the importance of the second event honored on that day, the Virgin's Purification. Her role in rearing the Messiah in the Judaic tradition was highly praised (POSTQUAM INPLETISTI DIES PURGATIONIS MARIE SECUNDUM LEGEM MOYSI TULERUNT IHM IN IERUSALEM UT SISTERENT EUM DOMINO), as

was the miracle of Christ's conception (VIDETE MIRACULUM MATRIS DOMINI CONCEPTI VIRGO VIRILIS IGNARA CONSORTI ISTAT ONERATA NOBILI ONERE MARIA), and Mary's permanent condition of virginity (VIRGO CONCEPIT ET VIRGO PEPERIT ET POST PARTUM VIRGO PERMANSIT). After repeating the initial phrases devoted to the Presentation, the congregation sang,

GABRIELEM ARCHANGELUM CREDIMUS DIVINITUS TE ESSE  
 AFFATUM UTERUM TUUM DE SPIRITU SANCTO CREDIMUS  
 IMPREGNATUM ERUBESCAT VIDENS IN FELIX QUE DICIT  
 XPM ET IOSEPH SEMINE ESSE NATUM.<sup>62</sup>

Whereas the pictorial content of the Benini altarpiece dealt almost exclusively with the Presentation and its Eucharistic analogies, the text was devoted to the Virgin's Purification and the miracles of her life. By devoting visual attention to one aspect of the feast and verbal attention to the other, both events could be honored with equal intensity, albeit through different media. Thus, the triptych was an integral part of the liturgical ceremony, imparting its own messages independent of, but related to, the words sung by worshiping monks.

The Ghiberti Trinity is another example of an image used as a semi-independent liturgical text (fig. 13). The triptych's subject matter appears to have referred to two closely related feast days, Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi, which were celebrated within four days of one another. Indeed, the altarpiece was probably used as the

visual medium for each celebration, a suggestion supported by the liturgies recited during both festivals. The unification of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as a singular deity, as depicted in the triptych's central panel, was the object of intense veneration on Trinity Sunday. The emphasis on the three-in-one was underscored by the verses, GLORIA TIBI TRINITATIS EQUALIS UNA DEITAS ET ANTE OMNIA SEcula ET NUNC ET IN PERPETUUM.<sup>63</sup> The entire liturgy for the festival repeated this particular theme, with practically no deviation from the singular adulation of the Trinity. There were none of the references in the written liturgy to the physical suffering of Christ so vividly displayed in the Trinity altarpiece. Only the Holy trio, represented at the top of the image, were considered by the suppliant on this feast day.

Monks concentrated on the more graphic aspects of the triptych four days later. On Corpus Domini, numerous references were made to the offering of Christ's body and blood, along with occasional reminders of the importance of the recently celebrated festival of Trinity Sunday. The liturgy for Corpus Domini required monks to pay homage to Christ's sacrifice, for early in the service of Vigils they sang:

SACERDOS IN ETERNUM XPISTUS DOMINUS SECUNDUM  
ORDINEM MELCHISEDECH PANEM ET VINUM OBTULIT . . .  
CALICEM SALUTARIS ACCIPIAM ET SACRIFICABO HOSTIAM  
LAUDIS . . . VENITE COMMEDITE PANEM MEUM ET BIBITE

VINUM QUID MISCUI VOBIS. GLORIA PATRIA ET FILIO  
ET SPIRITUI SANCTO.<sup>64</sup>

These Eucharistic references appeared repeatedly, alluding not only to the wine held in the holy chalice and the bread broken by Christ at the Last Supper, but to his physical suffering on the cross. Later in the ceremony, the monks sang, DIXERUNT VIRI TABERNACULI MEI QUOS DET DE CARNIBUS EIUS UT SATUREMUR. QUI MANDUCAT MEAM CARNEM ET BIBIT MEUM SANGUINEM IN ME MANET ET EGO IN EO, calling upon the suppliant to accept, both literally and figuratively, the Savior's body and blood that was represented in the altarpiece they had venerated just a few days before, on Trinity Sunday.<sup>65</sup> The words GLORIA PATRIA ET FILIO ET SPIRITUI SANCTO directed his attention back to the triptych. Whereas the three-in-one aspect of the altarpiece had been emphasized on Trinity Sunday, the body of Christ was now being honored on Corpus Domini. Thus, the monk used the Trinity triptych for both feasts, and sang verses on each day which referred to different components of the same image.

In addition to the triptych's allusions to specific festivals, however, the image also conveyed an important message which could have been contemplated by monks on a daily basis. The depiction of God the Father seated behind His crucified Son represented the general theme of the Gnadenstuhl, the Throne of Mercy. The Gnadenstuhl

emphasized God's delicate care for the martyred Messiah, and reminded the worshiper that it is from His Throne where ultimate benevolence is to be bestowed. This image extended a promise of salvation to all who came before it, for it implied that the same tenderness and mercy shown toward Christ would be extended to all those who chose to accept him as their savior.<sup>66</sup> Regardless of the day or the time of year, supplicants worshiping before this image in S. Maria degli Angeli could meditate on the promise of redemption, and be comforted in the knowledge that a merciful God would await their arrival in Heaven. Although the altarpiece worked in tandem with written liturgies calling for celebrations of the Trinity and Corpus Domini, the image also functioned independently as a devotional image. The triptych contained its own "text" to be considered in addition to the antiphonal messages sung during the two feast days it illustrated.

In the cases of images used for specific festivals, some altarpieces barely corresponded to the written liturgy. Indeed, some images included scenes completely omitted in musical texts. These divergences were intentionally designed, for each medium was created to supplement the other by filling gaps left by its counterpart. This seems to have occurred frequently in predella panels, where scenes were designed according to their narrative sequence rather than to their appearance in the liturgy. The rendering of Romuald's legend beneath the central image of the Trinity

clearly demonstrates the distinction between picture and textual source. The liturgy recorded for Saint Romuald's day (June 19) only vaguely alludes to images appearing in the predella of the Trinity. The phrases sung by monks briefly mentioned Romuald's adolescence in Ravenna, his rigid application of the observant regimen, and his creation of the order of hermits, all general themes which did not refer to the images included the Trinity predella.<sup>67</sup>

Neither Romuald's Vision of Saint Apollinaris, his punishment at the hands of his master, nor his dream of the white monks' ascent into heaven were described in the liturgical text. While the written liturgy discussed Romuald's commitment to the basic tenets of the Benedictine Rule and his dedication to eremitic observance, the predella images supplemented the text with pictures illustrating specific moments from his life which visually confirmed the verbal analysis. Words and images combined to form a comprehensive treatment of the saint's life, work, and theology, something that neither would have been able to accomplish alone.

Similarly, the predella in the Dini Madonna, dedicated to Saint Job, combined with the written liturgy to create a complete picture of the figure's importance (figs. 19 - 21). The Dini chapel, and the predella images contained in the altarpiece, received the greatest amount of attention on the first Sunday in September, the feast day of Saint Job.<sup>68</sup> The liturgy was a lengthy description of the ascetic's

sacrifices, sadness, and strength. Verses from the Book of Job, however, were not prominently emphasized. Only the phrase from Job 1:22, "In all this Job did not sin or charge God with wrong", was included.<sup>69</sup> This verse was repeated four times, underscoring the value of the lesson for the Camaldolese community. The individual monk was expected to internalize Job's message, and was encouraged to feel his pain and suffering and perseverance. Whereas the liturgies for other feast days were written from the vantage point of an outside observer describing a story, much of the text for Saint Job's festival was written in the first person. Rather than describe Job's trials from an objective position, such as "His skin was diseased upon him and his bones hardened", the Camaldolese hermit instead sang, "My skin was diseased upon me and my bones hardened".<sup>70</sup> In this way, the supplicant did not merely sympathize with Job but actually empathized with him, sharing in his pain and emulating his spiritual victory. The images in the Dini predella panels heightened these dramatic moments and furthered the monk's commitment to the ascetic ideal by inviting him to commiserate with the Biblical hero.

The final example of an altarpiece created to supplement a written text is Lorenzo Monaco's Agony in the Garden (fig. 36). Although each Evangelist describes the tales of the Agony, Betrayal, and Stripping of Christ, Lorenzo's panel is based specifically on the text appearing in the Gospel of Luke.<sup>71</sup> It is only in this account that



Christ is joined by an angel from heaven, who accepts a chalice filled with Christ's blood, sweat, and tears. Luke's treatment is also the only place where the story of the Stripping of Christ is found ("And Jesus said, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do'. And they cast lots to divide His garments." Luke 23:34.). For the Observant monks in S. Maria degli Angeli, these were important images representing Christ's sacrifice, and were probably revered throughout the year, regardless of proximity to Maundy Thursday.<sup>72</sup> As previously noted, however, Lorenzo's Agony in the Garden clearly received its greatest adoration during Holy Week, the period represented in the altarpiece's main panel.

As Marvin Eisenberg has demonstrated, a number of the Agony's visual elements were related specifically to liturgical passages recited during services on Maundy Thursday.<sup>73</sup> Much of the liturgy was comprised of verses from the Psalms (Psalms 4, 50, 74, 75, 90, and 133). Interwoven with these selections were passages from each of the four Gospels, thus forming a combination of Old and New Testament phrases dealing with God's promise of salvation to mankind.<sup>74</sup> Early in the liturgy, the monk sang a highly personal plea which repeated the prayer offered by Christ on the Mount of Olives: "Rescue me, O my God, from the hand of the wicked, and from the grasp of the unjust and cruel man".<sup>75</sup> The next sentences, however, retreated from this personal cry in order to give a descriptive account of

Christ's last night in the Garden of Gethsemane. Culled from the Books of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, these verses record his petition for God to take the burden of the chalice from his hands and to send him to his fate.<sup>76</sup> The combination of Evangelical narrative and Old Testament proclamations of individual faith made the liturgy both a highly personalized and an intensely dogmatic text. While the monk was reciting Christ's sufferings in Gethsemane, he was also reaffirming his own faith in God and his allegiance to the adherence of the Observant movement. The monk internalized Christ's dramatic surrender on the Mount of Olives, and put himself in Christ's place both literally and figuratively.<sup>77</sup>

In the case of the Agony in the Garden, word and image do not overlap one another. Each instrument supplements the other to form a complete visual and verbal rendition of the event honored on Palm Sunday. Although Christ's vigil in Gethsemane is included in the text, the monks did not sing of the three disciples asleep near the kneeling Christ, nor was mention made of the chalice accepted by the angel hovering overhead. While Judas' betrayal and Peter's impulsive attack on Malchus are clearly illustrated in the predella, the written liturgy offers no description of the famous kiss, the wounding of the slave, or anything remotely related to the Stripping of Christ. The picture was designed to work as an independent rendition of these events, presenting a broader depiction of the moments of

Christ's last full day on Earth than that recorded in the liturgy. A symbiotic relationship between the verbal and the visual allowed supplicants to benefit from the messages presented in both formats.

Altarpieces and their pictorial contents, then, were intended to be seen during private worship services in isolated burial chapels, and then memorized for meditational use during communal services in the church choir. In addition to their function as supplements to written texts, these pictures may have also been used to help monks in their recitation of specific liturgies. Although it is difficult to prove, there is a strong possibility that the details of altarpieces may have been used as mnemonic devices to help monks recite their lengthy antiphonal verses. As we have seen in Chapter One, written texts were often complex in content and unpredictable in organization, with saints' narratives recorded out of chronological order and ideas intertwined throughout the text. If S. Maria degli Angeli was at all similar to other Trecento monastic institutions, it probably employed a number of visual devices to aid readers in the memorization and recollection of these intricate materials.

Mnemnotechnics had long been propagated by western thinkers. Medieval writers, borrowing heavily from ancient sources, encouraged their readers to practice the art of artificial memory by picturing imaginary building designs or visual images to help them recall complicated texts. The

author of the Ad Herennium (believed to have been Cicero) had suggested that readers divide the details of their subject into categories and then place each category in different rooms of an imagined architectural structure for easy retrieval. When one needed to remember a particular part of a long text, he or she was instructed to enter into the room corresponding to the category in which that section fell and to collect the required data.

During the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas appropriated the concepts described in the Ad Herennium, as well as those in Aristotle's De memoria et reminiscencia, for their own studies, thus creating a late medieval version of the art of memory.<sup>78</sup> These texts expounded upon the importance of a sharp memory, particularly for the recollection of complex and lengthy concepts. Aristotle had claimed that sight, which he considered the highest of the human senses, was a vital instrument in the proper storing of intricate intellectual ideas.<sup>79</sup> The use of visual keys, whether they be colors, decorated initials, or entire figures, was recommended to cue readers to the structure of succeeding textual phrases. As a result, visual images were often used as mnemonic devices in medieval manuscripts, with painted miniatures accompanying complicated written texts in order to help worshipers remember narrative sequences of Biblical verses.<sup>80</sup>

Given the voluminous liturgical phrases recited

annually by the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli, it should come as no surprise that the Camaldolese community showed great interest in mnemonic devices. Indeed, the monastic library contained a number of books written by early proponents of the art of memory.<sup>81</sup> Keeping the admonitions of Albertus, Aquinas, and the Ad Herennium in mind, the monastic community appears to have implemented their suggestions in an effort to memorize as much liturgical material as possible for quick retrieval and recitation. Almost every folio in S. Maria degli Angeli's antiphonaries was adorned with differently colored initials, designed to help readers memorize each line and to cue them to the contents of ensuing verses. Similarly, miniature paintings of venerated figures provided the readers with a visual reference to the entire liturgy, as well as to the larger representations of that figure in an altarpiece located in a nearby space.

Because images frequently corresponded with liturgical texts to some degree, the recollection of a painted altarpiece during the celebration of a particular festival may have been used to help monks proceed through the lengthy verses sung in the church choir. In addition to imagining a building which contained verses of the liturgy in separate rooms, a technique which may have been used in conjunction with their regular processions through each of the monastery's chapels, the monks may have used their memory of the convent's painted images as mnemonic devices whenever

difficult texts had to be recalled.<sup>82</sup> When performing the intricate liturgical services sung on Romuald's feast day, for example, the monk might have begun the ritual by concentrating on the memory of the full-length image of the Saint in the nearby Ghiberti altarpiece (fig. 13). The figure's facial or physical features, along with other objects painted in the image, may have been used to remind the viewer of specific textual passages recorded in the liturgy. Similarly, a full-length, iconic representation of Saint Benedict, like that in the Benini Presentation, might have been used to refresh the monk's recollection of the text sung on March 21. The imaginative monk used his memory of images appearing in nearby chapel decorations to recall specific liturgies recited during private meditations and performed in communal celebrations in the monastic church.

The altarpieces installed in S. Maria degli Angeli functioned as liturgical instruments independent of written texts used daily by the monastic community. These images contained themes, narrative elements, and doctrinal messages which were often excluded from the antiphonal chants performed communally in the church choir. Pictures supplemented words, and often delivered emphasis to certain issues while expanding upon ideas only partially addressed in the verses. Together with painted miniatures, altarpieces were almost undoubtedly used for meditational purposes, aiding monks in their devotions and perhaps providing them with visual mnemonic devices to help them

recollect and recite their intricate liturgical phrases. Without the presence of clearly articulated images used to match corresponding written passages, the thrust of many major feast days would have been weakened significantly.

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At its most general level, S. Maria degli Angeli's visual program emphasized the powerful figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Every altarpiece contained, in one form or another, a reference to the Virgin Mary, a scene from the life of Christ, or a combination of the two. By the end of the fourteenth century, the convent's program illustrated many crucial Biblical events, with the historical evolution of Christ's life, ministry, and sacrifice depicted in a series of liturgical pictures.

The artistic program's second level of thematic content focused on the values and traditions revered by the Camaldolese order. This aspect was an important facet of any visual ensemble housed in a religious institution, since monastic viewers were often implored to identify with Christ's Passion on an intimate level. An image connecting the Savior and his followers to a particular monastic order provided supplicants with a personal link by which they could develop an empathetic rapport with Christ. Many of the objects located in S. Maria degli Angeli contained images designed to help the monk identify with Christian scenes or legendary martyrs. This was often achieved by

painting heroic Biblical or saintly figures wearing the white robes of the Camaldolese Order. Yet, this was not the only way to tie the community to these exemplary individuals. Camaldolese doctrines essential to proper devotional practices, such as severe asceticism or rigorous adherence to the Benedictine tradition, were commonly referred to in these pictures. Whereas the first goal of the program was to emphasize general Christian issues, the second was to underscore concepts of profound relevance to the specialized Camaldolese audience.

The third objective was to associate each altarpiece with liturgical texts used in S. Maria degli Angeli. Monastic viewers rarely contemplated an image without performing some kind of ritual. These rites usually included genuflection and the saying of the mass. The visual messages presented in painted altarpieces were often represented in a way that combined them with physical and verbal acts performed before the consecrated altar. Phrases chanted by the monastic congregation interacted with images in various ways and with distinctive results. Some pictures accurately illustrated the liturgy from which they had been inspired. Others were specifically designed to depict scenes or represent concepts that had been intentionally omitted from the written texts used during worship services. As a result, an altarpiece could either duplicate or supplement the liturgy, depending on the extent of an antiphon's verbal descriptions and the subjects depicted in it. In either case, whether



the picture repeated a written text or was considered to be an extension of it, each image was a fundamental part of the rituals performed in S. Maria degli Angeli.

The altarpieces in S. Maria degli Angeli, then, aided in the smooth performance of rituals practiced in the church choir. A single painted image enriched the entire religious ritual, adding multiple layers of meaning to events only partially mentioned in the convent's antiphonaries. Aside from the text itself, the altarpiece was probably the most important tool used by the monk during the performance of worship services in S. Maria degli Angeli.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

(1) The population of S. Maria degli Angeli reached its height late in the century, when the cloisters held roughly sixty members. By comparison, the Dominican convent of S. Maria Novella contained at least 140 brethren as early as 1365. See Julian Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella", Art History 2 (1979), 107.

(2) For a richly informative discussion of Dominican artistic policies and the hierarchy established to oversee construction projects, see Joanna Cannon, "Dominican Patronage", Ph.D. dissertation (Courtauld Institute, 1980), 119-120.

(3) At different times during the century, this council would probably have included Don Filippo Nelli, Don Domenico Cenni, Don Giovanni Partucci, Don Michele Ghiberti, Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Jacopo dei Franceschi, and Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi.

(4) The requests of donors usually revolved around the feast days they wished to have commemorated in their chapels. This tradition naturally required the inclusion of an image pertaining to the selected festival somewhere in the altarpiece housed in the burial chapel. In every case, these specific images were relegated to side or predella panels, leaving the subject matter of the central panels to the

desires of the monastic community.

This chapter focuses on monastic concerns rather than donor requests, largely because the literature on secular commissions is vast when compared to that on institutional patronage.

(5) The language found in entries concerning the funding of chapels and images consistently omits any indication that lay patrons were responsible for the hiring of artists for the production of altarpieces. Instead, donors gave the monks one lump sum with instructions that the brethren were to spend the money as they saw fit. For the ascetic Trecento worshipper, the issue of art patronage seems to have been of little importance. They were more concerned with possessing an adequate burial space than with patronizing popular or influential artists. As a result, the monks were expected to make such decisions themselves. For an example of the laissez faire attitude taken by secular patrons, see A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17 (Appendix D, Document 23).

Although Trecento and early Quattrocento lay donors were often ambivalent about the proficiency of their local painters, institutional patrons appear to have been greatly concerned about the physical appearance of their pictures. As Michael Baxandall has shown, religious commissioners were careful to specify the amount of lapis lazuli contained in those sections to be painted blue, especially the Virgin's

mantle. While talent and reputation were certainly important issues for the Florentine client, the intense interest in forms and techniques commonly associated with the Renaissance appeared later in the fifteenth century, with the rise of the Medici family in local politics and patronage. See Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford, 1972), 1-27.

(6) See Cannon, 120.

(7) Gregorio Farulli, Istoria cronologica del nobile et antico monastero degli Angeli (Lucca, 1710), 3.

(8) Ibid.

(9) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 15v. See Appendix D, Document 14.

(10) Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century, trans. Dora Nussey (New York, 1972), 179.

(11) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 110. See Appendix D, Document 77. Part of the entry states:

Item uno altro brivilegio del detto pontifice detto di fatto e dato per lo quale da per donanza overo indilgenzia C di e una quarantina a tutti i monaci conversi e commessi di questo monasterio presenti e futuri i quali li visiterano tutti gli altari della nostra

chiesa divotamente essendo veremente pentuti e confessi  
ogni anno pergardo in Dio per lo buono perspero e  
felice stato di tutti i cristiani e del sommo pastore  
questi di del anno, cioe:

Nativitas		Conceptio	
Veneris SCI	Yhu	Nativitas	Verginis
Resuretio	XPI	Anuntiatio	Marie
Pentecostes		Assuntio	

Nativitas Sci Ihis Batiste

Apparitio Sci Michael

Dedicatio Huius Eccle

Sci Benedicti

Sci Leonardi

(12) The inclusion of Saint Leonard in this group implies that the convent received the indulgence after the installation of the Aldobrandini altar to S. Lionardo in 1392.

(13) The presence of capitular chapels was highly unusual for the period, for the capitolo was not considered to be a place of worship or meditation. Rather, it was reserved for the community's administrative needs. The brethren would congregate here, discussing issues pertinent to the monastery and debating various proposals presented to the group. Elections of house officers were conducted in the chapter-house, as were all internal affairs. Financial issues were discussed here, with prospective donations and real estate

agreements presented to the community for approval. Elder members of the cloister frequently disciplined younger monks for their spiritual transgressions. Novices performed perfunctory tasks before their seniors, and, when ready, were formally accepted into the order in the confines of the chapterhouse. Whereas the monastery contained a number of sacred spaces designed for spiritual exercises, the capitolo was a structure set aside specifically for bureaucratic function.

For an extensive discussion of the Trecento Florentine chapterhouse, see Gardner, 107-138, especially 110ff.

(14) Dorothy Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple", Art Bulletin 28 (1946), 17. Condemned by Paul, this ritual was later replaced in the Christian tradition by the act of Baptism, another cleansing ceremony. For discussions of the Presentation, see Gertrude Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art I, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1966), 88; and Henk van Os, Sienese Altarpieces I (Groningen, 1984) 82-85.

(15) Ibid., 90.

(16) Compositionally, Giovanni del Biondo borrowed heavily from his Sienese predecessor, Ambrogio Lorenzetti. In 1342 Ambrogio had executed an altarpiece for the Siena Cathedral devoted to the Presentation. As with Giovanni's picture, the scene is located in a temple, within which stand the main characters named in the scriptures. Mary, Joseph, the

mohel, Simeon, Christ, and Anna surround the burning altar, as the rabbi prepares to sacrifice the turtledoves. A small group of bystanders lurk behind Anna on the right, watching the proceedings in silence. Ambrogio's rendition is a more detailed account of Luke's text than is Giovanni's, which abbreviates the format by excluding Ambrogio's handmaidens and extra witnesses, and by shortening the inscription on Anna's scroll. More important, however, is Giovanni's placement of Christ directly above the doves and sacrificial flames, a compositional decision underscoring the themes of crucifixion and the Eucharist. As Henk van Os has noted, this may be due to the fact that Ambrogio has depicted a different moment in the story than has Giovanni: The Sienese artist has painted the scene immediately following Joseph's offering of the turtledoves, whereas the Florentine painter has concentrated on the moment immediately preceding the donation; see van Os, 83-85.

(17) For a discussion of medieval theological arguments supporting the Virgin's assumption, see Philippe Verdier, Le couronnement de la Vierge (Montreal, 1980), 9-16.

(18) The legend of the Coronation can be traced back to the sixth century, although it was not officially recognized as a Roman holiday until the late seventh century. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral (New York, 1964), 57. Jacobus de Voragine popularized the miracle of the Virgin's Dormition and Assumption in the

thirteenth century, and wrote many of the hymns used during liturgical ceremonies on August 15. See Engelbert Kirschbaum, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie II (Rome, 1970), 673.

(19) The four images were Agnolo Gaddi's Enthroned Madonna (Berlin, Bode Museum), Mariotto di Nardo's Enthroned Madonna (Tosina, S. Margherita), and the Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese's Enthroned Madonna (Florence, Accademia).

(20) The Enthroned Madonna was the most frequently repeated subject represented in the convent's artistic program. During the late 1380s, both the Nobili and Filicaia families installed polyptychs devoted to this theme behind the altars of their respective chapels (figs. 28 and 32). Later, the Peruzzi chapel was redecorated with a picture similarly dedicated to the Enthroned Madonna and Child (fig. 3). Although each altarpiece was painted by a different artist, the iconographic similarities among the three images are pronounced. Each picture presents the Virgin seated upon a pinnacled throne, brightly ornamented with either elaborate drapery or the suggestion of marbling. Mary sits in the seat of honor holding her son on her left thigh. Christ is clothed not in the diaphanous veil so often found covering his bare torso, but rather in opaque, luxurious robes suggestive of a young prince. Although only the Filicaia picture conveys a human relationship between mother and child through the couple's eye contact, all three Madonnas



hold, touch, and even caress the infant in their laps. Furthermore, each of the altarpieces has two large, flanking side panels containing representations of four full-length saints, with their miracles and martyrdoms presented in the predella below. Compositionally, the three pictures are all variations on the theme presented in the Enthroned Madonna installed in the Dini chapel in 1365.

(21) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 17. See Appendix D, Document 23.

(22) The scriptures speak of an angry God testing His chosen people, and attempting to purge the earth of its villains and vices. Many of the trials suffered by His chosen tribe were wrought through the power of water, a substance imbued with the power to eradicate evil and cleanse the soul. The great Flood, destroying an entire population save for Noah and his seven associates, was one such example. Moses' parting of the Red Sea, with the resultant annihilation of Pharaoh's chariots, was also seen as an Old Testament analogy comparable to Christ's Baptism. See Schiller, 127-132.

(23) Ibid., 128-129.

(24) Whereas Luke mentions Christ's Debate with the Elders in the Temple during His adolescence before describing the Baptism, Matthew's text abruptly advances from Christ's return to Nazareth as an infant to His adult relationship with John the Baptist. See Luke 2:41-52, Luke 3:1-23,

Matthew 2:19-23 and Matthew 3:1-11.

(25) The imagery of the Baptism and the wording of the Stoldi donation indicate that the altarpiece was particularly revered on a number of different days: the feasts of John's birth and death (24 June and 29 August), the festival for Peter and Paul (29 June), the celebration of the Conversion of Paul (25 January), and the honoring of Peter's throne, the Cathedra Sci Petri (22 February). The dates for these festivals appear in Corale 2, in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.

(26) This day was selected as the appropriate festival for symbolic reasons. The Baptism was interpreted to have been one of three initial revelations of Christ's divinity. The first was the Adoration of the Infant by Gentile Kings on the Epiphany. The second was the Baptism, when the clouds opened and a voice from Heaven proclaimed Christ's prominence among men. The third was the Wedding at Cana, when the miracle of turning water into wine further revealed the divinity of the Messiah. See Male, 180-181.

(27) The most detailed description of the Temptation is Matthew 3:1-11.

(28) This painting is a unique depiction of the scene. As Eisenberg has observed, it is the oldest surviving panel picture devoted to the event. While the Agony was reproduced with some frequency in Italian fresco paintings during

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it had never been the focal theme of an altarpiece. See Marvin Eisenberg, "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco", in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 278.

(29) The patrons of this picture could well have been Bernardo Ardinghelli, and Antonio and Agnolo da Uzzano. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 55v and 56 (Appendix D, Document 49). Their participation in the funding of the Agony has been discussed in Chapter Two.

(30) For an extensive interpretation of the Agony in the Garden, which emphasizes the relationship of the picture to the events of Holy Week, see Eisenberg, 1984, 275-286.

(31) The famed fresco of Saint Francis Preparing the Crib in the Upper Basilica of San Francesco at Assisi illustrates the position held by the crucifix in Italian gothic churches. For an example of the crucifix's placement in a Netherlandish setting, see Rogier van der Weyden's Eucharist painting in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, in Antwerp.

(32) For a discussion of Lorenzo Monaco's crucifix paintings and a brief history of the evolution of the cut-out crucifix, see Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 30-32 and 125-128.

(33) The Crucifixion has been attributed both to Gerini and to Jacopo di Cione. For a history of attributions, see Miklós Boskovits, La pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del rinascimento (Florence, 1975), 323.

(34) For an exhaustive study of Italian crucifixes, see Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, La croce dipinta italiana (Verona, 1929). Schiller (88-158) also gives a detailed analysis of various representations of the Crucifixion. See especially "The Italian Painted Cross ('Croce Dipinta') from the Twelfth Century to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century" and "The Late Medieval Narrative Crucifixion Image with Many Figures", pages 149-158.

(35) Ibid., 136-137.

(36) In addition to Schiller, see Mâle, 42.

(37) For other examples of this motif in Trecento Florentine painting, see Pacino di Bonaguida's Arbor Vitae in the Accademia, Florence and Taddeo Gaddi's fresco of the same subject in the Refectory of S. Croce. These images are discussed and illustrated in Andrew Ladis, Taddeo Gaddi (Columbia, 1982), 171-182, pl. 23, and fig. 41.

(38) See Mâle, 191.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) For an eloquent analysis of the liturgical, iconographic, and formal aspects of the Man of Sorrows, see Eisenberg, 1989, 14-17.

(42) Ibid., 14-17.

(43) Ibid., 14.

(44) See M<sup>A</sup>le, 190-193.

(45) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 110v. See Appendix D, Document 77.

(46) "Some Special Images for Carmelites", in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, 1990), 161-207.

(47) Ibid., 162-165.

(48) Salvatore Frigerio, Ambrogio Traversari: un monaco e un monastero nell'umanesimo fiorentino (Camaldoli, 1988), 112.

(49) "There was a man in the land of Hus, and this man was named Job", Job 1:1.

(50) The fact that Gregory was venerated with a chapel in this central Benedictine monastery further underscores the connection between the Order and the Saint.

(51) Entries in the monastic registers note that novices

were welcomed into the community after a ceremony held "in capitollo". See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 41v (Appendix D, Document 2); and Eisenberg, 1989, 209 (Document 1B).

(52) As the year 1000 drew near, many believed the prophecies in Revelation were about to unfold, destroying all of mankind. In an effort to save themselves before the Last Judgment, many turned to a pious lifestyle to receive redemption. In addition to entering monastic institutions, living the lives of observants, and attempting to abstain from all sinful practices, many chose to give money to religious institutions in an attempt to win salvation through good works. This was especially true in Florence, as one of the most important periods of secular donations for the founding of monastic houses occurred between 978 and 1008. With the approach of the first millennium, the Church and its pious institutions greatly benefited from this pervasive fear of the end of the world. See Marvin Becker, Medieval Italy: Constraints and Creativity (Bloomington, 1981), 37.

(53) This is very close to the legendary origins of Saint Benedict, who, as a youth, watched in disbelief as a mirror was restored to its original condition after being dropped by a clumsy nursemaid. After witnessing this miracle, Benedict left his guardian and struck out to begin an eremitic existence in the Umbrian wilderness. See Saint Grego-

ry the Great, The Dialogues, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (New York, 1959), 56-57.

(54) Compositionally, the middle and right predella panels of the Ghiberti triptych mimic those of the Dini altarpiece. In both central pictures, a rock formation divides the scene into two sections, the first devoted to each ascetic's trials and the second to his relationship with his enemies. In the panels to the right, both Job and Romuald are seen reclining on the right side of the picture, with three associates grouped to the left. In this manner, the symbolic comparison of the two has been emphasized pictorially. Romuald is Job's descendant, both spiritually and physically.

(55) Saint Romuald's appearance in the Ghiberti triptych's side and predella panels encouraged monastic supplicants to consider their Camaldolese forefather's physical and spiritual struggles simultaneously. Whereas the crucial moments of his saintly life were clearly presented in the narrative predella, Romuald's spiritual and philosophical foci were reserved for treatment in the side panel. The iconic figure stands to the right of the Holy Trinity, gazing intently on the images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Just as the predella panels below are devoted to his visions of Saint Apollinaris, demons, and the ladder to heaven, this full-length depiction represents Romuald in the throes of yet another mystical apparition. As he faces toward the altar-

piece's main compartment, the image of the Holy Trinity appears before his eyes, with the crucified Christ commanding central attention. We are witnessing Romuald's apparition, as he "sees" and contemplates the implications of the crucifixion. The message to the monastic viewer was clear. Concentrated meditation led to mystical visions, which in turn could bring the Camaldolese worshiper to the same spiritual level as his exalted role model.

A similar mystical interpretation of the monastic viewer's relationship with the crucifixion may be seen in Fra Angelico's frescoes in San Marco. In numerous scenes, Saints Dominic and Peter Martyr are anachronistically inserted in an effort to remind the viewer of their devotion. These images contain the same references to mystical associations with Christ as does the Ghiberti triptych. For an analysis of Fra Angelico's depiction of Dominican visions, see William Hood, "St. Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell Frescoes at S. Marco", Art Bulletin LXVIII (1986), 195-206.

(56) The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, 1980), 368-369.

(57) Various monastic rules, including the Benedictine, specified that monks should memorize crucial texts completely. See Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory (Cambridge, 1990), 46 and 88.

(58) For an important discussion of the use of miniatures as



supplemental images, see Michael Camille, "The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination", Word & Image I (1985), 138-143.

(59) For a description of the celebration and its depiction in the history of Christian art, see Schiller, 90; and Shorr, 17ff.

(60) Indeed, the text was labeled, "IN PURIFICATIONE SCI MARIE VG." See Corale 17, folio 105; Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.

(61) The liturgy recited is: CUM INDUCERENT PUERUM IHESUM PARENTES EIUS ACCEPTI EUM SYMEON IN ULNAS SUAS ET BENEDIXIT DEUM DICENS NUNC DIMICTIS SERVIAM TUUM IN PACE.

(62) "Archangel Gabriel believed your divinity was sufficient. I believe the Holy Spirit impregnated your humble womb. Christ said to see the fertile, and he was begotten from Joseph."?

(63) This liturgy is recorded in Corale 1, Biblioteca Laurenziana, folio 140.

(64) "Sacred in Eternity, Christ, bring the bread and wine toward me, according to the order of Melchisedech. . . . Accept the chalic of salvation and praise the sacrificial host. . . . Come eat my bread and drink the wine that I mix for you. Glory in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." This text has been excerpted from folios 1-3 in

Corale 8, in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.

(65) "Men said of my tabernacle that his body was satisfied. He who eats my body and drinks by blood remains in me, and I in you."

(66) The Gnadenstuhl image was usually signified by a figure of an enthroned God the Father presenting Christ as an offering of redemption. This type of representation was frequently employed during the Medieval and Renaissance periods, particularly in Northern Europe. The Trinity became increasingly popular in Italian painting during the latter half of the fourteenth century. For a brief list of Gnadenstuhl images, see Engelbert Kireschbaum, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie I (Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Vienna; 1968), 535-536. For a discussion of Italian Trinity pictures, see Ursula Schlegel, "Observations on Masaccio's Trinity Fresco in S. Maria Novella", Art Bulletin 45 (1963), 25 (note 44).

(67) See Corale 8, folios 72-98. Part of the liturgy proceeds as follows: CUM OMNI DESIDERIO GESTABAT IN CORDE VIRTUTIBUS ET MANDATIS DOMINICIS OBEDIRE. MENSITA QUE EIUS CELITUS INSPIRATA IAM DIVINABITUR IN AMORE QUID IMPLETURUS ERAT POST MODUM OPERE. AB IPSO PUERITIE SUE FLORETOTUS CEPIT ESSE DOMINICUS TOTUS DEI. VIGILIAS VERO TEMPERATE ET CUM MAGNA DISCRETIONE FACIENDAS MAXIME SUA DEBAT. . . .

VIR VITE VENERABILIS MAGIS ELEGIT VITAM MONASTICAM

DUCERE BEATISSIMUS ROMUALDUO QUAM IN TUMULTIBUS SECULI  
MANERE. . . .

MOXSE AD HEREMI DESIDERIUM ACCENDEBAT. . . .

HIIS ITA QUE LOCO CEDENTIBUS CONSTRUCTIS CELLULIS ILLIC  
HABITARE CUM SUIS DISCIPULUS VIR VENERABIL' CEPIT. REGEBAT  
ERGO MONACHOS SB' DISTRICTA REGULE DISCIPLINA NEQUE ALICUI  
DICLINARE IMPUNE LICEBAT. . . .

HONESTUS AUTEM TUNC RAVENNA ARCHIEPISCO PALEM CATHEDRAM  
OBTINEBAT. HUNC ROMUALDUS SANCTISSIMUS IN PIGER ADIIT EI  
QUE OMNE SUI CORDIS DESIDERIUM PATESECIT.

(68) The Dini household was very specific about the manner in which their burial space was to be used. According to the testament of Monna Lisa Dini, Tellino's wife, the caputular chapel was to be visited everyday by at least one of the convent's brethren, who was required to say an office of the dead to commemorate the donor's family. Two ceremonies, furthermore, were to be observed in the chapel to honor the souls of Lisa and Tellino, along with a special celebration to be performed on the feast day of Saint Job, the first Sunday in September. On this day, the storia of the Old Testament ascetic was recited in the chapel, with four (rather than the traditional two) candles burning by the altar. Part of the bequest states, "Prima che sempre ogni dì si celebri una messa all'altare della capella di Sco Giob la quale fece fare il detto Tellino . . . Anchora che il dì della festa di Sco Giob la quale facciamo la prima domenica di Settembre. Quando si mette la storia del Giob si faccia

sempre ognanno alla detta capella solenne festa e dicavisi la messa con IIII cerotti accesi e fare a frati una piatanza in rifectorio. " (First, that every day a mass is said at the altar of the chapel of Saint Job, made by the above-named Tellino . . . Also that we will celebrate the feast day of Saint Job on the first Sunday in September. When we recite the story of Job, we will always tell it in the above-said chapel with a solemn feast, and we will say the mass with four burning candles and do penance before the brethren in the refectory). See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 126v-127, Appendix D, Document 78.

(69) "IN OMNIBUS HIS NON PECCAVIT JOB LABIIS SUIS NEQUE STULTUM ALIQUID CONTRA DEUM LOCUTUS EST". The celebration for Saint Job's day is located in Corale 5, folios 2-19v (folio 1 has been detached).

(70) "CUTIS MEA DENIGRATA EST SUPER ME ET OSSA MEA ARVERUNT".

(71) See Eisenberg, 1984, 288 (note 21).

(72) Ibid., 286.

(73) These passages referred to the monk's faith in God to protect his people while they sleep. Psalm 4 states, "I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety", whereas Psalm 90 asserts

that, "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust. . . . Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day". For the Camaldolese recitation of these Psalms, see Eisenberg, 1984, 280ff.

(74) S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgy for Holy Week is recorded in Corale 12, with the services for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday appearing on folios 70v-133.

(75) The text states, "DEUS MEUS ERIPE ME LE MANU PECCATORIS ET DE MANU CONTRA LEGEM AGENTIS ET INIQUI." Corale 12, folio 71v.

(76) These phrases state, "IN MONTE OLIVE TIORA VIT AD PATREM PATER SI FIERI POTESIT TRANSEAT A ME CALIXISTE. SPIRITUS QUE DEM PROMPTUS EST CARO AUTEM IN FIRMA FIAT VOLUNTAS TUA. VIGILATE ET ORATE UT NON INTRETIS IN TEMPTATIONEM. TRISTIS EST ANIMA MEA USQUE AD MORTEM SUSTINETE HIC ET VIGILATE ME CUM NUNC VIDEBITIS TURBAM QUO CIRCUMDABIT ME."

(77) This may explain the appearance of the bare-headed suppliant in the lower left corner of Lorenzo's altarpiece, depicted in a pose aping that struck by Christ in the center of the composition. As he knelt before the Agony during his private meditations, the worshipper was more than just a follower of Christ: for a brief moment, he actually became an extension of Him, experiencing the same pain and frustra-

tion and compassion for those around him. See Eisenberg, 1989, 11.

(78) See Francis Yates, The Art of Memory (Chicago, 1966), 54, 61, 70-71, and 77; Suzanne Lewis, "The English Gothic Illuminated Apocalypse, lectio divina, and the Art of Memory", Word & Image 7 (1991), 15 (and notes 52-54); see also Camille, 138, and Carruthers, 1-79.

(79) See Camille, 138.

(80) See Lewis, 13-16 and passim. Lay readers were encouraged to recall concepts and basic narrative structures through these images. They were not, however, obligated to memorize specific verses and texts, as were their monastic counterparts.

(81) The convent owned a number of copies of Thomas' Summa, as well as texts by Albertus Magnus and Aristotle. These books, along with Martianus Capella's Ad Herennium, are listed in a 1729 inventory of the monastery's holdings. A similar inventory from 1513, in which the Ad Herennium is omitted, seems to be incomplete, for a number of texts known to have been owned by S. Maria degli Angeli by that time are not included. While there is no documented proof that any of these texts were housed in the convent during the late fourteenth century, the fundamental truths perceived to be included in these books suggest that they may well have been available in the conventual library. Albertus, Aquinas,

Aristotle, and the author of the Ad Herennium (believed to have been Tullius) were considered among the most important writers in all of human history, and were probably coveted by a monastic community supporting a scriptorium which was dedicated to the production of theological and liturgical texts. For a reproduction of the inventory of books in S. Maria degli Angeli, see Serenella Baldelli Cherubini, "I manoscritti della biblioteca fiorentina di S. Maria degli Angeli attraverso i suoi inventari", La Bibliofilia 74 (1972), 9-47.

(82) For a thorough discussion of the use of imagined or remembered pictures as mnemonic devices, see Carruthers, 229-242.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN BY LORENZO MONACO: PATRONAGE, PRODUCTION AND FUNCTION OF A LATE GOTHIC ALTARPIECE

The installation in 1413 of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 51) was the culmination of the artistic program at S. Maria degli Angeli. Placed behind the high altar of the monastic church, this enormous polyptych incorporated many themes found in the convent's other liturgical pictures, while addressing issues omitted by earlier painters and patrons. Because the high altarpiece was the focal point of all religious services, some of which were celebrated in the presence of a secular congregation, the picture needed to present messages relevant to both the ascetic Camaldolese suppliant and to the less rigid Florentine layman. General ideas understood by the non-monastic viewer were interspersed with more intricate themes aimed at the cloistered monk. The main subject, the Coronation of the Virgin, represented a simple theological principle that could be venerated on a daily basis by any lay worshiper. At the same time, the picture was filled with liturgical symbols which could have been understood only by the cloistered members of the community. The high altarpiece functioned as an essential element of the Camaldolese worship service, presenting ideas and images central to the theological position of the Order.

The following study of the Coronation of the Virgin treats the altarpiece as a case study of the procedures followed for the funding and execution of a late Gothic painting. More than any other picture commissioned by or for S. Maria degli Angeli, the Coronation reflects the intricate and interconnected problems of patronage, production and practice in the making of a Trecento monastic altarpiece. On some levels, the picture's history is a familiar one: a secular donor gave money to the convent for an altarpiece; the monastery sought a painter to execute the commission; and the composition was designed to accommodate a portion of the community's liturgy. What distinguishes this story from its predecessors is the intensity of these issues. As we shall see, the lay benefactor was not the person scholars have traditionally thought him to be, his motives were not nearly as pious as we might like to think, and his station in life was much more humble than the size and scope of the altarpiece might lead us to believe. Furthermore, the altarpiece was not designed or composed by one man or workshop, but was instead created by the inventive minds of the monks residing in S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister. Finally, the iconographic and liturgical messages presented in the massive polyptych pertained not to two or three feast days, as did most of the monastery's other altarpieces, but instead represented at least twenty-five important liturgical ceremonies and a number of Lenten Sundays. This picture magnifies all the complexities

surrounding a late Gothic image almost to the point of distortion. Certainly not all of the altarpieces commissioned for the convent's use were as extravagant or intricate as this one, but each of them contained at least a few of the components that comprised the commissioning and execution of the Coronation of the Virgin. This case study, then, is intended to illustrate the multiple ingredients and countless considerations which went into the production of a late medieval altarpiece.

Like many of the other altarpieces in S. Maria degli Angeli, a lengthy inscription was included along the Coronation's base which defines the basic circumstances of the its production.<sup>1</sup> In addition to identifying the painter of the altarpiece and the date of completion, the inscription mentions the name of the secular donor, the altarpiece's location in the monastery, and one of the reasons for the commission. The inscription states:

HEC TABULA FACTA EST PRO ANIMA ZENOBII CECCHI  
FRASCHE ET SUO[RUM] IN RECOMPENSATIONE[M] UNIUS  
ALTERI[US] TABULE PER EUM IN HOC TEMPLO POSITA EST  
PER OPERAM LAURENTII JOH[AN]IS E[T] SUO[RUM]  
MONACI HUI[US] ORDINIS QUI EAM DEPINXIT AN[N]O  
D[OMI]NI M.CCCC.XIII. ME[N]SE FEBR[UAR] T[EM]PORE  
DO[MI]NI MAT[T]HI PRIORIS H[UIUS] MONASTER[I].

This picture was made for the soul of Zanobi di Ceccho Frasca and his family in compensation for another altarpiece that was placed in this church by him. The work is by Lorenzo di Giovanni, a monk of this order, and his [\_\_\_\_: associates?]. He painted it in the year of our Lord 1413, in the month of February, during the time of Matthew's priorship of this monastery.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription notes that Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca, a fairly anonymous member of Florentine society, contributed funds to S. Maria degli Angeli for the production of an altarpiece commissioned sometime during the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> This initial work had either been lost, damaged, or discarded, precipitating the need for a replacement to commemorate the donor's gift. Given the date inscribed on the Coronation, this second altarpiece was probably commissioned sometime around 1411, at roughly the same time that construction was begun on the Alberti chapel in the East Cloister.<sup>4</sup> After years of work, Lorenzo's polyptych was installed behind the high altar, replacing the original picture given to the monastery decades before by Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca.<sup>5</sup>

Although the inscription provides us with more information than do any of the others appended to altarpieces located in S. Maria degli Angeli, it has also raised more questions than it has answered. Until now, literally nothing has been known about the picture's secular

donor, the reasons for his patronage, or his connections with the monastery. While Lorenzo Monaco's partnership with "his associates" is clearly implied, we do not know the extent to which he employed his former brethren in the altarpiece's execution. Similarly, the picture's elaborate design is not accounted for, although the reference to the picture as an image commemorating the della Frasca family and the mention of Don Matteo as the conventual prior indicate that the altarpiece must have contained specific liturgical considerations both for the secular donor and for the monastic community.

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the impetus to bequeath money to religious institutions was often inspired by social or political aspirations. Laymen and women frequently gave their money, their property, and even their children to S. Maria degli Angeli to demonstrate their commitment to communal or familial alliances. Chapels and altarpieces were produced to fulfill agendas not limited to spiritual concepts, as were the cases with those structures built by members of the Albizzi faction after the riots of 1378. The concern for social and political prestige remained steady during the fifteenth century. As we shall see, these considerations may well have been instrumental in the della Frasca commission of the Coronation of the Virgin.

Iconographically, the high altarpiece's imagery indicates the care taken by the monks to conform with a pre-existing artistic program, established and sustained in

the monastery since the days of the Black Death. The picture's Camaldolese focus reflects the desire of the community to install an image which corresponded to the other pictures executed for their house during the second half of the fourteenth century. As we have seen, altarpieces and manuscript illuminations were used to present theological ideas and to help monastic supplicants in their pursuit of spiritual excellence. These images allowed monks to concentrate their attention on objects which related directly to specific religious feast days and ceremonies. The Coronation of the Virgin, as the monastery's high altarpiece, appears to have been designed to address more than just a few liturgical themes. Instead, the image referred to multiple feasts and theological concepts crucial to the community, making the Coronation the most important painting in the convent.

Finally, the history of the Coronation's commission and production illustrates the monks' dependence upon a reliable secular artist for the proper execution of an intricate liturgical object. Lorenzo Monaco, the former Camaldolese monk and a frequent contributor to the community's collection of liturgical imagery, was once again asked to aid the convent in its moment of need. The monastic community capitalized on its relationship with its illustrious associate, Don Lorenzo, who was firmly established in a trade which catered to institutions seeking liturgical objects of grandeur. Using today's nomenclature,

this commission resulted from the highly specialized "network" established between the monastery and Lorenzo Monaco, with each party relying upon personal, political and spiritual interests to cement a business relationship. As I will attempt to demonstrate, Lorenzo and his former associates in the monastic scriptorium collaborated on the picture's design to such a significant degree that the artist was inspired to commemorate their participation in the altarpiece's inscription.

In this chapter, we will consider all the events and implications surrounding the commission of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin. The circumstances dictating its execution will be examined, from the perspectives of both Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca and of the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli. We will see why the family wished to commission a replacement picture for the commemoration of their household, why the convent desired a new high altarpiece for its church, how the monks participated in the painting's design and production, and how the object's specific pictorial elements related to the monastery's liturgical practices and spiritual concerns. Whereas previous studies of the Coronation of the Virgin have been devoted mainly to the picture's formal qualities, this analysis will concentrate on the contextual significance of the most important liturgical object made for, and used in, S. Maria degli Angeli.

**S. Maria degli Angeli, circa 1413**

The Coronation's installation occurred in the midst of a transitional period in the history of the convent. The second decade of the fifteenth century marked the final era of S. Maria degli Angeli's links with the late Gothic tradition. Only a few monks had seen the riots of 1378, for the majority of the brethren had entered the cloister following the oligarchical restoration of 1382. The monastery's eldest member, Don Matteo di Guido, had been elected prior in 1401 and, by the time of the installation of the altarpiece, was perhaps the only monk in the cloister who could remember the terrible effects of the Black Death.<sup>6</sup> Under his guidance, the monastic scriptorium completed the last of its antiphonaries, exactly forty years after the massive project had been initiated.<sup>7</sup> Don Matteo's experiences as a member of the convent during its fundamental period of development were reflected in his community's theological and philosophical attitudes. S. Maria degli Angeli's monks were staunchly conservative in their devotion to the Christian mysticism, as may be indicated by an important intellectual debate which occurred in Florence early in Don Matteo's tenure as prior. In 1406, one of the brethren, Don Giovanni da Sanminiato, led an attack against Coluccio Salutati's espousal of civic humanism.<sup>8</sup> Conforming to his Order's commitment to the contemplative life, Don Giovanni argued that the meditative



pursuit of holiness was preferable to the active life of good works advocated by Salutati. Although the monk was unable to match his adversary's rhetorical brilliance, Don Giovanni's position was emblematic of that held by his brethren in the cloister. If civic humanism is used as the barometer of a people's acceptance of "Renaissance" principles, then the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli were firmly entrenched in a medieval mentality as late as the second decade of the fifteenth century.

The convent's fidelity to traditional monastic philosophies earned it considerable recognition from important sources. Among the monastery's greatest admirers, in fact, was Pope John XXIII, one of three men claiming papal authority during the Great Schism of 1409-1417. Born Baldassare Cossa, Pope John had succeeded the first pontiff selected by the Council of Pisa (Alexander V) in 1410, and had enjoyed widespread support across Europe.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the volatile climate in Italy and western Europe prevented him from enjoying the support of all Roman Christendom. Military threats from Naples forced John to flee Rome in 1413, resulting in a prolonged exile in Florence. His stay in the Arno valley appears to have been satisfactory, as his commitment to the city and its inhabitants remained steady until his death in 1419. Indeed, the Pope received the fealty of the numerous religious houses dotting the Florentine landscape, all of which were repaid handsomely. Much of John's great fortune

was bequeathed to the institutions he had held in particular esteem.<sup>10</sup> Of these houses, S. Maria degli Angeli received the greatest amount of attention in John's will, probably due to its custodianship of the most valuable of the Pope's possessions, a relic reputedly of Saint John the Baptist's right index finger.

The Pope's relic was transported to the Camaldolese house at roughly the same time as Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece was being installed in S. Maria degli Angeli. Before leaving for a brief visit to Bologna in 1413, John had made a secret pact with the brethren. A bone from John the Baptist's right index finger, procured before the Pope's election to the papacy and worn constantly on a chain around his neck, was stored in the monastery for safekeeping.<sup>11</sup> Only Cosimo de' Medici, then an ascending politician, and Matteo da Viterbo, the Pope's confessor, were aware of the agreement. For eight years, S. Maria degli Angeli stored the prized relic, releasing the Baptist's finger to the custody of the Florentine Baptistry only in 1421, two years after John XXIII's death.<sup>12</sup> In an age when humanistic ideas and projects were becoming popular in Florence, S. Maria degli Angeli remained a faithful adherent to the time-honored traditions of medieval Christianity, monasticism, and mystical spirituality.

Despite their rigid traditionalism, however, a few monks began to adopt some of the more modern modes of thought propounded by secular thinkers. Don Ambrogio

Traversari (b. 1388), influenced by the teachings of Emmanuel Chrysoloras, was blossoming into one of the greatest exponents of the Florentine classical revival.<sup>13</sup> Traversari was one of the first theologians to translate texts written by the Church Fathers from the original Greek into Latin.<sup>14</sup> His interest in the classical world led to the formation of an informal humanistic school, located within the walls of S. Maria degli Angeli, which catered to some of society's elite members.<sup>15</sup> Although he had not come to full intellectual maturity by the time the Coronation was installed, Don Ambrogio was on the brink of bringing his monastery to the forefront of humanistic scholarship. Thus, the year 1413 found S. Maria degli Angeli in a transitional stage. While deeply indebted to the medieval traditions upon which it had been founded, the convent was on the verge of eschewing its Gothic past in favor of a more modern future.

Although the monastery was beginning to shift its official philosophy toward a more humanistic stance, the convent did not abandon one of its most important ties to traditional society. Recognizing its great fortune in attracting the scions of influential Florentine families, the convent maintained its alliance with the powerful oligarchical faction for the first three decades of the fifteenth century. Despite the death of Don Niccolao degli Albizzi in 1412, the monastery continued to enjoy the allegiance of his family and their relatives, reaffirming

the monastic community's ties with the consortium. With burial chapels reserved for members of the Aldobrandini, da Filicaia, Bartolini dei Nobili, della Stufa, and da Uzzano families, S. Maria degli Angeli distinguished itself as a house that catered to the governing class. Well into the 1420s, the Camaldolese house attracted powerful statesmen and those aspiring to positions of similar prestige.<sup>16</sup> Don Ambrogio Traversari's connections with amateur humanists, including Palla Strozzi and Cosimo de'Medici, further solidified the monastery's place as an important center of learning, spirituality, and culture.<sup>17</sup> As Lorenzo Monaco and his assistants arranged for the installation of the Coronation behind the high altar of the monastic church, the Camaldolese house was in the process of becoming one of the most important religious, intellectual, and political strongholds in Florence.

### **"Zanobi Cecchi Frasche" and Commemorative Patronage**

The inscription beneath the central image of the Coronation notes the participation of a secular donor, a man named "Zanobi Cecchi Frasche", or Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca. Unlike the altarpiece for the Stoldi family in the infirmary or the image for the Benini household in the chapterhouse, the Coronation seems to have been commissioned by a layman with no significant personal ties to the monastic community. The della Frasca family was not

represented in the cloister, and no documents have been found which suggest that any type of business relationship existed between the monks and Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca. The reasons for his interest in the Camaldolese monastery have never been addressed, allowing us only to hypothesize about his debt to the convent.

Little is known of Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca's background. The della Frasca appear to have been part of the patrician Adimari family as late as the early Trecento.<sup>18</sup> At this point, Francesco della Frasca, Zanobi's father, officially distanced himself from the magnate household, preferring instead to associate with the newly enfranchised mercantile class.<sup>19</sup> This transfer of allegiance worked to Zanobi di Ceccho's favor. While a young man, Zanobi entered the banker's guild and set up house in the parish of S. Cristoforo, located in the quarter of S. Giovanni, not far from S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>20</sup> There, in the Drago district, he married a woman named Jacoba, the daughter of a prominent notary. As was the custom, Zanobi was much older than his bride, perhaps by as much as twenty years. The couple had two children: Domenico was born in 1363, while Francesco arrived shortly thereafter.<sup>21</sup> Because of their difference in age, Jacoba outlived Zanobi by at least three years. In 1396, Jacoba was listed as heading a household with her sons, Domenico and Francesco, and in a 1399 testimonial was described as a widow, "Donna Jacoba, vidua uxor quondam Zanobii Cecchi

popoli S. Cristofani de Florentia".<sup>22</sup> This document is the last mention of Jacoba della Frasca, which indicates that she, like her husband, may not have lived to see the fifteenth century.

At first glance, Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca appears to have lived a full and happy life. A more detailed examination of his professional career, however, reveals a surprisingly murky past filled with quarrels, courtroom battles, and eventual imprisonment and disgrace. The first reference to Zanobi appears in the book of matriculations for the Arte del Cambio, the guild of Florentine Bankers. In January, 1352 (1351, o.s.), three years after the Black Death, Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca's name was listed in the guild register, indicating his official entry into this organization.<sup>23</sup> Because few men were allowed to join the Arte del Cambio before their eighteenth birthday, we may speculate that Zanobi could not have been born after 1334, and was more likely born during the mid- to late-1320s.<sup>24</sup> During his tenure as a member of the Arte del Cambio, Zanobi was firmly allied with some of the guild's more important members. In December, 1364, Zanobi agreed to join Lanfredi di Bellincione Aldobrandini, a fellow banker and the future patron of S. Maria degli Angeli's chapel of Saint Martin, as a co-guardian of a young apprentice.<sup>25</sup> Although the document of agreement does not specify the nature of their relationship, Zanobi and Lanfredi may well have been business associates, perhaps even partners, thus

explaining--indeed, necessitating--their dual patronage of the young boy. This agreement establishes an important link between Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca and one of S. Maria degli Angeli's patrons as early as 1364.<sup>26</sup>

Zanobi's benevolent actions, however, were overshadowed by an apparently cantankerous personality. The banker's career was marked by numerous appearances before the guild's supervisory board, the consoli, throughout the 1360s. Between 1364 and 1369, Zanobi della Frasca appeared before the consoli on five separate occasions, either to make claims against his fellow bankers or to defend his own financial debts.<sup>27</sup> In one case, Zanobi successfully petitioned the board to order Galeasso di Lapi da Uzzano to repay an outstanding bill totaling 370 florins.<sup>28</sup> In another, a banker named Bartolo di Ceccho was successfully sued for thirty-two florins.<sup>29</sup> A third victory earned him 100 florins for the instruction of a number of apprentices working under his direction.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately for Zanobi, however, these victories amassed a cadre of enemies aligned against him, resulting in his ultimate expulsion from the ranks of the Arte del Cambio.

Although Zanobi di Ceccho usually won his cases before the guild's tribunal, he also experienced some deeply damaging setbacks. In one proceeding, Zanobi was charged with owing three florins to a man named Bartolo di Luca.<sup>31</sup> In other hearings his name was supplemented with the word "debtor", ("Zanobio Cecchi debitor"), indicating that his

financial situation was less than impressive.<sup>32</sup> These woes continued into the next decade, as Zanobi apparently served a short prison term for his inability to pay a minor debt to a man named Scherlatto di Nuto Scherlattini in 1372.<sup>33</sup> For any Florentine citizen, debt was a serious crime: for a banker, it could mean complete financial and professional ruin. Such was the fate of Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca.

Zanobi di Cecco's name does not appear in tribunal ledgers after 1372, and at some point thereafter the litigious banker received the harshest punishment meted out by the Arte del Cambio: he was expelled from the guild. The evidence for this action comes not from a written testimony describing the penalty, but rather from the entry noting Zanobi's matriculation into the Bankers' guild in 1351.<sup>34</sup> Whereas most of the names listed in the Book of Matriculations are neatly recorded and clearly legible, Zanobi's name has been unceremoniously crossed out, revealing his banishment. Zanobi, of course, was not the only guild member to be expelled, for other names have also been crossed out of the book, although these are usually accompanied by a brief explanation of the circumstances of their punishment. These passages indicate that most of the men whose names were crossed off the lists had suffered bankruptcy. Zanobi's disgrace, however, is not described in tribunal records, nor is his expulsion explained in the Book of Matriculations. Only the undulating line weaving across his name, rendering him unfit for membership in the Arte del



Cambio, reflects his status.

This profile of Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca suggests that the inscription appearing on Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin is more complex than it seems. Zanobi's death sometime during the 1390s, if not before, dismisses any notions concerning his direct participation in the commission of circa 1411. Furthermore, Zanobi's precarious financial predicament indicates that he probably could not have afforded to fund a sumptuous altarpiece for an exclusive monastery. Thus, there is no feasible way that Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca could have personally funded Lorenzo Monaco's high altarpiece as late as 1411. We must look elsewhere to find the picture's patron.

The phrase following Zanobi's name in the inscription is crucial for our understanding of the commission. The statement, "HEC TABULA FACTA EST PRO ANIMA ZENOBII CECCHI FRASCHE ET SUO[RUM]", which indicates that the altarpiece was executed both for the donor and for his descendants, implies that someone from the della Frasca clan played a part in the commissioning of the altarpiece. Jacoba, Zanobi's widow, cannot be considered, for she probably did not live to see the dawn of the Quattrocento. Francescho, her youngest son, is listed in the Prestanze for the 1380s and '90s, but disappears from these entries after 1400. Thus, Zanobi's only surviving relative in 1411 was his eldest son, Domenico di Zanobi della Frasca.

Circumstantial evidence strongly indicates that

Domenico di Zanobi della Frasca may have been the actual patron of the Coronation of the Virgin. Owing both to his vested interest in the salvation of the family's name and reputation, and to his remarkable success as an independent businessman and banker in the early fifteenth century, Domenico di Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca had the means and the motive to donate the funds necessary for his father's rehabilitation. As we have seen in Chapter Two, familial prestige and household obligations were among the most important components of any affluent Trecento Florentine's life. Loyalty to one's ancestors, relatives, and descendants was directly responsible for countless acts of religious patronage, for the creation of solid business and marital relationships, and for venomous attacks on members of opposing families. Zanobi's dubious personal history was unquestionably an embarrassment to Domenico, both from a religious and from a professional standpoint. In an effort to minimize the damage done by his disreputable father, Domenico strove to make his own way in the Florentine financial world. With little help from his Zanobi, who had left his family only a paltry inheritance and a few distant land-holdings, Domenico was forced to construct his own fortune.<sup>35</sup>

Domenico began his upward climb by solidifying his position in the Florentine social hierarchy. The young man shrewdly married a member of the patriciate, Antonia dei Bardi, a descendant of the famous banking family, and

eventually moved across the Arno into that clan's neighborhood.<sup>36</sup> This social connection appears to have served Domenico well both professionally and politically. In 1427, despite his father's transgressions, Domenico was allowed to matriculate into the Arte del Cambio, the same group that had ostracized Zanobi di Ceccho decades earlier.<sup>37</sup> Although the banking profession never made him a wealthy man, it allowed Domenico to make valuable contacts and associations with fellow bankers. Furthermore, the Bardi connection permitted Domenico to become acquainted with the city's political elite during the early decades of the fifteenth century. His marital ties may have helped Domenico attain coveted governmental positions in the Florentine hierarchy. Twice in his lifetime he was appointed as one of the eight members of the Signoria, once in 1417 and again in 1432.<sup>38</sup> Domenico, then, was well acquainted with other members of the ruling elite through his marriage connections, his association with the Arte del Cambio, and his participation in local government.

Domenico della Frasca's election to the Signoria only four years after the installation of the Coronation of the Virgin may indicate his involvement in the commission. As we have seen, members of the Albizzi faction congregated in S. Maria degli Angeli during their fifty-year reign. Much of their interest in the convent was based on personal connections with the monastic community, which was mainly comprised of members from these aristocratic families.

Money for the construction and decoration of burial chapels flowed into S. Maria degli Angeli to accommodate the wishes of the affluent, and was garnered through the manipulation of familial ties linking monks with wealthy donors. Indeed, one of the most extravagant expenditures of money by the ruling elite was for the foundation of San Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti, the Camaldolese house conceived as a sister institution to S. Maria degli Angeli and constructed with money donated in part by aristocratic members of the Arte del Cambio, the very guild that Domenico di Zanobi would later join.

Recognizing his guild's interest in these two Florentine houses, Domenico della Frasca may well have taken advantage of the connections between the Camaldolese monasteries and the socio-political faction he wanted to join. Domenico would seem to have commissioned the large altarpiece for S. Maria degli Angeli not only to redeem his disgraced father, but to gain access to the religious stronghold of the Albizzi faction. By assuming the role of donor of the monastery's high altarpiece, Domenico could rightfully claim admittance into the fraternity of elite families supporting S. Maria degli Angeli. His election to the Signoria in 1417 indicates that his strategy was successful. If this scenario is correct, then the secular patron of the Coronation of the Virgin clearly had more on his mind than the salvation of his father's soul when he agreed to fund S. Maria degli Angeli's high altarpiece.<sup>39</sup>

The altarpiece, and the monastery for which it was produced, would seem to have had little impact on Domenico's spiritual convictions, however, for there is no mention of the picture--or its commission--in his personal papers. His last will and testament, written in 1427 by a Bardi notary, bequeaths nothing to the monks at S. Maria degli Angeli. Instead, Domenico and Antonia request that their bodies be interred in S. Maria Novella, probably to satisfy the wishes of his wife's family.<sup>40</sup> Domenico's Catasto statement, also recorded in 1427, similarly makes no mention of the Camaldolese convent.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Domenico's taxable income was assessed at 274 florins, an unimpressive total for someone purporting to be a member of the social elite.<sup>42</sup> Although he earned almost 2000 florins a year, Domenico owed large sums of money to Florentine creditors. If his modest financial means from 1427 are any indication of Domenico's wealth at the time of the commission, it seems safe to say that Domenico did not have the liquid assets needed to pay Lorenzo Monaco, or the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli, for the altarpiece's production.

Cash payments, however, were not the only means of funding projects in a religious institution. As we have seen in Chapter Two, S. Maria degli Angeli frequently accepted gifts of property as donations from wealthy laymen, who usually wished to receive some kind of dispensation in return. While Domenico della Frasca could not boast of significant liquid assets in his Catasto report because of

outstanding debts, he did claim to make a great deal of money, almost 1900 florins, as a landlord.<sup>43</sup> This income suggests that his real estate holdings were extensive, and may have been sufficient to pay for a large altarpiece. As had been the case with a number of artistic commissions during the fourteenth century, the Coronation could have been initiated by a gift of land donated to S. Maria degli Angeli by Domenico della Frasca at the end of the first decade of the Quattrocento.<sup>44</sup>

To summarize this matter of patronage, Domenico di Zanobi della Frasca would appear to have approached the prior of S. Maria degli Angeli, Don Matteo di Guido, around the year 1411, offering to donate a valuable piece of property to the convent.<sup>45</sup> The monks may well have sold the land, using the profits to commission a large altarpiece dedicated to the soul of Domenico's disgraced father and the entire della Frasca family. This donation would have improved Domenico's standing among the monastery's other patrons, many of whom were important figures in Florentine political and social circles. The monastery, meanwhile, stood to benefit from his donation on three levels. First, Domenico's conjectural gift could have given the convent an always welcome financial boost. Second, annual rents or periodic sales and resales of the proposed gift of land consistently rose, ensuring the convent of even greater revenues as the decades passed. Third, the monks installed behind their high altar one of the largest, most elaborate

objects ever produced by a Florentine artist.<sup>46</sup> The commission would have allowed Domenico di Zanobi della Frasca to gain access to the highest ranks of society, while simultaneously assuring S. Maria degli Angeli of future financial stability, as well as possession of a magnificent painted altarpiece. Both sides had much to gain by the agreement, and both sides would have stood to profit nicely from it.

### **The Coronation of the Virgin**

Although the aesthetic qualities of the altarpiece were probably not as important to the monastic community as its liturgical functions, a discussion of the Coronation must begin with its awesome formal characteristics. Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece might arguably represent the last truly great product of Late Gothic painting in Florence, and is certainly the artist's masterpiece.<sup>47</sup> The design and composition were borrowed from popular Trecento painters, namely Jacopo di Cione and Giovanni del Biondo, both of whom executed altarpieces containing the same themes and (in the case of the latter) the same structures as those used by Lorenzo Monaco (figs. 52 and 53).<sup>48</sup> The scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded by a group of attendant saints, was a standard presentation of the theme in many Florentine altarpieces. What made Lorenzo Monaco's rendition so powerful was not a revolutionary break with his

predecessors' accomplishments, but was rather his perfection of their earlier experiments. As a result, S. Maria degli Angeli possessed one of the largest panel pictures ever installed in a Florentine ecclesiastical setting, and one of the most beautiful images ever painted by an artist working in the early Quattrocento.

At the time of its completion, the Coronation of the Virgin literally overshadowed every other altarpiece made for S. Maria degli Angeli. The polyptych stands over five meters tall, while its width is nearly equal to its height.<sup>49</sup> The scene of Mary's Coronation, which features an image of the seated Virgin receiving the Celestial Crown from an enthroned Christ, is positioned at the center of the main register. A choir of angels surrounds the holy couple, spilling out from behind the throne and advancing into the foreground. Below, two kneeling figures are depicted swinging the censers of the Mass, while a third angel, playing a small organ (now obscured), completes the musical ensemble (fig. 54). Two sets of saintly witnesses flank the central compartment, solemnly watching as Christ welcomes his mother into the heavenly realm (figs. 55 and 56). An umbrella of stars, twinkling within blue atmospheric bands, supports the ensemble, which gives the impression that the entire setting is located at the outermost reaches of the universe.<sup>50</sup>

The identities of all twenty saints have not been unanimously accepted by art historians.<sup>51</sup> Although most of



the figures hold attributes revealing their identities, some are so obscured by overlapping figures that they have been rendered unrecognizable. In the left panel, Saints Benedict, Peter, and John the Baptist kneel in the front row, with Stephen, Paul, James, and Matthew standing behind (fig. 55). In the back row, Saint Anthony Abbot stands between a crowned saint, on his left, and a clean-shaven bishop to his right, neither of whom carries any form of identification. In the right panel, John the Evangelist, Andrew, and Romuald comprise the first row, while Lawrence, Bartholomew, a bishop saint (thought to be Zenobius, in honor of the donor), and Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the Vallombrosan Order, stand in the second tier (fig. 56).<sup>52</sup> The back row contains three obscured figures, one holding what appears to be the handle of a sword, the second clutching a book, and a third glaring sternly at the Coronation scene with a tightly-wrapped turban covering his head. With only foreheads and scalps visible, five of the six figures comprising the back rows in both side panels have thus far defied recognition.

When perceived as a group, the three pinnacles form an independent composition, distinct from the main compartment. The two exterior panels create a simple Annunciation scene, the left depicts the genuflecting Gabriel, and the right the humble Virgin accepting God's Word and command. The Holy Spirit, taking the form of a Dove and placed directly in front of Mary's face, seems to have descended from the

figure in the central pinnacle. There, floating on a bed of clouds formed by blue-faced cherubim and surrounded by a group of seraphim, appears an image of God the Father, who blesses both the Virgin Annunciate to his left and the mortal viewer standing somewhere below him. The trio of pinnacle panels act as separate parts of the same story, with each picture representing one of the three main protagonists involved in the legend of the Annunciation. The inscription running beneath these panels, taken from Luke's description of the Annunciation, unites them into a cohesive group: AVE MARIA GRATIA PL // ENA D[OMI]N[U]S TECUM BENEDI // CTA TU IN MULIERIBUS ("Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: Thou art favored among Women". Luke 1:28-29).<sup>53</sup> This verbal description matches its pictorial counterpart to display, in words and in images, the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ.

The predella, comprised of six panels and devoted both to the legends of Saint Benedict and to scenes of Christ's Infancy, is also arranged according to a particular format. The two narratives rely upon specific textual references as their sources. The Infancy scenes, of course, are based on accounts recorded in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, while the Benedictine legend has been derived from Gregory's Dialogi, written in the early seventh century. Close inspection of the panels reveals that the six scenes are divided into three pairs.<sup>54</sup> The first pair is devoted to the life Saint Benedict, with the initial panel depicting

the Death of Saint Benedict, with the elderly hermit surrounded by his mourning followers (fig. 57). The second panel is a divided image, illustrating both a scene from Benedict's early life as a hermit and one of his miracles as a monastic leader (fig. 58). Benedict's legend is then momentarily suspended by the second pair of panels, devoted to Christ's Nativity and to the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 59 and 60). The Benedictine strain is then continued in the third pair, beginning with another divided image showing two scenes of the monk's miraculous works, the Rescue of Placidus and the Visit to Santa Scholastica (fig. 61). The last panel is dedicated to the Saint's Raising of a Young Monk, which ends the narrative sequence (fig. 62).

The interruption of the Benedictine legend by two unrelated panels indicates that the predella scenes were organized thematically in pairs, rather than chronologically as a complete entity.<sup>55</sup> This design is immediately apparent in the first predella panel, which depicts not an event from Benedict's youth, but rather the moment of the Saint's Death, which was normally reserved for the end of a narrative sequence. Furthermore, the other Benedictine images have been placed out of the chronological order in which they were recounted in Gregory's text, with the fifth and sixth panels dedicated to events which transpired in a different order than has been depicted. As we shall see, this fracturing of the Saint's legend was intentionally designed to encourage viewers to interpret these scenes

metaphorically, rather than literally.

The polyptych's final components are the images painted on the broad pilasters at either end of the structure. Buttressing the entire altarpiece, these framing elements serve much the same purpose as the massive piers used to support the tremendous weight of a monastic church.<sup>56</sup> Each pilaster is gilded and covered with intricate floral patterns in pastiglia. Five Old Testament patriarchs have been painted onto the pilasters, with three figures occupying the largest section of each (Fig. 51). Every prophet, with one exception, is turbaned, while five carry scrolls containing scriptural writings and prophecies. The six full-length figures represent major Hebrew leaders, most of whom carry identifying attributes, while the remaining four prophets are half-length depictions of anonymous Biblical characters. Of the larger figures, Noah (holding his ark), Abraham (with the sword), and David (playing a harp) appear on the left pier, while Moses (with his two tablets) and Daniel (identified by the inscription "DANIEL P[RO]PH[ET]A" at his feet) occupy the right pilaster.<sup>57</sup> These Old Testament figures were undoubtedly added to the altarpiece in order to complete the liturgical and thematic program. As the founders of the Judeo-Christian tradition, these patriarchs would have symbolized the origins of the New Testament and the genealogical roots of Jesus Christ and his disciples. Without them, the Christian religion could not have been formed.

The Coronation of the Virgin, then, was an intricate image which incorporated a number of distinct themes into its design, all of which were tied together by the central picture representing Christ's authority in Heaven and on Earth. The composition contained references to three major phases of history in the Christian concept of time.<sup>58</sup> Representatives from the Old Testament, or the period described as sub lege (governed by the law of Moses), were important members of the altarpiece's theological cast of characters. Their placement on the supporting pilasters was an overt reference to their fundamental role as the genealogical forefathers of the New Testament. The second period represented in the Coronation was the mortal life of Christ, known as the era sub gratia (governed by God's grace). The celebration of the Incarnation of the Flesh was illustrated by the Annunciation pinnacles and by the two Infancy scenes in the predella. Their relegation to subsidiary positions in the composition reflected the comparatively limited importance of Christ's power on Earth. Finally, Christ's ultimate triumph over Death, the period of eternal life, was emphasized in the polyptych's central panel, with Christ's Coronation of his Queen occurring in Heaven before the adoring eyes of celestial disciples, martyrs, and saints. The promises of salvation and eternal life after death were the religion's most important aspects, thus explaining the references to these themes at the center of the composition.<sup>59</sup> The entire theological structure of

Christianity, including the original Judaic patriarchs, the temporal domain of Jesus Christ, and the assurance of everlasting life, was incorporated into the enormous polyptych situated behind the high altar of S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic church.

#### **Lorenzo Monaco and the Production of the Coronation**

The apparent decision by S. Maria degli Angeli's monks to accept Domenico della Frasca's offer indicates that the community was very interested in replacing its high altarpiece. This interest reflects a certain displeasure with the picture that had stood in the church since 1363, a polyptych painted by Giovanni del Biondo and funded by the dell'Antella family (fig. 6). The desire to replace this picture was probably motivated either by its inappropriate subject matter or by the altarpiece's unacceptable appearance, or by a combination of the two. Whereas Giovanni's iconic representations of the Church Doctors was stylistically outdated by 1411, the polyptych's central panel may have been damaged during the Ciompi riot in 1378.

There is no way of knowing the exact subject matter of the entire dell'Antella altarpiece, of which only four side panels have survived (fig. 6). No descriptions of the original polyptych exist, although the iconic representations of the Four Church Doctors flanking the central compartment suggest that the middle panel was a

similarly static depiction of the Virgin and Child. While this format may have been acceptable in 1363, it was no longer an acceptable manner of representation by 1410. For almost fifty years, practically every image produced for S. Maria degli Angeli had boasted a central panel containing a narrative scene: From the installation of the Presentation in the Temple in 1364 to the completion of the Agony in the Garden in the mid-1390s, the convent commissioned liturgical images which focused on crucial events from the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The dell'Antella altarpiece probably contained an iconic central panel considered outdated by the conoscenti in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>60</sup> The Camaldolese community appears to have desired an image consistent with the more modern images that had been installed in the monastery after 1364.<sup>61</sup>

The most appropriate alternative to the iconic dell'Antella altarpiece was a picture which displayed the community's penchant for narrative imagery while conforming to its desire to commemorate its patron saint, the Virgin Mary. As we have seen, S. Maria degli Angeli had been associated with the Virgin since its inception. Its name glorified not only her matronly qualities as the mother of Christ, but commemorated her assumption into heaven and her communion with the angels of the celestial sphere: hence the name "Saint Mary of the Angels". There is no doubt that the subject matter of the high altarpiece was designed to correspond to this devotional appreciation of the Virgin's

triumph in heaven. Yet, it also satisfied the aesthetic requirements of a monastic audience which demanded a modern mode of pictorial representation in its altarpieces. The iconic figures of early Trecento painting were literally pushed aside in favor of the more contemporary, narrative mode of depiction.

In addition to these purely aesthetic concerns, the convent appears to have felt a logistical need to replace the antiquated dell'Antella altarpiece. The monastery's sack in 1378 had severely damaged crucial liturgical objects used by the community during the year, possibly Nardo di Cione's Coronation, which may well have been burned in the fire that razed the infirmary. When the hospital was rebuilt in the 1380s, the Coronation was not reinstalled, thus eradicating an important part of the convent's narrative program. Because none of the images installed in the new infirmary focused on the Virgin's Assumption or Coronation, the monastery was left without a suitable pictorial depiction of this important event. Thus, the decision to commission a Coronation of the Virgin may have been an attempt to fill an iconographic void created by the displacement of Nardo's 1365 altarpiece after the destruction and reconstruction of the monastic infirmary. The dell'Antella altarpiece, then, was probably discarded in order to make room for a new image dedicated to a theme appropriate for an institution bearing the name Santa Maria degli Angeli.



In addition to selecting a suitable subject for their high altarpiece, the monks were responsible for choosing a painter to execute the picture. As we have seen, the monastery traditionally used a small circle of artists to fulfill their needs for liturgical objects. In the late fourteenth century, these artists had been members of the Cionesque circle: Nardo and Jacopo di Cione, Giovanni del Biondo and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and Mariotto di Nardo and Lorenzo Monaco had all been associated with this group, either directly or indirectly, since the 1360s. With the dawn of the Quattrocento, the monks appear to have settled upon Don Lorenzo as their painter of preference, for obvious reasons: His participation in the cloister made Lorenzo a spiritual comrade, while his artistic talents made him a leader among his peers. The convent had employed Lorenzo for a number of projects predating the della Frasca commission, including the Agony in the Garden, possibly the Vir Dolorum, and numerous miniatures decorating the antiphonaries penned in the monastic scriptorium. Lorenzo Monaco was the logical, ideal choice for the execution of the high altarpiece.<sup>62</sup>

Don Lorenzo probably met with his former religious associates to discuss the appearance of the Coronation as soon as the commission's details had been agreed upon. Because the image was to be used daily in their liturgical celebrations, the brethren undoubtedly raised a number of specific concerns they wished to have addressed within the

panel. Indeed, they were probably responsible for deciding upon the central theme of the altarpiece. They were surely also instrumental in dictating to Lorenzo the identities of the saints who were to flank the celestial scene. The predella and pinnacle panels, devoted to scenes from the Life of Saint Benedict and to the Annunciation, were probably determined by communal decree, as were the inclusion of the Old Testament patriarchs in the pilasters. While Lorenzo was almost certainly given the freedom to compose and depict these subjects as he wished, he was probably also obligated to adhere to strict provisions given to him by his institutional patron.

Every stage of the project was monitored by the monastic community. During the initial period of designing the composition, Lorenzo Monaco probably composed a series of drawings devoted to each of the polyptych's panels.<sup>63</sup> These were most likely rough sketches which illustrated actions, figure-groupings, and poses. The drawings would likely have been taken to the prior and his select council of senior monks for consideration and approval. If these sketches were accepted, Lorenzo would then have been given the authority to proceed with the altarpiece. Rejected drawings, on the other hand, required the artist to reconsider his compositions and devise alternative suggestions.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the initial stage of Lorenzo's commission would have been dedicated to executing studies for the consent of S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic

community.

Upon receiving the approval of the monks, Lorenzo Monaco began to prepare his panels. The altarpiece's dimensions were, in part, already dictated by the length of the altar upon which the picture was to rest, thus allowing Lorenzo to make plans with local carpenters for the cutting and shaping of the numerous panels needed for the polyptych.<sup>65</sup> Six predella panels, three pinnacles, and the large main panel were commissioned, each varying in size according to its position in the altarpiece. These panels were then brought to Lorenzo's shop, located near Orsanmichele, where they were prepared for painting by assistants, who applied glue, linen, and gesso to the bare wood.<sup>66</sup> Workshop aides played an important role in the altarpiece's execution. Lorenzo's apprentices were responsible for applying gold leaf to the panels, for mixing pigments, and for adding colors to secondary areas. As Marvin Eisenberg has noted, the inconsistency in the execution of the Old Testament figures indicates workshop participation.<sup>67</sup> Responsibility for painting subsidiary figures, such as these, was commonly delegated to apprentices and assistants, for here the master's presence was not nearly as important to the viewer as it was in the central panel.<sup>68</sup>

Although the Coronation of the Virgin was painted in Lorenzo Monaco's bottega near Orsanmichele, S. Maria degli Angeli's monks may have played a significant role in the

production of the altarpiece. The inscription states that, "The work is by Lorenzo di Giovanni, a monk of this order, and his [\_\_\_\_]: associates?]. He painted it in the year of our Lord 1413. . ." Specialists have often interpreted this passage to refer to the participation of anonymous monastic painters during the altarpiece's execution.<sup>69</sup> This assessment, however, must be questioned for three reasons. First, as we have seen in Chapter Three, it is doubtful that the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli practiced the painterly arts at all. They seem to have devoted most of their time to the writing and designing of books rather than antiphonal decoration. Secondly, the implication that monks traveled to Lorenzo's workshop near Orsanmichele overlooks the fact that the Camaldolese community was strictly cloistered until the late Quattrocento, a policy which would have prohibited the hermits from making the trek across town to the bottega during the picture's production. Just as there was no way for Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci to have received artistic training as an adolescent during the 1350s or '60s, it was impossible for monks to leave their peaceful surroundings for the chaos and temptations of urban Florence in 1411. Lastly, the word DEPINXIT, "he painted it", indicates that Lorenzo worked without the benefit of assistants outside of his bottega. Had monastic painters helped with the production of the altarpiece, the inscription would have contained the word DEPINXERUNT.<sup>70</sup> Thus, Lorenzo Monaco appears to have painted the Coronation of the Virgin without

the artistic participation of his former brethren in the cloister.

I should like, however, to suggest that the monks at S. Maria degli Angeli aided Lorenzo Monaco in a non-painterly way. Because of the intricate subject matter and analytical issues incorporated into the composition, the monks probably participated in the production of the Coronation in its design and theological content. Given their expertise in manuscript layout and design, and their experience with the liturgical use of paintings, the monks were probably involved in the appearance of the altarpiece during the early phases of execution. Thus, the actual painting and ornamentation of the Coronation of the Virgin would have been executed by Lorenzo Monaco and his workshop assistants, while the polyptych's conceptual format was established by the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli.

### Textual Sources

As the high altarpiece of an observant monastic church, the Coronation of the Virgin was required to be a diverse devotional object. The image needed to express doctrinal principles espoused by the Camaldolese Order, as well as themes deemed significant by the particular convent of S. Maria degli Angeli. The altarpiece functioned on two separate levels, both as a liturgical object and as a didactic vehicle. Because masses were celebrated daily

before the high altar, the picture had to incorporate visual themes which could facilitate worship services throughout the year. As we have seen, monks needed images which addressed the events and rites celebrated in the church choir, and sought pictures which allowed the monastic suppliant to focus his attention on themes and concepts central to his devotions. Similarly, the altarpiece was a vital component of Camaldolese rituals performed during a novice's official acceptance of his monastic vows. Each newly professed monk led his community in the saying of the Mass after his entry into the Order, a ceremony which was performed in front of the high altarpiece.<sup>71</sup> As the inductee executed his duties before the Coronation of the Virgin, his eyes fell upon visual messages which glorified his monastic order, his monastic home, and his monastic community. In addition to presenting a number of liturgical concepts to its specialized audience, the altarpiece functioned as an important vessel of Camaldolese propaganda spirituality at the cloister's newly admitted members. Because of the intricacies involved, monastic participation in the altarpiece's design must have been extensive.

The altarpiece's dominating theme, of course, was the Coronation of the Virgin, a concept of fundamental importance for medieval Christians. As is the case with much of the Virgin's life, the event does not appear in the New Testament. Nonetheless, the event was accepted by most as being the final chapter in the legend of the Mother of

Christ. Ecclesiastical institutions in Northern Europe began ordering its depiction in sculptural programs as early as 1140 (St. Denis), and by the end of the twelfth century the Coronation was becoming a popular theme in French sculptural programs.<sup>72</sup> The scene gradually migrated south by the mid-thirteenth century, as Italian painters began depicting the episode in Tuscany and Umbria.<sup>73</sup> Thanks in part to Jacobus da Voragine's recounting of the fable in his Golden Legend and to numerous depictions of the scene in areas of public worship, the legend of the Coronation grew in popularity as the thirteenth century drew to a close.<sup>74</sup> By the time of Dante's descriptive account of the moment in Canto 23 of the Paradiso, the Coronation of the Virgin was well entrenched in Christian faith.

The legend of the Virgin's final miracle was a crucial part of Christian theology. According to tradition, Mary's soul was carried into Heaven at the moment of her dormition by a chorus of singing angels.<sup>75</sup> Upon her entry into the Celestial Paradise, she was immediately brought to Christ's side on the Throne of Glory and proclaimed the Queen of Heaven. Thus, the Feast of the Virgin commemorated not only her death, but her Assumption and Coronation, as well. This final action secured her position as Regina Mundi and as the most powerful intercessor available to mortal Christians. From a purely narrative standpoint, the image of the Coronation was an essential part of the Marian legend, for it offered a suggestion of closure to the mystical life of

the Blessed Virgin. Medieval Christians, however, did not read all written legends, nor the images that depicted them, with a literal eye. Instead, the myth of the Coronation began to assume symbolic meaning, with the vision of the enthroned Queen representing various virtues and powers crucial to religious devotion.

The most important of these symbolic metaphors equated the Virgin Mary with the Church. Repeatedly, medieval theologians interpreted the celestial Queen of Heaven to represent the Christian institution: Both the Virgin and the Church were vessels carrying Christ to mortal men, and both worked side by side with the Messiah to spread the Word to all humanity.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the most famous Marian interpreter was Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, whose popular twelfth-century sermons on the Canticles were widely read in most ecclesiastical institutions, including S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>77</sup> According to Bernard, the Canticles contained numerous references to Christ and the Virgin Mary, stemming primarily from verses dedicated to the mystical "Sponsus" (groom) and "Sponsa" (bride) in the Song of Solomon.<sup>78</sup> Bernard believed that Old Testament passages often, if not always, contained New Testament themes. Following traditions set forth by his early Christian predecessors, the Cistercian theologian interpreted the "Sponsus" and "Sponsa" in the Canticles as being symbolic allusions to Christ and his mystical spouse, the Blessed Virgin. Christ's "bride" was both a literal and a figurative mate:



His literal bride was the Virgin Mary, who was carried to the heavenly throne by a group of angels at the moment of her Dormition.<sup>79</sup> The figurative "Sponsa" was the ever-faithful "Ecclesia", the institution devoted to implementing his will, which was also called forth by Christ after his ascent into Heaven.<sup>80</sup> Bernard insisted that devout monks worship Christ with the same passion and subservience that the "Sponsa" offered to her "Sponsus" in the Canticles. Thus, monastic supplicants became surrogate brides of Christ, doing his bidding and devoting their lives to his instruction and wishes for the duration of their earthly existence.

The community at S. Maria degli Angeli conformed to Saint Bernard's interpretations.<sup>81</sup> In their liturgy for martyred saints, the monks sang, "VENI SPONSA XPISTI ACCIPE CORONAM QUAM TIBI DOMINUS PREPARAVIT. . . . VENI ELECTA MEA ET PONAM IN TE THRONUM MEUM QUIA CONCUPIVIT REX SPETIEM TUAM" (Come, bride of Christ, accept the crown that God has prepared for you. . . . Come, my chosen one, and take your place by my throne, for the King desires your beauty).<sup>82</sup> All devout followers, including monks, were the mystical brides of Christ, accepting the position by his side and, as his obedient spouse, agreeing to do his bidding. As a result, monks identified more clearly with the Virgin Mary than they did with her divine son, even though it was his example that they strove to duplicate. Just like Mary, each monk was Christ's spouse, and was completely dedicated to

abiding by his demands. It should be no surprise, then, that a monastic institution which had taken the name of the Blessed Virgin as its own, "Santa Maria degli Angeli", possessed an image of Mary's Coronation as its central object of devotion.

The liturgy performed before the high altar was extraordinarily influential in the polyptych's design and appearance. Indeed, many of the separate motifs, figures, and scenes seem to have been composed according to the verses sung by the community at regular intervals. The liturgy comprising two special festivals, the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption (August 15) and All Saints' Day (November 1), was used as a textual source for the general themes and basic compositions employed in the Coronation of the Virgin.<sup>83</sup> Both feast days were represented in the picture's central compartments, with the Coronation depicting Mary's entry into Heaven and the twenty attendant figures representing the "Ognissanti" inhabiting the Celestial Paradise. Even beyond this general framework, the specific phrases sung by the monastic community on these feast days may be directly associated with the altarpiece's pictorial components.<sup>84</sup> During the Feast of the Virgin, for example, the monks sang the following responsories at Vigils:

BEATA ES VIRGO MARIA DEI GENITRIX QUE CREDIDIST  
 DOMINO PERFECTA SUNT IN TO QUE DICTA SUNT TIBI.  
 ECCE EXALTATA ES SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM INTERCEDE  
 PRO NOBIS AD DOMINUM IHSUM XPISTUM. AVE MARIA  
 GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS. ECCE EXALTATA ES SUPER  
 CHOROS ANGELORUM INTERCEDE PRO NOBIS AD DOMINUM  
 IHSUM XPISTUM. EXALTATA ES VIRGO MARIA SUPER  
 CHOROS ANGELORUM. GAUDEANT OMNES FIDELES ET  
 BENEDICANT DOMINUM. HEC FORMA PREFILIIS HOMINUM  
 CASTIS CONCEPT VISCERIBUM. VENI ELECTA MEA ET  
 PONAM IN TE THRONUM MEUM QUIA CONCUPIVIT REX  
 SPETIEM TUAM. SURGE VIRGO REGINA ET ETERNO DIGNA  
 DICORE CONSCENDE PRAECLARUM PALA TUUM REGIS  
 ETERNI.<sup>85</sup>

Part of this verse was repeated in the ceremony performed for all martyred saints, VENI ELECTA MEA ET PONAM IN TE THRONUM MEUM QUIA CONCUPIVIT REX SPETIEM TUAM, a phrase which invited all martyrs and followers of Christ--including contemporary monastic viewers--to aspire to the throne upon which both the Savior and his Queen presided. The verbal allusion to the Virgin surrounded by a chorus of angels, a vital concept for the monks of S. Maria degli Angeli, was repeated a number of times during the Feast of the Virgin. Indeed, the phrase "EXALTATA EST GLORIOSA SEMPER MARIA VIRGO SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM" was chanted four times on August 15, suggesting that it was the textual source which inspired the

depiction of the angelic throng encircling the elaborate throne at the center of the tableau.<sup>86</sup>

Although the polyptych celebrated this fundamental event in the life of the Virgin, the liturgy for the Feast of the Assumption was not the most influential text for the imagery of the Coronation. Instead, the passages relied upon most heavily by Lorenzo Monaco and his theological advisors came from the liturgy chanted on All Saints' Day, known as the Feast of Ognissanti. On November 1, monks sang lengthy verses devoted to the veneration of all saints elevated into Heaven.<sup>87</sup> The descriptive phrase from the Feast of the Virgin, which referred to Mary's authoritative position and her attendant angels, was here repeated (EXALTATA EST SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM), as was the significance of the holy crown which was placed upon her head by her humble spouse (QUIA IPSE EST CORONA SANCTORUM OMNIUM).<sup>88</sup> The altarpiece, however, incorporated more of this liturgy than a simple description of the Virgin's Coronation. The design for the flanking panels was also taken directly from this ceremony. On folio 91v, the text stated, "ADMIRABILE EST NOMEN TUUM DOMINE QUIA GLORIA ET HONORE CORONATI SANCTOS TUOS ET CONSTITUISTI EOS SUPER OPERA MANUUM TUA", a passage which praised God's name, the saints who died in his honor, and all of his works in Heaven and on Earth. The inhabitants of the Celestial Sphere, namely prophets, martyred saints, and angels, were also recognized in this liturgy ("TE GLORIOSUS APOSTOLORUM CHORUS. TE

PROPHETARUM LAUDABILIS NUMERUS. TE MARTIRUM CANDIDATUS  
 LAUDAT EXERCITUS QUOS \_\_\_\_ (illegible) ELECTI VOCE  
 CONFITENTUR UNANIMES").<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the entire host of  
 figures appearing in Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece were listed  
 in the liturgy for the Feast of Ognissanti:

ANGELI, ARCHANGELI, TRONI ET DOMINATIONES  
 PRINCIPATUS ET POTESTATES USTUTES CELORUM,  
 CHERUBYN ATQUE SERAPHYN, PATRIARCHE ET PROPHETE,  
 SANCTI LEGIS DOCTORES, APOSTOLIONES, XPI MARTIRES,  
 SANCTI CONFESSORES, VIRGINES DOMINI, ANACHORITE  
 SANCTI, PRO QUORUM OMNES INTERCIDETE PRO NOBIS.<sup>90</sup>

Angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, patriarchs and  
 prophets, Church Doctors and apostles, martyrs and monks,  
 virgins and hermits were all beseeched to intercede on  
 behalf of the monastic viewer. Lorenzo Monaco dutifully  
 incorporated these figures into his composition in a manner  
 that reflected perfectly both the spirit and the letter of  
 the Celestial Paradise's verbal description in the Feast of  
 Ognissanti (fig. 51).

References to these important figures not only gave  
 Lorenzo Monaco a base from which to organize his  
 composition, but may have, in part, influenced the  
 appearance of the individual saints within the lateral  
 groups of witnesses. Although the liturgy for the Feast of  
 Ognissanti was dedicated to all the saints in Heaven, four  
 individuals were denoted as being first among equals. The

Virgin Mary, as we have seen, was the most important of these dominant figures, and was therefore given prominence in the center of the composition. The second figure singled out in the liturgical text was Saint John the Baptist, whose eremitic adolescence was recalled and upheld as an exemplary form of ascetic devotion.<sup>91</sup> This reference seems to have warranted John's appearance at the immediate left of the central scene, in the place of honor normally reserved for an altarpiece's most important saint (fig. 55). The next figure marked for special veneration was Simon Peter, the first apostle called by Christ.<sup>92</sup> His appearance in the text, following that of the Baptist's, may have influenced the placement of Peter beside Saint John in the front row of figures. The fourth and final person identified in the liturgy of Ognissanti was Saint Benedict, who was understandably positioned next to Saint Peter at the end of the row.<sup>93</sup> Due primarily, if not entirely, to their identification in the liturgy sung on November 1, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Simon Peter, and Saint Benedict were painted on the picture's left flank in descending order of importance and appearance in the text for the Feast of the Ognissanti.

The formula used to compose the left front row of saints dictated the organization of the foreground figures which occupy the same position at the right. The saints positioned opposite the four figures from the Ognissanti liturgy were each intimately associated with their

respective counterparts. Christ's connection with the Virgin has already been addressed, and therefore needs no explanation. Their personal relationship as Mother and Son, and as Bride and Bridegroom, tied the two figures together inextricably. The three saints appearing in the front row on the right side were similarly placed according to their connections with their counterparts on the left. Saint John the Evangelist was traditionally paired with John the Baptist for three important reasons: first, the pair was considered to have bracketed Christ's life, with the Baptist being his forerunner and the Evangelist his heir (Christ, from the cross, had informed the latter that he was to become Mary's second son); second, the Baptist's birthday, June 24, corresponded to the Evangelist's death, and the two saints had shared the same feast day for many years (the latter's festival was changed to December 27, the date of the Lateran Basilica's consecration); and third, the two figures shared identical names, thus associating them as compatriots in the eyes of medieval Christians.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, the two saints were placed in positions directly opposite each other.

This formula dictated the location of Saint Andrew, kneeling next to the Evangelist, in a position corresponding to the figure of Saint Peter (fig. 56). Andrew and Peter, of course, were brothers, an association which appears to have mandated their appearance opposite one another on either side of the altarpiece. Romuald, meanwhile, was

traditionally recognized as Saint Benedict's spiritual brother, due to his fervent adherence to his predecessor's teachings.<sup>95</sup> His designation as Benedict's ideological heir undoubtedly prescribed his placement directly opposite his theological ancestor. Thus, the liturgical verses sung on November 1 encouraged Lorenzo Monaco to depict certain saints in specific places, with the figures on the left side positioned according to their appearance in the text and the figures on the right placed in relation to Benedict, Peter, and the Baptist.

Both directly and indirectly, liturgical texts used in S. Maria degli Angeli dictated the appearance and placement of the figures in the total design of the altarpiece. Due to the complexities of this liturgy, there can be little doubt that the monastic community participated in its program, for they probably would have requested such references to the Virgin, the Baptist, Peter, and Benedict. Furthermore, it is apparent that Lorenzo Monaco was the ideal person to execute this intricate liturgical object, and he in all likelihood was the only painter considered for the commission. The former Camaldolese monk knew the verses which were sung by the brethren before the high altar, knew the significance attached to the phrases, and knew the significance of worshiping before an image which reflected the themes deemed important by a specific audience. As had been the case with other pictures produced by Don Lorenzo for his former house, the Coronation of the Virgin was a



harmonious union between an extraordinarily talented painter and a pious institution, each of whom knew its counterpart intimately.

### Liturgy and Function

As we have seen, the Coronation altarpiece corresponded to a number of important festivals observed in S. Maria degli Angeli throughout the year.<sup>96</sup> The most obvious celebration represented in the painting was the Feast of the Virgin, on August 15. The central image of Mary's Coronation was an overt reference to this festival, and the polyptych was venerated with great solemnity on this day. The altarpiece was a pictorial counterpart of the lengthy offices sung in the Virgin's honor, a verbal and visual combination which helped the monk form a coherent mental image of the Queen of Heaven. Associated with both the altarpiece and its accompanying liturgical text was a painted miniature, which decorated the text of the ceremony in a choral book used during the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 63). Originally located on folio 142 of Corale 2 and now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, this manuscript illumination may have served as a device to connect the large image of the Coronation in the high altarpiece with the descriptive phrases recorded in the antiphonaries used by the monks.<sup>97</sup> Both scenes commemorate the Coronation of the Virgin, and both depict an enthroned

Mary seated beside her celestial groom. With altarpiece and miniature prominently displayed before them, monks celebrating the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin could concentrate on images specifically devoted to these sequential events, and perhaps use them as mnemonic devices during the performance of the liturgical text. Likewise, the leftward progression from the Virgin to the Baptist, Peter, and Benedict probably aided the monastic supplicant during his recitation of verses during the Feast of Ognissanti on the first day of November.

Although the general composition of the altarpiece suggests that the Feasts of the Virgin and Ognissanti received the year's greatest amount of veneration, the picture was almost certainly used to celebrate the festivals of each individual figure appearing in the Coronation's flanking panels. Santa Maria degli Angeli's high altarpiece was an extraordinarily versatile liturgical object. The picture could be used on the Feast of Saint Benedict, Saint Andrew's Day, and the Feast of the Baptist, as well as for the veneration of every other figure represented on the polyptych. When considered chronologically, these festivals spanned most of the liturgical Calendar, from June 19 to March 25. Because of the figures depicted, the altarpiece could be used once every two or three weeks, due to the occurrence of a festival which corresponded to an image represented in the picture's composition (Chart II records the feast days represented in the Coronation altarpiece).

The Feasts of Saints Andrew and Nicholas were celebrated during the Advent season, while Stephen and John the Evangelist were honored during the Octave of the Epiphany, immediately following Christmas day. Saint Anthony's Day was celebrated on January 17, with Benedict's celebration falling on March 21. To this list I have added three other significant events represented in the imagery of the altarpiece. The two predella panels depicting the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 59 and 60) represented the feast days of Christmas (December 25) and Epiphany (January 6), while the pinnacles referred to the important festival of the Annunciation, which was celebrated on March 25. The central image of the Coronation of the Virgin, the twenty attendant saints, and the three narrative events recorded in the predella and the pinnacles gave the high altarpiece a functional significance for all of the important annual feast days central to Camaldolese doctrine. The Coronation of the Virgin could be used throughout most of the liturgical year, thanks to its references to so many ceremonies of fundamental importance.

There were, of course, some days which received more intense veneration than others. As we have seen in Chapter Four, S. Maria degli Angeli was the recipient of a papal privilege which encouraged the monastic community to worship before every image in its environment on selected feast days.<sup>98</sup> Not coincidentally, the Coronation of the Virgin contained pictorial elements directly associated with most

of these special holidays. The Nativity and Adoration were included in the composition, while overt references to the Virgin's Annunciation and Assumption were similarly featured. The festivals of Michael the Archangel, Benedict, Leonard, and John the Baptist were similarly represented by their iconic depictions in the groups of witnessing saints.<sup>99</sup> Finally, the ceremony glorifying the Dedication of the Church was symbolized by the central theme of the Virgin, surrounded by angels, receiving her crown as the Queen of Heaven. Thus, the various scenes and figures appearing in the altarpiece gave the community a picture which could facilitate their visual needs twice during their required processions; once, as the monks began their journey around the convent's altars, and again as they completed the circuit. The importance of S. Maria degli Angeli's prestigious papal privilege was now magnified by the largest, most elaborate picture in the monastic complex, which contained references to many of the festivals receiving special veneration in the convent.

Literally every iconic figure incorporated into the design of the Coronation carried liturgical significance, including the Old Testament patriarchs painted on the pilasters. The images of the prophets were particularly useful at Lent.<sup>100</sup> Celebrated during the eight weeks immediately preceding the Easter season, this was the most austere period of the year in S. Maria degli Angeli. Monks were expected to adopt a heightened asceticism during Lent,

in honor of Christ's forty-day hermitage in the wilderness and his confrontations with Satan. The severity of the monks' abstinence and the extremity of their piety were perceived to parallel the ascetic attitudes of Old Testament prophets and patriarchs. The association between the patriarchs and the Lenten season was carefully and thoroughly presented to the monastic community in its liturgical choral books. Corale 3, the choral book used for Sunday services, was extensively decorated with images of Old Testament prophets, thereby connecting Judaic patriarchs with the year's most ascetic period (figs. 64 and 65). These miniatures, probably executed in Lorenzo Monaco's workshop at the same time as the Coronation of the Virgin, depict figures with features identical to those painted on the altarpiece's pilasters, with the same long robes, turbans, and scrolls appearing in both manuscript and panel pictures.<sup>101</sup> After using this antiphonary filled with Old Testament prophets, the monks would have immediately associated the Coronation's patriarchs with those figures depicted in their Lenten choral books. Just as the larger images of individual saints may have been used in conjunction with the liturgy of their feast days, the smaller Old Testament figures were also used to aid in the performance of ceremonies during the season of Lent.

The Coronation of the Virgin, while representing a number of festivals, appears to have been covered at an important juncture in the liturgical year. Although the

altarpiece serviced the entire Calendar of major Feast Days, the polyptych did not refer to any of the events celebrated during the movable feast days of Easter, omitting references to this crucial season altogether.<sup>102</sup> As a result, the weeks upon which the Easter season could fall (March 22 to April 25) were not represented in the Coronation's design.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, references to the Pentecostal period, which could be celebrated as late as June 13, were also omitted from the high altarpiece, making it virtually ineffective during the most important time of the liturgical year. With the exception of the Feast of the Annunciation, the picture went unused from Saint Benedict's Day on March 21 until the festival of Saint Romuald, celebrated on June 19 (see Chart II). During this period, which encompasses the extreme boundaries of the Easter and Pentecostal seasons, literally no annual festivals were represented in the Coronation altarpiece.<sup>104</sup> Because of its lack of Passion references, there is reason to believe that the polyptych installed behind S. Maria degli Angeli's high altar may have been covered during the important weeks surrounding the Easter and Pentecost seasons.

The omission of Easter images in the monastery's most conspicuous liturgical object was fairly unusual for the period. As was common with most observant movements in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particular significance was attached by the Camaldolese Order to the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, making Holy Week the biggest and most

powerful of the yearly celebrations. This was true not only for the Camaldolese, but for the other Benedictine reform houses located in Tuscany, as well. The Vallombrosans and Olivetans placed a great emphasis on the image of the Crucifixion, reflected by the number of free-standing Crucifixes commissioned by these Orders in the early fifteenth century.<sup>105</sup> Depictions of the Passion were, therefore, popular with ascetic Benedictine reformers at the time of the Coronation of the Virgin's execution. Why, then, was no Crucifixion scene included in the polyptych? If Holy Week was of such great importance for the Camaldolese and the other reform movements of the age, why was this moment in the liturgical year excluded from the picture's imagery?

Once again, the answer lies within the monastery's collection of objects, for S. Maria degli Angeli appears to have possessed a number of images devoted to Easter themes. As we have seen in Chapter Four, each of the convent's subsidiary altarpieces contained central panels referring to specific liturgical moments in the Calendar, in much the same way that the various elements in the Coronation recalled the annual feasts and celebrations important to the congregation. Indeed, most of the crucial festivals related to the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary were represented in the artistic program implemented during the fourteenth century. In addition to Christ's Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, and Baptism, a number of liturgical altarpieces

were devoted to his Passion and Holy Week. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's Crucifixion, Lorenzo Monaco's Agony in the Garden, and perhaps also his Vir Dolorum covered the major events comprising the four day sequence of Holy Week (see figs. 24, 35, and 36). Furthermore, the convent probably owned a larger painted Crucifix, which would have been hung from the church ceiling above the high altar or on a rood beam in the sanctuary.<sup>106</sup> Special Easter services were probably directed toward these panels before the Coronation had been commissioned. This collection of pictures may explain the absence of Easter themes in the high altarpiece. There was simply no need to focus on this theme, due to the presence of an impressive group of Passion images already in place.

While the selection of the polyptych's various components and their ultimate placement in the altarpiece gave the Coronation a certain emotional and intellectual flavor, a deeper and more complex significance was attached to the individual figures represented in the composition. The picture was filled with verbal and visual allusions aimed at providing the worshiper with a multi-faceted object which functioned on many different levels. In addition to serving as a liturgical object to be used for the celebration of Feast Days throughout the year, the altarpiece presented a number of visual associations tying the pictorial image to S. Maria degli Angeli's physical structures, thus comparing the consecrated monastic complex



with the Celestial Paradise depicted in the Coronation. Furthermore, the polyptych functioned as a didactic image, presenting the lay and monastic congregation with theological ideas specific to the Camaldolese Order.

The careful planning of the composition resulted in a design which referred specifically to the altarpiece's monastic setting. This was not an uncommon tactic for medieval Florentine churches, many of which were decorated with images directly related to names of structures or to patron saints.<sup>107</sup> The monks in S. Maria degli Angeli appear to have desired similar verbal and visual analogies in their monastic church. The dominant figure in the Coronation is not that of Christ, but is rather that of the Blessed Virgin, who appears no less than four times in the design. The most important of these is in the central scene of the Coronation, which occupies the middle portion of the altarpiece. Because this event transpired in Heaven, the picture required an otherworldly setting, complete with the characters and background images commonly associated with the Celestial Paradise. In so doing, Lorenzo was able to make an overt allusion to the monastery in which his high altarpiece was to be displayed. As Eisenberg has suggested, the artist surrounded the Virgin's throne with a "wreath of angels", adoring her and praising her miraculous entry into the celestial sphere.<sup>108</sup> This motif provided his monastic audience with a clever visual/verbal device which associated the high altarpiece with the Italian name of the monastery

in which it stood, "Santa Maria degli Angeli".<sup>109</sup> Thus, an image dedicated to the Virgin surrounded by angels at her heavenly coronation could be associated with the pious institution bearing the name "Saint Mary of the Angels".

The verbal/visual allusions to the monastic complex were not limited to the central image of the Coronation of the Virgin. Many of the attendant saints flanking the main scene could similarly be identified with the names of the convent's burial chapels and liturgical altars. As we have seen in Chapter Four, S. Maria degli Angeli contained roughly twenty liturgical structures by the time of the installation of the Coronation, each of which commemorated an important saint. John the Baptist, Job, Benedict, and Anthony, to name a few, had been chosen by lay donors as their patron saints, as had a number of other martyrs and Christian heroes. Not coincidentally, the saints honored with chapels in the monastery were represented in the high altarpiece through their depictions in the flanking registers. This format allowed both monastic and secular viewers to associate their own religious institution with important intercessors. Parallels with the entire monastic complex were presented by adding pictorial allusions to each structure's saintly namesake.<sup>110</sup>

We have seen how a number of figures appearing in the polyptych's side areas were obscurely rendered, defying identification. By considering the individual saints honored in the convent's chapels, however, we may begin to

recognize some of these five hidden saints (see Charts III and IV). The crowned figure placed at the far left side of the back row may represent Saint Leonard, whose feast day was celebrated on November 6 (fig. 55). This French nobleman was the patron saint of Lionardo di Bellincione Aldobrandini, the man who commemorated Leonard's good works with a chapel in the church choir in 1392.<sup>111</sup> The partially obscured Bishop standing next to Anthony in the left side panel, furthermore, should be understood to depict Saint Nicholas, the figure for whom the da Filicaia chapel was dedicated in the late 1380s (fig. 55). Although beardless, the figure's mitre indicates a reference to Nicholas of Bari. In the right register, the turbanned figure standing behind Saint Lawrence can also be identified according to his "presence" in S. Maria degli Angeli. In this case, the figure should be associated with Job, the legendary ascetic revered by the Dini family in their capitular burial chapel (fig. 56). The motif of the turban wrapped around the character's head identifies him as an Old Testament figure.<sup>112</sup> The fact that Job was the only Old Testament character venerated in S. Maria degli Angeli makes this a probable identification. Meanwhile, the youthful figure holding the shaft of a sword at the extreme right may well be a depiction of Michael the Archangel, the saint for whom Neri Partucci's chapel in the sacristy was dedicated in 1354. Saint Michael was traditionally depicted as a young, virile man, capable of destroying the beast of Satan at any

given moment. His beardless face and instrument of battle may be attributes to be associated with the Archangel.<sup>113</sup> The chapels dedicated to Michael, Job, and Nicholas suggest that these three saints have been represented in the Coronation of the Virgin.

While helping us in our attempt to recognize a number of these heretofore anonymous figures, the connection between images and chapels also forces us to reexamine the identity of the Bishop Saint positioned in the second row of figures on the right panel (fig. 56 and Chart IV). With considerable justification, this figure has been thought to represent Saint Zenobius, the patron saint of Florence and the namesake of the donor cited in the inscription.<sup>114</sup> The key to this identification has been the punching of the saint's halo, where the fleur de lis surrounds the Bishop's mitre. This image was one of the city's communal symbols during the medieval and Renaissance periods, suggesting that the halo decorations indicate a Florentine heritage; in this case, the Tuscan hero may be Saint Zenobius, the city's first bishop.<sup>115</sup> A number of circumstances, however, have led me to believe that the image of the Bishop Saint might depict a different honorary figure. While the fleur de lis was certainly a Florentine symbol, it was also an important image identified with the Angevin court. Indeed, Donatello's sculpture of Louis of Toulouse for Orsanmichele features this design on the Saint's mitre (fig. 66), denoting the figure as a Frenchman. The tooling punched

into the halo around the Bishop's head in Lorenzo's altarpiece, then, may well be a reference to a Gallic figure rather than a Florentine one. If the fleur de lis refers to a French figure, then we may wish to reidentify the saint as Martin of Tours, the Bishop Saint to whom Lanfredi di Bellincione Aldobrandini's chapel in the church choir was dedicated in 1392.<sup>116</sup>

A saint's "presence" in the monastic complex was not the only criterion for a figure's appearance in the lateral zones of the Coronation. This becomes immediately apparent with the inclusion of Saints Stephen, Paul, Matthew, Giovanni Gualberto, and Bartholomew, none of whom were commemorated by a chapel or altar in S. Maria degli Angeli (figs. 55 and 56, and Charts III and IV). Instead, their appearance seems to have been based on the celebration of their Feast Days during the liturgical year. The observation of festivals throughout the calendar was an important aspect of religious life, for both monastic and secular worshipers. Numerous benefactors sought out the monks for their piety, and gave lavish gifts in return for the observation of their patron saints' feast days.<sup>117</sup> Tellino Dini, for example, requested the chanting of a special mass for Saint Job in his burial chapel everyday of the year. Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi, meanwhile, donated to his fellow brethren a farm in the Florentine countryside, worth one hundred florins, in return for their prayers on Saint Bartholomew's Day (August 24). Among the other saints

honored in S. Maria degli Angeli throughout the year were Andrew, John the Evangelist, Anthony, Paul, Benedict, Romuald, Lawrence, and the Ognissanti, all of whom were depicted in the altarpiece's flanking areas. By 1402, the monastery had made agreements with at least thirty-five separate donors toward this end. In addition to being symbols of the convent's physical structures, the figures included in Lorenzo Monaco's composition represented feasts funded by some of the monastery's most important benefactors.

The major festivals celebrated in S. Maria degli Angeli allow an attempt to identify another thus far anonymous saint appearing in the Coronation's right register. Holding aloft a book of his writings and wearing the white robes of a Benedictine reformer, the tonsured monk may be a depiction of Saint Bernard (fig. 56). Bernard's representation was the result of a donation made to the monastery late in the Trecento by Bernardo Ardinghelli, who had offered an annual gift of three florins to the monks for their celebration of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's feast day, observed annually on August 20. The Ardinghelli donation was significant for two reasons. First, Saint Bernard was a greatly revered theologian, thanks in part to his notable work concerning the union of Christ and the Virgin in Heaven. S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic community owned and adhered to Bernard's texts, making him one of the convent's more important figures of veneration. Second, Bernardo

Ardinghelli was an important patron, for he was one of the donors responsible for funding the production of an altarpiece--possibly Lorenzo Monaco's Agony in the Garden--in 1394.<sup>118</sup> Saint Bernard's liturgical significance and Bernardo Ardinghelli's support of the community were both reflected in the theologian's appearance in the middle of the back row of saints in the right panel. Thus, most of the figures represented in the Coronation's flanking panels were allusions either to selected liturgical ceremonies performed in S. Maria degli Angeli, or to the structures which comprised the monastic complex.

Only two of the saints depicted in the altarpiece's side panels fail to conform to this pattern. Neither Saint Matthew, placed at the far right of the left zone, nor Giovanni Gualberto, located at the far right of the right register, received special attention from the monastic community during the year. No structures were dedicated in their honor, and no secular benefactors asked the community to say commemorative masses on their Feast Days. Unlike the altarpiece's other iconic figures, neither Matthew nor Giovanni Gualberto were depicted elsewhere in the monastery's collection of images, with references to the two saints appearing in neither manuscript illuminations nor panel pictures. These figures appear to have been added to the composition for very different reasons.

The explanation for the presence of Saints Matthew and Giovanni Gualberto in the Coronation may involve specific

personalities governing or representing the cloister at the time of the altarpiece's completion. According to the inscription running below the main panel, the polyptych was commissioned, produced and installed during the priorate of the venerable Don Matteo di Guido. In 1413, Don Matteo had been a member of S. Maria degli Angeli's community for over fifty years, and, judging by his mention in the inscription, was considered to be a symbol of the monastery's respectability and piety. The stern figure of Saint Matthew, bearded and balding, may have been included in the composition to refer specifically to the single most important resident in the monastic cloister (fig. 55). The other saint who may be identified with a member of the cloister is that of Giovanni Gualberto, placed at the composition's far right edge (fig. 56). Although Gualberto, as a Benedictine Reformer and spiritual kinsman of Saint Romuald, was affiliated with the Camaldolese Order, his memory was never the focus of intense devotion by the community in S. Maria degli Angeli. No special masses in his honor were ever requested by secular donors, and the convent's liturgical choral books barely mention his name. Thus, Giovanni Gualberto's appearance may have been due to the importance of a second member of the cloister, Don Giovanni da Sanminiato. With the exceptions of Don Matteo di Guido and Don Lorenzo Monaco, Don Giovanni da Sanminiato was perhaps the most famous monk residing in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>119</sup> In addition to copying Gregory's Moralia in Job



for his library, Don Giovanni had built a reputation both in and out of the cloister in 1406, when he debated the famous writer Coluccio Salutati over the merits and disadvantages of contemplative and active lifestyles. Although he had failed to defend his convent's traditionalist stances, which supported contemplative devotion over the alternative suggested by Salutati, Don Giovanni's eagerness to engage his adversary on this important issue had made him a noteworthy member of S. Maria degli Angeli's ranks. As a native of Giovanni Gualberto's home town and as a monk bearing the name of the great Vallombrosan Saint, Don Giovanni da Sanminiato may well have been the impetus for the inclusion of this great Florentine saint in Lorenzo Monaco's composition. If this hypothesis is correct, then the influence of individuals living in the conventual cloister may have been responsible for the inclusion of two figures in the saintly gathering.

Another individual whose influence may be discerned in the work is Pope John XXIII, the most important ecclesiastical figure living in Florence in 1413. As we have seen, the Pontiff was especially interested in S. Maria degli Angeli. The pious community was entrusted to care for his prized relic of John the Baptist's finger, and the convent was listed in his will as one of the Pope's main beneficiaries.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, John signed a bull which exempted S. Maria degli Angeli from paying papal levies, thus allowing the convent to escape from these financial

responsibilities.<sup>121</sup> The monastery was deeply indebted to him, and officially recognized him as the one true Pope.<sup>122</sup>

S. Maria degli Angeli's support of John XXIII may have been reflected pictorially in Lorenzo's composition in two different ways. First, there is a possibility that the clean-shaven Saint Nicholas, partially obscured by the figure of Saint Matthew in the left panel, was painted to resemble Pope John (fig. 55). Beardless bishop saints were not commonly depicted in Florentine paintings of the Trecento and early Quattrocento, although they were not unique during this period. Saints represented as beardless were usually monks, deacons, or youthful noblemen. Interestingly enough, Pope John XXIII did not wear a beard during his stay in Florence. Donatello's tomb sculpture of the pontiff accurately reflects his facial features, which appear to correspond to the partially hidden figure of Saint Nicholas in the Coronation's side panel (fig. 67). Furthermore, the bishop's mitre painted on the Saint's head seems to have been the preferred attribute used to identify Pope John, as Donatello's figure also wears the symbol of this office. The unusual depiction of the beardless Bishop in the Coronation of the Virgin may have been added as an homage to the monastery's important papal patron.

The second manner of recognizing the convent's debt to John XXIII was more subtly placed on the high altarpiece. This reference was incorporated into the representation of Saint John the Baptist, kneeling to the Virgin's right (fig.

55). Holding a slender cross in his left hand, John solemnly points to the celestial scene dominating the central panel. In addition to referring to the Baptist's initial recognition of Christ as the Messiah on the banks of the River Jordan ("Behold, the Lamb of God"), this gesture may also have contained powerful symbolic allusions to Pope John XXIII. The figure of the Baptist points toward the Coronation with his right index finger, the same finger from which John XXIII's relic came, and which was held in deposit in S. Maria degli Angeli from 1413 until 1422. Although many Tuscan representations of John the Baptist depicted the Saint pointing toward Christ with his right index finger, the gesture probably carried more significance for the members of the Camaldolese monastery than it did for any other audience.<sup>123</sup> Whereas other viewers might interpret the image solely as a sign of the Baptist's reverence for the Savior, S. Maria degli Angeli's monks would have seen the pointing Saint as a reference to Pope John XXIII's relationship with their community. In addition to alluding to their liturgy and their physical surroundings, the altarpiece referred to an individual of great importance for the members of the cloistered convent.

The basic design of the Coronation of the Virgin appears to have been based on two fundamental sources. The general concept of painting an image which included saints, angels, and patriarchs seems to have been taken from liturgical verses sung by the brethren during the Feast of

the Assumption on August 15 and on the Feast of Ognissanti on November 1. The second source for the composition appears to have been the saints commemorated in S. Maria degli Angeli, either in the form of physical structures built in their honor or in the form of festivals celebrated in their memory. Viewers were confronted with an image which was not only a literal representation of the scene of the Coronation, but was a visual metaphor for the monastery in which they worshiped. Just as the image of Mary surrounded by angels was used as a way to connect S. Maria degli Angeli with the Virgin in Heaven, so too were the attending saints used to transcend the boundary between the material world of Quattrocento Florence and the spiritual realm of the Celestial Paradise. As the viewer worshiped before the picture, the scene took on a double setting: While the starry bands supporting the figures clearly marked the event as occurring in Heaven, the analogies to the chapels within the convent brought the moment directly into the individual's personal sphere. The event of the Virgin's Coronation occurred every time the monk gazed upon the high altarpiece; indeed, it transpired not only in the region of the otherworld, but in the time and space of the viewer's domain, and in a setting placed squarely in the midst of chapels dedicated to figures represented in the altarpiece. The Coronation became a visual metaphor for the entire monastery, which in turn symbolized the heavenly realm in which the Coronation of the Virgin took place. The monastic

viewer's experience was not limited to that of a simple worshiper. He became instead an active witness, much like the saintly assemblage that flanked the central throne.

### Camaldolese Themes in the Main Compartment

Although a number of the full-length figures conveyed direct references to the structures in S. Maria degli Angeli, the depth of the polyptych's iconographic contents did not end with these symbolic representations. The Coronation of the Virgin was laced with pictorial analogies containing didactic Camaldolese principles. In addition to underscoring the convent's physical properties, the image also elaborated upon the myths and legends which surrounded the Order's history. By juxtaposing overt Camaldolese symbols with subtle references to Romuald's reform movement, the high altarpiece succeeded in proclaiming the Order as the one true adherent to the valuable monastic principles instituted by Saint Benedict and supported by the Virgin Mary.

The most obvious formal device propagating Camaldolese values was the repetition of white habits worn by figures strategically positioned at critical locations in the central panel. Saints Benedict and Romuald kneel at either end of the composition, serving as brackets for the entire ensemble of witnesses (fig. 51). Placed on the extreme right, with his hermit's staff in hand, Romuald's white

garment identifies him as the founder of the Camaldolese Order. Benedict, positioned at the far left, holds a discipline in his left hand and the Regula Benedicta in his right. As opposed to Romuald, who traditionally wore white robes, Benedict's attire deviates from his standard representation in Tuscan art. Painters of the period frequently depicted the Saint in the black robes worn by members of his Order. The observant reform movements, initiated by Romuald's creation of the Camaldolese Order, distanced themselves visually from the Benedictines by wearing simpler, more modest habits than those preferred by their monastic predecessors. The depiction of Benedict wearing the white robes of reformers suggested to the viewer that the author of the Rule had transferred his allegiance from the Benedictines to the Camaldolese, symbolizing not only his sanction of the reform movement, but his preference for it over the black monks of his own order.

Saint Benedict was not the only figure depicted as converting to the Camaldolese regimen. The most important figure in the entire altarpiece, the Virgin Mary, was similarly represented as an adherent to Romuald's movement. Bowing her head in reverence, and in order to receive the crown being placed upon her head, the Virgin has been placed on the celestial throne clothed in the same Camaldolese gowns worn by Romuald and Benedict. According to the Golden Legend, the Virgin's purity was so evident during her ascent into Heaven that those witnessing the event believed her

soul to have turned the whitest of whites.<sup>124</sup> In order to conform to this description, the Queen of Heaven was depicted in the Coronation's central panel wearing pale robes, thus alluding to the recorded accounts of her Assumption. This description of the Virgin's whiteness allowed Lorenzo Monaco and the altarpiece's Camaldolese designers to make an overt reference to Saint Romuald's reform movement. With Benedict and the Virgin Mary donning the white robes worn by S. Maria degli Angeli's monastic worshipers, each and every member of the cloister could include the Queen of Heaven as an honorary member of their Order.

Camaldolese symbolism did not end with the color coordinating format of the Benedict-Virgin-Romuald triangle. Returning to the saints flanking the Coronation, we quickly see that a number of these figures represented aspects consistent with fundamental ideals of cenobitic monasticism and reclusive eremitism. Among those grouped in the left panel, Benedict, John the Baptist, James, and Anthony were all legendary ascetics, renowned for their respective sojourns in the Wilderness (fig. 55).<sup>125</sup> In the right panel, six figures were affiliated with reform movement principles. Saints John the Evangelist, Giovanni Gualberto, Martin, Bernard, and Job join Romuald as products of the eremitic and cenobitic traditions (fig. 56).<sup>126</sup> Moreover, a distinction has been made which separates the original Benedictine Order from those reform orders which had

splintered away from it. Whereas Saint Benedict has been placed at the far left, all of his reform-minded counterparts have been grouped together in the opposite section, sharing the celestial paradise with him but distinctly removed from his influence. Bernard, leader of the Cistercians and patron saint of the Olivetan Order, is joined by Saints Giovanni Gualberto and Romuald, the respective founders of the Vallombrosans and Camaldolese, to form a consortium of Benedictine disciples standing united in their reverence for, but separation from, their monastic forefather. They are all followers of Saint Benedict, but do not wish to be associated with his descendants.<sup>127</sup>

The Coronation's central panels contained propaganda aimed at reconfirming the Order's legitimacy and influence among heavenly intercessors. The appearance of the Virgin Mary and Saint Benedict, dressed in the white gowns of Romuald's followers, may have been interpreted by the Camaldolese monk as forming a bond of spiritual lineage which descended to the contemporary viewer. S. Maria degli Angeli's brethren were reassured that their lifestyle and devotional practices were not only accepted by the saintly community, but were considered to represent the best possible form of Christian observance. Furthermore, the central panel reminded the Camaldolese viewer of his debt to, but differences from, Saint Benedict and the order he had created. Although related to the author of the Rule, these Benedictine reformers had created their own religious



alliance which was stronger than any connection they may have felt toward the Order of black monks. In addition to paying homage to their spiritual ancestors, the monks were also emphasizing their departure from Saint Benedict's descendants. Indeed, these propagandistic references were not unlike those presented in the altarpieces commissioned for the monastic chapterhouse in 1364-65 (see Chapter Four).

### **Camaldolese Themes in the Predella Panels**

Doctrinal principles were not limited to the broad panel that forms the principal element of the high altarpiece. Perhaps the most intricate Camaldolese messages were contained in the sequence of six predella panels, especially in the four images devoted to the life of Saint Benedict. Whereas the main compartment illustrated the legitimacy and autonomy of the reform movement, the predella series was intended to remind the brethren of their debt to Benedict's original teachings. Two of the six predella panels, in the second and fifth positions respectively (fig. 51), are dedicated to the importance of Benedict's ideals for Camaldolese devotion. The themes of cenobitism and eremitism, central to the Saint's basic theory of spiritual perfection, have been placed side by side in the same panel compositions to underscore their separate, but compatible, lifestyles.<sup>128</sup>

The first panel devoted to the Saint's influence on

Camaldolese worship is the divided image showing Benedict's formative years, with his early hermitage in Sacro Speco juxtaposed with a scene of a young monk's temptation by the Devil (fig. 58). According to Gregory's account in the Dialogi, Benedict spent most of his adolescence as a recluse in the Italian wilderness.<sup>129</sup> Fed by a sympathetic hermit, who is barely visible in the predella panel's upper left corner, Benedict lived an ascetic life interrupted only by his own struggles with various temptations, all of which were overcome through rigorous mortification of the flesh.<sup>130</sup> After establishing a reputation for piety and extreme discipline, Benedict was coaxed out of his eremitic life by a band of monks, who asked him to be their leader. Gregory notes that during his tenure as abbot, Benedict was intrigued by one of the younger monks' lack of concentration.<sup>131</sup> After careful investigation, Benedict realized that the monk's inability to focus his attention on pious thoughts was due to the presence of the Devil, seen tugging at the young man's habit in Lorenzo's predella panel. Only the abbot's miraculous ability to see Satan, a gift given to him by God, allowed Benedict to rectify the problem.

Clear messages contained in the predella panel were aimed at the Camaldolese supplicant. The Young Monk's Temptation, located in the midst of a communal worship service, was an overt reference to Benedict's belief that monastic institutions should tend to the education of

novices. This tenet, of course, corresponded to the Camaldolese Order's adoption of a cenobitic life, which had been instituted for primarily the same reasons as those mentioned by Benedict in the Regula. The viewer was reminded that S. Maria degli Angeli had been created to teach young sinners, like himself, how to conduct themselves in a proper fashion. While this scene's setting emphasized the communal aspects of the Camaldolese tradition, it also illustrated the shortcomings inherent in any cenobitic institution. Any lack of devotion or concentration on the part of one monk could disrupt the tranquility desired by the rest of the community. This danger was underscored in the second half of the predella panel. The simplicity of the eremitic life eradicated all distractions, thus allowing the hermit to focus all of his energies on the single goal of complete religious devotion. The depiction of Benedict's reclusive adolescence underscored the importance of austere eremitism in the Saint's spiritual development, as well as its fundamental role in Camaldolese practice. As we have seen throughout this study, ascetic mysticism was the highest goal to which the Camaldolese monk could aspire. This predella panel, divided in two in order to show the beauty of Benedict's solitude in the wilderness and the trials experienced in the monastery, successfully juxtaposed these two crucial components of Camaldolese life.

The second predella panel to underscore the dual principles of cenobitism and eremitism was located in the

fifth position of the narrative sequence (fig. 61). Again, the image has been divided into two sections, each presenting a different moment from the Benedictine legend. This time, the wilderness setting has been used as the backdrop for the famous Rescue of Placidus. In the upper left, an enthroned Benedict omnisciently perceives that his disciple has fallen into a lake and is about to drown. The Saint orders Maurus, another follower, to save his endangered comrade. Maurus goes to the lake, strides across the water, and saves Placidus by picking him up by the tuft of his tonsure.<sup>132</sup> This dramatic event is joined by a calmer interior scene, representing Benedict's Visit to Saint Scholastica, just before the two siblings' deaths. According to the Dialogi, Benedict visited his sister, Scholastica, in her nunnery, and engaged her in complex theological discussions.<sup>133</sup> After a day of discourse, Benedict rose to leave, only to have his sister tearfully beg him to stay. Scholastica's tears soon turned into rain drops falling from the sky, and the ensuing storm convinced Benedict to spend the night. Three days after her brother's departure from the nunnery, Santa Scholastica died.<sup>134</sup> Lorenzo Monaco's panel, which juxtaposed an outdoor scene with one set within the confines of a cloistered convent, again illustrated the virtues and values of the cenobitic and eremitic experiences. This time, however, it was the wilderness that was recognized as containing dangers which could imperil the unprepared. While ascetic eremitism was

the more perfect of the two lifestyles, it was also the most arduous, and was reserved only for those who were ready to endure its hardships. These two predella panels demonstrated the positive and negative aspects of both cenobitic and eremitic practices.

Another message presented for the benefit of the monastic viewer was included in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 60), which joined the Nativity in the center of the narrative sequence. Although neither of these panels contains overt references to the Camaldolese Order or to Saint Benedict's dedication to eremitic and cenobitic concerns, the Adoration appealed directly to each monk's private sensibilities. The image connected worshipers both to the scene depicted in the narrative panel and to the depiction of Jesus Christ in the central register of the altarpiece. The predella panel's thematic thrust helped underscore the powerful imagery of the Coronation. Sitting on Mary's lap, Christ blesses the genuflecting Gentile Kings, who have come to recognize the Child as King of Kings and as Leader of Men. Joseph accepts the gifts offered by the visitors, and assumes a subservient role in the presence of his extraordinary wife and her omnipotent son. The theme of Christ's sovereignty in Heaven, demonstrated in the central panel, has now been matched by the image of his authority on Earth in the predella. The scene of Christ bestowing the crown of royalty upon his mother's head, an act performed only by a King, has been compared with his

acceptance of fealty from the Magi in the accompanying predella panel below.<sup>135</sup>

The devices used by Lorenzo Monaco and his advisors to include the monastic worshipers in this framework are the crowns that appear in both the Coronation and Adoration images. These objects were emphasized in the composition to symbolize two different acts of official recognition. In the Coronation, the crown illustrates the ritualistic bestowal of power from Christ to the Virgin, accepting his earthly mother as his heavenly bride. The crown invests Mary with the ability to reign in the Celestial Paradise alongside her son. Similarly, there is a transference of authority from one sovereign to another in the Adoration panel below (fig. 60). In this scene, the eldest Magus kneels in supplication before the King of Kings. The Magus has humbly placed his own crown upon the step supporting the Virgin and Child, an act proclaiming his subordination to the Infant King. The Magus, by extending his symbol of authority to the child's platform, has shifted his own power to Jesus Christ, officially recognizing the latter's authority on Earth. This action repeats and reinforces the central scene occurring in the polyptych's main compartment, where a greater, bare-headed King solemnly places the symbol of authority on his bride's head. Just as the Old Magus gives the Christ Child the crown of royalty, so too does the adult Christ invest the Virgin with the attribute of divine authority.

At this point, the monastic viewer was encouraged to identify with the images of Christ in the predella panel and the main register. As Eisenberg has observed, the eldest Magus kneeling at the Infant's feet has been given the facial features of Saint Benedict.<sup>136</sup> The tonsured King's facial features, most notably his long white beard and foreboding brow, are identical to those of both the full-length depiction of Benedict in the left register and the numerous depictions of the saint in the four predella scenes dedicated to his life.<sup>137</sup> Benedict's insertion into the Adoration scene helped connect the monastic viewer with the events illustrated in this scene. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the Camaldolese viewer was connected to Saint Benedict through a lineage of spiritual brethren, which included Saints Romuald and Gregory the Great. Each monk was a part of a heritage which included Old and New Testament ascetics, Christian disciples and martyrs, and medieval hermits and theologians. Monastic viewers associated themselves with these famous figures, and strove to abide by the high standards which had dictated their predecessors' lives. The representation of the eldest Magus as a Benedictine figure associated the Saint, as well as his Camaldolese descendants, to the Gentile Kings who had initially recognized the authority of the Christ child.

Furthermore, the use of the crown to symbolize official acknowledgment of power carried an intimate message to S. Maria degli Angeli's cloistered community. The Latin word

for the "crown" offered by Christ to the Virgin--and to Christ by the Benedict-Magus--is corona (hence the term "Coronation"). Yet corona was also the term used in monastic circles to describe the tonsure worn by each and every member of the community. According to the Venerable Bede, the circular haircut had been originally devised to commemorate Christ's Crown of Thorns.<sup>138</sup> The monk wore his tonsure as a symbol of unity with, and empathy for, the Savior's Passion and death. Indeed, Bede even referred to the tonsure as a cleric's "crown of hairs" (corona capillorum) in his Corona dei monaci, a book owned by the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>139</sup> As a result, the term corona was interpreted both literally, as a "crown", and figuratively, as a monk's tonsure. Thus, the two images of the corona, one in the central compartment and the other in the predella panel, not only referred to the transfer of authority from one sovereign to another, but visually and linguistically highlighted the monk's single most distinguishing physical feature. As the Camaldolese monk stared at the Adoration panel, he was confronted with references which connected him with the adoring Magus, the tonsured Saint Benedict, and the corona displayed in both the predella and the main register. The crowns given to Christ and to the Virgin were linked to the corona worn by each monk as he worshiped before the high altarpiece, thus permitting him to participate vicariously in the actions unfolding on the panels. The monk became an extension of



his spiritual predecessors, and was symbolically included in this devotional act of Christian piety.

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In its thematic complexity and aesthetic grandeur, Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece was the climactic image in the service of the liturgy at the influential monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli. Its multiple images alluded to numerous themes and festivals of crucial importance for the community, while its size and pictorial elegance made it a fitting addition to the monastery's collection of pictures. Camaldolese messages were underscored throughout its composition, and monks were invited to compare themselves to their pious predecessors in much the same way that they were asked to think of their lineage when worshipping before the Chapterhouse altarpieces. Indeed, the monks were reminded of their history on a daily basis, for, with the single exception of the Easter season, the Coronation was used throughout the liturgical year, thanks in part to intricate design devised by Lorenzo Monaco and his theological advisors. The story behind its commission, execution, installation, and use has made the Coronation of the Virgin one of the most evocative and important altarpieces ever produced during the late Gothic period of Florentine art.

## ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

(1) Although the three chapterhouse triptychs and the Stoldi altarpiece featured inscriptions below their main panels, the information provided there was limited to the name of the patron and the date of installation.

(2) I am grateful to Professors Marvin Eisenberg and David O. Ross for this translation. As Professor Eisenberg has noted, the word DEPINXIT ("he painted") is in the singular form, which indicates that Lorenzo di Giovanni was specifically cited in the inscription as the painter of the Coronation of the Virgin.

(3) Zanobi di Cecco della Frasca was never a member of the Florentine government and, until now, has remained completely anonymous due to a lack of documentation in the State Archives: See Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 120. This study will present the first written references to the Coronation's secular patron that have been found.

(4) Most large commissions took at least two years to complete, if not more. Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece for S. Maria del Carmine was commissioned sometime before October, 1398, but was not finished until April, 1400. Similarly, his work on a picture for an Olivetan monastery just outside the Florentine walls, San Bartolomeo a Monte Oliveto, took roughly three years to complete (July, 1407 to June, 1410).

Thus, the year 1411 is a conservative estimate of the Coronation's date of commission; it is very possible that an agreement was made even earlier.

For the dates of the commission and completion of the altarpieces for S. Maria del Carmine and Monte Oliveto, see Eisenberg, 210-211 (Documents 4A-E and 8A-B).

(5) The unanimous scholarly view is that Lorenzo's Coronation was completed in February, 1414, rather than in 1413. This position has been based on the use of Florentine calendar, according to which the new year did not begin until March 25, the day of the Annunciation. Thus, the inscribed date of installation, FEBR M.CCCC.XIII, has been interpreted to follow the old style, rather than the Roman calendar.

I would propose, however, that Lorenzo Monaco and the monks in S. Maria degli Angeli did not abide by the calendar implemented by the Florentine government. The monastic community considered itself an institution subservient to papal authority alone, and therefore followed the Roman calendar, which began on January 1. The chronological sequence of dated documents appearing in S. Maria degli Angeli's registers confirms their adherence to this dating systems, as entries written in January were recorded as marking the dawn of a new year. A statement written on December 31, 1394, for example, was followed by one dated January 1, 1395, thus reflecting the use of the Roman system (see, for example, A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro

Nuovo 96, fol. 15v: Appendix D, Document 16. There, Neri Partucci is listed as dying on March 6, 1348, while his wife and son are noted to have died three months later, in June, 1348. Clearly, the weeks preceeding the Feast of the Annunciation were considered to be part of the new year in S. Maria degli Angeli). Because the monastery followed this style in its daily practices, there is no reason to assume that it suddenly shifted its methods for its high altarpiece. The date inscribed on Lorenzo's Coronation, therefore, should be interpreted as conforming to the ecclesiastical Roman calendar followed by the monastic community, rather than to Florence's secular one. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's high altarpiece appears to have been installed in February, 1413, rather than during the winter of 1414.

(6) Don Matteo entered the convent in the autumn of 1348.

See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol.

37v: "Don Matheo di Guido venne in questo monastero a dì I d'Ottobre anno 1348, essendo d'età d'anni VII. Poi fece la sua professione a dì XXVIII di Dicembre, 1354, in presentia del detto priore, cioè Don Domenico di Cenni, e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Hic fuit electus prior huius monastero anno domini 1399 dì XVII Novembris. Obiit anno domini 1421 die prima mensis May. Videlicet die in hora domnice ascensionis in loco isto pactis in priorat officio xxi anni dimidio: etatis ii sue anno octogesimo primo. Huius opera studio ecclesia nostro Phrygiis eximie pulchritudinis ornata est." See Appendix D, Document 2.

(7) Corale 4 and Corale 18 are dated 1410. Neither was painted upon completion, although foliage decorations were executed for parts of Corale 18.

(8) See Hans Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance (Princeton, 1966), 111 and 299 (note). The debate was continued by a Dominican friar, Giovanni Dominici, after Don Giovanni da Sanminiato admitted Salutati's intellectual superiority.

(9) For brief descriptions of Pope John's activities between 1400 and 1419, see Bonnie Bennett and David Wilkins, Donatello (Oxford, 1984), 74-76; and R. W. Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo (London, 1980), 4-15.

(10) See Lightbown, 8.

(11) Ibid., 10.

(12) See A.S.F., Provvisioni 110, fol. 204 - 204v; 27 January, 1420/21, in Lightbown, 292. See also Appendix D, Document 79.

(13) Chrysoloras, a Greek scholar, taught his native language to many of the early humanists. Although his tenure in Florence was short, spanning the years from 1397 to 1400, his influence was wide. Among those who studied with him were Leonardo Bruni, Pier Paolo Vergerio, and Palla Strozzi. These men, in turn, shared their knowledge with a younger

generation of students, among whom was the young Ambrogio Traversari. See Lauro Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963), 311-312; The Earthly Republic, eds. Benjamin Kohl and Ronald Witt (Philadelphia, 1978), 122; and Baron, 87 and 126.

(14) For a detailed discussion of Ambrogio Traversari's contributions to Patristic Humanism, see Charles Stinger, Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance (Albany, 1977).

(15) See Martines, 311-312.

(16) Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche della chiese Fiorentina VIII, (Rome, 1754; reprinted in 1972), 158-159. In 1428, Cosimo de' Medici commissioned Lorenzo Ghiberti to execute a bronze reliquary for S. Maria degli Angeli.

(17) In addition to supporting Traversari's school and attracting the interest of wealthy lay patrons, the convent was also assisting the fledgling house of S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti by sending its own brethren to the new cloister (see Chapter Two). Funded by aristocratic members of the Arte del Cambio and housing former members of S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister, S. Benedetto grew in size and reputation as the century wore on.

(18) A.S.F., PM, MS 253, fol. 1318. See Appendix D, Document 80.

(19) The Adimari family, along with the Bardi and Peruzzi clans, were banished from Florentine politics following the Duke of Athens' ouster in 1343. They were, however, reinstated as members of the popolani by the Albizzi faction following the political crisis of 1393: See Gene Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton, 1962), 8; and Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977), 93.

Although related to the Adimari clan, the della Frasca were considered part of the gente nuova. No member of the household was elected to the Signoria until the second decade of the fifteenth century, a testament to their minor station in Florentine society.

My investigation of the della Frasca began with a reference in Dale Kent's The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434 (Oxford, 1980), 77-78.

(20) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XXIII May 1363. See Appendix D, Document 81.

(21) A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432. In his income tax statement for 1427, Domenico di Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca gives his age as 64 years. Neither his father nor his brother, Francescho, are listed in the Catasto.

(22) A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 15224, 24 October 1399. See Appendix D, Document 82.

(23) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 12, fol. 28. "Zanobius olim Cecchi ppli Sci. Xpofori de Flor. . . die xxviii dici menses Januar."

(24) Florentine guilds usually specified that applicants undergo a lengthy apprenticeship that often could not end before the eighteenth birthday. Although most guilds, such as that of the Lawyers and Notaries, were more interested in the length of a man's education and training than they were in his age, few trade organizations allowed adolescents to join ranks: See Lauro Martines, Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1968), 32. Thus, if Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca matriculated from the Arte del Cambio in 1352, he would not have been born after the year 1334.

(25) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XVI December 1364. See Appendix D, Document 83.

(26) As we have seen in Chapter Two, Lanfredi di Bellincione and his brother, Leonardo, were active participants in the construction of S. Maria degli Angeli. The two men funded projects for chapels dedicated to Saints Martin and Leonard, located on either side of the high altar.

Although highly conjectural, the phrase appearing on the inscription referring to Zanobi's initial act of artistic patronage may have been written in regard to the Aldobrandini donations. The proximity of the Coronation to the chapel of Saint Martin and altar of Saint Leonard may indicate a collaborative agreement between Zenobi and Lanfredi.



Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece may have replaced a picture funded jointly by Zenobi and Lanfredi for the chapel of Saint Martin in the early 1390s. In any event, the Coronation almost certainly displaced the previous high altarpiece, which had been funded by the dell'Antella family in 1363.

(27) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XVI December 1364; V April 1365; XXVIII April 1365; XXVII March 1366; and XXX August 1369. See Appendix D, Documents 83-86.

(28) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XXVIII April 1365 (Appendix D, Document 84). Galeasso da Uzzano, incidently, donated funds to S. Maria degli Angeli in 1372. See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 12ff (Appendix D, Document 1).

(29) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XXX August 1369. See Appendix D, Document 86.

(30) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XXIII May 1364. See Appendix D, Document 81.

(31) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, XXVII March 1366. See Appendix D, Document 85.

(32) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 61, V April 1365. See Appendix D, Document 84.

(33) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 62, XXVI April 1372. Unfortu-

nately for the defendant, one of the four councilmen presiding over the Arte del Cambio's tribunal was Galeazzo di Lapoda Uzzano, the man Zanobi had successfully sued for 370 florins in 1365. See Appendix D, Document 87.

(34) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 12, fol. 28.

(35) Domenico consistently claimed to be the head of his household in Prestanza records during the 1390s, with his younger brother listed as contributing to the family income. His 1427 Catasto statement indicates that most of Domenico's income came from rents paid to him by tenant farmers from the contado. See A.S.F., Prestanze 1205, fol. 37; Prestanze 1253, fol. 36v; and Prestanze 1449, fol. 31v. See also A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432.

Jacoba, meanwhile, gained little from her husband's will. She was granted usufructus of his inheritance, with the majority of Zanobi's holdings earmarked for Domenico's use. See A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 15224, 24 October 1399 (Appendix D, Document 82).

(36) Antonia della Bardi was sixteen years younger than Domenico. In 1427 the couple moved from the Drago district in S. Giovanni across the river to the parish of S. Maria sopr'Arno, located just east of the Ponte Vecchio. Here, surrounded by members of the Bardi family, Domenico and Antonia relied on her family's notaries to process their joint testament. See A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432; and A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 9042, fol. 133-133v (see

Appendix D, Document 88).

The Bardi family's decision to marry their daughter to the son of a disgraced merchant may be explained by the historic alliance between Domenico's ancestors, the Adimari family, and the Bardi household. Both lineages were banished from Florentine politics in 1343, and were only reinstated around the turn of the fifteenth century. See Brucker, 1977, 93.

(37) A.S.F., Arte del Cambio 12, fol. 96.

(38) A.S.F., PM, MS 253, fol. 1318. See Appendix D, Document 80.

(39) Ironically, Domenico's allegiances shifted away from the Albizzi faction toward the Medici family during the 1420s. Although he was fairly well off, Domenico owed over 400 florins to Medici amici in 1427 (See A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432). This move proved to be fortuitous, due to the disbanding of the Albizzi faction and Cosimo's ascendance to political prominence in 1434. Giovanni Cavalcanti considered Domenico della Frasca to have been one of Cosimo's many clients before, during and after the Medici's 1434 coup d'état. See Kent, 1980, 77-78.

(40) A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 9042, fol. 133-133v, 1 May, 1427. See Appendix D, Document 88.

(41) A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432.

(42) Domenico's assets placed him firmly in the midst of the middle class, and made him one of the poorest members of the Arte del Cambio. In 1427, Florentine bankers averaged a net worth exceeding 8,700 florins. See David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families (New Haven, 1985), 129.

(43) A.S.F., Catasto 79, fol. 431v-432.

(44) The altarpiece commissioned by the dell'Antella family (see fig. 6) had been funded through money received after the sale of property donated in 1363. Similarly, the da Filicaia family had given the monastery a farm in the contado to be sold, or rented, by the monks in return for the construction of a private burial chapel in the monastic complex. For a detailed examination of the dell'Antella and da Filicaia donations, see Chapter Two.

(45) If Domenico della Frasca was the altarpiece's secular patron, there is some question as to why Saint Dominic was not represented in the composition. As we shall soon see, the saints depicted in Lorenzo Monaco's picture were selected for specific reasons, depending mainly on each figure's importance for the convent's religious celebrations. Dominic's feast day was not venerated with any unusual solemnity in S. Maria degli Angeli, suggesting that the Saint's appearance in the liturgical object would have been superfluous. Furthermore, the presence of the Dominican founder in the high altarpiece of a Benedictine reform church would

have been difficult (although not impossible) to justify. Although he was a respected figure in Christian history, Saint Dominic had no place in a strictly Camaldolese image. While Domenico della Frasca probably funded the polyptych's production, the inclusion of his namesake in the composition's side panels would have been inconsistent with the convent's liturgical needs.

(46) Marvin Eisenberg, 24, has written, "In this vast altarpiece, as impressive in its breadth and inclusiveness as a Gothic portal, Lorenzo displayed the gamut of his art and enlarged the resplendent company of late mediaeval Florentine 'showpieces'--Andrea Pisano's bronze doors for the Baptistery, Orcagna's Strozzi altarpiece and his tabernacle for Orsanmichele, and the dismembered San Piero Maggiore Coronation by Jacopo di Cione. . . ."

(47) I do not intend to imply that Lorenzo Monaco was the last artist to paint gold-ground pictures in Florence. Numerous painters executed such images for conservative patrons well into the fifteenth century. Yet the arrival of Gentile da Fabriano in 1421, Masaccio's painterly revolution in the mid-1420s, and the adoption of these principles by Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi, and Domenico Veneziano effectively ended the Florentine penchant for the gold-ground altarpiece. While Lorenzo Monaco was not the last artist to employ this traditional technique, he was probably the last great one to do so exclusively.

(48) Jacopo di Cione's San Pier Maggiore Coronation (1370-71) displays a compositional format not unlike that used by Lorenzo Monaco. Giovanni del Biondo, meanwhile, seems to have executed the only Coronation altarpiece in which the entire scene has been painted on a single panel (Fiesole, Museo Bandini). See Eisenberg, 122-123 and fig. 302.

(49) From pinnacle to predella and pilaster to pilaster, the Coronation's measurements are 512 X 450 cm. See Eisenberg, 120.

(50) Ibid., 24.

(51) The most recent and analytical discussion is in Eisenberg, 120.

(52) Ibid., 120.

(53) Ibid., 120.

This passage was frequently cited in theological discourses on the Annunciation, for it represented Gabriel's greeting to Mary at the moment of his apparition. The scene could take on many different appearances, depending on the poses struck by Gabriel and the Virgin. See Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford, 1972), 49-56.

(54) The pairing within the six scenes, the thematic rather than chronological organization of the sequence, and the

dependence on specific chapters of Gregory's Dialogi are discussed by Eisenberg, 26-27 and 61-62 (note 94).

(55) As Eisenberg has observed (1989, 26), the placement of the two Infancy panels directly beneath the images of the Enthroned Christ and the Redeemer created an axial spine through the middle of the Coronation of the Virgin. Although it is a large picture, the only immediate references to Christ are contained in this limited vertical area.

Eisenberg has further established that Lorenzo Monaco frequently emphasized a central axis in his work. The axial spine was used in two of Lorenzo's earlier pictures for S. Maria degli Angeli, The Agony in the Garden of circa 1396 and Vir Dolorum of 1404 (figs. 35 and 36). In the former, a chalice-carrying angel hovers above the scene in the upper regions of the gabled panel, while two trees and two rock formations serve as visual connections with the figure of the sleeping Saint James. James' nose, mouth and covered hand fall directly in the path of the axis created by the angel, chalice, trees and rocks: See Eisenberg, "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco", in Monasticism and the Arts, eds. T. Verdon and J. Dally (Syracuse, 1984), 275-278. This axial factor is even more striking in the Vir Dolorum, which underscores Eucharistic imagery from top to bottom. The Pelican, feeding her young with her own blood, sits atop the crucifix, which in turn leads the viewer's eye down to the body of Christ. An empty chalice stands at the foot of the sepul-

chre, which has been decorated with the grapevines commonly associated with the wine of the Last Supper. See Eisenberg, 1989, 14-15.

Although the theological explanation for the placement of each predella scene in the Coronation has a more specific purpose, this axial backbone serves to ground the composition in a clear Christological format, and provides the viewer with an unmistakable anchor of imagery.

(56) For an informative study of the buttressed Trecento altarpiece, see Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "The Buttressed Altarpiece: A Forgotten Aspect of Tuscan Fourteenth Century Altarpiece Design", Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 21 (1979), 21-65.

(57) Although the prophet standing between Moses and Daniel carries no attributes, he may well be a representation of the prophet Isaiah, the foreteller of the Virgin birth depicted in the pinnacles above and in the predella panel below.

(58) Gregory the Great had been the first Church Doctor to express this conception of Christian time. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral (New York, 1964), 62 and 128 (note 33); and PL 76, ed. Migne (1849), 740.

(59) The various elements of the composition imply that the scene depicted here is a representation of the Heavenly



Jerusalem, or Saint Augustine's City of God. The blue atmospheric bands supporting the cast of characters, the different categories of figures represented, and their segregation according to hierarchical rank suggests that the Coronation was designed to signify the Celestial City and all its inhabitants. The same format was used in medieval manuscript illuminations decorating texts of Augustine's De Civitate Dei. In one book, presently located in the Florentine Biblioteca Laurenziana (MS Laur., Plut. 12.17, fol. 2v), the Heavenly Jerusalem has been depicted at the beginning of the text, with a blessing Christ flanked by separate chambers, each containing different inhabitants of the City of God. Angels occupy their own area, martyred saints are contained in a different tier, and patriarchs stand in a third section. This format is much like that used by Lorenzo Monaco in the Coronation. See Madeline Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing", Gesta XXII (1983), 100-101 and fig. 4.

Given S. Maria degli Angeli's veneration of Saint Augustine, this depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem would have been completely obvious to the monastic audience. Furthermore, it would have contained symbolic references to the cloistered community. The monastery was frequently described as a "Heaven on Earth", due to its spiritual perfection in the midst of worldly confusion. Bishop Durandus had equated the cloister with the Celestial Paradise in the late thirteenth century: the cloister was comprised of

four sides, representing "Contempt of self, contempt of the world, love of God, and love of one's neighbors." These four virtues identified the convent with the City of God, thus providing the monastic viewer with a personal comparison with the Heavenly Jerusalem and all of its inhabitants. See Wayne Dynes, "The Medieval Cloister as Portico of Solomon", Gesta XII (1973), 62.

(60) There is no reason to believe that the dell'Antella altarpiece contained a panel dedicated to the theme of the Coronation. Such images were typically accompanied by flanking panels containing numerous adoring saints, as may be seen in the Giottesque Coronation executed for the Baroncelli chapel at S. Croce, and in Nardo di Cione's rendition of the scene for the chapel of Ser Francesco di Ser Berto in S. Maria degli Angeli. The dell'Antella altarpiece, with four side panels devoted to one of the Church Doctors, did not conform to this pattern, thus suggesting that the central compartment of the 1363 high altarpiece probably did not depict the moment of the Virgin's Coronation.

(61) Although liturgical pictures were valued more for their functional properties than for their aesthetic qualities, ecclesiastical patrons often altered, substituted, or replaced stylistically outdated paintings with more modern images. An excellent example of this tendency is the case of the retouching of Guido da Siena's dossal by a member of Duccio's circle around the turn of the fourteenth century.

Apparently for the sole purpose of conforming to contemporary taste, the face of the Virgin in Guido da Siena's "1221" altarpiece for S. Domenico, Siena, was repainted, thus replacing the figure originally painted by Guido with a modern image. Thus, S. Maria degli Angeli's desire to replace an old-fashioned altarpiece with a more current image was not an uncommon sentiment.

(62) Lorenzo Monaco was involved with other projects during the execution of the Coronation. In addition to decorating an antiphonary for S. Maria Nuova (Bargello Codex E 70, 1412-1413), Lorenzo served as the chaplain for a confraternity in Orsanmichele from 1412 to 1415. For documentation confirming Lorenzo's work as a miniaturist during this period, see Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite II, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1878), 31; Osvald Sirén, Don Lorenzo Monaco (Strassburg, 1905), 182; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secoli (Florence, 1962), 172; and Eisenberg, 1989, 212. For Lorenzo's experience as a confraternal chaplain, see Diane Finiello Zervas, "Lorenzo Monaco, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and Orsanmichele: Parts I", Burlington Magazine 133 (1991), 754 and note 27 (the author cites a document recording Lorenzo's election to the post: see A.S.F., Capitani di Orsanmichele 61, fol. 56v, 3 August, 1412).

(63) Although few drawings from the early fifteenth century have survived, there is considerable evidence indicating

that artists frequently executed preparatory sketches for the approval of their patrons. See Frances Ames-Lewis, Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy (New Haven, 1981), 128-131.

(64) Indeed, Lorenzo appears to have made such drawings as he prepared to execute a second Coronation altarpiece for the Camaldolese house of S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti. The altarpiece, which is now in the London National Gallery, was executed immediately after S. Maria degli Angeli's polyptych, and is a close copy of the initial picture. A preparatory drawing for the S. Benedetto altarpiece, in the Gabinetto Disegne e Stampe of the Uffizi, indicates the evolution of the picture's composition. On the verso, Lorenzo drew an image of an Enthroned Saint Benedict, while the recto contains a group of six saints positioned similarly to the flanking saints in the Coronation for S. Maria degli Angeli.

The original plan, fostered either by S. Benedetto's monastic community or by Lorenzo Monaco himself, was to present an image of the Enthroned Saint Benedict in one of the altarpiece's main compartments. Most specialists have concluded that the sketch was a proposal for the Coronation's central panel (see Eisenberg, 1989, 124-125, 143-144 and figs. 63 and 176. The author also provides a thorough critical bibliography concerning these drawings and their functions). This theory hypothesizes that Lorenzo's sugges-

tion was rejected by the monks, causing him to revert to the composition used at S. Maria degli Angeli.

I would like to suggest, however, that the image of the Enthroned Benedict may instead have been proposed for one of the altarpiece's side panels, in much the same way that Giovanni del Biondo had included four seated Church Doctors in the 1363 dell'Antella altarpiece for S. Maria degli Angeli. This theory is based in part on the sketch appearing on the recto of the Benedict drawing, depicting the six kneeling and standing saints, in a composition almost identical to the one ultimately used in the S. Benedetto Coronation. I believe that these recto and verso images were intentionally paired together in order to offer alternative suggestions to the monastic community for their altarpiece's flanking panel. Had the brethren selected the image of Saint Benedict, Lorenzo Monaco may well have executed a composition based on Giovanni del Biondo's dell'Antella altarpiece. The monastic community, however, chose the second option, that of the cluster of six kneeling saints, thus determining that the S. Benedetto picture would be a close copy of the S. Maria degli Angeli Coronation.

(65) The Coronation's width, 450 centimeters (including pilasters), corresponds almost exactly to the size of the dell'Antella altarpiece. Each of the Four Church Doctors measures 60 centimeters in width. Added to the bulky pilasters and a central panel of at least equal dimensions, the dell'Antella altarpiece must have been at least 4.5

meters wide. For the dimensions of Giovanni del Biondo's altarpiece, see Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section IV, Volume IV (New York, 1968), 58.

In 1398, Lorenzo Monaco used a woodworker named Andrea di Giovanni for the production of an altarpiece executed for S. Maria del Carmine. As Eisenberg argues on the basis of a documentary interpretation by Gino Corti, in 1412 the painter had apparently executed a picture for two other lengniaiuoli, Paolo and Francesco Banchini, who seem to have been employed by S. Maria Nuova as carpenters. Lorenzo could have turned to any one of these three woodworkers for the S. Maria degli Angeli Coronation. See Eisenberg, 1989, 123 and 210-212 (Documents 4A-4B and 10); and Siren, 182 (Document IX).

(66) For a description of the preparation of a panel, see Cennino Cennini, The Craftsman's Handbook, ed. Daniel V. Thompson (New York, 1960), 69-75.

(67) See Eisenberg, 1989, 28-29.

(68) Patrons were only too aware of workshop assistance. In some instances, contracts were written which obligated masters to paint certain sections of pictures without the aid of assistants. Duccio's agreement with the commune of Siena for his Maesta is a case in point: the committee specified that the master, while theoretically commissioned

to paint the entire altarpiece alone, was expected to concentrate his own efforts on the large images appearing on the front of the altarpiece. Thus, the master was responsible for painting the polyptych's most important figures, but could delegate the execution of subsidiary figures to his assistants. For a description of Duccio's contract and an astute interpretation of its meanings, see John White, Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop (London, 1979); and Henk van Os, Sienese Altarpieces I (Groningen, 1984), 39-41.

(69) See, for example, Eisenberg, 29.

(70) Marvin Eisenberg, who has consulted with Professor David O. Ross at the University of Michigan, has confirmed that the passage almost certainly reflects the dominant activity of Lorenzo Monaco.

(71) The entries noting Don Lorenzo's enrollment in S. Maria degli Angeli describes the tasks required of novices during their induction ceremony. These have been transcribed in Chapter One (See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95, fol. 90v; and A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, fol. 41v. Appendix D, Document 2).

(72) Cathedrals at Senlis (ca. 1175), Mantas (ca. 1180), and Laon (ca. 1190) incorporated images of the Coronation of the Virgin into their sculptural programs. See Katzenellenbogen, 56.

(73) Early examples include Guido da Siena in Siena (ca. 1270-1280), Cimabue in Assisi (ca. 1285), Duccio in Siena (ca. 1287), and Jacopo Torriti in Rome (ca. 1290). For an abbreviated list of Italian images, see Engelbert Kirschbaum, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie II (Rome, 1970), 673. Giotto, Nardo and Jacopo di Cione, Giovanni del Biondo, Spinello Aretino, and Bartolo di Fredi each painted Coronation scenes which pre-dated Lorenzo Monaco's version. See Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section III, Volume V (New York, 1947), 248-250; and Eisenberg, 1989, 122.

(74) Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien II, 2, 1957, 621; and Kirschbaum, II, 671.

(75) Saint Peter Damian's twelfth-century sermon emphasized the angelic participation. See Philippe Verdier, Le couronnement de la Vierge (Montreal, 1980), 13.

(76) Scriptural verses were often used to associate the Virgin with the Church. Paul had advised husbands to love their wives, "even as Christ loved the Church" (Eph. 5:25), while John the Evangelist had envisioned the New Jerusalem (i.e. the Church) descending from Heaven at the Last Judgment, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. 21:2). Saints Ambrose and Augustine wrote extensively on the symbolic associations connecting the Virgin with the Church. See Katzenellenbogen, 59 and 127 (note 22). Katzenellenbogen suggests two texts for further discussions of



this subject: A. Muller, Ecclesia-Maria, Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche (Paradosis, Beitrage zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie, V) (Freiburg, 1951); and H. Coathalem, Le parallelisme entre la sainte Vierge et l'Eglise dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle (Analecta Gregoriana, LXXIV) (Rome, 1954).

(77) The convent added a copy of Bernard's sermons to its library in 1365. See Salvatore Frigerio, Ambrogio Traversari: un monaco e un monastero nell'umanesimo fiorentino (Camaldoli, 1988), 112.

(78) See Katzenellenbogen, 60.

(79) See Saint Peter Damian, PL 144, ed. Migne (Paris, 1867), columns 717D-718A; and Verdier, 13.

(80) For a detailed discussion of the Coronation's theological overtones and the parallel between the Virgin Mary and the Church, see Katzenellenbogen, 59-64.

(81) Saint Peter Damian had delivered important sermons on the theme of the Coronation and the Virgin's Assumption. His adherence to Bernard's interpretations probably influenced his successors to do the same.

(82) This phrase was common for most monastic and clerical orders throughout Europe. See Kirschbaum, II, 673; and Katzenellenbogen, 57-58. Indeed, the first known depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin in Italy, painted in Guido

da Siena's workshop between 1270 and 1280, features an image of Christ holding aloft a book, in which is written the verse, VENI ELECTA MEA ET PONAM IN TE THRONUM . . ." See Gertrude Coor-Achenbach, "The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin", Burlington Magazine 99 (1957), 328-330. For the liturgical text of this ceremony, see Corale 7, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 26.

(83) Much of the liturgy for the Feast of the Virgin was based on Jacobus da Voragine's Golden Legend, which records a number of verses--reputedly sung by Christ, the Virgin, and a host of angels at Mary's Assumption--which were incorporated into the festival.

(84) French Cathedral sculpture also conformed to the liturgy for the Feast of the Virgin. See Katzenellenbogen, 57.

(85) "Holy is the Virgin Mary, mother of God, of whom was said that God believed was perfect. Here she is exalted above a chorus of angels interceding for us to Jesus Christ our Lord. Hail Mary, full of Grace. Exalted is the Virgin Mary above a chorus of angels. All the faithful and blessed of God rejoice in the sacrificed Son of Man, conceived in chastity. Come, my chosen one, and take your place by my throne, for the King desires your beauty. The eternal Virgin Queen rises and deigns to say that she embarks clearly the palm of your eternal reign." See Corale 19, Biblio-

teca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 98ff.

(86) An artistic and liturgical precedent for the Coronation's textual source had been set in the mid-twelfth century mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore. The Roman image of the Virgin and Christ Enthroned is similar to later Coronation pictures, save for the gesture of Christ crowning his mother as the Queen of Heaven. Below the large icon runs an inscription stating, MARIA VIRGO ASSUMPTA EST AD ETHEREUM THALAMUM IN QUO REX REGUM STELLATO SEDET SOLIO // EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENETRIX SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM AD CELESTIA REGNA. Christ, seated to his mother's left, holds a book, opened to a page upon which is written, VENI ELECTA MEA ET PONAM IN TE THRONAM MEUM. From a purely liturgical perspective, Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation followed a standard textual source that had been used in Italian depictions of the Celestial Kingdom for well over two hundred years. See Walter Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome (Greenwich, 1967), 311-336, figs. 197-220.

(87) The liturgical text for this festival is found in Corale 6, and was probably written around the year 1370 (for a transcription, see Appendix C).

(88) Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folios 88ff.

(89) Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folios 116-117.

(90) "Angels, Archangels, enthroned Princes and powerful justices? of heaven, Cherubym and Seraphym, Patriarchs and Prophets, Doctor Saints, Apostles, Christian Martyrs, Confessor Saints, Virgins of God, Anchorite Saints, all of whom intercede for us."

According to the Golden Legend, these were the figures who participated in the Virgin's Assumption. Gerardus' homily also mentions these Angels, archangels, principalities, and Cherubim and Seraphim. See Jacobus da Voragine, The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, trans. and ed. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (London and New York, 1941), 451 and 457. For S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgical passages, see Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 86ff.

(91) "INTERNA TUOS MULIERUNT NON SURREXIT MAIOR IOHANNE BAPTISTA QUI VIAM DOMINO PREPARAVIT IN HEREMO. FUT HOMO MISSUS A DEO CUI NOMEN IOHANNES ERAT." Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 97v-98v.

(92) "PETRE AMAS ME TU SANCTIS DOMINE QUIA AMO TE. PASCE OVES MEAS. SYMON IOHANNES DILIGIS ME PLUS HYSTU SANCTIS DOMINE QUIA AMO TE." Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 102-103.

(93) Benedict is the focus of a lengthy tribute in Corale 6. The text begins, "SANCTISSIME CONFESSOR XPI BENEDICTE, MONACHORUM, PATER ET DUX, INTERCEDE PRO NOSTRA OMNIUM QUOD SALUTE." See Corale 6, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, folio 108.

(94) Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, The Place of Narrative (Princeton, 1991), 64-65; Jacobus da Voragine, 326; and John 19:26.

(95) For a discussion of Romuald's affiliation with Saint Benedict and the Benedictine Order, see Chapter One.

(96) See Eisenberg, 1989, 25.

(97) For a discussion of the miniature's placement in the text of the Virgin's feast day, see Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "I corali di S. Maria degli Angeli, ora nella Biblioteca Laurenziana, e le miniature da essi asportate", in Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas (Florence, 1978), 224.

(98) See A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, 96, fol. 110 (Appendix D, Document 77); and Chapter Four.

(99) The special feast days represented in the Coronation altarpiece were celebrated on December 25, January 6, Easter Sunday, March 21 (Benedict), March 25, June 24 (John the Baptist), August 15, September 30 (Michael), and November 6 (Leonard).

Those feasts not represented were the Feasts of the Virgin's Conception and Birth (December 8 and September 8) and the Pentecost (Pentecost Sunday).

(100) It has been suggested that the addition of the prophets may have been inspired by the mention of Abraham, Moses,

and David in liturgical ceremonies celebrated on the Feast of Saint Benedict: See Eisenberg, 62 (note 99), who credits Sister Joan Braun, O.S.B. with this observation.

While this argument is convincing, I believe that the prophets' significance was not limited to one festival, Instead, the Old Testament figures were probably venerated by the Camaldolese viewer throughout Lent, as we shall soon see.

(101) Lorenzo Monaco has traditionally been associated with the Prophets in Corale 3, which have been argued to have been painted between 1409 and 1423. Anna Maria Ciaranfi ("Lorenzo Monaco, Miniatore", L'Arte III [1932], 302-316) posited the date 1409, while Mirella Levi D'Ancona ("Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco", Art Bulletin 40 [1958], 180-181 [note 26] and 188-189) believed them to have been executed in 1422-23. Miklós Boskovits (Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del rinascimento [Florence, 1975], 341-342) accepted Ciaranfi's dating of 1409, while Eisenberg (29 and 110) suggested that some of the prophets were painted in circa 1410, while others were executed around 1414. For a full account of the literature concerning these miniatures, see Eisenberg, 110.

(102) The image of the Redeemer in the central pinnacle panel may be an allusion to the resurrected Christ. Its placement in the midst of the Annunciation scene, however, suggests that it could also be interpreted as an image of

God the Father, bestowing the Holy Spirit upon the Virgin Mary.

(103) Andrew Hughes, Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office (Toronto, 1982), 3-20, especially Figure 1.1.

(104) It is interesting to note that the two Saints whose Feast Days marked the beginning and end of the Easter period are none other than the two forefathers of the Camaldolese Order, Benedict and Romuald. Their importance as liturgical parentheses is underscored by their placement on either end of the composition: Benedict, kneeling on the far left, denotes the commencement of Easter, while Romuald, the enclosing figure at the far right, represents the period's conclusion.

(105) Lorenzo Monaco's workshop seems to have been responsible for a number of these Crucifixes, in addition to a group of narrative images depicting the Crucifixion. See Eisenberg, figs. 69, 71 and 72.

(106) This suggestion has been offered in Chapter Two.

(107) The fresco decorations in the transept of S. Croce, executed by Agnolo Gaddi and his workshop, focus on the story of the Legend of the True Cross, while the painting above the Bardi chapel, immediately south of the choir, is Giotto's depiction of the Stigmatization of St. Francis. The subjects rendered in both Agnolo's cycle and Giotto's individual scene were particularly desirable for the friars

at S. Croce, for they clearly underscored the significance of the Holy Cross in the history of Christianity. More important, the images tied the visual representations of the Cross with its verbal equivalent, thus associating the Holy Crucifix with the church of "Santa Croce".

(108) See Eisenberg, 1984, 275; and 1989, 24-25. It should be noted that in the Coronation altarpiece commissioned by the Angeli's sister Camaldolese monastery, S. Benedetto, this allusion to the angels has been omitted, suggesting that their placement around the holy couple in the 1413 picture was, in fact, meant as a visual pun.

(109) Lorenzo Monaco's use of a cluster of angels in proximity to the throne was not new to Tuscan viewers. Agnolo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino, and Bernardo Daddi executed Coronations with this same motif. See Eisenberg, 1989, 124.

(110) This format was not unique in Tuscan painting. The placement of Saints Ansanus, Savinus, Victor, and Crescentinus in Duccio's 1311 Maesta were also based on the presence of chapels dedicated to these saints in the Siennese Duomo. See Van Os, 77-89.

(111) The Golden Legend describes Leonard's aristocratic origins: "Leonard is said to have lived about the year of the Lord 500. Saint Remy, the archbishop of Rheims, was his godfather, and reared him with salutary discipline and teaching. His parents were first in rank in the palace of



the king of France, and the boy found such favour with the king that any prisoner whom he visited was set free forthwith. And as the fame of his holiness spread abroad, the king compelled him to abide with him for many years, until at a suitable time he should be able to give him a bishopric. But Leonard refused this, preferring to live in solitude; and abandoning all his possessions, he went to Orleans, and there preached with his brother Lifard." Leonard's royal affiliations explain why the figure in the Coronation has been depicted wearing a crown. See Jacobus da Voragine, 658.

(112) Northern and Italian Art traditionally depicted Jews wearing elaborate headgear, usually in the form of pointed hats. This was a reflection of contemporary European legal statutes, which required Jews to dress in a manner which distinguished them from Christians: See Suzanne Lewis, "Tractatus adversus Judaeos in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse", Art Bulletin LXVIII (1986), 547. The author cites C. Zaffran, "The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe 1400-1600", Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1973), 10-11.

Imagery in S. Maria degli Angeli conformed to this tradition, as may be seen in the historiated initials decorating the convent's Corale 3, painted in Lorenzo Monaco's workshop at roughly the same time as was the Coronation

altarpiece. In this antiphonary, devoted to the liturgy sung on Sundays during Lent, numerous images of Old Testament Prophets were presented as iconic figures introducing music and text to the monastic community. These Prophets were distinguished from New Testament figures by the turbans covering their heads and by scrolls with simulated Hebrew script held in their hands. Christian saints were usually shown bare-headed, carrying the instruments of their martyrdom to indicate their identity. The prophets on the high altarpiece's pilasters also wear turbans to identify them as figures from the Old Testament.

(113) Saint Michael's physical features are consistent with other representations of the Archangel seen in S. Maria degli Angeli during the last decades of the fourteenth century. An illustration in Corale 2, illustrating the scene of Michael slaying a demon with his sword, is strikingly similar to the figure in the Coronation altarpiece. The Archangel is beardless and holds a sword as his weapon, two characteristics repeated in the 1413 figure (see fig. 68).

There remains, however, the unresolved problem of the figure's lack of wings. Because Michael was an archangel, most representations of him include this important feature. Trecento artists, however, did not always conform to this dictum. In Giovanni del Biondo's Annunciation altarpiece for S. Maria Novella, an image of Saint Michael (identified by an inscription beneath the figure) has been included in a

side panel without his customary wings.

(114) See Eisenberg, 120.

(115) Eisenberg's observation that the fleur de lis halo alluded to Saint Zenobius may be supported by the liturgy sung on the Saint's Feast Day. Part of the text states, "ALMI PATRIS ZENOBII PATROCINIA VENERATES AD CUIUS TACTUM CORPORIS ARBOR SICCA FLORES SPARSIT EIUS SACRIS PRECIBUS IUNGAMUR CELESTIBUS", noting that a touch from Zenobius' hands enabled a tree to flower in the midst of a draught. See Corale 7, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, fol. 66v-67.

(116) A number of theological issues further support Martin's desirability for the Camaldolese community. As the prototypical Occidental monk, Martin would have been an important figure for any monastic order, particularly those associated with the Benedictines. Martin, in fact, was so revered by Saint Benedict that the latter dedicated one of his shrines to the memory of the early Christian ascetic, thus cementing the French ascetic's place in Benedictine hagiographic history: See The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, 1980), 51-53. With Saint Anthony, Martin's Eastern counterpart, prominently displayed on the left side panel, the inclusion of the Aldobrandini Saint on the right would have made perfect sense.

From a purely formal aspect, Lorenzo's depiction of Saint Martin was consistent with other Tuscan depictions of

the French monk during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The bearded figure, adorned with mitre and staff, may have had its pictorial roots in Simone Martini's fresco cycle in the chapel of St. Martin in Assisi. Indeed, Lorenzo's blue-clad figure is markedly similar to Simone's precedent. See Giovanni Paccagnini, Simone Martini (London, 1957), plate XXVI and figs. 66-69.

(117) A list of these gifts appears in A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96, folios 3-10. See Appendix D, Documents 89-102.

(118) Bernardo's donation to the monastery in 1394 for the execution of an altarpiece has been discussed in Chapter Two.

(119) Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi had died in 1412, Lorenzo Monaco was no longer an active member of the cloister (as of 1396), and Ambrogio Traversari had not yet made a name for himself in humanistic studies. Furthermore, many of the wealthiest and most powerful members of the cloister had left S. Maria degli Angeli by 1395 in order to start the new Camaldolese community at S. Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti. Remarkably, when the Coronation of the Virgin was installed in 1413, S. Maria degli Angeli was experiencing something of a shortage of talented, influential, and inspirational monks in its cloister.

(120) See Lightbown, 8, 10, and 15.

(121) Gregorio Farulli, Istoria cronologica del nobile et antico monastero degli Angeli (Lucca, 1710), 39; and Lightbown, 258 (note 8).

(122) The monastery's allegiance was consistent with official Florentine policy, which, along with England, France, Bohemia, Prussia, Northern Italy, and Portugal, recognized John as Pope. Only Aragon, Castile and Scotland preferred Benedict XIII, while Gregory IX reigned over Rimini, Naples, Bavaria, and Poland. See Lightbown, 4-5.

(123) Examples of the pointing Baptist may be seen in Lippo Vanni's Virgin and Saints in the Siena Seminary, Orcagna's Strozzi Altarpiece in S. Maria Novella, and Giovanni del Biondo's Coronation of the Virgin for the Fiesole Cathedral (fig. 53).

(124) ". . . she was taken up into Heaven rejoicing, and placed upon a throne of glory at the right hand of her Son. And the apostles saw that her soul was of such whiteness as no tongue of mortal man could express." Jacobus da Voragine, 452.

(125) The Baptist's adolescence was reputedly spent wandering through the Desert, while Benedict and Anthony each underwent grueling periods of self-imposed isolation while battling wild temptations. St. James Major, meanwhile, was associated with Holy Pilgrimages, which entailed traveling across desolate stretches of countryside.

(126) The Evangelist's exile on Patmos and Job's ostracism from his neighbors connected the two figures with the ascetic ideals of Camaldolese doctrine (see Chapter Four), while Bernard, Giovanni Gualberto (founder of the Vallombrosans) and Martin were the typological personifications of the cenobitic side of Romuald's movement.

(127) The decision to separate Benedict from his reformer descendants may have been influenced by verses from Dante's Commedia. In Canto XXII of the Paradiso, Dante encounters Saint Benedict, who identifies his fellow heavenly residents as successors in the field of monastic asceticism:

Quel monte a cui Cassino è ne la costa  
fu frequentato già in su la cima  
da la gente ingannata e mal disposta;  
e quel son io che sù vi portai prima  
lo nome di colui che 'n terra addusse  
la verità che tanto ci soblima;  
e tanta grazia sopra me relusse,  
ch'io ritrassi le ville circunstanti  
da l'empio colto che 'l mondo sedusse.  
Questi altri fuochi tutti contemplanti  
uomini fuoro, accesi di quel caldo  
che fa nascere i fiori e 'frutti santi.  
Qui è Maccario, qui è Romoaldo,  
qui son li frati miei che dentro ai chiostri  
fermar li piedi e tennero il cor saldo.

Paradiso, Canto XXII,

37-51

(That mountain on whose flank Cassino lies  
was once frequented on its summit by  
those who were still deluded, still awry;

and I am he who was the first to carry  
up to that peak the name of Him who brought  
to earth the truth that lifts us to the heights.

And such abundant grace had brought me light  
that, from corrupted worship that seduced  
the world, I won away the nearby sites.

These other flames were all contemplatives,  
men who were kindled by that heat which brings  
to birth the blessed flowers and blessed fruits.

Here is Marcarius, here is Romuald,  
here are my brothers, those who stayed their steps  
in cloistered walls, who kept their hearts stead-  
fast.

This section of verse clearly places Benedict's medieval disciples in the same region of Paradise as their fifth century predecessor, although they appear to be distinctly separate from the writer of the Rule. Lorenzo Monaco's decision to juxtapose the reformers with their inspirational forefather may have been based on the Paradiso's description of the Celestial realm and its inhabitants.

(128) See Eisenberg, 1989, 26-27.

(129) The first to note Lorenzo Monaco's reliance on the Dialogi were George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952), 173; and E. Dubler, Das Bild des heiligen Benedikt bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters (Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1953), 56. See Eisenberg, 1989, 62 (note 94).

(130) Benedict's most famous bout with sin occurred when the saint was suddenly possessed by a presumably erotic fantasy of a woman. To cool his sexual desires, Benedict stripped off his clothes and rolled naked in a thicket of thorns, thus ridding himself of this temptation. Saint Gregory the Great, The Dialogues, trans. Odo J. Zimmerman (New York, 1959), 57-60.

(131) Ibid., 66-67.

(132) Ibid., 69.

(133) Ibid., 102-104.

(134) Ibid., 104.

(135) Just as a precedent for the Coronation's liturgical source may be found in the mid-twelfth century mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, a compositional precedent for the relationship between the polyptych's predella panels and its main compartments may be revealed in a second set of mosaics produced in a Roman church. The apsidal program in S. Maria in Trastevere, executed by Pietro Cavallini in the mid-



1290s, features a large Coronation of the Virgin, complete with attendant angels and six flanking saintly witnesses. Beneath the main image are six smaller narrative scenes, depicting events from the Virgin's life. Directly below the large representation of the crowned Queen of Heaven is the scene of the Nativity, while the Adoration of the Magi has been positioned underneath the figure of the reigning Christ. From a compositional standpoint, Lorenzo Monaco's placement of the Nativity and Adoration panels in the predella of the Coronation may well have been indirectly influenced by Cavallini's treatment of the subjects in S. Maria in Trastevere. See Oakeshott, 311-336.

(136) See Eisenberg, 1989, 26.

(137) Ibid.

(138) Venerable Bede, PL 95, ed. Migne (Paris, 1851) 328-332, "de tonsura clericorum". The terms tonsura and corona are compared and equated throughout Bede's text.

(139) See Serenella Baldelli Cherubini, "I manoscritti della biblioteca fiorentina di S. Maria degli Angeli attraverso i suoi inventari", La Bibliofilia 74 (1972), 39.

## EPILOGUE

### THE GOLDEN AGE OF S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

S. Maria degli Angeli's most exciting phase of development came to a close with the installation of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin, as fewer building and decorative projects were initiated by the Camaldolese community. Although artists and architects were still commissioned to produce objects and structures for the cloister, the great wave of expansion enjoyed during the fourteenth century slowed considerably during the fifteenth. Nonetheless, S. Maria degli Angeli remained an important intellectual and religious center for centuries to come. Ambrogio Traversari's interest in patristic humanism attracted powerful and influential Florentines to his Academy in the convent during the 1420s, and the monastery's reputation swelled with his selection in 1431 as the Abbot General of the Order. In fact, Traversari's influence may have extended beyond the Camaldolese community; Don Ambrogio may well have advised Lorenzo Ghiberti during the sculptor's execution of the bronze doors for the Florentine Baptistery.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the decline in building programs initiated by S. Maria degli Angeli in the fifteenth century, a few projects were undertaken following the installation of the

Coronation of the Virgin. In 1420 Filippo Frescobaldi, a member of the magnate class, funded the construction and decoration of a chapel dedicated to the Virgin and to Saint Bernard.<sup>2</sup> Cosimo de'Medici showed great interest in the convent's good works and role in society during the 1420s, at which time he was a member of Traversari's Academy. In 1426, the future padrone commissioned Ghiberti--a relative of Don Michele Ghiberti--to execute a bronze reliquary to contain the bones of Saints Protus, Hyacinth, and Nemesis, which had been procured by the monastery in 1422.<sup>3</sup> In 1434 the convent received money bequeathed to them by Filippo Scolari, a descendant of Monna Bandecca dell'Antella (née Scolari).<sup>4</sup> Filippo Brunelleschi was hired to design a polygonal oratory for the monastery's northwest corner, bordering via Alfani and via Caffaggiolo. Although never completed, the Rotondo symbolized the monastery's continued financial prowess and its interest in commissioning well-known artists to execute construction projects. The patronage of wealthy families in the 1420s and 1430s demonstrates the special attention paid to S. Maria degli Angeli by the aristocracy during the early Quattrocento.

A number of panels and murals were produced for S. Maria degli Angeli during this period. The convent appears to have commissioned a panel of the Last Judgment from Fra Angelico around 1430, a project which may have been initiated to commemorate Ambrogio Traversari's election as Abbot General.<sup>5</sup> Bicci di Lorenzo and Andrea del Castagno,

meanwhile, painted fresco scenes for the community in the 1430s and '40s,<sup>6</sup> while Luca della Robbia executed two terracotta reliefs at roughly the same time.<sup>7</sup> This involvement with the visual arts continued into the next century, as such luminaries as Andrea del Sarto, Giorgio Vasari, and Alessandro Allori executed projects for the Camaldolese monks. The famed Accademia del Disegno met in S. Maria degli Angeli during the 1560s, while one of Florence's greatest philosophers, Benedetto Varchi, was buried in the Alberti chapel in 1566.<sup>8</sup> Although the monastic church of S. Michele and all three conventual cloisters were sporadically remodeled or redecorated between 1500 and 1800, few new construction efforts were initiated after 1411.<sup>9</sup> Most of the convent's building and decorative projects focused on replacing preexisting structures and objects, so that the physical appearance of the monastery changed more during its first hundred years than it did over the next three centuries. Thus, the monastery's golden age of artistic and architectural development appears to have subsided after the installation of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin.

There is no question that the expansion of S. Maria degli Angeli during the fourteenth century was, in large part, due to the patronage of an important circle of secular benefactors. The monks enjoyed support from various classes throughout the period, a situation which placed the brethren in the midst of a number of social networks and

associations. Initially constructed with money donated by patrician households and supported by the urban nobility, the monastery's reputation as a haven for the rich and politically powerful was established early in its history. One of its most important networks of patronage involved the collaborative efforts of families closely linked to political factions. Members of the Alfani, Spini, Peruzzi, Tinghi, Dini, Ghiberti, del Palagio, della Stufa, Strozzi, dell'Antella, Baroncelli, Bartolini, da Filicaia, Aldobrandini, Alberti, and da Uzzano families had all held office in the Signoria at one time or another during the century. In some cases, the monastery received donations from these families at the approximate time of their participation in the government.

One of the most important networks of patronage formed between 1343 and 1382 consisted of members of the gente nuova. During this "Democratic Period", a number of "new citizens" flocked to S. Maria degli Angeli, waving money and requesting building projects to be implemented in their names. These sometimes mysterious patrons were men like Agnolo dal Canto, Benvenuto Medico, Niccholaio di Tingho, Neri Partucci, Bindo Benini, Tellino Dini, Giovanni Ghiberti, and Ser Francesco di Ser Berto, none of whom could be considered as having been "great men" in the course of Florentine history (only Niccholaio di Tingho and Tellino Dini can be argued to have had political aspirations). Still, with greater opportunities for inclusion into the

Florentine economic and political system, the gente nuova appear to have been welcomed into the monastic fold with open arms. In an age marked by greater tolerance for middle-class concerns, the traditionally aristocratic Camaldolese house adapted to the times and profited from the benevolence of these eager patrons.

Although political and economic unions clearly formed a number of networks connecting the convent's patrons, the strongest bond linking donor to donor--and donor to convent--was the composition of the monastic and converso communities. From 1348 to 1400, S. Maria degli Angeli received at least fifteen major donations from lay patrons who enjoyed familial ties to the cloister. While there may have been other considerations involved in their decision to donate money, most of convent's post-plague patrons contributed funds to commemorate the participation of relatives in S. Maria degli Angeli. This group included Nicholaio di Tingho, Benvenuto Medico, Neri Partucci, Tellino Dini, Bindo Benini, Giovanni Ghiberti, Don Giovanni degli Strozzi, Piero di Neri del Palagio, Andrea Lotteringhi della Stufa, Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi, Agnola and Federigo di Nerone Stoldi, Piera degli Albizzi (and her husband, Bernardo dei Nobili), Lanfredi and Lionardo di Bellincione Aldobrandini, Gherardo degli Alberti, and Antonio and d'Agnolo da Uzzano. Whether it was a brother or son, an uncle or cousin, or a nephew or grandson, wealthy Florentines supported their relatives after they entered the

cloister. The bond between monk and benefactor did more to fill the monastery's coffers and expand its borders than any other single factor.

Without this extensive group of benefactors, S. Maria degli Angeli's most famous organization could not have been supported. The monastic scriptorium, which operated during the latter decades of the Trecento, thrived on the generous patronage of a few interested parties. At least thirty antiphonaries (and probably more) were produced in the scriptorium between 1370 and 1410, as monastic designers and scribes rubricated folios, inserted musical staves, added neumes, and wrote liturgical texts for religious services. Although these monastic calligraphers also painted secondary initials appearing within the text of each ceremony, larger pictures were executed by lay miniatori and dipintori, who were hired to decorate designated areas with colorful foliage patterns and appropriate figures. The brethren became acquainted with the city's best artists, and contracted those whose work best suited their needs. Thus, book manufacturing placed the community squarely in the midst of a vibrant art market, both as skilled producers of extravagant liturgical objects and as institutional patrons of local dipintori.

The monastery's interest in liturgical objects and visual imagery extended beyond its antiphonaries to larger art works used during religious services. Between 1336 and 1413, S. Maria degli Angeli commissioned over twenty large

panel paintings, each devoted to specific ideas and tenets valued by its cloistered audience. Due to liturgical and logistical necessities, an artistic program of related themes appears to have been designed and implemented by the community. Focusing on important events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin, these altarpieces were a coherent group of pictures that could be venerated during essential periods of the year. In accordance with a Papal Indulgence, the community was obligated to process past its entire collection of images on specified feast days, worshipping before every picture along the way. As a result, the convent's altarpieces were probably designed to pertain directly to these festivals, allowing monks to see a painted depiction of a momentous event or influential figure on the day of its veneration. Thus, procession and program were intimately related. Whereas the pictorial program was initiated to help monks during their private devotions, the need for specific images pertaining to individual feast days undoubtedly influenced the selection of an altarpiece's subject matter.

Aside from its use during occasional processions, each liturgical picture had three crucial functions. First and foremost, the painted altarpiece created a visual environment for the celebration of the Eucharist, the ceremony devoted to the miraculous transformation of the bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ. For this reason alone, the painted object was an integral



part of the liturgical service. The dramatic appeal of the mysterious transubstantiation was heightened immeasurably when it was framed by a sumptuous, yet rigidly dogmatic, religious image. As with most other Trecento institutions, S. Maria degli Angeli felt a need to decorate its altars with large and detailed pictures in order to add to the mystique of the Mass.

The second function of the altarpiece was to promulgate specific concepts held dear by its specialized audience. Lay benefactors, as we have seen in Chapter Two, were not satisfied merely with financing family burial chapels. They also wished to decorate their spaces with pictorial images which espoused certain doctrines or glorified particular figures deemed essential for their salvation. Thus, patron saints and events important to the donor were often included in the altarpiece's composition. Similarly, propagandistic themes pertaining to the Camaldolese Order were frequently inserted in side and predella panels. These concepts addressed the monk's religious heritage, which associated him with prominent figures from Judeo-Christian history. The fundamental idea of ascetic worship, as well as the crucial coexistence of cenobitism and eremitism, were underscored repeatedly in a manner which spoke directly to the monastic viewer in S. Maria degli Angeli. The monastery's altarpieces sent a series of very specific messages which could only be fully understood by the members of S. Maria degli Angeli's worshipping community.

The altarpiece's third function was its interaction with written liturgies performed during religious rituals. Images were carefully designed to present a full and accurate picture of the ceremony commemorated, and often departed from the texts upon which they seem to have been based. Because written passages did not always cover every aspect of a festival, pictures were used to complete the narrative, or even to impart messages omitted entirely by the recorded liturgy. Rather than working as complementary items, underscoring identical themes by illustrating the contents of each other, word and image often supplemented each other by elaborating upon ideas left unmentioned by its counterpart. Without one or the other, the celebration of an important event in the Christian calendar would have been incomplete. The only way for the Camaldolese monk to understand the liturgy he was reciting was for him to connect the thrust of the written text with the messages contained in the painted image. Together, the two combined to form a comprehensive religious experience which appealed to the suppliant on visual, intellectual, and spiritual levels.<sup>10</sup>

The polyptych installed behind the high altar at S. Maria degli Angeli in 1413 was the culmination of the monastery's artistic and liturgical program. The altarpiece contained references to the history of the convent's construction, alluded to its importance as a religious institution, and venerated a collection of saints who were

central to the community's daily and annual worship. This salient picture celebrated not only the monastery and its cloistered community, but praised both its devotional traditions and its secular benefactors as well. The entire scope of Camaldolese worship and Christian devotion was presented in one image, painted by perhaps the only artist living in Quattrocento Florence who could have understood the needs and functions of such an altarpiece completely and intuitively. The commission and execution of Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin was the perfect marriage between an institutional patron and its favorite painter.

Oddly, the altarpiece's secular patron has remained in relative obscurity for centuries. Although his name appears in the picture's inscription, "Zenobi Cecchi Frasche" has remained a mysterious figure, due to the fact that a large body of documentary evidence has remained unexplored in the Archivio di Stato. Archival discoveries indicate that Zanobi was probably not the actual patron of the Coronation of the Virgin. His death sometime before 1399, his meager financial holdings, and a tarnished business reputation suggest that the altarpiece's benefactor was instead one of his kinsmen, who was deeply interested in rebuilding Zanobi's stature. For familial and political reasons, Domenico della Frasca, Zanobi's son, was the person who most probably funded the high altarpiece. Domenico's association with the convent, however, appears to have eroded by the end of his life, for the monastic registers contain no

references of further patronage by this ambitious Florentine. His legacy, and that of his father, was limited to the inscription running along the base of the convent's high altarpiece.

For those who saw and used the Coronation of the Virgin on a daily basis, the altarpiece presented and transmitted messages of vital importance. In addition to confirming the convent's devotion to the Church and Pope, the picture referred directly to the monastery, its brethren, and its traditions. Its liturgical uses were diverse and extensive, while the images selected for representation were carefully designed to correspond to the monastery's needs. Each figure carried significance for the Camaldolese community, either as an allusion to its physical structure or as a visual representation of a major feast day celebrated annually in S. Maria degli Angeli's church. These figures must also have satisfied members of the lay congregation, many of whom had supported the convent at one time or another. Secular donors who had asked the monks to venerate specific figures were honored to see depictions of their patron saints on the monastery's most important liturgical object. Thus, the major iconic images that populate the Coronation of the Virgin were selected to satisfy both the liturgical needs of the cloister's monks and the wishes of the community's benefactors.

S. Maria degli Angeli, then, enjoyed an intimate and highly complex relationship with the visual arts. Monks

needed texts and images to facilitate liturgical celebrations, and were interested in possessing altarpieces executed by the era's most talented painters. In order to fund these commissions, the cloister cultivated a network of patrons comprised mainly of secular donors associated not only with one another, but with relatives living in the monastery. These benefactors were responsible for funding projects which erected new edifices, installed elaborate altarpieces, and produced important religious manuscripts. Were it not for monastic initiative and the financial support of its secular patrons, S. Maria degli Angeli's scriptorium would never have succeeded as it did. The Camaldolese monastery was an important producer of art objects, an active patron of art objects, and a needy user of art objects.

## ENDNOTES FOR THE EPILOGUE

(1) See Richard and Trude Krautheimer, Lorenzo Ghiberti (Princeton, 1982), 171-188.

(2) A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Contratti Antichi 68, fol. 212v.

(3) See Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine VIII (Rome, 1759), 158; and Krautheimer and Krautheimer, 5, 13, and 138-139.

(4) S. Maria degli Angeli received 5,000 florins from the Arte del Calimala, the executors of Filippo Scolari's will, for the erection of the Rotondo. Construction, however, was halted abruptly in 1437 (due to financial constraints caused by Florence's war with Lucca) and was not taken up during Brunelleschi's life. See Eugenio Battisti, Filippo Brunelleschi (New York, 1981), 248-258; and Geraldine Bass, "Two Documents on the Tempio degli Angeli", in Filippo Brunelleschi: La sua opera e il suo tempo II (Florence, 1980), 477-484.

(5) See John Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico (Ithaca, 1974), 192; and Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 46 and 72 (note 169).

(6) See Walter and Elizabeth Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz III (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1952), 123 and 128.

Andrea's works have been detached and are exhibited in

the old refectory of the Florentine convent of S. Apollonia. For the painter's involvement with the Camaldolese house, see John Spencer, Andrea del Castagno and His Patrons (Durham, 1990), 88-95.

(7) See Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche della chiese Fiorentina III (Rome, 1755), 167; and Paatz and Paatz, 124.

(8) See Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present (Cambridge, 1940), 299-301. See also Richa, VIII, 169-170.

(9) See Richa, VIII, 162-174; and Paatz and Paatz, 110 and 114.

(10) The forms painted on these panels may also have functioned as mnemonic devices. Altarpieces were seen by the monk on an almost daily basis. He walked past them, ate near them, prayed for the deceased before them, and contemplated both theological and mundane issues in their presence. Alone in a burial chapel, the painted object was the largest image in his presence, and naturally became the focus of his attention as he commemorated the souls of the chapel's donors. The monk became so familiar with them that they probably could have been recalled during liturgical services, even when those services were conducted in a different part of the monastery. If he could memorize certain sections or motifs of a crucial image, the long and complex liturgies pertaining to that picture's subject could be recalled and recited without difficulty. Thus, another

function of S. Maria degli Angeli's altarpieces may have been its employment as a mnemonic device for the memorization, recollection, and recitation of voluminous amounts of written liturgical texts.





**APPENDICES A-C**

**ANTIQUARIAN SOURCES  
CHORAL BOOKS AND LITURGICAL SOURCES  
LITURGIES FOR THE FEASTS OF SAINT ROMUALD AND OGNISSANTI**

## APPENDIX A:

### ANTIQUARIAN SOURCES

Giorgio Vasari, "La vita di Lorenzo Monaco", in Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori II (1568), eds. Paola Barocchi and Roseanna Bettarini, Florence, 1966.

"DON LORENZO: MONACO DEGLI ANGELI DI FIRENZE"

#### PITTORE

A una persona buona e religiosa credo io che sia di gran contento il trovarsi alle mani qualche esercizio onorato o di lettere o di musica o di pittura, o di altre liberali e meccaniche arti che non siano biasimevoli, ma piuttosto di utile agli altri uomini e di giovanmento; perciocchè dopo i divini uffici si passa onoratamente il tempo col diletto che si piglia nelle dolci fatiche dei piacevoli esercizi. A che si aggiugne, che non solo è stimato e tenuto in pregio dagli altri, solo che invidiosi non siano e maligni, metre che vive; ma che ancora è dopo la morte da tutti gli uomini onorato, per l'opere e buon nome che di lui resta a coloro che rimangono. E nel vero, chi dispensa il tempo in questa maniera, vive in quieta contemplazione, e senza molestia alcuna di quei stimoli ambiziosi, che negli scioperati ed oziosi, che per lo più sono ignoranti, con loro vergogna e danno quasi sempre si veggiono. E se pur avviene che un così fatto virtuoso dai maligni sia talora percosso, può tanto il valore della

virtù, che il tempo ricupere e sotterra la malignità de' cattivi, ed il virtuoso ne' secoli che succedono rimane sempre chiaro ed illustre. Don Lorenzo, dunque pittore fiorentino, essendo monaco della religione di Camaldoli e nel monasterio degli Angeli (il qual monasterio ebbe il suo principio, l'anno 1294, da Fra Guittone d'Arezzo dell'Ordine e milizia della Vergine Madre di Gesu' Cristo; ovvero, come volgarmente erano i religiosi di quell'Ordine chiamati, de' Frati Gaudenti), attese nei suoi primi anni con tanto studio al disegno ed alla pittura, che egli fu poi meritamente in quello esercizio fra i migliori dell'età sua annoverato. Le prime opere di questo monaco pittore, il quale tenne la maniera di Taddeo Gaddi e degli altri suoi, furono nel suo monasterio degli Angeli; dove, oltre molte altre cose, dipinse la tavola dell'altar maggiore che ancor oggi nella loro chiesa si vede, la quale fu posta su finita del tutto, come per lettere scritte da basso nel fornimento si può vedere, l'anno 1413. Dipinse similmente Don Lorenzo, in una tavola che era nel monasterio di San Benedetto del medesimo ordine di Camaldoli fuor della porta a Pinti, il quale fu rovinato per l'assedio di Firenze l'anno 1529, una Coronazione di Nostra Donna, siccome aveva anco fatto nella tavola della sua chiesa degli Angeli: la quale tavola di San Benedetto è oggi nel primo chiostro del detto monasterio degli Angeli, nella cappella degli Alberti, a man ritta. In quel medesimo tempo, e forse prima, in Santa Trinita di Firenze dipinse a fresco la cappella e la tavola degli

Ardinghelli, che in quel tempo fu molt lodata; dove fece di naturale il ritratto di Dante e del Petrarca. In San Pier Maggiore dipinse la cappella dei Fioravanti; ed in una cappella di San Piero Scheraggio dipinse la tavola; e nella detta chiesa di Santa Trinita la cappella de'Bartolini. In San Jacopo sopra Arno si vede anco una tavola di sua mano, molto ben lavorata e condotta con infinita diligenza, secondo la maniera di que'tempi. Similmente, nella Certosa fuori di Fiorenza, dipinse alcune cose con buona pratica; ed in San Michele di Pisa, monasterio dell'Ordine suo, alcune tavole che sono ragionevoli. Ed in Firenze, nella chiesa de'Romiti pur di Camaldoli (che oggi, essendo rovinata insieme col monasterio, ha rilasciato solamente il nome a quella parte di là d'Arno, che dal nome di quel santo luogo si chiama Camaldoli), oltre a molte altre cose, fece un Crocifisso in tavola ed un San Giovanni, che furono tenuti bellissimi. Finalmente, infermatosi d'una postema crudele, che lo tenne oppresso molti mesi, si morì d'anni cinquanta-cinque; e fu da'suoi monaci, come le sue virtù meritavano, onoratamente nel Capitolo del loro monasterio sotterrato.

E perchè spesso, come la sperienza ne dimostra, da un solo germe, col tempo, mediante lo studio ed ingegno degli uomini, ne sorgono molti; nel detto monasterio degli Angeli, dove sempre per addietro attesero i monaci alla pittura e al disegno, non solo il detto Don Lorenzo fu eccellente in fra di loro, ma vi fiorirono ancora per lungo spazio di molti anni, e prima e poi, uomini eccellenti nelle cose del diseg-

no. Onde non mi pare da passare in niun modo con silenzio un Don Iacopo fiorentino, che fu molto innanzi al detto Don Lorenzo; perciocchè, come fu ottimo e costumatissimo religioso, così fu il miglior scrittore di lettere grosse che fusse prima o sia stato poi, non solo in Toscana, ma in tutta Europa: come chiaramente ne dimostrano non solo i venti pezzi grandissimi di libri da coro che egli lasciò nel suo monasterio, che sono i più belli, quanto allo scritto, e maggiori che siano forse in Italia, ma infinit altri ancora che in Roma ed in Venezia ed in molti altri luoghi si ritrovano; e massimamente in San Michele ed in San Mattia di Murano, monasterio della sua religione Camaldolense. Per le quali opere meritò questo buon Padre, molti e molti anni poi che fu passato a miglior vita, non pure che Don Paolo Orlandinni, monaco dottissimo nel medesimo monasterio, lo celebrasse con molti versi latini; ma che ancora fusse, come è, la sua mano destra, con che scrisse i detti libri, in un tabernacolo serbata con molta venerazione, insieme con quella d'un altro monaco chiamato Don Silvestro; il quale non meno eccellentemente, per quanto portò la condizione di que'tempi, miniò i detti libri, che gli avesse scritti Don Iacopo. Ed io, che molte volte gli ho veduti, resto maravigliato che fussero condotti con tanto disegno e con tanta diligenza in quei tempi che tutte l'arti del disegno erano poco meno che perdute: perciocche furono l'opere di questi monaci intorno agli anni di nostra salute 1350, o poco prima o poi; come in ciascuno di detti libri si vede. Dicesi, ed

ancora alcuni vecchi se ne ricordano, che quando papa Leone X venne a Firenze, egli volle vedere e molto ben considerare i detti libri, ricordandosi avergli udito molto lodare al Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici suo padre; e che, poichè gli ebbe con attenzione guardati ed ammirati, mentre stavano tutti aperti sopra le prospere del coro, disse: Se fussero secondo la chiesa romana, e non, come sono, secondo l'ordine monastico e uso di Camaldoli, ne vorremmo alcuni pezzi, dando giusta ricompensa ai monaci, per San Piero di Roma: dove già n'erano, e forse ne sono due altri di mano de' medesimi monaci, molto belli. Sono nel medesimo monasterio degli Angeli molti ricami antichi, lavorati con molta bella maniera e con molto disegno dai Padri di quel luogo, mentre stavano in perpetua clausura, con nome non di monaci, ma di romiti, senza uscire mai del monasterio, nella guisa che fanno le suore e monache de' tempi nostri: la quale clausura durò insino all'anno 1470. Ma, per tornare a Don Lorenzo, insegnò costui a Francesco Fiorentino, il quale dopo la morte sua fece il tabernacolo che è in sul canto di Santa Maria Novella, in capo alla via della Scala, per andare alla sala del papa; ed a un altro discepolo che fu Pisano, il quale dipinse nella chiesa di San Francesco di Pisa, alla cappella di Ranieri, con tre storie di figure piccole nella predella dell'altare. La qual opera, che fu fatta nel 1315 (sic), per cosa lavorata a tempera, fu tenuta ragionevole. Nel nostro libro dei disegni, ho di mano di Don Lorenzo le Virtù teologiche fatte di chiaroscuro, con buon disegno e

bella e graziosa maniera, intanto che sono per avventura migliori che i disegni di qualsivoglia altro maestro di que'tempi. Fu ragionevole dipintore, ne'tempi di Don Lorenzo, Antonio Vite da Pistoia; il quale dipinse, oltre molte altre cose (come s'è detto nello Starnina), nel Palazzo del Ceppo di Prato, la vita di Francesco di Marco, fondatore di quel luogo pio.

Giorgio Vasari, "Life of Lorenzo Monaco", in Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects I (trans. Mrs. J. Foster), London, 1855, 279-284.

#### DON LORENZO, PAINTER, MONK OF THE ANGELI OF FLORENCE

It appears to me that permission to pursue some honourable occupation must needs prove a great solace to a good and upright man who has taken monastic vows. Music, letters, painting, or any other liberal, or even mechanical art, involving nothing blameable, but rather, useful to others, as well as satisfactory to himself; any of these must, in my opinion, be a valuable resource to him; for, after having performed all his religious duties, the monk so gifted passes his time creditably, as well as happily, in the pleasant labours of his favourite occupation. And to this may be added, that not only is such a one esteemed and



valued while he lives by every man who is not envious or malignant, but is honoured by all men after his death for his works, and for the good name which he leaves to the remembrance of those who survive him. It is, moreover, to be observed, that he who spends his time in the manner, passes the hours in quiet contemplation, secure from the molestation of those ambitious desires by which the idle and unoccupied, who are for the most very ignorant, are constantly beset, to their frequent shame and sorrow. And if it should happen that a virtuous man should sometimes be persecuted by the envious and wicked, yet such is the force of goodness, that while time destroys and renders nugatory the malice of the evil-doer, the name of the upright man remains clear and bright throughout all ages.

The Florentine painter Lorenzo was a monk of the order of Camaldoli, and belonged to the monastery of the Angeli, which was founded in the year 1294, by Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who belonged to the order (military as well as religious) of the Virgin Mother of Jesus, or, as the monks of that order are vulgarly called, the Joyous Friars (Fрати Gaudenti). In his earliest years Lorenzo devoted himself with so much zeal to the arts of design and painting, that he was afterwards deservedly enumerated among the best of the age in that vocation. The first works of this painter-monk, who adhered to the manner of Taddeo Gaddi and his disciples, were executed in his own monastery of the Angeli, where, in addition to many other pictures, he painted that

of the High Altar, which is still to be seen in their church, and was finished, as we learn from letters written on the lower part of the framework, in the year 1413, when it was placed where it still remains. Don Lorenzo then painted a Coronation of the Virgin in a picture which was in the monastery of San Benedetto, outside the gate of Pinti. This monastery likewise belonged to the order of the Camaldolines, and was destroyed at the siege of Florence, in 1529. He had also previously selected the same subject for the picture of his own church of the Angeli. The picture painted for San Benedetto is now in the first cloister of the aforesaid monastery of the Angeli, in the chapel of the Alberti, on the right hand.

At the same time, or perhaps at an earlier period, this master painted, in fresco, the chapel of the Ardinghelli, in the church of Santa Trinita, in Florence, together with the altar-piece, which was highly celebrated at the time. Here he executed the portraits of Dante and Petrarch, both from nature. In San Pietro Scheraggio, and the chapel of the Bartolini family, in the church of the Trinity (sic). In San Jacopo-sopra-Arno there is also a picture by Lorenzo, admirably painted, and finished with extreme diligence, according to the manner of those times. In the Certosa, outside of Florence, our clerical artist gave further proof of his ability and experience in art, and in San Michele, at Pisa, a monastery of his own order, he painted several pictures, which have considerable merit. In the church of

the Hermits (Romiti), in Florence, which also belongs to the Camaldolines, Don Lorenzo painted a Crucifixion, on panel, among other pictures, with a St. John, which were held to be very fine works. This church of the Romiti is now ruined, together with the monastery, and has left no other memory than its name, which is still retained, that part of the city beyond the Arno being called the Camaldoli, from that holy place. Finally, having fallen sick of a grievous imposthume, from which he suffered during several months, Don Lorenzo died, at the age of fifty-five, and was honourably interred by his brethren the monks, as his virtues well merited, in the chapter-house of their subterranean monastery.

Experience has sufficiently proved that from one sole germ, the genius and industry of men, aided by the influences of time, will frequently elicit many fruits, and thus it happened in the aforesaid monastery of the Angeli, of which the monks were ever remarkable for their attainments in the arts of design and painting. Don Lorenzo was not the only excellent master among them; on the contrary, there flourished for a long space of time in that monastery many brethren of merited distinction in art, some of whom preceded him: among them was one whom I can by no means pass over in silence, a certain Florentine monk called Don Jacopo, who lived long before Don Lorenzo, and was a good and worthy brother of his order, as well as the best writer of large letters that had ever then been known in

Tuscany, or indeed in all Europe; nor has his equal been seen even to the present day. And of this we have still proof, not only in the twenty large choral books which he left in his monastery, and which are the most beautiful, as respects the writing, as they are perhaps the largest, to be found in Italy, but also in many other works from his hand, preserved in Rome, Venice, and other cities in different parts of Italy. Some that may be particularly specified are in San Michele and San Mattia di Murano, a monastery of his own order of the Camaldolese. For these his labours this good father well merited the homage paid to him by Don Paolo Orlandini, a learned monk of the same monastery, who wrote a large number of Latin verses to his honour many years after Don Jacopo had himself passed to a better life. His right hand, moreover, that namely with which he had produced those admired works, was preserved, with the utmost veneration, in a tabernacle, together with that of another monk called Don Silvestro, who adorned the same books with miniatures, no less excellent--the knowledge of those time considered--than the writings of Don Jacopo. I have myself often examined these books, and have been astonished at the accuracy of design, and beauty of execution displayed in works of a period when the arts of design were almost wholly lost, for the productions of these monks date from about the year of our salvation 1350, a little more or a little less, as may be seen on any one of the books themselves. It is said, and there are still some old men who remember the fact, that

when Pope Leo X came to Florence, he demanded to see these books, which he examined minutely, remembering to have heard them much praised by Lorenzo the Magnificent, his father. It is further related, that after he had considered them attentively, and with great admiration, as they all stood open upon the desks of the choir he remarked, "If these works were according to the Romish Church, and not, as they, according to the rule and custom of the monastic, and especially the Camaldoline order, we would gladly take certain portions of them (giving the just recompense to the monks) with us to Rome, for the church of San Pietro". Two very beautiful books, by the same monks, were indeed formerly in that cathedral, where they probably still remain. There are, moreover, many specimens of ancient embroideries, worked in a very beautiful manner, preserved in the same monastery of the Angeli. These also were done by the ancient fathers of that place, while they were shut up in perpetual seclusion, not bearing the name of monks, but that of hermits, and never coming forth from their convents any more than do the nuns and sisters of our own days. This close seclusion continued until the year 1470.

But to return to Don Lorenzo: that master taught his art to the Florentine, Francesco, who, after his death, painted the Tabernacle at the corner of Santa Maria Novella, at the upper end of the Via della Scala, going towards the hall of the pope. He had, besides, another disciple, who was a Pisan, and who painted a portrait for the chapel of

the Rutilio di Ser Baccio Maggiolini, in the church of San Francesco, and San Ranieri; and on the predella of the altar were three stories in small figures; it was finished in 1315 (sic), and was held to possess considerable merit for a work in distemper. In my book of drawings I have the Theological Virtues, done in "chiaro-scuro", by Don Lorenzo; they are well drawn, in a beautiful and graceful manner, insomuch that they are perhaps better than the drawings of any other master whatsoever belonging to those times. There was a tolerably good painter who flourished in Don Lorenzo's day, Antonio Vite, of Pistoia, namely, who painted, among other pictures (as we have said in the life of Starnina), various stories in the Palace of the Ceppo, at Prato, from the life of Francesco di Marco, founder of that pious place.

Tommaso Mini, Historia del Sacro Eremo di Camaldoli, vol. I, 1706; 460-463, 487-490, 495-508, 520-533.

p. 460 - "Origine del Sacro Monastero degli Angeli di Firenze: Cap. xxxiiii"

Il sacro monasterio di Santa Maria degli Angeli dello citta di Firenze hebbe origine sotto titolo, e conversazione Eremitica l'anno della nostra salute 1294, con questa occasione, il Cavaliere Guittone Aretino dell'Ordine de frati Gaudenti havendo considerato, nell'andare all'eremo, la santita, e devozione del luogo, pensando dove egli potese

dilatatore l'habito del sacro Eremo per salute della sua anima, tornato a Firenze lo confer col priore Generale Don Fridiano, il quale mando Don Orlando venerabile eremita in quelle parti, con duegento lire pisane, sborsate dallo Cavaliere, per comperare un poco di sito a gli proposito: il quale comperò due casipole, con tre stariora d'orto da Alluodo, degli Allodi, cittadino Fiorentino a dì ultimo d'Aprile di detto anno, in luogo detto Cafaggiuolo posto fuori della porta a Balle: la dove havendo fatto in oratorio lungo braccia xiii, largo xi et alto vii, pigliando il lume dal tetto, vi pose l'altare di tre braccia con una tavola, con pitture che rapresentavano il Misterio della Assunzione della Vergine Maria, esaltata sopra i cori degli Angeli: fece ancora la sagrestia nel vestibulo dell'oratorio quale fu un pezzo di sopra, dove si vede hoggi la Cappella de Ticci, rizzatori uno altare in honor di S. Michele Angelo, di dove la Chiesa et di luogo sorti il nome di S. Maria degl'Angeli: essendo stato fondato il luogo con rigore di vita eremitica, e con proibizione, e legge (p. 461) che non vi entrino dentro donne, et havendovi devozione molte denote matrone per reverenza del sacro Eremo il detto priore Don Orlando edificò fuori su la strada la Chiesetta ancora per comodità delle Donne, dove infino al presente giorno i monaci parlano loro alle grate, portion(?) uno altare similmente dedicato alla Madonna. Dalla sagrestia in sino a mezzo il Chiostrino d'hoggi, cioè in "sino" alla capella di San Benedetto, non molto tempo fa serrata per

cagione di detto chiostrino in erano due celle per li infermi; e per i forestieri et havendo comperate il Generale Fridiano certe terre contigue, si ampliò il luogo honestamente, con clausura Eremitica. Il numero della prima famiglia fa piccolo, la quale era dedita in tutto, e per tutto alla povertà dello spirito. Havendo poi atteso il priore Don Orlando due anni alla istituzione del luogo, e bramando morire nella quiete della contemplativa vita del sacro Eremo, chiese licenzia al priore Generale Don Fridiano, e sene torno al monte dell'Eremo. Dopo il quale sei altri eremiti, che vi furono mandati Prior, l'uno dopo l'altro, venuziorono nel medesimo modo l'ufficio, e sene tornarono al sacro Eremo. De quali Don Romualdo governò gli Angeli nove anni, a istanzia del quale il Priore Generale Gherardo Z concesse la partecipazione de beni spirituali del sacro Eremo a benefattori dell'luogo, in qual grazia fu confermata, et ampliata, per la famiglia tutta degl'Angeli da Papa Benedetto XI: l'anno primo, et essendoci al governo Don Vincenzio Aretino, il Cardinale Napoleone Orsino legato della S. Fede Aplea(?) in Romagna, concesse indulgenza di cento giorni, nelle feste della Beata Maria sempre vergine, ed S. Michele Archangelo, e di S. Giovani Battista, e per otto di precedenti a dette feste a chiunque visita la Chiesa, o dentro, (p. 462) o fuori degl'Angeli dato a Furli a di xv di Dicembre (???) l'anno 2 di Papa Clemente V e Don Gherardo Bolognese, settimo Priore, Forzato da molti nobili amoreuoli a continovare il governo dodieci anni, fece il



Primo coro in Chiesa essendo stati i padre senza coro già xxv anni.

p. 462

"Di Don Filippo Helli primo Priore de Professi del Monastero degli Angeli e delli Arti da lui introdosse: Cap. xxxiiii"

Dopo l'ultimo Priore Eremita, venne il priore Don Gherardo Z. Priore Generale agli Angeli, e visto che la famiglia de monaci qui ci professi era talmente moltiplicata, che si potenano eleggere un'Priore fra loro, egli fece raggiungere(?) tutti i frati a Capitolo, e ne diede loro facultà pertanto messo il partito, fu eletto Don Filippo Helli nobile fiorentino, a cui il Priore Generale confer l'ingegne secondo il solito, il quale Don Filippo impiegando ogni suo studio all'agumento della Chiesa e del culto divino, accioche al santo ministerio non maccassero libri introdusse maestri, che insegnassero scrivere in letter formale, e disegnare, dipignere, e miniare, e ricamare in seta, et in oro, alla gioventu il che cagionò che nel monastero vi si risuegliarono tutte dette stati contanto studio esercitandosi ogni uno per guadagnare il visto a somiglianza de Sto. padre di Egitto, che la casa degl'Angeli se ne riempì, con utile, e con reputazione, attendenosi parimente con ogni diligenza alle cose dello spirito, con lezioni spirituali, studio et perpetua orazione a tempi debiti, sì che del guadagno le fabbriche sul poco si ampliarono. L'anno 1348 fu una gran pestilenza a Firenze, con tale stragia, che non visitude mai sui (p. 463)

spaventevole imagine di morte, et agl'Angeli amazzò monaci xxi solo sette scampiatone, in fra i quali fa il Priore Don Filippo, il quale cessata che fu la contagione, purgò tutta la casa, e tutte l'habitazioni con profummi, et con herbe adorifere, chi vi abbruccio. Rinovandono poi la famiglia, secondo che molti, e molti si inducevano per tutta la città a fare penitenzia per lo sbigottimento, e memoria della peste cessata egli comperò horti, da Bartolo e Giovani Alfani, che confinavano col monastero, come tira il muro dell'horto nuovo in sino alla capella di S. Jacopo, e con il Chiostro del Capitolo in sino al muro del Campaccio. Ma sopra giunto da una febbre mortale morì agli xxi di Giugno, dopo il quale fu eletto dal Convento Don Giovanni di Neri Partucci da Carmignano, il quale non volle accettare per essere morto di fresco suo padre, e volendo attendere a pregare dio per l'anima sua. Ma non volendo i frati eleggere altri, per la sua bontà, fecero venire a Firenze il Priore Don Giovanni Priore Generale, il quale anche egli non lo potendo svolgere fece fare nuovo scrutinio, e fu eletto Don Domenico Cenni fiorentino, il quale amplio il monastero, comperando case, et horti in verso il campaccio, e diede occasione a molti nobili, e benefattori di fare il Chiostro, e Cappelle del Capitolo. Morì in que tempi Don Jacopo Brandini fiorentino buono scrittore, il quale lasciò di se buoni discepoli in quello esercizio cioè a dì 5 di Giugno 1348, d'età d'anni xxvi."

p. 487

"Come il monastero degli Angeli fu messo a sacco dal Popolo dopo la morte della Beata Paula - Cap. xxxvii"

Era congiunta con grande, e santa familiarità alla Beata Paula (mentre che era in vita) una Pinzochera, detta per nome vocula, piena anche essa della divina grazia. Costei haveva della revelazioni da Dio, quali solenna referire al Predecto Priore degli Angeli, e si ancora ad alcune altre spirituali persone: da quali instantemente era pregata di fare orazioni a Dio, che si degnasse manifestare la verità di esse. Moltiplicando costei un'giorno le sue orazioni innanzi a Dio, ella vidde la Beatissima Maria sempre Virgine, con la corona in capo, la quale sedeva una bellissima sedia: a pidi della quale la Beata Paula supplicava instantemente per la salute del monastero degli Angeli, e ritrasse qualmente il detto monasterio doveva patire in quest anno una grandissima rigrazia: del qual monasterio non di meno la Beatissima vergine dimostrava dovere tenere la protezione a prendo il suo (p. 488) vestimento. L'Ordine della quale visione venendo essa vocula a referire al predetto Priore Giovanni, et al soppiore Michele con molta ansietà di animo, esortò quelli con profonda carità, che non si facessero beste di placare l'ira de Dio, recitando cento volte il Pater noster, contento ave marie devotissimamente. Manifestandogli alla scoperta come la Beata Paula con astetto particolare tiene protezione del monasterio loro l'anno dunque 1378 alli 22 di

Giugno sollevatosi tumulto di discordia grandissima contro a  
 "i" nobile, che havevano il governo della Republica, dalla  
 Plebe (quale come ignobile, et ignorante non sa, che il  
 sapientissimo Platone non vuole, che quella in modo alcuno  
 sia città governata con giusto Imperio, dove la malignità  
 popolare ha ordire di volere l'ci il governo della Republica.  
 Et Caronda Siciliano (il quale fu uno di quelli che diede le  
 leggi agli stemiesi, e povernanza di esse diede l'amore a se  
 stesso) diceva che chi si commette al Popolo, seguita la  
 fortuna, molte case de nobili furono abbruciate; in fra le  
 quali furono i Palazzi degl'Albizi, dopo il cui fuoco  
 attaccato, si cominciaron a sentire le voci della infuriata  
 turba gridare agli Angeli, agli Angeli et senza indugio  
 compari alla porta di esso monastero una grandissima  
 moltitudine, con impeto smisurato di appiecarci il fuoco, e  
 gittarla per terra fecero i monaci ogni sforzo di ributtare  
 in dietro la insolenzia degli impazzati sacrilegi. Ma essi  
 essendosi finalmente fatto la strada con salire su per il  
 tetto, e muro di settimo, e con rovina clamosi dentro,  
 missero a sacco tutto il monastero con suprema impietà,  
 dandosi tutti alla rapina, et a mettere sotto sopra ogni  
 cosa a guisa di crudelissimi ladrosi(?). Solamente non si  
 accostavano alla sagrestia, percio che Guido (p. 489) di  
 Messer Tommaso, e Vieri di Medici si erano messi alla difesa  
 del sacro luogo et a molto opportuno sempre lo custodirno,  
 essendosi i monaci tutti dati in fuga. Impero che essendosi  
 essi sforzati di sostenere più che fu possibile la difesa

del loro monastero non potendo più, come pochi che erano guardare, e difendere tutti i luoghi, una parte di loro furono feriti insieme con il predetto Priore Don Giovanni, il quale hebbe una ferita sul capo, e fra Bernardo di Mona Buona converso Giovanne di Grande animo fu ammazzato, trappassatogli una coscia con una spada, et una parte persona partito di salvarsi calandosi per il muro di Sta. Maria Nuova. Svaligiò in quel giorno quella furibonda Turba di Popolo, facendo a gara chi poteva far peggio, e come lapi fra gli armenti tutte le cose mobili del monastero, nel per donando pure a paglie ricci de letti de monaci, delli quali spargevano le paglie per le celle, messono a sacco similmente tutte le vesti drappi, e ciò ch'era di pregio ne cassoni, e forzieri delli cittadini, quali si conservano qui ci in deposito, insieme con tutte le masserizie, e cose di color, che sul principio del romore si erano fuggiti nel monastero con qual che loro faulta. Entrarono ind. giorno dentro alla Clausura del sacro luogo più di dieci mila persone, andando i gridi, delle voci in sino al cielo, urla il Popolo. Et non si vergognarono in quel medesimo di insino alle donne, e meretrici entrare, e vidare la Clausura del luogo sacro; mentre che ogni uno era intento a mettere sotto sopra ogni cosa, e caricara di preda delle sustanzie, che non erano sue. Che è più di un certo Checcho da Poggibonzi, huomo superbo, fece ogni sforzo, a persuasione del demonio di accendere il fuoco nel monasterio. Et (p. 490) abbruciarlo. Ma non trovando dove fusse lume, semvalla

lampara della infermeria, avvenne, che correndo costui la, e mandando giu la corda di essa lampana soprapreso dalla sua troppa furia, il lume si spense; proteggendo il sito la Beatissima Maria sempre vergine per intercessione della Beata Paula, secondo che alla sopra nominata Ziocula? era stato rivelato. Passo il danno di detta rapina la somma di dugento mila scudi d'oro, come scrisse l'Autore.

p. 495

"Delle Cappelle del monasterio degli Angeli e de loro autori, e della indulgenza plenaria in Articolo morte concessa a monaci: Cap. xxxx"

Diverse cappelle sono state fatte agli Angeli in diverse tempi. Madonna Lapa, donna fu di Dosso Spini fece fare, per salute dell'Anima sua, l'Altare di Sta Maria Maddalena all'entrare di sagrestia, dove Giov. Ghiti fece mettere l'Altare di S. Giov. Evangelista, a comunanza hoggi dove è la nobile cappella de Ticci, per le pitture dell'eccellente Bernardino Poccetti Madonna Huccia, donna fu di Filippo Spini, dette fiorini sessanta per l'altare di S. Lorenzo, che poi si rovinò. Messer Nino Canonico di Sta. Apollinari (della cui heredità si fece il dormitorio de Conversi) fece l'altare di Sta. Caterina in sagrestia, e fece traslatare l'altare di San Michele dove risiede hoggi. Mi Benvenuto Medico fece la cappella di San Benedetto. Madonna Giovanna donna fu di Luigi Rinieri, la Cappella di San Francesco. Niccolo Tinghi da Poggibonzi, la Cappella del Annunziata:

et altri l'altare di S. Antonio in Capitolo.

In tanto essendo morto Neri da Carmignano, et essendosi fatto monaco l'altro fratello di Don Giov. che ricusò il priorato degl'Angeli, venne nel Monastero tutta la sua heredità, della quale si amplio la chiesa di San Michele, et l'orto, comperati i tiratori da Bindo del Benini, il quale fece la cappella di S. Giov. Battista in Capitolo dopo due anni. Tellino Dini edificò la cappella di San Giobbe, e della heredità di Giov. Ghiberti, si fabbrico la cappella di San Romualdo et tutti gli altari (p. 496) furono ornati di condegni ornamenti e paramenti. Mortò il predetto Don Domenico Cenni priore a dì 3 di Dicembre 1364 dopo sei giorni, fu rieleto Don Giovanni da Carmignano presente di predetto generale Don Giov Z. che lo costrinse accettare. Nel detto tempo venne agli Angeli la heredità di Ser Francesco Berti, da San Miniato notaio, della quale Don Giovanni priore fece la cappella di Ognisanti in luogo di S. Maria Maddalena, e di S. Lorenzo, et havendo accresciuto il dormitorio, ch'era sopra al reffettorio, principio l'infermeria grande, e vi fece quattro camere essendo venuta altre si certa quantità di denari per mezzo di Giov. di Niccolò Strozzi, ne avrebbe il reffettorio verso settimo, quasi nell'istesso tempo, che il ves; Tommaso Corsini di Firenze per commessione di Papa Urban V cede al Monasterio due stiora di Terra, che egli erano a confine, che per avanti non haveva voluto accomodarle et essendsi fatto monaco Benedetto di Ugo Lotteringi, Andrea suo fratello fece

l'Altare di S. Andrea in Capitolo nel 1371 che si aspetta a quelli della Stufa. Petro Lippi fece la Cappella di S. Pietro.

In detto tempo si ristaurò, et abbellì la chiesa principale nella maniera, che si vede, e visi cominciò a uffiziare? la notte sacratissima del Natale del Signore. Contribuirno a quella spesa Luchino Visconti, Don Niccolò degli Albizi monaco, Bardo Corsi, Bartolomeo del Benino, Galeaza da Uzano, Michele Castellani, il Commendatore di S. Antonio, Antonio di Santi, Bernardo di Cino de Nobili parente di detto Don Niccolò degl Albizi, e fra Lionardo Maffei. I quali tutti, con altri benevidi, messero insieme fiorini duemilia, porgendo aiuto il Priore Giovanni finire il dormitorio sopra il Reffectorio di aggiunse per l'heredità opulente di Filippo Nolo(?) , il priore Giovanni ne fece il ricio paramento bianco degli Angeli, il drappo del quale (p. 497) costò 326 fiorini, et altre tanto i fregi ricamati da monaci i casa maprovedendo del restante l'ammaniume per finire l'infermeria e foresteria grande: egli si amalò, e lasciò queste fragili ombre a dì 6 d'Agosto 1386 havendo prima impetrato da Papa Gregorio xi la facultà dell'asoluzione plnarch(?) in articolo di morte tante perse quanto per gli altri monaci, e conversi in perpetuo, da darsi dal Confessore a ciascuno in sincerità della fede, et unione della Sta. Romana chiesa dato in Avignone a dì 13 di Giugno l'anno 30. Fu Priore dopo don Giov. il predetto Don Michele Ghiberti dottore canonista, il quale nel tempo del



suo Priorato fu vicario del vescovo di Firenze, a condusse a fine la fabbrica della Infermeria grande con l'Altare di San Giov. Dicollato del mese di Agosto, aiutato da Monna Agnola madre di Fra Filippo Stoldi. Aggiunse ancora a detta fabbrica 400 fiorini della heredità di Jacopo Malefici, ch'egli dispensò, come vicario per amore di dio. E Simone cognominato Luchino, e Giovanni di Fano tessitore, con Buonoaccorso ripose, aggiunsero un'donatrice d'una somma maggiore. Venne ancora l'heredità di Don Girolamo da Uzano dottore, che morte Generale e d'Angelo suo fratello, le quali sono state, e sono di grande utilità ad monasterio in sino ad hoggi. In detto tempo Bernardo di Cino de Nobili, fece la Cappella di San Jacopo contigua al Capitolo, et aggiunse una limonsina di 700 fiorini partendo per la volta di Francia (ove morì) accio non macassero danari nella fabbrica della Infermeria, e foresteria grande l'anno 1396. Fa fatta fare la cappella di San Niccolo, contigua a quella di San Jacopo, da Madonna Gemma donna fu di Matteo da Filicaia et vendendo il monasterio la heredità di Lanfredi (p. 498) Bellincioni, presa da Don Angelo, Don Bartolomeo, suoi figli, ne fu fatta la cappella di San Martino: Rinunziò Don Michele in que giorni il Priorato, e gli fu dato successore Don Salvestro. L'ultima delle cappelle fu quella degli Alberti posta nel Chiostro della Porta, a requisizione di Gherardo Alberti, dedicata alla Natività della Madonna sempre Vergine Maria.

p. 498

"Del Monasterio di S. Benedetto distrutto, e come il titolo, e traslatato a S. Maria di Vertighe: Cap xxxxi"

L'anno del Natale Cristiano 1395 si fabbricò il nobile già Monasterio di San Benedetto fuori della Porta a Pinti, della città di Firenze, su la possessione, che era stata di Giorlamo Rinuccini Cavaliere, e posseduta da Girolamo Spini, e de consorti, da cui fu compenata 1120 fiorini da Consoli dell'Arte del Cambio, esecutori del Testamento di Jacopo de Ricci, succeduto il caso del fideicommisso per la morte de figli in pupillare età, a istanzia di Don Allesandro monaco degli Angeli, lasciato capo di q. negozio da detto Jacopo suo fratello morendo di peste; il quale Don Alessandro uscitosi del monasterio degli Angeli (benche contro la voglia de padre i quali non volevano cominciare a rompere la clausura) ottenuto il bene placito Apostolico, vi fece uno oratorio a honore di San Matteo Apostolico, et evangelist: Ma havendovi condotti di poi ad habitare seco nove altri monaci del monasterio degli Angeli, il luogo fu ridotto a monasterio su la forma, e modello del monasterio degli Angeli, et il titolo di San Matteo si mutò, con licenzia del Priore Generale Don Girolamo da Uzano, professo anche egli degli Angeli, nel nome di San Benedetto che ritenne infino alla fine.

Dicesi che questo monasterio fu in fattament (p. 499) simile a quello degli Angeli, che non si potria fare più

elegante pararello di due altri monasteri simili, si quanto alle fabbriche, si ancora quanto alla emulazione degli studii, e delle medesime Arti, scrivere, dipignere, e ricamare. Et quanto all pittura, riuscì buono pittore Don Girolamo Amadei, che lasciò di se lodevoli memorie in varii luoghi, e fu Abate di Valdicastro. Uscirono anche Generale Don Francesco Pieri da Reginopoli, e Don Samuello, come si dirà a luoghi loro Don Niccolo Fiorentino monaco in detto monasterio scrisse la storia delle Religioni fu gli unito il monasterio di Camaldoli di Firenze l'anno 147. Quando il Cardinale Bernardo di Spoleto commendatario lo rinuziò al monasterio di San Benedetto per occasione di una celeste visione agli notte(?) di Generale(?) Furogli contribuiti tutti i Privileggi del monasterio degli Angeli, et era venuto in congregazione di San Michele di Muriano l'anno 1508, e nella presente l'anno 1513. Ma succitandosi l'ultima guerra della città di Firenze il monasterio fu totalmente desolato et il titolo si trasferì finalmente l'anno 1543 a S. Maria di Vertighe fuori del Monte San Sovino, fattosi una premuta, con il monasterio degli Angeli, a cui era unita detto chi(?) con le possessioni, per autorità apostolica fatto in Bologna a dì 18 di Maggio l'anno 90 di Papa Paulo 3o, con aiuto del vescovo Antonio (Guasparre al secolo) civiatense comendatario dello spedale di San Martino di Pisa, il quale renuziò a detta commenda per beneficio degli Angeli dove egli era stato monaco professore. Erano uniti a San Benedetto per Privilegio di Papa Leone X, come uno de 17 luoghi della

nuova congregazione. San Jacopo d'Orticaia, San Piero di Monte Muro San Cipriano di Volterra, con le Chiese di Cintoia di Santa Giocanda e di Tiziano, e di Castagneto, parte de quali Beneficii si permutorno (p. 500) con il podere di S. Agnolo in pranzatorio di Caggiolo, gli altri sono diversamente distratti.

p. 500

"De due Jacopi Scrittori de libri, della Indulgenzie della chiesina e l'unione di Cerreto, e del sasso, e d'Agnano, e del Privilegi dell'inregolarita': Cap xxxxi"

Avrecorno molto splendore in detti tempi al monasterio degli Angeli, i due Donni Jacopi. Il Primo Jacopo del quale habbiamo fatto menzione di sopra al Cap 34. Fu Fiorentino della famiglia de Brandini, il quale fu eccellentissimo scrittore di libri di Coro e più rare cose havebbe lasciato di se memoria, se l'immatura morte non l'havessi prenenuto, il quale di peste morì l'anno 1348 a di 5 di Giugno, l'anno xv della sua conversione, e della età sua xxvi. Il secondo Jacopo fu similmente Fiorentino, il quale arrichi non solamente la chiesa degli Angeli (la quale non cede a nessuna altra, di Ricchezza di simili libri di Coro) ma molte altre chiese, et imparticolare il Duomo di Firenze, quale ha due libri di detto padre, quali sono tenuti in pregio tale, che copertogli di velluto, per le solennità gli tengono in su l'altare del Perdono. Fece molti discepoli, i quali consumato che egli fu dalla vecchiezza, e morto,

l'anno 1396 a dì 22 di Luglio gli spiccarono le mani bacite prima da tutto il convento, con lacrime, e tenerezza, e le messero in un Tabernacolo di legno aperto, dove si conservano, fino al dì di'hoggi per memoria della sua rara virtù.

Fiori nel medesimo tempo Don Silvestro eccellente miniatore di detti libri scritti da Don Jacopo, una mano del quale si crede che fusse riserbata con quelle di Don Jacopo, ma che andasse male. Fu detto Don Silvestro Priore degli Angeli, il quale rimedio alla superbia di alcuni conversi, del monasterio, i quali procuravano, col mezo di alcuni secolari di essere promossi agli ordini sacri, il che fu loro proibito dalla S. Fede Apostolico sotto pena di scomunica dato in Roma a dì 27 di Giugno l'anno 60 di Papa Bonifazio 9o il qual Pontefice concesse ancora Privilegio nel medesimo di, che il Priore, e suppriori possa solvere i monaci, e conversi dalla irregolarità, eccetto l'homicidio, e la mutilazione di qualche principale membro, o se havessero celebrato in dispregio della chivi fatta conveniente soddisfazione, a chi fusse damnificato. Dopo Don Salvestro fu eletto Priore, Don Raffaello Bonciani (come si eletto di sopra nel Cap 39) il quale non volle accettare, per ritrovare occupato nella nuova fabbrica di Monasterio di San Benedetto. Onde fu eletto ancora contra sua voglia il Priore Don Matteo, il quale con il mezzo del magistro Cosimo (il vecchio de Medici ottenne in sussidio per nove anni della Badia di San Gennaio di Capolona l'anno 80 di Martino

V dato in Roma 21 dì di \_\_\_\_ xii Kal \_\_\_\_, della Badia di S. Piero di Cerreto, posta presso a Certaldo, e della badia del Sasso, presso a vogogniano dato a St. Antonio fuori di Firenze a dì 27 di Giugno l'anno 4o di papa Giov. xxiii, e oi l'unione della Badia di Santa Maria di Agnono non ando innanzi, con tutto cio rimase agli Angeli la chiesa di S. Maria di Vertighe, confermata, et unita poi da Innocenzio ottano, con Santa Agata, e San Christofano del Monte a San Savino Principio il Priore Don Matteo, e quasi formi il dormentario nuovo, e comperò il monasterio di settimo a mezzo, con lo spedalingho di S. Maria Nuova don il Beneplacito della Santa sede Apostolica. Dato in Roma a dì xi di Agosto (p. 502) l'anno 1403 (havendo preso errore il Priore Don Agostino con dire(?) queste cose essere state fatte al tempo, del Priore Silvestro il quale è cosa chiara per i registri degli Angeli, essere morto in sino l'anno 1399 e per infinit altri riscontri) quasi nel medesimo tempor il Priore Don Matteo hebbe l'heredità di Francesco di Marco da Prato, ed Teobaldino de Ricci, con la quale comperò la vigna di Pulicciano, con patto che non si ossa alienare, e di farvi dipignere la effigie del detto Francesco ginochioni con la sua Arme apie della Vergine Maria.

p. 502

"Di Don Lorenzo e Don Bartolomeo, et altri scrittori di libri, e Pittori del monasterio degli Angeli: Cap xxxxiij"

In detti tempi Fiorirono agli Angeli due eccellenti Pittori de quali Don Lorenzo Fiorentino imitatore et emulo di Taddeo Gaddi, ornò di egregie Tavole, e Pitture le chiese del monasterio degli Angeli, e di San Benedetto fuori di Firenze. Dipinse nella Chiesa di Sta. Trinita la Cappella de Bartolini, et Ardinghelli, ove ritrasse al Naturale, Dante, et il Petrarca. La cappella de Fioravanti a San Piero Maggiore, e dipinse vaghe pitture alla Certosa, et in altri luoghi citati da Giorgio Vasari passò all'altra vita consumata da uno ulcere l'anno 1419.

Ma Don Bartolomeo della gatta suo discepolo fu pittore e miniatore, et Architetto ingegniosissimo. Fu Abatte di San Clemente d'Arezzo, e particolarmente un'messale, dove nella faccia della Carta avanti al conone minò uno crucifisso, che per essere cosa vaga, erava, fu mandato à Papa Sisto 4o. Fece nella Fraternita di Arezzo il quadro, dove il simulacro di San Rocco raccomanda alla Madonna, il Poplo Aretino, con esprimere (p. 503) la piazza, e fabbrica della fraternita con Annivabile Arte e di piu i ministri della Fraternita nell'habito, che vanno a seppellire i morti, effigiati cosi al naturale, che non si puo desiderare piu bello disegno. Così una altra effigie di San Rocco, in San Pietro, e nella Piene, le mani, e testa delle quali sono in gran considerazione de pittori. Dipinse in Roma la

Cappella di San Sisto, e varie cose al vescovo Gentile di Urbino, e fece diverse pitture i molti luoghi citati dal Vasari fece uno Organo nella sua Chiesa di San Clemente (hoggi destrutta) accomodato, si; che quantunque l'organo fussi alto in Aria, egli lo sonava di terra, servendo al coro, et all'organo n un tempo medesimo. Finalmente facendo il disegno nella chiesa delle lacrime della Beata Vergine Maria egli maneo di vita l'anno 83 di sua età et all sepultura fu posto questo epigramma:

Pingebat docte Zeusis, condebat, et Aedes/ Nicon,  
 Pancaprides Fistula prima tua est/ Non tamen ex  
 vobis mecum certaverit ullus/ que fecistis tres,  
 unicus hec facio

Di poi il monasterio degli Angeli ha sempre havuto, di tempo in tempo monaci in signi in tali Arte. Hoggi ciò Don Migliorre Fiorentino di Biliotti, Pittore, miniatore particolarmente eccellente, Giovane di xx anni, et ancora Don Eugenio Benci scrittore e miniatore, et anni sempre ancora Don Vitale Antinori pure Fiorentino della medesima professione eccellente.



**APPENDIX B:**  
**CHORAL BOOKS AND LITURGICAL CYCLES**

**The Liturgical Cycle Followed by S. Maria degli Angeli**

In his discussion of the scriptorium, Giorgio Vasari mentioned twenty manuscripts produced by the brethren and housed in the monastic complex (see Appendix A). For Vasari, these antiphonaries were the products of Don Jacopo's calligraphy and Don Silvestro's painting. The twenty books were transferred from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in 1810, where they have been stored ever since.<sup>1</sup> We must assume that these are the manuscripts to which Vasari referred in 1568 when he evaluated the scriptorium's proficiency. However, while Vasari believed the antiphonaries to be among the most beautiful books ever decorated, he defined neither the contents nor the functions of the manuscripts. This omission has been bridged by Mirella Levi D'Ancona, who has published a number of studies addressing the liturgical focus of the twenty antiphonaries in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.<sup>2</sup> Because of her work, we have a solid understanding of the books' uses and functions.

The nineteen corali record the liturgical chants recited in S. Maria degli Angeli during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The numbering of each book is somewhat

arbitrary, reflecting neither the chronological order of its production nor its place in the liturgical cycle. For example, Corale 5 was neither the fifth antiphonary made in S. Maria degli Angeli nor was it the fifth part of the antiphonal series. Instead, it was the tenth part of the cycle, and, chronologically speaking, the sixth manuscript in the ensemble to be produced. Incipit pages, noting the choral book's place in the liturgical cycle, remain in eight of the antiphonaries (Corali 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 19), providing important information about the manuscript's production. A typical introductory passage may be found on folio 1 of Corale 16, in the book devoted to ceremonies celebrated in late December. The passage states, INCIPIT II PARS ANTIPHONARII SCE MARIE DE ANGELIS DE FLORENTIA (Incipit page for the second part of the antiphonaries for S. Maria degli Angeli of Florence). Another book, Corale 10, contains a similar phrase on its incipit page, noting its place as the seventh part of an antiphonal cycle, but does not mention its use in the convent of the Angeli, an important omission which indicates its exclusion from this particular series. The eight manuscripts which include references to S. Maria degli Angeli, however, provide us with a structure around which the remaining 13 musical manuscripts may be placed in their liturgical order.

In 1978, Levi D'Ancona established the order of the convent's nineteen manuscripts, based on their liturgical content and the incipit descriptions in some of the

antiphonaries (the following sequence depends on her reconstruction, with antiphonaries containing incipit pages highlighted):

#### Antiphonaries

- Part I - Corale 9 - Advent to St. Nicholas (Nov-Dec)
- Part II - Corale 16 - Christmas to St. Lucy (December)**
- Part III - Corale 14 - Epiphany to St. Agatha (January)**
- Part IV - Corale 17 - Sexagesima to St. Biagio (February)
- Part V - Corale 13 - Quadregesima to S. Benedict (Feb-March)
- Part VI - Corale 12 - The Annunciation to St. Cecilia (March)
- \*\*\* Part VII - Corale 10 - August through November \*\*\***
- Part VIII - Corale 8 - Corpus Domini to SS. Peter & Paul (June)
- Part IX - Corale 19 - July and August
- Part X - Corale 5 - August and September
- Part XI - Corale 6 - October and November
- Part XII - Corale 1 - Movable Feasts: Easter to Trinity Sunday
- Part XIII - Corale 11 - Comune dei Santi: Part 1, Apostles
- Part XIV - Corale 7 - Comune dei Santi: Part 2, Martyrs
- Part XV - Corale 15 - Comune dei Santi: Part 3, Virgins

#### Diurnali

- Part I - Missing - Advent to Easter
- Part II - Missing - Easter to 24th Sunday after Easter
- Part III - Corale 3 - Easter to Trinity Sunday
- Part IV - Corale 4 - Trinity Sunday to Sunday before Advent
- Part V - Corale 18 - Advent and Lent
- Part VI - Corale 2 - Book of Saints for the Entire Year

This reconstruction is entirely correct, except for the inclusion of Corale 10. Levi D'Ancona inserted Corale 10 into the seventh position of the cycle on the basis of its incipit page, which states, "INCIPIT VIGILIA SEPTIMA PAR ANTIPHONARII. . .", assuming that the book was part of S. Maria degli Angeli's liturgical program. The placement of

Corale 10 in the series, however, should be discarded for three reasons. First, the design of Corale 10 differs from the other books made for the Camaldolese house, suggesting that the antiphonary was made for an institution other than S. Maria degli Angeli. The layout of books used in the monastery dictated a limited amount of space for neumes and words, relegating the liturgy to five lines of text per leaf (see figs. 42, 43, and 45). The design of Corale 10, however, increases the text by adding a sixth line onto each folio, in a manner similar to the design implemented in choral books produced for S. Maria Nuova. The expanded lay-out of Corale 10 distinguishes it from the antiphonaries used in S. Maria degli Angeli, and implies that it was not part of the monastery's cycle.

Secondly, the liturgical contents of Corale 10 repeat the feasts and festivals recorded in S. Maria degli Angeli's books, making it completely repetitive and unnecessary. This antiphonary is dedicated to services observed during the months of August, September, October, and November. The liturgy for these months, however, is contained in Corali 19, 5, and 6 (the ninth, tenth and eleventh parts of the series), making Corale 10 entirely redundant. Furthermore, the incipit page of Corale 10 claims that the book formed the seventh part of an antiphonal cycle. But the seventh section of S. Maria degli Angeli's series was clearly devoted to ceremonies performed during the months of April and May, for the sixth part (Corale 12) was dedicated to

feasts in March, while the eighth (Corale 8) concentrated on those in May and June. Corale 10 could not have been the seventh part of the cycle, for if it were it would have been liturgically out of order and completely repetitive. Due to its irregular design, inconsistent incipit page, and redundant liturgical contents, Corale 10 could not have been intended to be read in S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>3</sup> It should, therefore, be removed from the convent's liturgical cycle, with the understanding that the original seventh part of the antiphonal series, focusing on April and May feast days, is now missing.

## ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX B

- (1) Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 109-111 record the provenance of the antiphonaries.
- (2) Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "I corali di S. Maria degli Angeli, ora nella Biblioteca Laurenziana, e le miniature da essi asportate", in Studi in memoria di A. Saitta Revignas (Florence, 1978), 213-235.
- (3) M. Eisenberg, 145. A possible alternative owner might be the convent of S. Benedetto fuori della Porto a Pinti, a Camaldolese convent outside the walls of Florence. The monastery was founded in 1395 with much assistance from S. Maria degli Angeli. Lorenzo Monaco painted S. Benedetto's high altarpiece, a close copy of the one made for the Angeli in 1414, sometime between 1415 and 1420. When the convent was destroyed in 1531 as a defensive measure against invading armies, the liturgical objects and paintings contained inside were moved to S. Maria degli Angeli (See Appendix A). Corale 10 may have been one of those objects transferred from S. Benedetto to S. Maria degli Angeli.

## APPENDIX C:

### CAMALDOLESE LITURGY

#### Liturgies for Saint Romuald's Day and the Feast of Ognissanti

Corale 6, S. Maria degli Angeli

Fol. 86v - "In festivitate omnium sanctorum. In utroque  
vespere super primos." 1 - 8 November

"In consilio iustorum et congregatione magnu opera domini.  
Pretiosa in conspectus domini mors sanctorum eius. Euntes  
ibant et flebant mictentes semina sua.

Iusti confitebuntur nomini tuo et habitabunt recti cum  
vultu tuo. Hoc est vera. Xpiste redemptor omnium.  
Letamini in domino et exultate iusti.

Fol. 88-95 -- "Salvator mundi salva nos omnes Sanctique  
dei genitrix virgo semper Maria ora pro nobis. Preciborum  
quoquorum sanctorum Apostolorum martirum confessorum atque  
sanctorum virginum. Suppliciter petimus ut amalis omnibus  
fervamur. Bonisque omnibus nunc et sempter perfrui  
mereamur.

Regem regum dominum venite te adoremus. Quia ipse est  
corona sanctorum omnium.

Novite dominus viam isutorum qui in lege eius meditant  
die ac nocte. Mirificavit dominus sanctos suos et exaudivit  
eos clamantes ad secum. Letentur omnes que sperant in te

domine in eternum exultabunt et habitabis in eis et  
gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum.

(fol. 91v ff.) - Admirabile est nomen tuum domine quia  
gloria et honore corona ti sanctos tuos et constituisti eos  
super opera manuum tua. Domine qui operati sunt iustitia  
habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo et. . .

Fol. 93 -- MISSING (Ognissanti)

. . . num sedentem super solium excelsum et elevatum et  
plena erat omnis terra maiestate eius. Et eaque sub ipso  
erant replebant templum. Seraphym stabant super illud sex  
ale uni et sex ale alteri.

Fol. 95 - "Beata es Virgo Maria dei genitrixque credidisti  
domino perfecta sunt interque dicta sunt tibi. Ecce  
exaltata es super choros angelorum intercede pro nobis ad  
dominum ihsum xpistum. Ave Maria gratia plena dominus  
tecum.

In conspectum angelorum psallam tibi. Et adorabo ad  
templum sanctum tuum et confitebor nomini tuo domine. Deus  
meus es tu et confitebor tibi deus meus es tu et ex  
altabote. Interna tos mulierunt non surrexit maior Iohanne  
Baptista qui viam domino preparavit in heremo. Fuit homo  
missus a deo cui nomen Iohannes erat.

Letamini in domino et exultate iusti et gloria mini  
omnes recti corde. Timete dominum omnes sancti eius quoniam  
nihil de est timentibunt eum ecce oculi domini super iustos  
et aures eius ad preces eo. Domine spes sanctorum et turris



fortitudinis eorum dedisti hereditatem timentibus nomen tuum et in habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo in secula.

Beati quos elegisti domine habitabunt in atriis tuis et enim clamabunt et Hymnum dicent. Domine deus virtutum beati omnes que sperant in te non privabis bonis eos qui ambulant in equitate in secula seculorum laudabunt te. Benedicite domina omnes angeli eius benedicite ministri eius que facitis voluntatem eius benedicite dominum. Petre amas me tu sanctis Domine quia amo te. Pasce oves meas. Symon Iohannes diligis me plus hystu sanctis domine quia amo te. Fuerunt sine que rela ante dominum et ab invicen non sunt separati Calicem domini biberunt et amici dei facti sunt.

Tradiderunt corpora sua perpetua deum ad supplicia in deo coronantur et accipiunt palmam. Centum quadraginta quatuor milia qui empti sunt de terra hii sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coin quinati virgines enum pre manserunt. I deo regnant cum deo et agnus dei cum illis. Hii emptisunt ex omnibus primitie deo et agno et in ore eorum non est investum inendacium. Hoc est vera fraternitas que nunque potuit inolaricer(?) tamine qui effuso sanguine secuti sunt dominum. Contempnentes aulam regiam per venerunt ad regna celestia.

Ecce que bonum et que locundum habitare fratres in unum. Gloria sit deo patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Laudem dicite deo nostro omnes sancti eius et que timetis deum pusilli et magni quoniam regnavit dominus deus noster omnipotens gaudeamus et exultemus et demus gloriam ei.

Fol. 108-109 - "Sanctissime confessor xpi Benedicte monachorum pater et dux intercede pro nostra omnium quod salute. Devote plebi subveni sancta intercessione ut tuis adiuta precibus regna celestia consequatur. Sunt lumbi vestri precinti et lucer ne ardent in manibus vestris. Et vos similes hominibus ex pectantibus dominum suum quando reverta turnuptiis. Vigilate ergo quia nescitis que hora dominus vester venturus sit. Offerentur regi virgines domino post eam proxime eius offerentur tibi. In letitia et exultatione. Prudentes autem virgines aptate lampades vestras ecce sponsus venit exite obviam. Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu laudemus et supe rex altemus eum. In secula. Benedictus es domine infirmamento celi et laudabilis et gloriosus. Gloria deo patri sit uni genitoque eius filio una cum sancto spiritu.

Post partum virgo in violata pro mansisti dei gentrix intercede pro nobis. Laudemus dominum quem laudant angeli cui cherubym et seraphym sanctus sanctus sanctus proclamant.

Vos amici mei estis si feceritis que precipio vobis dicit dominus. Sancti spiritus et anime iustorum yn nun dicite deo in eternum. Omnium sanctorum chori laudate dominum de celis. Iusti autem in perpetuum vivent. Et apud dominum est merces eorum. Epulentur et exultent in conspectu dei.

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus. Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitis

quos \_\_\_\_ electi voce confitentur unanimes. Beata trinitas unus deus. Sanctum est verum lumen et ammirabile ministrans lucem Hus qui per manserunt in agone certaminis recipient ab ipso splendorem sempiternum(?) in quo assidue felices letantur. Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines et cum separaverunt vos et exprobraverunt et e iecerunt nomen vestrum tanquam malum perpetuum filium hominis gaudete et exultate ecce enim merces vestra multa est in celis. Gaudent in celis anime sanctorum qui Xpisti vestigia sunt secuti et quia pro eius amore seculum speverunt i deo cum Xpisto exultant sine fine.

O quam gloriosum est regnum in quo cum Xpisto gaudent omnes sancti ad micti stolis albis secuntur agnum quocum qye verunt. In consilio iustorum. Exultent iusti. In conspectu dei. Et delectentur in letetitia.

Fol. 122-123 - "Angeli archangeli troni et dominationes principatus et potestates ustutes celorum. Cherubyn atque seraphyn patriarche et prophete. Sancti legis doctores. Apostoliones. Xpi martires. Sancti confessores virgines domini. Anachorite sactipquorum omnes intercidite pro nobis."

**Corale 8, S. Maria degli Angeli**

Folio 72 - In sci Romualdi abb."

O aureum Romualdia seculum quid et sitor menta  
persecutorum non noverut sponta neo tamen martirio non  
carebat.

(Invitat') Collaudemus regem dominum. Cui Romualdus  
gloriosus anelanter ad hesit.

(In primo noc) Huic erat pater nomine sergius mundo  
vehementer intentus et omnino secularibus negotiis  
implicatus. Romualdus autem post patris correctionem in  
palude classis cellam figens in loco ubi pons petri dicitur  
habitavit.

Cum omni desiderio gestabat in corde virtutibus et  
mandatis dominicis obedire. Mensita que eius celitus  
inspirata iam divinabitur in amore quid impleturus erat post  
modum opere. Ab ipso pueritie sue flore totus cepit esse  
dominicus totus dei. Vigiliis vero temperate et cum magna  
discretionem faciendas maxime sua debat.

Folio 76 "Vir vite venerabilis magis elegit vitam  
monasticam ducere beatissimus Romualduo quam in tumultibus  
seculi manere.  
Desiderabut quo perpetuam animam suam salvam facere atque  
domino famulari.

Romualdus xpi confessor si quando ad studium venationis  
se acciugeret ubi cum que pro silvas amenum locum reperire  
poterat. Moxse ad heremi desiderium ascendebat. Memte

tam(?) de devotus frequenter se contra se magnum aliquid proponebat.

Confessor beatissimus dicebat intra se O qu bene poterant heremite in hus ne morum recessibus habitare. Quam congrue possent hic ab omni secularis strepitus perturbatione quiescere.

Sancte Romualdi xpi confessor audi rogantes servoles. Et impetratam celitus tu defer indulgentiam. O sancte Romualde Sydus aureum domini gratis servorum preces solita suscipe clementia.

Hiis itaque loco sedentibus constructis cellulis illic habitare cum suis discipulus vir venerabilis cepit. Regebat ergo monachos sub districta regule disciplina neque alicui diclinare impune licebat. Ex a qua vero undemanus eius abluabantur plures languidisepe restituti sunt sanitati. Quadragesima quidem tempore, nisi necessitate inevitabili cogeretur in cellula iugiter morabatatur.

Egregius iste confessor iugiter exempla bonorum operum suis de se fratibus impendebat. Vere angelus dei vere propheta sanctes et lux magna occulta in finibus nris apparuit. Bonum.

Honestus autem tunc ravenne archiepiscopalem cathedram obtinebat. Hunc romualdus sanctissimus impiger adiit eique omne sui cordis desiderium patesecit.

Eruetavit corneum urbem bonum dico ego opera mea regi. Cenobite itaque classe ses huius suffulti patrocini o beatum Romualdum intrepida securitate suscipiunt, eique sancte

conversationis habitum tradunt.

In eo igitur monasterio triennium fere transegit. Vigilus et orationibus insistens iugiter hic gloriosissimus xpi minister. Semper pro possit procepta domini ad implebat.

Carnis sue mortificationem procurabat altenite secularibus pompis obmissis. Erat hic xpisti confessor profecto fide preclarus in virtutibus gratosus hospitalitate precipuus. Fratribus quoque suis proficiebat urbo pariter et exemplo.

Bonis semper operibus insistebat nocte ac die domino famulando. Canonum libros michi afferte et utrum vera sint que dico vestris attestantibus paginis comprobate. e o e.

Iam miles Xpisti assueto bello robustior studebat quotidie de virtute proficere in virtutem et semper semetipso fortior, nullas iam poterat enervati hostis insidias formidare. Sape se in figuris ethiopum saepe se per diversorum animalium species ostendebant.

Tribus vero annis ipse et iohannes grandenicus sarculis terram frangentes et triticum seminantes, ex manuum suorum labore vixerunt. Qui nimirum dum agriculturam exercebant pondus jejunii duplicabant.

Pulcra facie et a lacri vultu beate Romualde ecce oves tue ad te devotamente concurrunt quos domino acquisisti. Deprecare pastor bone pro nobis ihesum xpistum. Ut digni efficiamur pro missionibus eius.

Iacebat beatissimus Romualdus velut neglecta margaritha in summi postmodum erarium regis honorifice reponenda. Nimirum qui sic obiit ut predixit illuc transivit quo speravit. Nunc igitur inter vivos celestis ierusalem lapides rutilat cum ignitis beatorum spirituum turmis exultat.

Iam matutinis laudibus semper astabat altissimo aliis divinis officus non remissus. Ad evitandeam vero propriam laudem et ludum finxit et socios qui sunt.

Marinus quidem gaudebat beato Romualdo esse devotus cui ipse nuper fuerat prelatus. Regem celorum dnm collaudemus quo nos iugitus gubernat et salvat.

Gratias agimus tibi omnipotens Deus qui regionem nostram splendore tanti syderis illustrare dignatus. Ova pro nobis inclite pater dominum Ihm Xpm ut ipse sua gratis nos locet aula celica.

Hodie celestia regna petiit beatus Romualdus. Hodie cum angelis exultat in celis qui vitam angeli cum duxit internis. Gaudemus itaque et collaudemus dominum."

## **APPENDIX D:**

### **DOCUMENTS**



1 [1402?]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 12-14: "Questa carta abbiamo in casa computa l'originale, ancora l'abbiamo una insinuata per mano di Ser Johi di Ser Lorenzo Dapananico notaio. Accio che sessi per desse l'originale non ci manchi averna la copia publica. Et per ciò l'originale nosimandi mai fuori senza grande' bisogna. Ancora n'abbiamo un altra copia in carta dipecora per mandarla fuori.

Item Messer lo generale Frediano diede l'eredità al detto Don Orlando d'edificare un nuovo romitorio dovessere (???) volesse in nome dell'ermo e di tutto l'ordine di Camaldoli per se e suoi compagni. Fecelo procuratore e diegli balia di potere ricevere monaci e riformare e ordinare quello tale romitorio, monasterio d'observanze, costumi sancti e buoni, di fare patti e oblighi come della detta licenzia abbiamo appo noi carta fatta a di XVI di luglio 1294 per Ser Zeno notaio dal Borgo di San Sepolcro. I detti soprascritti patti e capitoli furono poi approvati per lo capitolo de romiti dell'Eremo di Camaldoli, salvo quella parte dove dice che il generale e romiti del'eremo non possano ricevere alcuno donò più di Ser XX per anno d'alcuno del detto nuovo monasterio. Et excepto il capitolo dell'apere (???) di lire (???) , dove fosse permessa alcuna cosa impossibile o sotto giuramento o scomunicatione come dico abbiamo carta fatta a di 14 di Giugno 1295 per Ser Johi . . . . .

Ora dopo i detti fatti patti il detto Don Orlando vene a Firenze e cercando di luogo atto al suo proposito gli vene alle mani una casetta, casolare disfatto con uno poco d'orto in tutto di staiora iii posta allora fuori della città di Firenze in loco detto Cafaggiuolo presso (???) a certe case di Pinzocheri che oggi sono del monasterio di Septimo, la quale casetta, orto e casolare vedendo che erano buone e atte a farne uno monasterio e romitorio sille compero da colui di cui erano cioè da luodo di Chiarissimo d'Alluodo per L. dugento le quali confesso avere avuto da Don Orlando ma presumo ch'elle dette L. dugento fossero quelle che Frate Guittone promesse benche la carta dica che gli confessasse da Don Orlando. Questa comperà fu fatta il di ultimo di Maggio 1295, e il detto di Don Orlando entro in tenuta promisse di dargli ancora L. LX oltra le dette L. dugento. Poi l'altro anno (pxio?) di 25 d'Aprile comperò da lui medesimo uno altro staioro di terra allato al predetto L. quaranta le quali diede constanti e altre tanti gliene promesse per compamento di pigione (?).

Poi il generale Friano compero di 26 di Luglio 1297 dal detto alluodo più pezo di terra in tutto di Staiora (???) detto di le dono a Don Romualdo priore di questo monasterio. Di tutte queste peze di terra e d'orto e case feciono una chiusura: da l'uno lato erano gli Alfani, cioè come oggi tira il muro dissotto le volte e viene per testa per la barberia e per l'ospitio e passano per mezzo il partello del chiostro atraverso in fino al muro che e oggi tra la capella di Sco Benedetto e la Sagrestia a ii l'orto di S. Maria Nuova a iii

casa (???) i sopradetti Pinzocheri a iiii via. Per le dette carte e scriptura veggiamo che il detto Don Orlando con alcuni romiti suo compagni entrarono in questo luogo ad habitare di ultimo di Maggio 1294, e stavansi in quello medesimo hedificio di case che trovarono, e fu questo Don Orlando il primo priore di questo monasterio.

Ora, a poco a poco, di tempo, in tempo si venne ordinando e acconciando in forma di romitorio e feciono una picchola chiesetta pur dove ella e oggi lunga braccia xiii larga braccia xi alta braccia vii et conveniva che per lo testo avesseno lume in chiesa per una finestra. Edificarono l'altare maggiore di braccia iii presso a la finestra donde le donne possono hoggi vedere il coro. La chiesetta di fuori si principio allora perchè in de si potesse parlare, quando fosse necessità con donne. Non aveamo ancora in chiesa coro ne alchuno appoggiatoio di legname et così stettono circa anni xxv. Feciono la sagrestia dove è oggi la capella di Sancta Caterina e per lo titolo degli angnoli che ha questo monasterio vi puosono l'altare di Sco Michele et dove è oggi l'altare di S. Johi Vangelista puosono l'altare di Sca Maria Magdalena et la spesa fecia Monna Lapa di Dosso degli Spini. Allato a la cappella che è oggi di S. Caterina, cioè da l'arco della volta et il pilastro allato all'altare per insino al muro della cappella, oggi di Sco. Benedetto. Si erano due celluze per infermeria e per foresteria et l'entrata faceano per lo chiostro e dietro al muro del detto altare di Sco. Michele e il muro della via era uno androne dove tenevano legne. Queste due cappellette e celluze erano basse e coperte d'assi et il tetto era poco più alto.

In quel tempo feciono uno dormetorio piccholo di vi celle dove è oggi il dormetorio vecchio, cioè luogo quanto tirava la largheza della chiesa insino al muro donde oggi s'entra nell'ospitio; et sotto questo dormetorio puosono il refettorio con uno puntello grosso solo, ivi allato era la cucina preso verso all'ospitio, e il muro che divideva la cucina da refettorio era per mezzo come è l'uscio che entra in refettorio verso la finestra di cucina d'oggi. L'ospitio che noi abbiamo ora era uno cortilo e ivi era in luogo comune: in testa dalla parte del chiostro, era l'uscio donde s'andava nell'orto et uno altro uscio era qua nella detta faccia di chapo dalla parte del chiostro verso il refettorio donde s'entrava nel detto cortile per andare in cucina, e alluogo commune feciono oltra questo uno dormetorio congiunto colla chiesa insino al per detto altro dormetorio e di sotto era il capitolo e la celluza del pane e del vino, e uno androne di braccia iii largo rasente la chiesa donde si veniva dalla porta in chiostro l'uscio del capitolo era allato al detto androne dalla porta del chiostro. La scala donde s'andava su in dormetorio era sopra l'uscio che va oggi in refettorio per lo chiostro e finiva a punto all'uscio del capitolo. Tutto il resto di questo monasterio era orto dalla porta che esce fuori in torno in torno a detti edificii in sino all'orto di Sca. Maria Nuova.

Poi circa l'anno 1344 erebbono la chiesa per lungheza per insino a mezzo il detto capitolo e conversi disfare il

detto dormitorio ch'era sopra il capitolo e la celluza e in chiesa ridussono il capitolo in testa dietro al coro dove e oggi il leggio grande e era uno ùscio di graticola di legno in testa del coro nel mezzo donde andavano a capitolo. In chiesa feciono il coro che e oggi in Sco Michele excepto lassi di sopra che non lasciò il beato Salvestro converso, e puosono al testo in cavalletti e quelle assi per pe(???) dipinte come sono oggi in Sco Michele. Rimase la celluza e uno androne e la celluza tra la chiesa e lo refettorio. Allora erebbono lo dormitorio sopra la detta corticina, iiii in testa ridussono la scala donde di dormitorio venivano in chiostro faccendola dentro dove l'ospitio. La cucina ridussono dove è oggi benchè fosse molto minore che ora. Nell'ospitio feciono due celle per infermi e l'ovarono inde in luogo coiè, feciollo dove è ora la barberia e di dormitorio si scendea iiii per una scala che finiva al'ùscio che va oggi verso la coricina di cucina e cosi si vede nel muro la forma degli scaglioni. La Sagrestia ridussono in palco dove è ora la sartoria e dove si fanno l'ostie puosono l'altare di Sancta Maria Madalena e rasente il muro della chiesa dalla finestra del campanuzo puosono l'altare di Sancto Lorenzo lo quale fece fare Monna Nuccia di Messer Filippo degli Spini e la scala era dove è ora l'altare di Sco Johi Vangelista. In Sagrestia lasciarono l'altare di Sco Michele benchè lo mutassono e dov'era l'altare di Sca. Maria Magdalena feciono l'altare di Sco. Johi Vangelista e la spesa d'esso fece Johi di Lottieri Ghiti et dov'era quello di Sco Michele puosono quello di Sca Caterina e la spesa fece Ser Nino Bonamichi da Poppi Canonico di Sco Appolinari.

In tutti queglii tempi vissono queglii nostri padri romiti in grande observazione e abstinezione, facciendo dure e aspre (???) penitenze e un grande oiverta(?) e becessuta(?) d'ogni cosa. Servando sempre vita hermitica e la rinchivisione; Allora fu Beato Salvestro nostro converso huomo di grande vigilie e scrivitava. Erano que in casa noi o vii romiti da prima per volta e alcuno converso e cosi pochi stettono quasi insino nel 1340. Poi erebbono tanto che per la mortalita del 1348 si trovarono tra monaci e conversi xxviii de quali morirono per quella mortalita frati xxi e rimmasono monaci v e conversi ii. Mutarono da prima molti priori perche erano forestieri, e quando vacava il priorato ci veniva l'altro dall'eremo in fino al priore Filippo che fu il primo Fiorentino. Nel 1351, si fece la foresteria con quelle parecchie celle che vi sono dal lato al muro di settentrione, per poterci appoggiare al muro che e tra noi e settentrione si fece una ricognitione che quello muro in fino a ii braccia alto e comune tra noi e loro e da indi in sue tutto loro di ciò si detto innanzi a carta iiii.

Crescendo la fama e la devotione del monasterio cominciorono dopo la detta mortalita a multiplicare i monaci e romiti. Et per la detta cagione e ancora per che aveano mala vicinanza fu loro forza comperare e comperarono case e orti da vicini d'allato e in prima comperamo a di xxviii d'Ottobre 1347 da Bartolomeo e Johi Alfani tanto orto e case che in tutto poterono essere staiora . . . . cioe come e oggi il muro dell'orto nuovo per infino alla cappella di S. Jacopo e mezzo

il chiostro in fino al muro della via del Campaccio et allor  
ruppono il muro di sotto le volte che sono oggi sotto lo  
dormitorio nuovo.

Poi del mese di Luglio 1353, comperamo da Cantino e  
Alberto Alfani orto e case di Staiora . . . dove sono oggi lo  
capelle di Sco Francesco di Sco. Benedetto e dell'Annunziata e  
lo capitolo, cioè' appari solo colla detta capella di Sco  
Francesco et l'anno sequente cioè 1354, ci fece la detta  
capella di Sancto Benedetto. Maestro Benvenuto di Ser Jacopo  
et quella di Sca Maria Annunziata Niccholò di Tingo da  
Poggibonzi et quella di Sco Francesco Monna Johi di Luigi  
Peruzzi. In capitolo solo se ne fece una per Agnolo dal  
Canto. Allora si fece il dormitorio de conversi di Danari  
s'ebbono d'uno podere del detto Ser Nino Canonico di S.  
Appolinari, et allora ridussono la Sagrestia in terreno dove è  
oggi et per gli altari di Sca Maria Madalena e di Sco Lorenzo  
che gli disfeciono fecione l'altare d'Ognisanti in quello  
sanctabio(?) non pero nel luogo dove è oggi ma rasente l'uscio  
della ferreria venendo della detta capella et fu fatta la  
spesa di danari che s'ebbono della heredità di Ser  
Franceschino di Ser Berto da San Miniato. Ivi si feciono  
allora iiii celle per gli'infermi.

Nel 1359 si comincio la capella di Sco Michele allato  
alla chiesa e feciesi del retaggio del padre del priore  
Giovanni.

Del mese di Maggio 1362 comperammo da Chantino e Alberto  
predetti degli Alfani terreno case e corte circa staiora . . .  
cioè dove sono oggi i melaranci insino al muro della via del  
Campaccio excepto il canto che s'era uno casolare. Excepto la  
casa della fabrica ch'erano remase a monna Margherita di  
Vermiglio Alfani sicche la compera seconda che noi facemmo da  
Cantino e Alberto fu il pozo e corte in sino al detto muro del  
champaccio con certe chase che noi disfacemo.

Poi a dì xvi di Marzo 1365 comperammo da Frati  
predicatori lo detto casolare e case ch'erano rimase Monna  
Margherita le quali ella avea gia date loro.

Nel 1363 del mese di Dicembre comperammo da Bindo Benini  
I tiratoi orto e case ch'erano state de covoni di staiora viii  
e più le quali erano allato alla comperà che noi facemmo da  
Bartolomeo e Johi Alfani e disfacemmo ogni cosa e facemmo  
orto.

Nel 1364 si erebbe il capitolo e la capella di Sco.  
Antonio si ridusse usol'infermeria et fecionsi tre cappelle,  
l'una cioè quella del canto fece fare Bindo Benini a honore e  
titolo di Sco Johi Baptista. Allato a quella si fece la  
capella di Sco Romualdo della heredità di Johi Ghiberti,  
fratello del priore Michele. Allato a quella si fece la  
capella di Sco. Giobbo per Tellino Dini. Et fececi aiuto a  
fare le volte del capitolo in tutto ci diede F. CCCCC. Et poi  
per accrescere la chiesa altrettanti, cioè FF. cinquecento  
d'oro.

Nel 1366 si erebbe lo dormitorio vecchio e lo refettorio  
verso settentrione.

Nel 1372 si fece lo dormitorio nuovo insino a l'orto di  
Sca. Maria Nuova e allora si fece lo locutorio.

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A questo dormetorio fece aiuto messer Luchino Visconte F. C d'oro. Et di quello di frate Agnolo e di frate Bartholomeo si feciono iiii celle.

Nel 1371, si feciono le cappelle di Sco Piero e di Sco Andrea quella di Sco Piero fece fare Piero D'Andrea di Neri. Et quella di Sco Andrea fece fare Andrea di Ser Ugo.

Nel 1372 si erebbe la chiesa e avemmo aiuto da Tellino Dini F. CCCCC da Don Niccolò degli Albizi innanzi fosse nostro frate F. C da Bardo Corsi F. CC, da Messer Bartolomeo Benini F. CC, e da Bindo Benini F. C, da Galeasso D'Uzano per suo testamento F. L da Michele di Vanni Castellani F. XXX dal Comandatore di Sco Antonio F.C.

Et avemo d'Antonio di Santi per lo coro F. CCCCC per lo leggio grande e figure di sopra il coro F. L.

Et avemmo da Bernardo di Cino per lo ciborio che è sopra l'altare maggiore et per le graticole del ferro di S. Michele fior. CCCC d'oro.

Nel 1389 in quel tempo facemmo l'infermeria nuova. Et la capella di testa si fece della heredità di Nerone padre di frate Filippo e della madre del detto frate Filippo. Alla detta infermeria fece aiuto Simone d'Andrea chiamato Cuino F. CCC.

Nel detto tempo fece fare Bernardo di Cino de Nobili la cappella di S. Jacopo.

Et quella di Sco. Niccholo facemmo per uno podere ci lasciò Monna Gemmina di Manetto da Filicaia il quale vendemmo aiuta a Lucha di Geri per pregio di F. CCC.

Nel 1392 di Maggio comperammo da gli ufficiali del morte come tutori de figliuoli di Maffeo di Taddeo da Barberino, i suoi tiratoi che confinanano con l'orto nostro et disfacemogli e ridussemo ogni cosa a orto insino al muro di Giudo di Messer Tommaso fu lo terreno così ridotto circa staiora.

Nel 1403 del mese di Dicembre comperamo questo edificio di Settimo a noi congiunto in sieme coll'ospedale di Sca. Maria Nuova a mezzo come apparisce innanzi a carte 77 e tocco a noi dal chiostro e chiesa ci vola in qua a filo dalla via dinanzi infino all'orto vecchio di Sancta Maria Nuova, e la abbiamo recato l'arte della Lana."

Comment: A contemporary history of S. Maria degli Angeli's construction, listing the patrons responsible for each edifice's erection.

See Lucia Ragusa, "Le origini del Monastero di Santa Maria degli Angeli attraverso i documenti più antichi", Vita Monastica 168 (1987), 42ff.

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2 [1336-1413]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 36: "Don Paolo Tinghi del popolo di San Felice fece la sua professione a dì IIII d'Agosto 1336. In presenza del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Non obiit in loco isto."

Folio 36: "Don Bartolo Dini Stracciabendi del popolo di San Brancatio fece la sua professione di XIIII di Novembre 1336. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati. Obiit in loco isto Anno 1348."

Folio 36: "Don Jacopo Brandini del popolo di San Piero Maggiore fue offerto a questo luogo dal suo padre nella età di XI anni nel 1333 il dì della Natività del Signore. Et poi fece la sua professione a dì II di Febraio 1336. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obbit in loco isto a dì V di Giugno 1348 -- hic fuit pulcer scriptor."

See Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci e il 'Maestro delle Canzoni'", Rivista d'arte 32 (1957), 7.

Folio 36: "Don Benedetto Lapi del popolo di San Brancatio fece la sua professione a dì X Maggio 1338. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento."

Folio 36: "Don Giacobbo Geri del popolo di San Simone fece a sua profesione a dì XXV d'Ottobre 1340. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit felicit in loco isto a dì X Augusti 1345. Et in eius morte anglī fuerut anditi tu exutatione caner"

Folio 36v: "Don Michele Ghiberti del popolo di San Michele in palchetto fece la sua professione a dì XI di Giugno 1348. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Hic fuit electo prior huius monasterio anno 1386. Rifuito l'ufficio del priorato essendo molto agranato d'infermita e essendo ancora molto vecchio a dì 28 d'Aprile, 1398. Obiit in loco isto die XII mensis Martii 1400."

Folio 36v: "Don Philipppo Lapi del popolo di Sca. Maria Novella fece la sua professione a dì I di Novembre 1349 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto de XXVIII Januarii 1371."

Folio 37: "Don Giacobbo di Francesci del popolo di San Lorenzo venne in questo monasterio essendo d'età d'anni XI a dì primo di Novembre 1348. Poi fece la sua professione a dì XXVII d'Ottobre 1350. In presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto die XXII Julii 1396. Anno etates sue LX. Omnium scriptore suo tempore existentium gloria cuius industria ac indefesso usque ad mortem labore abudantia omnium generum librorum

ecclesia nostra refloret."

See Levi D'Ancona, 1957, 7.

Folio 37: Don Niccholo di Piero del popolo di Sca Maria Novella fece la sua professione a dì XVIII di Giugno 1351 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. obiit in loco isto die XXV July 1383."

Folio 37: "Don Salvestro di Gherarducci del popolo di San Michele Bisdomini venne in questo luogo anno 1348 essendo d'età d'anni VIII. Poi fece la sua professione a dì XV d'Agosto 1352 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Hic fuit electus prior huius monastero anno domini 1398 die II Mai. Obiit in loco isto prior existens die V Ottubris 1399." See Levi D'Ancona, 1957, 8.

Folio 37v: "Don Matheo di Guido venne in questo monastero a di I d'Ottobre anno 1348 essendo d'età d'anni VII. Poi fece la sua professione a dì XXVIII di Dicembre 1354 in presentia del detto priore cioe Don Domenico di Cenni e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Hic fuit electus prior huius monastero anno domini 1399 di XVII Novmbris. Obiit anno domini 1421 die prima mensis May. Videlicet die in hora domnice ascensionis in loco isto pactis in priorat officio XXI annis dimidio: etatis iisue anno octogesimo primo. Huius opera studio ecelesia nostra phrygiis eximie pulchritudinis ornata est."

Folio 37v: "Don Benedetto di Messer Ugo del popolo di San Lorenzo fece la sua professione a di detto in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Partissi quando (?) a dì VI di Giugno 1381. Obiit in domo prio sui die XV mensis Settebris 1383. Et postea hic sepellium eu."

Folio 37v: "Don Philippino di Nerone del popolo di San Michele Bisdomini fece la sua professione a dì XV d'Agosto 1357 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit die XXIII mensis Julii 1409 etates sue anno 77."

Folio 37v: "Don Simone di Simone del Popolo di San Jacopo oltrarno fece la sua professione a dì III di Novembre 1357 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati in capitolo. Obiit in loco isto die IIII Mai 1385."

Folio 38v: "Don Johi di Niccholo degli Strozzi fece la sua professione a dì XXVIII di Maggio 1366 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto die XXVIII mensis Julii 1412."

Folio 38v: "Don Niccholaio di Niccholdè degli Albizzi del popolo di San Piero Maggiore di Firenze fece la sua professione a dì IIII di Febraio 1368 in presentia del detto

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priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Fu ordinato prete a dì XVIII di Settembre 1372. Da messer Luzi vescovo di ceseno que in casa et diacono prima di 21 di settembre 1370 dal detto vescovo. Obiit in loco isto die XVIII mensis Martii anno domini 1412."

Folio 39: "Don Placido di Vanni degli Albizzi del popolo di San Piero Maggiore fece la sua professione a dì XI di Dicembre 1373 in presentia del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto de 28 Martii 1379."

Folio 39: "Don Zanobi d'Andrea di Johi Tantini del popolo di Sco Lorenzo di Firenze fece la sua professione a dì X di Giugno 1376 nelle mani del sopradetto nostro priore in presentia di tutti gli altri frati alla messa del convento. Fu ordinato prete a dì di settembre 1380 da messer Nicchola vescovo di Fiesole nella chiesa di Sca Maria in capitolo. Et subdiacono dal detto messer Niccola di Dicembre 1378. Et diacono per il detto Messer Jacopo Tolomei di 24 di Settembre 1379 et gli ordini minori per il detto Messer Niccola il di prima che fosse frate subdiacono. Obiit in loco isto die II Februarii 1409. Sie scripsit Vita B. Sylvestri et B. Paule anno Domini 1394."

Folio 39v: "Frate Bernardo d'Agnolo del popolo di Sco Lorenzo fece la sua professione a dì XXVIII di Dicembre 1376 in capitolo nelle mani di Don Johani di Neri nostro priore in presentia di tutti gli altri frati. Obiit in loco isto Eremito fuit intestus gladio per defensione huius monasterio die xxii Junii 1378, Quando fuit derobatum hoc monasterio tempore quid (?) civitas nostra versa erat insedictione maxima."

Folio 40: "Don Bernardo di Ghucciozo Delia del popolo di San Piero celoro fece la sua professione a dì XXI di Giugno 1383. Alla messa del convento in presentia del sopradetto nostro priore e degli altri frati avea allora anni XVIII mesi V di XVIII. Fece donazione della parte sua della heredita del padre a monna Felice sua madre a dì XIII di Giugno 1383. Carta per mano di Ser Gariello di Ser Nozo."

Folio 40: "Don Bartolomeo di Lanfredi del popolo di San Piero Maggiore di Firenze fece la sua professione a dì XXVIII d'Ottobre 1385 essendo d'età d'anni XVI e mesi 8. Prima in capitolo e poi alla messa del convento nelle mani di Don Johani di Neri nostro priore in presentia degli altri frati. . . Partissi a dì 9 di Maggio 1401. Obiit in loco Sci Benedicti die XXIII mensis Augusti 1413 in die Sci Bartolomeo apostoli."

Folio 40v: "Don Agnolo di Lanfredi del popolo di San Piero Maggiore fece la sua professione a dì VIII di Settembre 1386 essendo d'età d'anni XVIII. Prima in capitolo e poi alla messa del convento nelle mani di Don Michele Ghiberti nostro priore in presentia degli altri frati."



## Appendix D: Documents

Folio 41v: "Don Lorenzo di Johani del popolo di San Michele Bisdomini fece la sua professione a di X di Dicembre 1391 prima in capitolo e poi in chiesa alla messa del convento nelle mani di Don Michele Ghiberti nostro priore in presentia degli altri frati. Partessi quindi a di [blank]. Fu ordinato a IIII ordini minori di Dicembre 1391, fra due volte, per detto vescovo de'Cipolloni et al subdiaconato di 21 di Settembre 1392 per detto messer Jacopo Altoviti vescovo di Fiesole e al diaconato per messer frate Nofri di 26 febbraio 1395. Obiit die XXIIII Maii hic sepultus."

See Osvald Sirén, Don Lorenzo Monaco (Strassburg, 1905), 179 (Document II); and Marvin Eisenberg, Lorenzo Monaco (Princeton, 1989), 209 (Document 1B).

Comment: Abbreviated list of monks who were either members of the monastic scriptorium or who had links with important patrons responsible for donating large gifts to the convent.

Appendix D: Documents

3 [1297]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 26 Luglio 1297

(From the Index): "Altra vendita di ogni diviato sopra un pezzo di terra nel popolo di S. Michele Visdomini V.d. Cafaggiolo fatta dal prenominato Alluodo al med. Don Fidiano pel prezzo di L. 100."

"In dei nomine amen mille ducento nonaginto septimo in dicto septimo in dicti decima die viginto sexto mensis Julii. Alluodus fili quondam Chiarissimi de Alluodis hoc presenta die vendadit dedit cessit concessit t[?]stulit et mandavit Revenendo viro dono domino Frediano monaco seu heremi de Chamaldolense....

.... et supra quadam parte terre poit(?) in popolo Sci. Michaelis Visdomini loco decto Chafagiolo que tales hic confines a primo Vermigli et Lapi de Alfanis a ii decti monasteri Sce. Marie de Chafagiolo de Angelis a iii parte terre hodie vendita per Alluodus predecti Reverendo viro dono domino Fridiano priori maioris ordinis heremi de Chamaldolis per cartu manus mei Bonacursi notari."

Comment: Transaction between S. Maria degli Angeli and the Alluodi family, which substantially expands the monastery's territorial holdings.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

4 [1297]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 26 Luglio 1297

(From the Index): "Alluodo del fu Chiarissimo Alluodi del pop. S. Michele Visdomini vende a don Fridiano Priore maggiore dell'Ordine dell'Eremo di Camaldoli quattro stiora a coradi un pezzo di terra per lunghezza fino alla via di Cafaggiolo nel pop. S. Michele Visdomini d.d. Caffaggiolo confina l'eremitorio di S. M. degli Angioli pel prezzo di L. 240 di F. piccoli.

Fatto in Cafaggiolo fuor delle"

"In dei nomine amen. Mille duecento nonaginto septimo indicione decimo die vigento sexto menses Julii.

Reverendus vir donis dominus Fridianus priore hermi de chamaldoli....

.... concessit dispeto viro dono domino Romualdo priori monasteri seu heremitorii Sce Marie de Angelis recipere et stipulanti per decto monasterie heremitorio seu loco Sce. Marie pre detto de Angelis quatuor staio esse hodie venditus pro Alluodus eidem dono domino Fridiano proponitur Librorum duecenorum quadruginta bonum denariis Florentis parvensis et etiam aliam parte terre predictum, Alluodum sibi dono domino Fridiano priori vendita et cessam perpetio liborum centum fu parte ut de dictis venditionibus constut publica instrumentis scriptorum mundi mei Bonacorsi notai que ad preparetorum et usum fructum..."

Comment: Transaction between the Alluodi family and S. Maria degli Angeli.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

5 [1291-1360]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani, Manoscritti 248, Tome 1, f. 231ff

15 Aug 1291 - Iacobus Vermigli Alfani  
7 Nov 1301 - Vermiglius Iacobini Alfani  
Gonfal.--15 Oct 1311 - Ioannes Foresis  
15 Aug 1313 - Biliottus  
1 May 1344 - Gerius Vermigli  
1 May 1349 - Lucas Sandri  
1 Jan 1355 - Bartolomeus Aldobrandi  
Gonfal.---1 Jan 1360 - Ioannes Aldobrandini Alfani

"Nella famosa Ambasceria spedita a Bonafacio VIII l'anno 1294 nella sua coronazione dove si trovavano 12 Ambascidori tutti fiorentini, spediti da 12 diversi potentati del Cristianesimo, vedesi Vermiglio Alfani, mandato dell'Imperadore Adolfo; che percio maravigliato il Papa d'una tal cosa ebbe a dire, che i Fiorentini erano il quinto elemento. Il monistero degl'Angioli all'Ordine Camaldolense è fondato in parte sul terreno, che anticamente era di questa famiglia, la quale avendo ivi palazzo, e case, aveva ancora dato il nome alla strada, che si chiamava via degl'Alfani."

Comment: List of Alfani family members holding positions in the Signoria from 1291 to 1360. Also, a brief family history.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

6 [1336]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 14v (January, 1336): "Monna Lapa moglie che fu di Dosso degli Spini fece a questo luogo uno altare et fornello di calice e pianeta e d'ogni fornimento cheaccio si richiede, excepto messale, costo in somma ogni cosa fiornini cinquanta d'oro, la quale offerta e limosina fece per l'anima sua e di monna Lisa sua figliuolo acciò che fossono partefici inperpetuo di tutti benifici spirituali di questo luogo del mese di Gennaio 1336. Et in titulosi di Sca Maria Magdalena."

Comment: Monna Lapa degli Spini donates money to fund an altar for her relatives, dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalen.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

7 [1336]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 14v (May, 1336): "Monna Nuccia moglie che fu di messer Filippo degli Spini fece a questo luogo per l'anima sua et del detto suo marito, una altare e fornello di chalice, messale, e ogni altra cosa che si richiede al fornimento dello altare e del prete. Acciò che fossero partefici di tutti beni spirituali che sempre si faranno in questo luogo. Costarono in somma le sopra dette cose fiorini sessanta d'oro. Et feciono la detta offerta a dì (blank) di Maggio 1336. Et intitulosi di Sco. Lorenzo."

Comment: Monna Nuccia degli Spini donates 60 Florins for an altar dedicated to Saint Lawrence.

Unpublished

8 [1342]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 14v (8 January, 1342): "Nino Bonamichi da Poppi Chanonacho di S. Pulinari diede e offerse a questo luogo per l'amore di dio e per sua anima e del suo padre e madre e del conte Guido da Battifolle e della contessa Gherardescha sua donna, uno podere di valuta di F. CCC d'oro posto nel vetriciaio (?) popolo di S. Lucia d'Ognisanti. I quale diede per le spese d'uno prete che ogni di dovesse celebrare all'altare suo di Sca Caterina chesso ci fece nel quale spese F. XXV d'oro. Carta per mano di Ser Nello Ghetti di VIII di Gennaio 1342. Et promettemogli che ogni anno in perpetuo noi facemmo la festa di Sca. Caterina al detto altare. Et che per refectione de frati dovessimo spendere sopra il modo usato L. IIII piccoli. Et anche dopo la sua morte il di dovessimo sempre fare il suo anniversario e per refectione de frati anche spendere sopra il modo usata L. IIII pc. . . . .  
. . . Item carta casa: noi siamo obligati addire a questo altare IIII messe la septimana, e non più. Come pienamente appare in questo a carte VIIII".

Comment: Nino di Bonamicho Canonico donates a farm (worth 300 Florins) to the convent in return for a chapel built in his honor, dedicated to Saint Catherine. The monks are required to say four masses to commemorate his soul every week.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

9 [1342]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 14v (1342): "Giovanni di Lottieri Ghiti passò di questa vita nel 1342 et lascioci per suo testamento fiornini sessanta d'oro acciò chessene facesse una cappella fornita convocabolo di Sco Johi Vangelista ad ciò che sempre fosse partifice Don Beni che si facessono in questo luogo e spetialmente nella detta cappella. I quali fior. LX d'oro ci diede il detto Lottieri suo padre nel predetto anno. Et noi facemmo la detta capella del mese di Settembre (blank)."

Comment: Giovanni Ghiti donates 60 Florins for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist.

Unpublished



10 [1353]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 15 (31 January, 1353): "Agnolo di Vano dal Canto il quale fu nostro grande amico e benefattore passò di questa vita a di I di Febraio 1353 et in sua vita egli fu inconcordia con noi che gli dovessimo fare una capella nel nostro capitolo. La quale volle che fosse a vocabolo di Messer Sco Antonio per lo edificio della quale egli ci dovea dare fior. ottanta d'oro. Et egli la dovea fornire della tavola e d'ogni altro fornimento del quale prezzo dello edificio egli ce ne die fior. L, et diecci uno calice e una pietra sagrata e noi facemmo fare la detta capella poi gli facemmo fare uno messale che costo fior. XXXII d'oro de quali avemmo lire LXXII piccoli gli quali dovea avere da noi d'uno resto di L. C checci posto(?) a di VIIII di Febraio 1352.

Poi dopo la sua morte i suoi executori cio e Biagio di Bonaccio Guasconi e Giorgio di Benci cariacci sicci dierono il fornimento chessi appartiene alla detta cappella. Salvo che non ci dierono il compimento del messale che fior. XI d'oro; ne fior. XXX d'oro del resto dello hedifico.

El sopra detto Agnola sicci lasciò per suo testamento il quale fece Ser Nello Ghetti a di ultimo di Gennaio 1353 il quale abiamo compiuto adpo noi cioè la parte di quello chessi appartiene a noi. Cioè che gli ci lasciò L. XL di picc. checci dovessono dare la compagnia delle Laude di Sca. Maria Novella ogni anno in perpetuo la vigilia della festa di Sca. Maria d'Agosto overo il di della detta festa. Et seno glici dessono dec (?) per venire a noi il podere che gli lasciò loro del frutto del quale debbono dare a noi. I detti danari et altri legati che lasciò loro a pagare secondo che sicom tiene nel detto testamento. Le quali danari ci lasciò che facessimo due piazze a nostri frati. L'una il di della detta festa di Sca Maria, e l'altra il di della festa di Sco. Antonio, e dovessimo ne comperare due torch i quali sempre si dovessono accendere allevare del nostro signore al'altare maggiore. Anche ci lasciò checci fossono dati per gli suoi executori da detti suoi executori e sine facemmo fare il detto paramento il quale e divelluto a miglio cioè dossale pianeta e pieviale dal matica e tonicella. Onde noi siamo obligati per le dette oblationi e per molte altre limonsine che a sua vita ci fece di fare sempre ogni anno lo anniversario del di della sua morte per anima sua.

La sopra detta cappella mutammo quando crescemmo il nostro capitolo, e ponemola nel detto capitolo dallato della parte del mezo di e de maggiore e più orrevole che non era prima. Et costocci di spesa orifarla fior. CXX d'oro. Et dissevisi la prima messa a di I di Novembre 1364."

Comment: Agnolo dal Canto donates funds for a chapel and altarpiece for the conventual chapterhouse in 1353. The chapel is maintained during the reconstruction of the new capitolo in 1363-65.

## Appendix D: Documents

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

11 [1354]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 26v (4 October, 1354): "Cappella di Sco Francesco: Monna Giovanna moglie che fu di Luigi di Rinieri Peruzzi fece fare in questo luogo la cappella la quale e invocabile di Sco Francesco e fornimento la detta cappella di calice, messale, paramento d'altare, e due pianete, due candeie, tavola, e d'ogn'altra cosa chessi appartengono alla detta cappella. Et diecci per l'edificio della detta cappella il quale noi facemo noi fiorini cento d'oro. Et la detta cappella a facta fare per sua anima, e del padre e della madre, e di tutti gli altri suoi morti che fossono morti in Firenze con vero morissono, e simile fuori di Firenze. Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa a di iiii d'Ottobre MCCCCLIIII."

Comment: Giovanna di Luigi di Rinieri Peruzzi donates money for a chapel dedicated to Saint Francis in 1354.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

12 [1344-1364]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani, Manoscritti 248, Tome 1, f. 91ff

1 Nov 1344 - Simon de Peruzzis  
1 Nov 1350 - Simon Rainerii Peruzzi  
1 Jan 1354 - Rainerius di Simonis Peruzzi  
1 Sep 1357 - Simon Rainerii Peruzzi  
1 Mar 1358 - Rainerius di Simonis Peruzzi  
Gonfal.---1 Sep 1364 - Simon Rainerii Peruzzi

Comment: List of Peruzzi family members holding positions in the Signoria between 1344 and 1364.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

13 [1354]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 15 (25 June, 1354): "Maestro Benvenuto Medico nostro caro amico e benefattore passò di questa vita a dì XXVI di Settembre anno 1348. Et fece testamento per mano di Ser Nello Ghetti per lo quale ci lasciò fiorini CL d'oro de quali dovessimo fare una cappella per rimedio dell'anima sua. I quali danari noi avemmo di certi suoi danari checci lascio che noi dovessimo Ser Bare e dare a figliuoli. Onde noi avemmo fatta fare la detta cappella et compiuta d'edificio e d'ogni fornimento chessi richiede all'altare: Et il vocabolo della detta cappella sie di Sco. Johi Baptista et di Sco. Benedetto. Et fu compiuta e fornita negli anni del nostro signore 1354. Et dissevisi la prima messa a dì XXV di Giugno anno detto."

Comment: Benvenuto Medico gives 150 Florins for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saints Benedict and John the Baptist.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

14 [1355]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 15v (17 October, 1355): "Niccholaio di Tingho da Poggibonzi il quale habitava in Firenze nel popolo di San Felice nostro caro amico e benefattore passò di questa vita a dì XVII d'Ottobre 1355. Il quale a sua vita fue in concordia che noi che gli dovessimo fare hedificare una cappella per l'anima sua e de suoi morti e di monna Venna sua moglie a honore e nome di Sca Maria Annuntiata, e di messer Sco Niccholo. Et per lo edificcio della detta cappella sicci die fior. sessanta d'oro e silla forni di tutte l'altre chose che bisogna sicchome si richiede al fornimento dello altare, et del prete. Et noi facemmo fare la detta cappella et dissevisi la prima messa a dì VI di Novembre, 1354."

Comment: Niccholaio di Tingho donates 60 Florins for a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Annunciate.

Unpublished

## Appendix D: Documents

15 [1348-1372]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani, Manoscritti 250, Tome 3, f. 732

1 Jan 1348 - Niccholaus Tinghi Spetiarus  
1 Jan 1352 - Niccholaus Tinghi  
1 Nov 1372 - Niccholaus Tinghi

Comment: List of the positions held by Niccholaio di Tingho  
in the Signoria.

Unpublished.

16 [1359]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 15v (1 November, 1359): "Memoria delle chase e terre checci sono pervenute nel nostro monasterio della redita di Neri Partucci da Charmignano padre di Don Johi nostro monaco et per la redita d'Angnolo e di Bartolomeo figliuoli del detto Neri e frategli de detto Don Johi. La quale reditade e pervenuta nel monasterio per la professione di Don Taddeo nostro monaco il quale avea nome Andrea figliuolo del sopradetto Angolo, il quale passò di questa vita a dì VI di Marzo anni 1348, sicome scriptò in questo libro nel luogo delle prefessioni de frati a carte 38.

Il sopradetto Neri e Monna Lapa sua moglie e Angnolo detto passarono di questa vita a dì VII di Guignio 1348. El sopradetto Bartolomeo a dì VII d'Agosto anno detto. . . .

. . . . Le sopradetti danari facemmo fare per rimedio dell'anima del sopradetto Neri e della sopradetta famiglia, la chappella che allato alla chiesa il chui vocabolo e di messer Sco Michele ove si celebrò e disse la prima messa a dì I di Novembre 1359."

Comment: Neri Partucci, the father of S. Maria degli Angeli's Don Giovanni Partucci and the grandfather of Don Taddeo Partucci, bequeaths money and property in return for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael.

Unpublished.



17 [1363]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 4 Aprile 1363

(From the Index): "Testamento nuncupativo di donna Bandecca del fu Maso di Scolaio da Sommaia moglie di Simone del fu Neri degli Antellesi abitande nel pop. di S. Romolo pel? quale lascio' ai monaci eremiti di S. Maria degli Angioli fior. 400 d'oro da ritrarsi dalla vendita di una casa nel pop. di S. Romolo da farsi al detto Simone suo marito, o ai di lui figli per fabbricare ederigere un altare per celebrarvi le messe e per mentenere due candele avesse nel tempo della celebrazione, ed istitui eredi universali Guglielmo, Francesco, e Simone del fu Cese di Lapo Pulci a di donna Agostanza sorella di essa Testatrice."

"In dei nomine amen. Anno ab eiusdem Incarnatione Millio Trecento sexagento tertio in die prima die quarto mense Aprilis.

. . . Donna Bandeccha uxor Simonis olim Nerii de Antellesibus et filia olim Masi Scolai de Sommaria quemorat(?) in popolo Sci Romuli sana pro Christi gratiam mente sensu et intelluctu licet corpore languens volens pro intrare suum nuncupatuium testementum sine semptis sib suos quib? negotiis salubriter prudere et suam ultimam condere et disponens voluntatem condendo disponens in hic modum. . . .

Item legavit religit et iudicavit decta testatrice et voluit et inadavit deptio sindaco prelecto fratibus et hedificavit in monasterio hermitore Sce Marie de Angelis de Florentem quoddam altare deceus et cum exigentibus ad altare ipsim supra quo in perpetuam misse celebreant ad dei reverentiam et honorem et pro ipsius testatrioris et parentum et sororum suorum et decti Simonis marum? Salute cum duobis torchiis continue in perpetuum ibidum tenedene et de putandum expretio prelecto pro illuminandum venerabili corpore dium nostri Jesus Christi in missare celebrare. Residuum non pretii si et quid eet? solutis debitis funeralibus ipsius testatricis ex ipso residuo dari voluit et erogani(?) pro iustos(?) suos fidei commissarios et executoribus ulim maiorem partem eorum et supravimentum(?) ex eis Johors. . . ."

Comment: Bandecca dell'Antella donates 400 Florins to S. Maria degli Angeli for the construction and decoration of an altar.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

18 [1282-1419]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani, Manoscritti 248, Tome 1, f. 43ff

1282 - Lambertus de Antella  
1285 - "  
1292 - Masus Lamberti di Antella  
1299 - Donatus Lamberti  
1303 - "  
1306 - "  
1308 - "  
1309 - Ioannes Lamberti  
1312 - "  
1313 - Donatus Lamberti  
1315 - "  
1315 - Ioannes Lamberti  
1326 - Donatus Lamberti  
1329 - Lottus Donati  
Gonfal.---1331 - Ioannes Lamberti  
1334 - "  
1337 - Masinus Masi de Antella  
Gonfal.---1338 - Taddeus Donati  
Gonfal.---1341 - Masus Masi  
Gonfal.---1342 - Ioannes Guidonis  
Gonfal.---1 May 1351 - Simon Neri de Antella  
Gonfal.---1 May 1357 - Simon Neri de Antella  
1358 - Ioannes Guidonis de Antella  
1 Jul 1363 - Simon Nerii de Antella loco  
Pietri Lapi Baldovinetti mortui  
1391 - Pierus Masini  
Gonfal.---1393 - Leonardus Antonii  
1395 - Compagnus Alessii  
Gonfal.---1397 - Leonardus Antonii  
1401 - Pierus Masini  
Gonfal.---1407 - Pierus Masini  
1408 - Masus Pieri Masini  
1412 - Taddeus Ioannis Masini  
1419 - Masus Pieri Masini

"Simon pur figliuolo di Neri stato più volte Gonfalone fu nel 1332 spedito a vari potentati di Lombardia per confermar la lega contro il Re di Boemia e nel 1336 a malatesti per metter pace fra loro, come pure nel 1346 si trovò a Staggio per concluder lega con i senesi, e l'anno seguente con gli Aretini, Perugini, e Senesi medesimi, e nel 1354 a Pistoia per pacificare i Cancellari, e i Panciatici (lanciatichi?), e finalmente l'anno dopo a Pisa uno degl'Ambasciatori a Carlo imperadore, per callegrarsi della sua venuta in Italia, e raccomandargli La Repubblica."

Comment: List of dell'Antella family members holding positions in the Signoria from 1282 to 1419. Also, a brief family history.

Unpublished.

19 [1361]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 29 Maggio 1361

(From the Index): "Repudia dell'eredità paterna fatta di Giov. del fu Ghiberto del fu Neri Ghiberti del popolo di S. Michele in Palchetto."

"In dei nomine amen Anno ab eodem Incarnatione Millo Trecento Sexaginto primo Indictione quartadecima die vigesimo none mensis Maii. Johannes olim Ghiberti olim Nerii de Ghibertis de popolo S. Michaelis in Palchetto de Florentia dicens et asserens(?) hereditatem decti olim Ghiberti olim pians(?) sui eodem Johanni de (???) ab intestato de latum fore eidem Johanni inutilem et da primosam potuis Ser(?) Luccasam ab ipsa heredite serve abstimunte(?) et ipsi hereditati et omnia comodo et incommodo decte hereditatis expresse veuntiavunt et (???) et pro testatus sunt se non inmisce(?) cuisse nec imposterum nelle aliquallitor(?) immiscere in hereditate predetta nec ipsius hereditatus nelle quodum ulim in commodum aliget reportare conseq(?) ulim herede et se nolle ipsius olim Ghiberti olim primis sui in totum ulim in parte herede esse. Et rogavit dectos Johanes me Robertu notai . . ."

Comment: Giovanni Ghiberti repudiates his inheritance from his father, Geri Ghiberti

Unpublished.

20 [1363]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 5 Giugno 1363

(From the Index): "Testamento nuncupativo di Gio. del fu Ghiberto de'Ghiberti del pop. di S. Michele in palchetto pel quale dopo di versi legati di piccola eredità istitui erede don Michele suo fratello monaco nel monasterio degli eremiti di S. Maria degli Angioli di Firenze.":

"In dei nomine Amen. Anno ab eadem incarnatione millo trecentos sexaginto tertio. Indictione prima die quinto mensis junii. Dum corpus in sanitate viget saluberdagenda disponit et medesimo interior inseruet praesta collecta pleniori invitur ratione qua non cogitur cogitare quid dolet. Id cures Johanes olim Ghiberti de Ghibertus popoli Sci. Michaelis in Palchetto de Florentia sanus pro christi gratiam mente sensu intellectu et corpore volens pro iustum suum nuncuperatum testamentum sine scriptis sibi suis oser negotiis Salubriter prorudere? et suam ultimam condere et di sponere voluntatem condendig disponunt in hunc modum. . . .

In omnibus actem et singulis anima bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus Junie non ibus et actorum Don Michaellem fratrem suum et filium olim sopradecti Ghiberti de Ghibertis monacum monasterii hermetarum Sce. Marie de Angelis de Florentia sibi universalem heredem instituit. Et hanc suam dectos testator ultima voluntatem asservit esse velle et? capsavit invitavit et annullavit dectos testatore omnie et quidlibus aliud testamentum codicillos donatorum causa mortis et quidlibus animalia ultima voluntatem pro ipsum testatorem hucus que conditorum et factorum et contentorum in eis et ea et eorum quolibus pro capB? et nullius valoris heredi et teneri voluit et mandavit. Predecta quidem Sia et singulam valem voluit et Jussit dectos testator Jure testium et si non valerent ulim non valebunt Jure testament ea saltem valem voluit et Jussit Jure codicillorum ulim donatrum causa mortis et ulim omnibus via meo et Jure quibus valere possunt melius et tenere. Actum florenos vix? cappellam Sopra decti monasterii situm in claustro sedo decti monasterii proser? et ad hoc vocam et pro dectem testatorem et ipsius testatoris proprio horem testibus don Dominico Cennis priore di Monasteri et Don Johanes, Neri, Niccolas, Pieri, Philippo, Lapi, Christofanno, . . . omnibus monacis dectem monasterii."

Comment: Giovanni Ghiberti directs his brother, Don Michele, to be the executor of his estate.

Unpublished.

21 [1364]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 16v (1 November, 1364): "Memoria sia a noi e a chi succedera dopo noi in questo monasterio che Johi Ghiberti fratello di Frate Michele Ghiberti monaco di questo monasterio. Il quale Johi passò di questa vita a dì XV di Luglio 1363. Et lasciò lo detto frate Michele sua redità testimento fatto per mano di Ser Berto Talenti. Et disse a bocca al detto frate Michele che della sua redità dovesse fare fare una capella in questo luogo per rimedio dell'anima sua e fosse anchora per l'anima di tutti i suoi morti. Onde la detta cappella abiamo fatta fare in sulla testa nel nostro capitolo. Et il vocabolo dessa e di messer Sco. Romualdo. Et lo detto frate Michele la fornita dicie che bisogna de danari della redita del detto Johi. Et costa intutto tra l'edificio e il fornimento fior. CCCXX d'oro Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa a dì I di Novembre, 1364."

Comment: Giovanni Ghiberti leaves money to S. Maria degli Angeli. His brother, Don Michele, oversees the use of these funds for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Romuald.

Unpublished.

22 [1363]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 15 Agosto, 1363

(From the Index): "Scrittura privata in volgare, colla quale Bindo di Lapo Benini del pop. di S. Stefano a ponte avendo in detto giorno donato ai frati eremiti di S. Maria degli Angeli in terrento di otto staiera con casa, e con muro dividente i confine appartenente a detto terreno con xxii tiratoi in terra coperti di fatto, il tutto comprato gia da Madonna Bice moglie di Baniello Arrigui ne 27 Feb. 1358 con patto che dove vero edificare una cappella sotto il titolo di S. Giov. Battista, e di disfare i detto tiratoi, a se gli rendessero, ed avendo i detti frati pienamente sodisfatto alle detto condizioni egli nel Feb. del 1364 a di 23 confermò la detta donazione coll'obbligo di tenere un sacerdote per celebrare giornalmente la messa nella detta capella.":

"Al nome di dio amen. Sia manifesto a ongni persona che vedra questa presente scritta che io Bindo di Lapo Benini del Popolo di Santo Stefano a Ponte di Firenze sano per la grazia di dio dellamente e del chorpo e dell'ontendemente richonoscho e innetiva chonfesso chelghe nera chosa che nosghendo io prondedare a fatti dell'anima mia io si feci una donazione per l'amore di dio al priore e chonvento de romiti di Sca. Maria delli Angeli di Firenze a di XV d'Aghosto CCCLXIII d'uno certo terreno e orto chon chasa sul detto terreno che e nel terno d'otto staiera a chorda chosi chonfinato dal primo via dal sechondo l'erede di Mess. Chovone de Chononi in parte e in parte io Bindo predetto dal terzo l'ospedale di Sca. Maria Nuova dal quarto i detti romiti ma il muro che e in mezzo trall'erede del detto Mess. Chovone al detto terreno e il muro della chasa che rimane a me Bindo sopradetto allato al detto terreno e tutto chollo pradetto terrene chome tiene dalla mia in fino al muro e terreno di Santa Maria Nuova in sul quale terreno donato erano XXII tiratoi in terra choperti di tetto posto il detto terreno nel popolo di San Michele Visdomini di Firenze il quale terreno e orto e chasa e tiratoi io chomperai da Madonna Bice molglie che fue di Daniello Angghucci? e da figliuoli a di XXVII di Febraio CCCLVIII chome dicio apare charta fatta per mano di Ser. Berto Talenti ella detta Limosina e donazione del detto terreno e chasa suni io Bindo sopradetto feci al detto priore e chonvento liberamente e semplicemente alla buona fede Senza farne charta o scritta altrimenti macho questo in charicho e granamento chel'detto priore e chonvento dovessero edificare denare alloro monistero una chapella che vochabole di Santo Giovanni Batista ella detta chapella suficiente mente fornire di cio cheviseri chiede a tutte loro spese infra tre anni a presso. Per rimedio dell'anima mia e di Messer Bartolomeo priore di Pisa e di Roma mio fratello e di tutti con si nostri morti. E chei detti tiratoi cherano in sul detto terreno si di facciano et levina? via in sul detto terreno e siano renduti e dati a me Bindo sopradetto infral detto termine rimanendo e riservando a me la chasa di fuori dal detto terreno che e in mezo traldetto

terreno e chasa donata. Ella chasa de detti chovoni il terreno della quale chasa a me riservata fue della chomessa chio feci dalla detta madonna Bice e per sopral quale io Bindo edificare feci poi la detta chasa a me riservata.

E onde oggi di a di XXIII di Febraio CCCLXIII io Bindo predetto negiando chel detto priore e chonvento anno disfatti i detti tiratoi e a me interamente dati e assengniati e che oltre accio elgino? manno edifachata dentro al monistero loro la detta chapella e fu suficientemente fornita a tutte loro spese chome qui di sopra sichontiene si raffermo Lapo predetta donzione el limosina chio diedi loro per l'amore di dio e per vighore e autorità di questa presente mia scriptura si dono do e choncedo e attribuischo intervive e inrevochalilmente pre ragione di proprio e in perpetuo e per ongni altra via modo e ragione chome me può valere etenere allo pre detto priore e chovente il sopradetto terreno e chase suuni? per le spese e fornimento della detta chapella che manno fatta chome detto e di sopra e per ghalimenti d'uno de loro monaci prete che celebri ongni di messa all'altare della detta chapella per la rimedio dell'anima mia e de miei morti e vivi e chonciò sia chosa che della detta donzione non si facesse nessia fatta charta publiche non di meno io Bindo predetto promette al detto priore e chovento alla buona fede e di purità di choscienza di mantenergli sempre pacifichamente nella detta possessione e dinotare ne far fare chontralle dette chose ed difendere e di sbrighare sopponesse e per qualunque ragione e chagione sa fosse e acciò e servare e fermo tenere si abligo me elle mie rede e beni mobili e inmoboli presenti e futuri al detto priore e convento per vighere della presente scritta e per più chiarezza e formezza di tutte le sopradetto chose. Io Bindo sopradetto o i scritto questa scritta di mia propria mano e sugellata del mio proprio sugello in presenza delgl'infrascritti testimoni eo dato al detto priore e chovento le charte chonpiute della detta chompera del terreno e chasa che io chomperai per lo modo che qui di sopra si chontiene chessiano loro per più testimoranza dello dette chose insieme chon questa mia scritta che sense tenghino apollare e inomi de testimoni sono questi Francescho di Pero chalderaio del popolo di Santa Liprata e Miniato Lapi del popolo di Santa Maria Novella di Firenze.

Io Francescho di Pero sopradetto fu presente e parte quando Bindo soprai scritto face questa scritta e per testimonianza unipono i scritto di mia propria mano.

Io Miniato Lapi sopradetto di sopra fui presente quando Bindo Benini detto di sopra fecie questa i scritta e per testimonianza della detta scritta misono qui so scritto il detto di e anno di mia propria mano di volontà del detto Bindo."

Comment: Bindo Benini donates property to S. Maria degli Angeli in return for rights to a family burial chapel.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

23 [1364]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 17 (1 November, 1364): "Memoria sia a noi e a chi succedera dopo noi che Bindo Benini popolo di Sco Stephano a Ponte di Firenze cia fatta una cappella nel nostro capitolo di sopra nel canto verso il mezo di. Il cui vocabolo sie di Sco Johi Baptista. Et a pagato per lo edificio della detta cappella i fiorini CXX d'oro. Et silla fornita di ciò che bisogna e la detta cappella a fatta per rimedio dell'anima sua e di messer Bartolomeo priore di Pisa, e di Roma, e di Vinezia friere e di tutti i loro morti. Et nella detta cappella si dise la prima messa a di primo di Novembre 1364."

Comment: Bindo Benini, a "converso" in S. Maria degli Angeli, and Bartolomeo Benini, his brother and the prior of a Camaldolese house in Pisa, donate funds for the construction and decoration of the chapel of John the Baptist in the monastic chapterhouse.

Unpublished.



Appendix D: Documents

24 [1364]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 30 (1 November, 1364): "Cappella Sci Job: Memoria sia a noi e a chi seccedera dopo noi. Che Tellino Dini pplo Sca Maria Novella di Firenze siccia fatto fare una capella nella testa del nostro capitolo, il cui vocabole sie di Messer Sco Job, e alla fornita di tutto cio che bisogna. Et anche ci a facto lo hedeficho della parte di sopra delle nolte(?) del capitolo detto. Nelle quali cose tutte il detto Tellino a speso, e pagati F. cinquecento d'oro, cio a facto per rimedio dell'anima sua e di tutti suoi morti. Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa di I di Novembre MCCCCLXIIII."

Comment: Tellino Dini donates 500 florins for the construction and furnishing of a chapel devoted to Saint Job.

Unpublished, but cited by Martin Davies, The Early Italian Schools, Before 1400, revised by Dillian Gordan, (London, 1988: first edition, 1961), 92 note 20.

Appendix D: Documents

25 [1364]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 16v (1 November, 1364): "Memoria sia a noi e a chi succedera dopo noi che Tellino Dini popolo di Sca Maria Novella di Firenze sicci a fatto fare una cappella nella testa nel nostro capitolo. Il cui vocabole e di messer Sco Job et alla fornita di tutto ciò che bisogna. Et ancora cia fatto lo hedificio della parte di sopra delle volte del capitolo detto. Nelle quali cose tutte a speso il detto Tellino, pagati fiorini cinquecento d'oro et cio a fatto per remedio dell'anima sua e di tutti i suoi morti. Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa a dì I di Novembre 1364. In questo c. 127."

Comment: Tellino Dini donates funds for the construction of the chapel of Saint Job.

Unpublished

26 [1365]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 30v (1365): "MCCCLXV. Cappella Ognisancti: Memoria sia a noi et a chi succedera dopo noi che Ser Franceschino di Ser Berto notiao da Sanminiato del Tedesco il quale dimorava in Firenze nella via larga pplo Sco Lorenzo lasciò a noi la terza parte della sua reeditade et l'altra terza parte alla compagnia della Misericordia et l'altra terza parte alla compagnia d'Orto San Michele testamento fatto per mano di Ser Tino notiao della detta compagnia della Misericordia.

"Della quale reeditade noi avemo in tutto dalla detta compagnia della Misericordia F. CLXXXVIII d'oro e B. (blank) e cosi gli confessamo per mano del detto Ser Tino di' (blank).

De quali danari noi ne fornimo la cappella dell'anfermeria nostra per rimedio dell'anima del detto Ser Franceschino e ponemo nome all detta cappella per lo di della festa di tutti santi. Il quale fornimento costo: La tavola dell'altare F. LXXVI d'oro per lo legname e dipintura, e l'ornimente costo il calice, e messale, e pianete, e altre cose chessi richiede a fornimento dell'altare e paramento da prete.

Et gli detti danari distribuimo nel detto fornimento e cappella con parola e volonta delle dette compagnie.

Et tutta la detta cappella d'ogni bene che in essa (?) si fara attribuimo e cosi ordinamo che sieno a fructo e rimedio dell'anima del detto Ser Franceschino per li predetti danari aiuti per lo detto suo testamento. Et anche per anima di certe persone checci aveano fatti alcuni altari in quale ce convenuti diffare per fare alcuni nostri lavorii per nostri aconcimi (?) checcerano necessarii."

(In a different hand) "L'anno 1598 si disfece la sopra detta cappella per necessita di farni la scala per sallire nel dormentorio".

Comment: Ser Francesco di Ser Berto, a notary from San Minato Tedesco, leaves property and money to S. Maria degli Angeli. With the assistance of the Confraternities of the Misericordia and Orsanmichele, Ser Francesco funds the construction of a chapel dedicated to the Ognissanti.

The altarpiece commissioned for this chapel costs the monastery 76 florins.

Unpublished.

27 [1365]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 116v (1365): "Memoria sia a noi e a chi succedera dopo noi che Ser Franceschino di Ser Berto not. da San Miniato del Tedesco il quale di morava in Firenze nella via larga popolo di S. Lorenzo lasciò annoi la terza parte della sua reeditade l'altra parte all compagnia della Misericordia e l'altra terza parte alla compagnia d'Orto San Michele testamento fatto per mano di Ser Tino not. della detta compagnia della Misericordia della quale reeditade noi avemo in tutto dalla detta compagnia della Misericordia Fior. CLXXXXIIII d'oro. Et cosi gli confessammo per mano del detto Ser Tino not.

De quali donazione noi ne fornimmo la cappella della infermeria nostra per remedio dell'anima del detto Ser Franceschino e ponemmo nome alla detta cappella per lo dì della festa di tutti sancti. Il quale fornimento costo: la tavola dell'altare fior. LXXVI d'oro per lo legname e di pittura, e l'ornimanente costo il calice e messale e pianeta e altre cose che si richiede a fornimento dell'altare e paramento da prete.

Egli detti donazione distribuimmo nel detto fornimento e cappella con parola e volontà delle dette compagnie.

Et tutta la detta cappella d'ogni bene che in essa si fara attribuimmo e cosi ordiniamo che sieno a frutto e rimedio dell'anima del detto Ser Franceschino per li sopri detti donazione aiuti per lo sopro detto suo testamento. Et anche per l'anima di certe persone che ci aveano fatti alchuni altari i quali ce convenuti disfare per fare alchuni nostri lavorii per nostri acconcimi checcerano necessarii."

Comment: Ser Francesco di Ser Berto, along with the Confraternities of the Misericordia and Orsanmichele, donate funds for the construction and decoration of a chapel dedicated to the Ognissanti.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

28 [1366]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 32 (1366): "Memoria che Don Giovanni di Nicholò di Jacopo degli Strozzi nostro monaco ci die quando fece professione. I quali ci permisse per lui Strozzi, e Matteo suoi frategli di darei F. duegento doro di g. a diece Anni ognanno F. XX doro. Anche ci die uno chalice il quale costo F. LII doro. Anche ci die per la dipintura del crocifixo de refettorio e d'una tavola dove dipinta la figura di Sca Maria Magdalena F. XXX doro, e diecci per fare una cella nel dormitorio qui il crescemo F. XL doro."

Comment: Don Giovanni degli Strozzi donates 200 florins to the monastery upon his entry into the cloister. In addition, Don Giovanni gives a chalice, a painted crucifix, and a panel painting of Mary Magdalen to his new home.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

29 [1368]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 32 (1368): "MCCCLXVIII: Memoria sia a noi e a chi dopo noi soccedera che Don Nicholaio di Nicholò di Pagno degli Albizzi nostro monaco ci diede per l'amore di dio innanzi che facesse la sua professione F. cento doro per aiuto affare l'antifonare del di in tre vilumi, F. cento doro per aiuto a accrescere la nostra chiesa.

Item che anche ci die il drappo allexandrino del quale facemo uno paramento bianco con brusto di drappo rilevato allexandrino.

Item che anche il drappo altremarino del quale facemo uno dossale nero al nostro altare maggiore, e corto altro drappo a con passi altremarino che ne facemo uno dossale d'altare.

Item ch anche ci die uno tappeto picciolo da altare, e uno cuoro da l'altare maggiore, e certe altre cose."

Comment: Don Niccholaio di Pagno degli Albizzi donates 200 florins to S. Maria degli Angeli upon his entry into the monastic profession. 100 florins are earmarked for the scriptorium, while the other 100 florins are used to rebuild the church of S. Michele.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

30 [1371]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 34 (25 December, 1371): "Cappella Sci Petri: Piero di Neri del popolo di San Michele di Bisdomini di Firenze cia fact per l'amore di dio per rimedio dell'anima sua e de suoi morti, una cappella la quale e nel nostro capitolo di rinpetro a quella di Sco Anthonio, e de il vocabole dessa cappella Messer San Piero apostolo per la quale ci diede F. trecento d'oro. Et noi l'avema hedificata e facta d'ogni nostre spese, e si l'avemo fornita di tavola, messale, calice, e tutti altri fornimenti chessi richeggono al'altare e d'ogn'altra cosa pero che cosi fuma inconcordia con lui. Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa a di XXV di Dicembre Anno MCCCLXXI.

Il detto Piero passo di questa vita a di X di Marzo MCCCLXXII."

Comment: Piero di Neri Palagio funds construction of a chapel in the chapterhouse, dedicated to Saint Peter.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

31 [1371]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 17 (25 December, 1371): "Piero di Neri di Lipponi del Popolo di San Michele di Bisdomini di Firenze ci ha fatto per lo amore di dio per rimedio dell'anima sua e de suoi morti. Una cappella la quale e nel nostro capitolo di rimpetto a quella di Sco. Antonio e de il vocabolo dessa cappella di messer Sco Piero apostolo per la quale ci diede fior. trecento d'oro. Et noi l'abbiamo edificata e fatta a ogni nostra spesa et sill'abbiamo fornita di tavola e messale e calice e di tutti altri fornimenti che si richieggono all'altare che cosi fummo in concordia collui. Et nella detta cappella si disse la prima messa di 25 di Dicembre, 1371

Il detto Piero passò di questa vita a di X di Marzo 1372."

Comment: Piero di Neri Palagio funds construction of a chapel in the chapterhouse dedicated to Saint Peter.

Unpublished.



Appendix D: Documents

32 [1371, 1411]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 17 (30 November, 1371; November, 1411): "Andrea di Messer Ugo Lotterighi e fratelli del popolo di Sco Lorenzo di Firenze ci anno fatta una cappella nel nostro capitolo che e il suo vocabolo di Messer Sco. Andrea apostolo per la quale noi avemmo da loro fiorini novanta d'oro, e noi faemmo alle nostre spese lo hedificio della detta cappella colle finistre del vetro e coll'altare murato e sigli finimo d'una ragione di F. CCLXXXIII L. VI denari VIII piccoli checci doveano dare di resto d'una ragione di L DCCL di Pic checci permissono quando Don Benedetto nostro monaco e loro fratello fece la sua profexione sicchome appare a libro dell'entrata a casa c. 172. Et anno la fornita di tavola e dossale e fregi e tovaglie e camici e calice e altre cose come permissono. Salvo che ancora non ci anno dato il messale.

La detta cappella anno fatto per l'anima loro e di messer Ugo loro padre e di tutti i loro morti dissevisi la prima messa a q̃l XXX di Novembre 1371.

Morì il detto Andrea di Novembre 1411 e fece testamento nel detto mese per mano di Ser Johi di Bonaiuto abiallo compiuto in casa dove ci lasciò FF sci. ogni anno in perpetuo per una pietanza per la festa di Sco. Andrea e F. uno ogni anno per uno torchia per la detta capella e per venti per lo detto messale."

Comment: Andrea di Ugo Lotterighi buys the rights to the Ghiberti chapel of Saint Romuald, rededicating it to Saint Andrew.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

33 [1371]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 34 (30 November, 1371): "Cappella Sci Andrea: Andrea di Messer Ugo Lotterighi e frategli pplo di Sco Lorenzo di Firenze. Ci anno facta una cappella nel nostro capitolo che il suo vocabolo di Sco. Andrea apostolo per la quale noi avemo da loro fiorini novanta d'oro, e noi facemo alle nostre spese lo hedifico della detta cappella colle finestre del vetro e coll'altaro murato e sigli finimo d'una ragione di F. CCLXXXIII L. VI d. VIII piccoli che ci doveano dare di costa d'una (??) di L. DCCL picc. che a permissono quando Don Benedetto nostro monaco e loro fratello fece la sua professione sicome appare al libro d'elentrata a carta CLXXII. Et anno la fornita di tavola e dossale e fregi e tovaglie e camici e calice e altre cose come permisono salvo che ancora nostro ci anno detta il messale.

La detta cappella anno fatta per loro anima e di Messer Ugo loro padre e di tutti loro morti disse vocabolo?? la prima messa a di XXX di Novembre MCCCLXXI."

Comment: Andrea di Ugo Lotterighi, brother of S. Maria degli Angeli's Don Benedetto di Ugo, buys the rights to the Ghiberti chapel, and rededicates the space to Saint Andrew.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

34 [1372]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 35 (January, 1372): "Qui a presso scriverremo quelle persone che ci anno facto aiuto allo lavorio dell accrescimento della nostra chiesa il quale cominciamo a di` (blank) di Gennaio MCCCCLXXII.

Aveno da Tellino Dini F. cinquecento doro per cominciamento del decto lavorio.

Item da Don Nicholaio di Nicholò di Pagno nostro: Diecci. Anzi che facesse la profexione per lo detto lavorio F. cento doro.

Item da Bardo Corsi Setauio F. duegento doro.

Item da Messer Bartolomeo Benini F. duegento doro.

Item da Bindo Benini F. cento doro.

Item da Messer Nicholò da Uzzano i quali ci lascio Galeasso per suo testimento per lo detto lavorio F. cinquanta doro.

Item da Michele di Vanni di Ser Lotto F. trenta doro.

Item dal comandatore di Sco. Antonio F. cento doro."

Comment: List of donors assisting S. Maria degli Angeli in its various building projects.

Unpublished.

## Appendix D: Documents

35 [1374, 1377]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 35 (25 December, 1374; December, 1377): "Anthonio di Santi di Firenze del popolo di San Lorenzo ci diede nell'anno MCCCLXXIIII F. cinquecento d'oro per lo lavorio del nostro coro della nostra chiesa per sua anima e de suoi vivi e morti i quali danari spendemo per fare il decto coro si come appare al quaderno de lavori a carte XXXV cominciamo a dire l'ufficio a di XXV di Dicembre MCCCLXXIIII.

Item che a di (blank) di Dicembre MCCCLXXVII ci die il detto Antonio per aiuto de leggio grand di coro e delle figure che sono ne canti del predetto coro cio e dall'uno canto la Nostra Donna e dal'altro l'Agnolo F. cinquanta d'oro."

Comment: Antonio di Santi donates 500 florins for the maintenance and decoration of the church choir.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

36 [1375]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 122 (August, 1375): "Bernardo di Cino Bartolini del popolo di Sancta Maria Sopraporto di Firenze ci diede fiorini quattrocento d'oro per lo lavorio del tabernacolo di sopra altare maggiore della nostra chiesa et delle graticole del ferro del detta chiesa per l'anima sua e di tutti suoi vivi e morti. I quali donazione noi spendemmo nelle predette cose sicome appare al quaderno de lavorii a carte f. 36. Furono compiute del mese d'Agosto 1375."

Comment: Bernardo di Cino Bartolini donates funds for the production of a tabernacle for the high altar, and pays for the construction of an iron gate in the choir.

Unpublished.

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37 [1355-1415]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani 251, Tome 4, f. 805ff

	1 Nov 1355	- Franciscus Bartolini
	1 Mar 1358	- Franciscus Bartolini
	1 May 1374	- Guccius Cini Bartolini
Gonfal.---	1 Nov 1388	- Guccius Cini Bartolini
	1 Jul 1392	- Paulus Cini Bartolini
	1 Jan 1394	- Antonius Francisci de Nobilibus
Gonfal.---	1 Mar 1399	- Guccius Cini Bartolini
	1 Sep 1401	- Cinius di Guccius de Nobilibus
Gonfal.---	1 Nov 1404	- Paulus Cini de Nobilibus
	1 Sep 1406	- Bartolomeus Francisci
	1 Jul 1408	- Paulus Cini
	1 May 1411	- Antonius Francisci
	1 Jan 1413	- Cinus di Guccius
	1 Nov 1415	- Leonardis Antonii

Comment: List of Bartolini family members holding positions in the Signoria, from 1355 to 1415.

Unpublished

38 [1383]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 21v (4 September, 1383): "Federigo di Nerone Stoldi del popolo di Sco Michele di Bisdomini e fratello di Don Filippo di Nerone nostro monacho lasciò sua redità questo convento di Sca Maria degli Agnoli come appare per suo testamento (blank) a di XXVIII d'Aprile MCCCLXXXI chon certi incharici e lasci come di remo apresso, e passò di questa vita il detto Federigho a di IIII di Settembre anno MCCCLXXXIII. . . .  
. . . In prima lasciò per suo testamento a frati minori di Firenze F. V e all'ospedale di Sca Maria Nuova F. XX e alla Lippa figliuola di Guido da Feghine sua serviziale F. C d'oro chon certe masserizie e lasciò che si facesse per l'anima sua al nostro altare maggiore uno paramento chompiuto di drappo bianco rilevato con angeli d'oro e lasciò che noi restituissimo al veschovo di Fiesole certe terre. . . .  
. . . Et pagamo per lo drappo bianco rilevato chon angeli d'oro fine del quale si fece tutto fornimento, cioè palio all'altare maggiore e pianeta e dalmaticha e tonicella e pieviale e III camisci forniti costo in tutto col fornimento senza in richamato F. CCCXXVI d'oro."

Comment: Federigo di Nerone Stoldi, brother of Don Filippo di Nerone, donates funds to be used to decorate the high altar. A curtain, containing images of gold angels, is bought to cover the altarpiece during certain periods of the liturgical year.

Unpublished

39 [1386, 1388]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 43 (5 October, 1386; 4 July, 1388): "Universis e singulis, ad quos pntes ad venerint facimus manifestum nostrus frates Michael Ghiberti prior monasteri hermitarum Sct. Marie de Angelis de Florentis ordinis Camaldulensis nec non frate Franciscus fedis, Jacob Francesci, Silvestro Gherarducci, et Don Bartholomei e Don Angelus Ianfredis, monaci professi decti monasterum facientes e representantes totum capitulum et conventum monasterum ante dectem qualr(?) provide quantum nobis exalto promictet volentus divinis reficere muneribus eos quo nostris neccitatibus suis temporalibus bonis et subventionibus devota largitione subveniunt ut torporis et ingratitude notam nullatenus incurrentes, ad bene faciendum xpi fideles ardentius animemus. Et ob hoc considerantes multiplices helemosinas hactenus nobis et decto conventui fcas pro discretum et providum virum Johem olim Giani setaiololum ppli sci Pancratii florentinus et maxime hus diebus de florenis Centum vigintiquinque insubsidium nove constructionis infirmarie quam ad pons construimus in monsatero ante decto nobis animo oportunam et successoribus nostris utiqum profecturam. Et de florens auri vigintiquinque pro faciundo unum pallium pro altari maiori nostri monasterio infrascripto.

Ipsius que Johis pus votis annuere volentes ut et tamque capitullum et Conventus decti monasteri et pro nobis et nostris successoribus ad ipsius Johis instantiam requisitionem piamque? postulationem sibi Johi puntium tenore constituimus firmamus et perpetuo deputamum ut propetuis temporibus missa que de mone singulis diebus celebrare in maioris altari ipsius monastero et quam missam appellamus matutinalem intelligant esse et sit spetialum deputata idest quo in ea perpetuo spetialis fiat oratio et commemoratio per anime ipsius Johis et suorum salute. Sicque in perpetuum promictimus observare. Ac pallium ex dectis XXV flor usum deci altaris maioris effectualum ordinare ut omnipotens et misericordis dectus quo solus de mortificato femine plurimum fructum affert suum det incrementum bonarum actionum plantis et irrigationibus Johis eiusdem in quorum testimonium pntes lras? in registro nostro et decti nostri monastero videlem in ipsius libre XLIII carta registratas et nostri soliti sigilli in possessione munitas nostro solito mone eidem Johis duximus concedendas. Datum et actum flor in decto nostro monastero sub annis domini MCCCLXXXVI indictione X die V mensis Ottobre presentibus testibus Andrea Fracisci Johis et Ser Feo Bindi notaio civibus flor et de pplo Sci Jacobi ultra Arnum ad promissa pro nos hitis et vocati.

Item die XVII Decembris anni domini MCCCLXXXVI dedit nobis Ipse Johes olim Giani setaiolulus amore dei insubsidium et adiutorium constructionis predecte infermarie nostre nove florenos quinquaginta auri ut rogaremus deum pro eo et ut nostris omnibus regmandaret devotissime et affectuose.

Item die IIII mensis Junii anno domino MCCCLXXXVIII



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recepimus a Bonacorso Bernardi setaiuolo nepote eiusdem Johis exalter nostris ppli Sci Branchatis de Florentia post mortem decti Johis octaviam partem possessionum ipsius Johis quam ipse relegit nobis pro suum testamentum et quam octavam partem vendidimus ipsi Bonacurso perpetio Florenorum ducentorum vigintiquinque auri. Et ita recepimus incontantis abeo et assegnavimus nostro camerario Frati Filippino in chalendis Januariis proxime sequenti. Et simillum totidem recepit Ser Paulus hospitilaris hospital S. Maria Nove ipso die quem est heres pro octava parte sicut nos carta facta pro Ser Johem Gini de parto eiusdem hospstial notaio.

(different hand) Item abbiamo avuto ultra alle decte somme dello octava parte di sua mercantantia et suoi danari FF. VIIII(C) XXVIII L. IIII a fior come apparisce al quaderno lungo del priore Michele di sua mano a carte 96.

Somma che abbiamo avuto di quello di Johi Giani doppo la sua morte della decta ottava parte FF. millecentocinquantaquattro L. IIII a fior.

Item avemo FF. 22 da Ser Jacobo di Ambrogio overo sue rede pro restitutione in quali ci lasciò Ser Jacopo pro suo testamento del decto pagamento appare nel libro d. carte 49.

Abiamo in banbagia una copia del decto testamento di Johi rogato pro Ser Jacobo d'Ambrogio Meringhi di XVIII Jan. 1386.

Et benche non ci gravi d'alcuna cosa pur considerando la divotione sua et molta quantità de danari che avemo del suo diliberossi a capitolo tutti in concordia di fare l'anniversario suo ogni anno in perpetuo gravando di ciò le coscienze nostre et de nostri successori."

Comment: Giovanni di Giani donates funds to help rebuild the infirmary damaged during the Ciompi revolt. He also provides a curtain for the high altarpiece.

Unpublished.

40 [1386, 1387]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 41v (1 May, 1386; 21 September, 1387): "In prima che del pezzo della detta chasa e terra si antenuti in fra quatro ormi dopo la morte del detto Federigho di Nerone hedifichare in questo monasterio una chapella chol l'altare e altre chose necessarie chome sa richiede la quale chapella ed altare sia nominata di Sco Giovanni Batista.

Memoria che si chome la detta Monna Angnola ci lasciò per suo testamento che noi dovessimo e di si chome soprascritto monasterio una chappella per lo lasciò chella ci fecie a nome ed onore di Sco. Giovanni Batista. Noi l'abia edificata e murata chopiutamente in chapo dell'infermeria nostra nuova e fatto l'altare e tavola e paramenti e chalice ed ogn'altre chose che si richiede alla detta chappella nelle opera (?) chose si sono speso per sopradetti F. cinquecento d'oro che se bono (?) della chasa e cinque podere che la ci lasciò. E vero che detti F. cinquecento sono misso a contrata (?) al quaderno della spese della detta infermeria nuova a carte IIII, La sopredetta chapella fu fondata a di primo di Maggio anno MCCCLXXXVI e a poi apresso a di XXI di Settembre anno MCCCLXXXVII il di di Sco. Matteo apostolo vi si disse la prima messa e de nominata la detta chappella Sco. Giovanni Decollato."

Comment: Monna Angnola di Nerone Stoldi, mother of Don Filippo di Nerone, donates a house and farm to S. Maria degli Angeli in 1383. When she dies in 1386, Monna Angnola donates 500 florins to the convent for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint John Decollato. The donation covers the cost of building and furnishing the chapel with all the items needed to conduct proper worship services.

Unpublished, but cited by Werner Cohn, "Notizie storiche intorno ad alcune tavole fiornetine del '300 e '400", Rivista d'arte XXXI (1956), 66-67; and Davies, 90 and 92 (note 14). The latter mistakenly states that this entry appears on folio 47v.

41 [1387]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 17v (23 September, 1387): "Memoria che monna Agnola vedova donna che fu di Nerone Stoldi e madre di Don Filippo di Nerone nostro monaco ci lasciò per suo testamento fatto a dì XIII d'Agosto 1363 per mano di Ser Falconieri di Francesco notaio una casa posta nel popolo di San Michel Bisdomini et mezo un podere posto nel pplo di Sca Maria a Hontignano la quale casa et terra dovesse pervenire anno dopo la morte di Federigho suo figlastro et figliudo del detto Nerone Stoldi con gli Incharichi che diremo appresso.

In prima che del prezo della detta casa e terra siamo tenuti in fra quattro anni dopo la morte del detto Federigo di Nerone hedificare in questo monasterio una cappella con l'altare e altre chose necessarie chome si richiede la quale capella e altare sia nominata di Sco Johi Baptista.

Et che noi siamo tenuti di fare ognianno in perpetuo uno anniversario a dì XX d'Aprile per l'anima del detto Nerone et Mona Agnola sua donna et de loro descendenti et parenti.

Il sopradetto Federigo passò di questa vita a dì IIII di Settembre 1383 et per vennono alle nostre mani la casa et terra soprascripta come diremo apresso.

Una casa posta nella via di (blank) nel pplo di San Michele Bisdomini confinata come si contiene nel testamento della detta Monna Agnola il quale abbiamo compiuto. La meta d'uno podere in più pezzi di terra posto nel pplo di Sca Maria a Ontignano confinato come si chontiene nel testamento della detta Monna Agnola il quale abbiamo pub in casa.

Vendemmo la sopradetta casa a dì VI d'Ottobre 1383 a ser Nardo di Ser Nepo da Monte Catini a sua gabella per Fior. duegto cinquanta d'oro. I quali danari pagò per noi a la tavola d'Antonio Da Uzano et noi poi gli avemmo contanti non sene fece carta ma noi gli promettemo di farglele ogni volta che lasciò mandasse avemmo licentia di vendere la detta casa da Messer frate Jacopo vicario di Padova dell'ordine di 19 d'Ottobre 1383 per Ser Francesco di Ser Johi Ciai et a dì X del detto mese per Ser Feo Bindi.

Vendemmo la meta del podere soprascritto insieme coll'altra meta checci lasciò Federigho di Nerone scritto in questo libro a carte 22 a dì XX di Settembre 1383 a Biagio di Puccio da Gamberaia a sua gabella per Fior. CCL d'oro. I quali danari ci die contanti tra piu volte non sene fece carta ma noi gli pero mettemmo di faglele ogni volta che lasciò mandasse.

Memoria che siccome la detta Monna Agnola ci lasciò per suo testamento che noi dovessimo hedificare in questo monasterio una cappella per la lasciò che la ci fece a nome e honore di Sco. Johi Baptista noi l'abbiamo hedificata e murata chompiutamente di chapo della infermeria nostra nuova e fatto l'altare e calice e paramenti e ogni altra chosa che si richiede alla detta cappella nelle quali cose si sono spesi i sopridetti F. cinquecento d'oro che se bono della chasa e mezo

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un podere che ci lasciò e vero che detti F. Cinquecento sono messi a entrata al quaderno delle spese della detta infermeria nuova a carte 4. La sopradetta capella fu fondata a dì X di Maggio 1386, e a poi appresso di 23 di Settembre 1387 il dì di Sco Matteo apostolo vi si disse la prima messa e de nominata la chapella di Sco. Johi Dicollato.

"Abbiamo la compera la detta monna Agnola della detta casa posta nel pplo di S. Michele Bisdomini da Nanni Betterelli Albizini di V di Settembre 1355 don parola di donne detto di et il seuento rogata per Ser Jacopo di Pagnio di Boninsegna da Vespignano."

Comment: Angnola di Nerone Stoldi leaves property to S. Maria degli Angeli in return for a chapel built in honor of her son, Don Filippo, and dedicated to Saint John Decollato.

Unpublished, but cited by Cohn, 66-67 and Davies, 90-92. The latter mistakenly states that this entry appears in the Registro Vecchio (volume 95) rather than the Registro Nuovo (volume 96).

42 [1363]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 13 Agosto, 1363

(From the Index): "Testamento nuncupativo di donna Agnola del fu S. Benedetto vedova di Nerone di Stoldo del pop. di S. Michele Visdomini autorizzata da Guido di Simone del pop. di S. Lorenzo suo mundualdo, pel quale lascio agli eremiti degli Angioli fior. 4 annui per una pietanza, lascio a Federigo del fu Nerone di Stoldo la meta per indiviso di un podere con casa nel pop. di S. Maria a ontiguanò e con tre pezzi di terra, e l'usufrutto di una casa nel pop. di S. Michele Visdomini e dell'altra metà del sopradetta podere che insieme con la detta casa agli eremiti di S. Maria degli Angioli per fabbricare una cappella con altare dedicato a S. Giov. Battista e per celebrare un anniversario perpetuo edistitui erede universale fra Filippo suo figlio al quale sostitui il monasterio sudetto degli eremiti di S. Maria degli Angioli.":

"In dei nomine amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem Millesimo trecentimo sexaginto tertio Indecimo prima die Terto decems menses Augusti. Actum Florentia in populo S. Michaelis Vicedomini.... Donna Angnola filia olim Ser Benedetti et vidova uxor olim Neronis Stoldi popoli S. Michaelis Visdomini de Florentia Costitue in preserv mei domino notari et judica ordine iussti petyt eidem prime de roi in suum generalem mundi Guidone Simonis popoli S. Laurens in herede proserv consensus cuius possit se obligare et sua negotia gecere? . . .

Don Federighi de venire voluit legavit dectam medictatem don poders et dectam don in propietate et usufructu fratibus heremitus Ste Marie de Angelis de Florentia dum tamen de donus bonis et eorum protio infra quattuor annos proximo fuentorum post morte. Don Federighi debeant hedificasse infra dectem locum et monasterii Sct. Marie de Angeli unam cappellam cum altarii et alius necessariis pro celebrando bibitur missam et nominent altare et cappella St. Johannes Baptiste in pones eisdem fratibus heremitus et eorum com scientie ut preducta herifaciant in fra tempore supra iusta. . .

In omnibus et singularis aliis suis bonis et jure suum heredem. Universalem fecit et esse voluit fratrem Filippini filium suum et olim Neronis et eidem gubstituit sibi heredes quon cuorser? recessit conventuum fratrem heremitorum Ste. Marie de Angelis de Flor."

Comment: Angnola di Nerone Stoldi, mother of Don Filippo, leaves property to S. Maria degli Angeli. The monastery is expected to use whatever profits it can glean from this donation to construct a burial chapel for the Stoldi family.

Unpublished.

43 [1388]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 18v-19 (29 March, 1388): ". . .Item segui che il sopra detto Bernardo di Cino sichome per a dietro e usato di farci molte limosine e servizi e cosi gli faccia il dio gratia di potere fare per lo inanzi et primieramente a vendo noi cominciata a murare la nostra infermeria nuova e machandori danari egli ci sovenne di fior. cinquecento d'oro qual tempo che ci bisogno. Et poi appresso di liberando di dare in questo monasterio una cappella ci lasciò per l'amore di dio fior. duegento d'oro de sopra detti fior. CCCCC per lo luogo che noi gli demmo per la detta cappella gli altri fior. CCC d'oro ci commisse che gli spendessimo nel murare e in altro che bisognasse per la sua cappella quando ci venisse a destro e chosi se ne fece.

Item a dì VIII di Giugno 1387 andando Bernardo in Francia per sue facciende e vendendo che la nostra infermeria non era compiuta ci dono fior. CC d'oro per l'amore di dio acciò chella si chon piasse e chella si potesse usare.

Item a dì detto per l'anima del padre e della madre sua fior. CXX d'oro acciò che uno anno chioè ogni mese facessimo uno ufficio de morti per l'anime loro e cosi si fece.

Item per l'anima di Monna Piera sua donna sirocchia cugina di Frate Niccholaio nostro monaco degli Albizzi la quale passò di questa vita a dì XVII di Febraio 1387 fiorini cinquanta d'oro.

Item a dì XXV di Luglio 1387 il dì di Sco Jacopo apostolo fondammo la cappella del detto Bernardo di Cino la quale sie in sul chiostro allato al capitolo nominata Sco Jacopo e Sco Johi Dicollato e fondo la prima pietra Don Michele Ghiberti nostro priore con torchi accesi e collo incenso e acqua detta cantando i frati IIIII l'ufficio che acciò si richiede solennemente e appresso si muro e fecionsi le volte prestamente et fece la fornire il detto Bernardo di paramenti e pianete e chamici e messale e chalice et d'ogni altra cosa copiosamente et la tavola dello altare solenissimamente et uno coro nella detta cappella di XII pero spere nelle quali tutte cose spese intorno a fiorini CCCCCC d'oro oltra a fiorini CCCCC d'oro che si spesono per lo muramento e luogo della chappella et dissevisi la prima messa a dì XXVIII di Marzo 1388, Il dì di Pasqua di Resurrezo."

Comment: Bernardo Cino dei Nobili, widower of Piera degli Albizzi (a cousin of Don Niccholaio), donates money for the construction of the infirmary and a chapel dedicated to Saint James.

See Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese Fiorentine VIII (Rome, 1759), 148-151.

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44 [1388]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 18 (21 July, 1388): "Monna Gemma di Manetto da Filicaia fece suo testamento a di XXI di Luglio 1388 per mano di Ser Feo Bindi nel quale ci lasciò uno suo podere con casa da Signore et da lavoratore fonte murata porcile et forno posto nel pplo di Sco Martino da Schandicci luogo detto. Il terrione(?) a primo la greve(?) et Monna curradina a II l'erede di Gherardo di Gennle(?) et in parte Chavalcante de Chavalcanti a III l'erede di Niccholo di Lippo Lotti et Johi Macchi a IIII via et la chiesa di Sco Martino predetto. Et questo lasciò fece per compensatione e rispetto che noi a sua petitione in fina chella vivea cominciammo a fare la chapella di Sco. Niccolò et così l'abbiamo compiuta e fornita d'ogni cosa onorevolmente et la prima messa visi chanto di (blank) 1390. Abbiamo il detto testamento publico et veduta la ragione di ciò che noi abbiamo speso e dicio chesuto diputato per noi per fornire la detta cappella in paramenti messale calice tavola e il sito e tecto e ogni altra spesa somma in tutto fior. CCCC XVI d'oro....

"Et benche ella non ci gravi d'alcuna cosa pur considerando la divotione sua et la cappella che ella ci fece di liberossi a capitolo tutti in concordia di fare l'anniversario suo ognanno in perpetua gravando dicio lo coscienze nostre et de nostri successori."

Comment: Monna Gemma di Filicaia, wife of Manetto and widow of a man named Niccolò, bequeaths property to S. Maria degli Angeli in return for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas.

Unpublished.

45 [1392]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 20 (8 September, 1392): "La Cappella di Sco. Martino la quale e allato alla chiesa in testa della chappella di Sco Michele fu fatta de danari checci per vennono alle mani dell'eredità di Lanfredi di Bellincione per la professione di Don Bartolomeo e Don Agnolo suo figliuoli e nostri monaci, et celebrovise la prima messa di 8 di Settembre 1392, il di della donna e noi l'abaimo fornita d'ogni cosa come fu loro permesso de danari che noi avanano anti (?) de quali faremo appresso memoria.

. . . Ancora facciamo memoria che il detto Lionardo loro zio donò al monasterio fior. C d'oro per lo terreno della detta cappella e per farci dentro uno coro et nella detta cappella a fatto fare e posta una tavola allato all'altare per reunitia di Sco. Lionardo per rimedio dell'anima sua e noi siamo tenuti di pregare i dio per lui.

. . . Ancora facciamo ricordo che il detto Lionardo nel testamento suo lasciò e dispuose che nella tavola della detta capella si scrivesse che lavesse frato egli e Lanfredi e così facemo e che la detta capella non si potesse alienare ne intitolare in altri in alcuno modo e se lo facessimo cipua di lasciò di F. 20 in perpetuo ognanno o F. 35 in certo caso e che acciò non ci possino dare l'eredita sue licentia e se a duenisse che la detta capella si dis facesse la dobbiamo rifare allato alla chiesa . . .

. . . Item facciamo ricordo che il detto Leonardo ordinò inanzi che morisse che nella detta capella si potesse dal'altro lato della tavola dell altare una tavola di Sco. Martino e così dopo la sua morte si fece."

Comment: Lanfredi and Leonardo di Bellincione donate money for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Martin, and for an altar dedicated to Saint Leonard.

Unpublished



46 [1392]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 53 (8 September, 1392): "Della Cappella di Sco. Martino: La cappella di Sco Martino la quale e alato alla chiesa in testa della cappella di S. Michele fu facta di donna che ci per venno alle mani della vedita di Lanfredi di Bellicione per la professione di Don Bartolomeo e Don Agnolo suoi figliuoli, e sostri monaci e celbrouisi(?) la prima messa di 8 di Settembre 1392 il di della donna, noi l'abiamo fornita d'ogni cosa come fu loro permesso per gli danari che noi avevamo aiuti de quali faremo appresso memoria.

Noi avemo sica più volte innanzi che Don Agnolo facesse professione F. CCCCXL i quali denari sispesono in fare IIII celle del dormitorio nuovo con in aiuto della infermaria. Item per case si venderono a Lionardo Bellicione loro zio F. CLXX di sia più volte. Sia di quello che pervenuto del loro in questo monasterio FF. VIIII(C) LXXX doro. E bon vero che il detto Don Agnolo essende novitio, Don Bartolomeo predetto con luentia(?) del convento volsono che della detta somma di F. 980 d'oro Monna Niccholosa avesse l'usufructo di FF. 200 mente et chellamue et che noi lassegnassuno una della nostre case que dirimpetto chella navesse la pigione mentre chella vive.

. . . Siamo in perpetuo obligati et duputari in fare ogni anno solenne festa della detta capella cioè di Sco Martino di Novembre et una pietanza a frati si fare ogni anno uno officio di morti et recreatione a frati per l'anima del decto loro padre, di suoi morti il di che gli mori o quando(?) meno più acocio(?) al monastero. E cosi siamo noi e mostrici successe obligari di fare g(?) la da festa officio di morti ogni anno come e detto di sopra.

Ancora facciamo memoria che il detto Leonardo loro zio donò al monastero F. 100 d'oro per lo terreno della detta capella in per fare IIII dentico uno coro e nella detta capella a fatto fare in posta una tavola a lato al'altare per rinarenza (?) de detto (?) Leonardo per remedio dell'anima sua. Con noi siamo tenuti di pagare in dio per lui."

Comment: Lanfredi and Leonardo di Bellincione donate money for the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Martin, and for an altar dedicated to Saint Leonard.

Unpublished.

47 [1393]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 23 Marzo 1393

(From the Index): "Testamento nuncupativo di Gherardo del fu celebre milite Messer Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti, pel quale lasciò un legato perpetuo di Fior. 20 annui ai frati di S. Maria degli Angioli per celebrar nella loro chiesa un anniversario nel giorno della di lui morte, e distribuire una pietanza ai frati, lasciò parimente fior. 800 per costruire una cappella nella chiesa di detto monasterio in onore di Maria Vergine con una tavola, nella quale volle che nel mezze fusse dipinta la stessa Santissime Maria col Bambino in collo, o presso al petto, e nei due lati i Beati Benedetto e Gherardo da una, ed i Beati Lorenzo, ed Antonio dall'altra parte e venissero provvisti bulto? gli arredi sacri, es vi si celebrasse la messa quotidiana, come prerer si provedasse la lampada e vi mandasse cui frati ognanno in cero, o Torchio, ed istitui eredi universali donna Lisa sua madra per una terza parte, e Ricciardo e Lorenzo suoi fratelli e Benedetto e Andrea suoi nipoti figli del fu Bernardo suo fratello per l'altre due parti."

"In dei nomine amen. Anno domini ab eius incarnatione milleximo trecentesimo nonagesimo tertio inditione secunda die vntigesimo tertio menses martii actum Florentiam in monasteris fratrum heremitore S. Marie de Angelis sentibus testibus advocatis et Latinis, et proprio horeiti? testatoris rogatis. Don Michele Ghiberti priore don Silvestro Gharducci, Dopno Antonio Baldi, Dopno Mattheo Guidonis, Dopno Filippo Neronis dopno Marcho Bindì, et dopno Placido Matthei omnibus monacis et fratribus decti conventus.

Vicrectiis invienis Gherardo natus olim celibris et memorie et probilis et egregii militis Domini Benedecti Nerozzi de Albertis ppli Sci Jacopi inter foucas(?) de Florentia sanus mente sensu et intellectu et corpore considerani atque meditani que nicchil est certus mortem nichilque incertus mortis hora testante Iob. . . .

Item voluit iussit diposuit et mandavit quod in decta clena? fratiis S. Marie de Angelis fiat et fieri debeat una chappella ad honorem et reverentiam beate Marie Virginis sub eius vocabulo voluit decorari cum choro in duabus partibus in qualibus parte sex locorum et fenestra una vitreata decenti. Et quodam sempre anniversario, et lampade et una tabula cum quinque figurio, ut in medio cum figura Virginis Marie cum puero in collo sum sexta partii et duobus angelis et duabus aliis figuras ex omni parte in latere vi delicet ex catere duabus figuris beatorum Benedecti et Gherardi et ex alio latere duabus aliis figuras vi delectit Beatorum Laurentii et Antonii, et cum messali, calice, planeta et duobus dossalibus et Torchio uno quolibet anno. Ad eiusdem cappellem altare voluit missam quolibet mane celebrari et ad de eoe conscientia fratrum predictorum in quantum potuit honeravit. Et quod sitri dectem cappellem remanent in electionem et discretionem

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executorum suorum infrascriptorum et predecta voluit fieri et completi in duos annos a die obitus decti testatoris in qua chappella voluit expendi florenos octigentos auri, et predectum cappellam et tabulum ipsa voluit ornari et lignaris armis decti testatoris.

. . . Bernardo et Laurentiam fratrem suorum carnalis, et filior olim dicti Don Benedicti et Bendictio, et Andrea fratres, et filios Bernardi fratus carnalis dicti testatoris."

Comment: Gherardo di Benedetto degli Alberti donates money to S. Maria degli Angeli for a burial chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Gherardo describes the appearance of the altarpiece he wants to have commissioned for the chapel, which is to include images of the Virgin and Saints Benedict, Anthony, Gerard and Lawrence.

Unpublished.

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48 [1413]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 22 (1413): "Gherardo di messer Benedetto degli Alberti fece suo testamento sicome e scripto in questo libro a carte 144 dove ci lasciò F. 800 per una capella e F. 20 ogni anno in perpetuo poi monrendo il detto Gherardo rubello del Comune con grande fatica avemo de suoi in sul morte del Coe F. 1026 L. 12 d'oro a dì 29 di Settebre 1411, come appare al quaderno degli uficiali a carte 48. Di poi navemo in sul morte detto F. 40 d'oro et perche il testamento ci strigne fra due anni di farla la cominiamo come noi avemo aiuti i primi den (?) e fu compiuto l'edificio sicche noi vi cantamo la prima messa il dì di Sca Reparata 1413. Quello che noi avemo da F. 800 in su si debbono mettere in comperare terra per lo lascio perpetuo di F. 20 l'anno."

Comment: Gherardo di Benedetto degli Alberti donates 800 Florins for the construction of a chapel.

Unpublished.

49 [1394]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 55v-56 (28 April, 1394): "MCCCLXXXIIII a di XXVIII d'Aprile: Al nome di dio. Egle nova cosa che il priore frati in capitolo, monastero di Sta. Maria degl'Agnoli di Firenze furono in sono debitori di Barduccio di Cherichino tavolione cittadino con mercantoia (?) fiorini per danari pagari in personi per lo detto Barduccio per utilità, necessità del detti frati in capitolo i fiorini d'oro cento sessanta sei e due terzo cine apparuisce ancora per la tavola, libri della tavola d'Antonio, D'Agnolo da Uzano, Bernardo Ardinghelli, compagni infino del mese di Febraio proprio passato benche fossero F. CLXXX, cosi e scritto ne detti libri masu intentione di Barduccio tutto il resto da CLXVI, 2/3, fu dare loro per l'amore di dio. E ancora pagare oltra questo di pio proprio tutta la gabella dello do che perciò si desse. Et per lo detto debito in ragioni maximamente pn.d.do (per dello detto?) libri (?) nel capitolo di detti frati aiuta la parola..."

Io frate Salvestro, monaco del sopradetto monastero fu presente. . ."

Comment: Barduccio di Cherichino, Antonio and Agnolo da Uzzano, and Bernardo Ardinghelli donate property and money for the production of books and an altarpiece. Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, the subprior, witnesses the act.

Unpublished.

50 [1332]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 4 Agosto 1332

(From the Index): "Mandato di Don Francesco abate della Badia di S. Pietro a Poteoli e di Don Andrea e Don Martino, i soli monaci della medesima in fra Nuto converso per depositore in mano del Priore e monaci di S. Maria degli Angioli di Firenze sette antifonari notturno, e due diurni e ricevere per sicurezza fior. 70.

"In nomine Domini amen. Donus Domino Franciscus abbas abbacie S. Petri di Potheosi pro se ipso et decta abbacia de consensu et voluntate domini Andree et domini Martiri monachorum decti abbacie ....

Ad deponedere? et dipositum faciendum penere priorem et capitulum et monacos conventos S. Marie Angelorum de Florentus et confessor di porti recipiendus(?) de novem libris vidi septem antefanaris nocturnis et domencialis diurnis et ad (???"nt": nisi tibi?) fede? obligit et alim sollempnia quod in tasilis (??? 9ttili?) regrunt.

Item ad ven prendam in don priore et capitolo et conventu, monacis ulim altro eorum seu eorum sindaco (???) scrivitate dectorum librorum in deposit et nomine depositus Florens septuaginta auri ...."

Comment: S. Maria degli Angeli borrows nine antiphonaries from the Camaldolese house of S. Pietro a Poteoli, giving the monastery 70 Florins as a deposit.

Unpublished.

51 [1332]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 7 Agosto 1332

(From the Index): "Ricevuta dei sopradetti codice, e pagamento dei presitati fior. 70. Fatto da don Filippo da Firenze Priore e dai monaci in numero di sette adunati capitolarmente al prenominato fra Nuto."

"In Christus nomine amen domenic. Incarnatione anno millo trecento triginto secondo. Indecimo quinta decima die septam mense Augusti. Actum apud monasterium Ste. Marie de Angelis de Florentia ordinis Camaldulenses presentum et ad hoc vocatorum et rogatis testibus Don Jacobo de Aritio abbe monasterii Camaldulenses Florentia, et Don Ventura de Castro aretino monaco decti ordinis, animal.

... Novem libros antifanarios cartarum pecudinarum septos et notatos et copertos? de assidibus comperas de corio et bullatorum de bullis ferries et cum corrigins(?) de corio cum puntabilibus ferreis, quorum duo sunt diurni. Septem religious non nocturni eodem domini abbas monasteri capitoli, et conventorum Sct. Petri de Potenoli de quibus(?) vocaverunt? (???) Don priore et eo monaci capitoli et conventorum bona contentorum....

Don Phylippo priore et monacis et fratibus sius, eodem monasterii de Angelis, dontibus et de ponentibus nomine eorum et decti eorum monasterii, capitoli et conventorum eorum (???) subcessus Florens auri septuaginta bonos et legalis....

Vice et nomine predectos novem libros omni eorum procib? guardare et salvare et in eorum et decti monasteri capitoli et conventorum, vexari et uti bona fide sine fraude et ipsos libros reddere refatuere eidem Don Francischo abbi eo pro capitolo et conventorum ulim eorum subcessus aut eorum legpecto? sydorum....

Infra unum annum a die fece registionis(?) et repetitionis dectorum septuaginta florens auri in que causa in predecte solutoris et restitutionis dectorum septuaginta florens ipsi priori et monaci capitolo et convetorum teneant redde dare et restituere et dederent solverunt et restituerunt decto don abbas capitolo et conventorum ulim eo legipetorum(?) Syndorum dectos novem libros antifanarios sub de ponitatos...."

Comment: S. Maria degli Angeli acknowledges their reception of S. Pietro a Poteoli's books.

Unpublished.

52 [1348]

A.S.F., Diplomatico, S. Maria degli Angeli; 26 Gennaio 1348

(From the Index): "Consegna dei nove antifonari ricevuti in deposito dal Priore e monaci di S. Maria degli Angeli di Firenze dall'abate della Badia di S. Pietro a Poteoli col respectivo contro deposito di fior. 70 (V. 4. e 7. Agosto 1332) fatta da don Domenico priore di detto monasterio degli Angeli col consenso dei monaci a frate Antonio del fu Florenzo da S. Donato procuratore del Priore e dei frati di S. Maria delle Rose di Siena, e ritiro di fior. 72 pari a fior. 70 di Pisa, in ordine all'autorizzazione per parte di fra Niccolò sagrestano del S. Eremito di Camaldoli che in manianza? del Priore e del maggiore succede nelle loro funzione."

"In dei nomine amen Anno ab eius incarnatione millo Trecento quadraginta octo indictione (???) die xxvi Januarii.

. . . . Dectis prior et monaci de Angelis decto frati Nuto dectos novem libros omnia eorum periculis guardare et salvarre et eis uti bona fide et ipsos libros veddere et resatuere eidem Abbati et conventu de Puccolis et successus infra unum annum a die requisitoris de ipsis libris facte dectis priori et fratrum de Angelis in quo cuius vidum dectorum requisitorum dectus Sindaco ponsit? et convenit dectis priori et fratribus de Angelis dare et solvere et restituere septuaginta Florens auri ad pensum forte civitis pisis supra indepositum confessatos decti Abbatas de Puteolis periculis infra unum annum a die requisitorum dectorum librorum et eorum. . . .

Et quo ipsis priori et fratribus de Angelis qui nunc sunt pro parte venient religiosorum (???) prioris et monacorum S. Marie de Rosis decti ordinis seu(?) diocesis pro habendis? dectis libris pro eorum necetatibus excitit plurium supplicatum quo que ipso ordine camaldulenses generalis prioris regimine destatuo pro eosdem ad hermitas S. Camaldulenses heremi sepe et sepuis propter preducta hitus? et recive? sus? ut ipsi dixerit. Et quo finabit ab eisdem hermitatis obtenta extitit licentia concedenti dectos novem libros decti et sibus? de vosis cuius licenti tenor pro oram talis et uorum. . . .

Priori S. Marie de Angelis de Florentia ordinis supradecti salut? in eo qui omnes desiderat esse salvos, die quinto de January nel qual siamo recevemmo lettere della vostra diletta fratemtate(?) nelle quali di contiene che noi interpomamo? la nostra avente concendendon? licentia da comandire nel nostro ven. fratre. Priore et al convento del luogo di Sancta Maria della Rosa da Siena dell'ordine di Camaldolese i libri del monsterio di San Pietro da Pocoli del detto ordine i quagli aveste dall'abate del detto monasterio con que medesimi pacti et condidioni che si contengono nella carta dicio fatto tra l'abate sopradetto el nostro priore et convento i quali pacti dice chesono questi che quando il dette abate bivolesse? ricogliere che a voi sia licito et possiate i detti libri tenere VII anno poche gli aura pronunciato



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simigliante quando voi gli volesa rendere chol detto abbate sia tenuto et debbia i detti libri ricogliere in l'anno noi considerando condescendere a nostri visti et hoesti prieghi et simigliantement a piacere et contenere il priore et frati di Santa Maria della Rosa sicome inolto siamo tenuti avuto prima consiglio et matura de liboratore de nostri venerabili frati heremiti et capitolo del detto heremo et di loro consentimento concedianvi licentia et piena parola diamo che i detti libri date al detto priore et frati di Santa Maria della Rosa predetto con pacti conditioni sopradette per ogneuna et non che piu et meglio ragionevolmente possiamo et per la parte scritta diamo avete et licentia per auctem del non officio a qualunque notaio accio chiaramente che delle dette cose possa fare princo in suprascriptis con quelle parole et capitoli necessari accio che megli valglia di ragione. In promettendo avere rato et fermo el detto contracto in testimonio delle qualgli cose la punte scritta del suggello del capitolo del detto huno? et nostro facciamo suggellare. Datum Camaldulense fonte bono di VI di Gennaio anno domino a nativitate Millo Trecento Quadraginto nono."

Comment: S. Maria degli Angeli passes S. Pietro a Poteoli's antiphonaries to another monastery, the Sienese convent of S. Maria delle Rose.

Unpublished

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53 [1375]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 35v (31 December, 1375): "Memoria che glie vera cosa che ci sono rimasi della ragione de danari che avemo aiuti (?) di que di frate Leonardo nostro monaco sicome appare al quaderno delle ricordanze a carta LV F. trecento quaranta due d'oro in qualgli avemo di spensati e spesi come diremo a presso.

Item che ne pagamo per uno dossale di drappo bianco d'alto altare maggiore e per cinque pianete e cinque fregi costarono in tutto F. LXIIII d'oro.

Item chene spendemo incerti lavorii della nostra chiesa F. L d'oro.

Item chene spendemo per lo leggio di chiesa dove si canta F. XL d'oro.

Item chene togliamo per gli antefanarii nostri F. C d'oro.

Item chene mettemo a entrata a di XXXI di Dicembre MCCCLXXV F. LXXXVIII d'oro a carte XLVIIIII somma in tutto F. CCCXLII d'oro."

Comment: Don Leonardo Maffei bequeaths 342 florins to the community for various projects, including the production of manuscripts in S. Maria degli Angeli.

Unpublished.

54 [1382]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Libro Giallo di Testimenti 67

Folio 89v (20 April, 1382): "Nicholaus, frates e filii olim Francischi Priori de Baroncellis popoli Sancti Petri Scheradi de Florentus. Angelus, experte una et Prior hodie vocat[ibus?] frate Clemens filii olim detti Franceschi Cionaccius ei sancti. Ingressus monasteri Sancti Marie de Angelis de Florentus ordinis Kamaldulensis non dum(?) professus ut Infra tempores probationis existens conpromictens suo nomine proprio Experte altera fecerunt compromisser in Zenobius Ser Gini Ser Iohanis Viso nagsue(?) detto compromisso laudavit eninavit e arbiteratus fuit. Ox predetti Nicholaus et quodlibus eorum insolidus una tn[tantem?] solutione contenti teneant et debeant Agnolus et dare et solverunt ipsos quis et quem librum eorum insolidus condependavit ad Cionaccius dandorum et solvendorum usque addecere septem annos proxime futurum. Ab hodie in antea continuea numerandos omni anno de mense Martii detto priori vocati frate Clementis ----- florenos viginti quattro recti pondorum et concessa florum hoc tn[tantem?] salus quem in et pro quodlibrum anno exsedecim [?] primis annis detti temporis in et pro quod dectum Nicholaus Agnolus et Cionaccius ulim aliquod ipsorum et seu alumnis per eis (???) et realiter et cum effectum de mensis Februarii dedentum et solverunt et seu dedit et solverit. Monasterii fratrum hermitarum Sancte Marie de Angelis de Florentis ulim sindaco suorum priori detti monasteri per tempore existenti Florens sex ponderum et con andetti et Hospitali seu Rectori Hospitalis Santa Maria Nove de Floren per tempore existentorum animal Florens sex auri detti ponder et con. Non teneant detti Nicholaus Agnolus et Cionaccius absolutionem dectorum Florenorum auri vigintiquattro per illo anno in et perquo sie solverunt detti sex Floreni. Et in casu quo indecimo septimo anno detti temporis ipsi Nicholaus, Agnolu et Cionaccius ulim aliquos eorum et seu animal per eis dederunt et solverunt de mense Februarii detto monasterii Sancta Maria de Angelis aut sindaco suis priori decti monasteri per corpore existentis Florenos quattuor et decto

Hospitali summi cuius Rectori alios ----- Florens Quattro non teneantur ad solutorum decorum Florens vigintiquattor auri per decto decimo settimo anno debitorum et seu debendorum. Lacorum fuit dectem Laudum im MCCCLXXXII die XX mensis Aprilis septum et rogatorum per Ser Johannem Andree Delinari Notarum.

Nicholaus et frates predeci solverunt de mense Februarii decti anni per primo anno ut apparet in libro introitus singnato E ad carte XXX per eis fratres de Angelis.

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates per decti solverunt de XII Novembris MCCCLXXXIIII propositione anno ut apparet in libro introitus singnato F. ad carte XXX per eis frate Johannis prior fratrum de Angelis de mensis Februarii ----- Florens sex auri

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Nicholaus et frates solverunt dei XXIIII mensis Februarii  
decti anni per tertia anno ut apparet in libro introitus  
singnato F. ad carte XXXI

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates solverunt die XXVIII mensis Februarii  
anno MCCCLXXXV per quarto anno ut apparet in libro introitus  
singnato G. ad carte v

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates solverunt die XXVII mensis Februarii  
MCCCLXXXVI ut apparet in decto libro a carte XXX per quinto  
anno per eis priori angelorum

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus per decto et frates solverunt die XXVIII mensis  
Februarii MCCCLXXXVII per sexto anno ut apparet in libro  
introitus signato H a carte V

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predictum solverunt die XVI mensis  
Februarii MCCCLXXXVIII ut apparet in libro introitus signato H  
a carte XXX per septimo anno

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die XXV mensis  
Octubris MCCCLXXXX ut per anno MCCCLXXXVIII ut apparet in  
libro introitus signato J a carte xxvii

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die IIII mensis  
Martii MCCCLXXXX ut apparet in dicto librum carte XXVIII

----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die XXI Februarii  
MCCCLXXXXI ut apparet in librum introitus signato H a carte  
LIIII per X anno - Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die XV Martii  
MCCCLXXXIII ut apparet in librum Introitus signato L a carte  
V per XII anno ---- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die II Martii  
MCCCLXXXIII ut apparet in dicto libro a carte XXXIIII per  
XIII anno ----- Florens sex auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die XXIIII Martii  
MCCCLXXXVI ut apparet in libro Introitus signato M a carte  
XXXIIII

----- Florens dodici auri

Nicholaus et frates predicti solverunt die VIIII  
Februarii MCCCLXXXVII ut apparet in libro Introitus signato N  
a carte VI ----- Florens sex auri

Niccholaus et frates predicti solverunt die VIIII Martii  
MCCCLXXXVIII ut apparet in libro Introitus signato O a carte  
iiii ----- Florens quattuor auri

Comment: Nicholas, Angelus, and Cionaccius Baroncelli, along  
with their brother, Don Clemente (Priore Baroncelli),  
commission S. Maria degli Angeli to make antiphonaries for the  
church in S. Maria Nuova. The Baroncelli family agrees to pay  
the scriptorium 24 Florins a year for 17 years.

Unpublished, but cited by Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Arte e  
politica: L'interdetto, gli Albizzi e la miniatura fiorentina

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del tardo Trecento", in La miniatura Italiana in età Romanica e Gotica (Florence, 1979), 463 (note 7).

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55 [1394]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4447

Folio 78v: "Al priore di Santa Maria delgliangnoli di Firenze  
e a frate Giacobbo de detti frati e di detto convento da i  
quali denari ebbono per parte di paghamento dintefanari checci  
fanno per la chiesa i quali ebbono da frate Nicholaio delgli  
Albizi per lascio della madre a sono levati dal quaderno di  
cassa a carte 7 comagiore somma posti gli debbia dare al  
memoria 117 F. C d'oro"

Comment: Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi donates 100 Florins to  
Don Giacobbo and Don Michele Ghiberti (the prior) for the  
scriptorium on behalf of his deceased mother.

Published in Levi D'Ancona, 1979, 463 (note 6).

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56 [1395]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4450

Folio 24v: "A frati di Santa Maria degli Angnoli e di detto F. venticinque d'oro i quali ebbono per parte di pagamento deglintefanari checci fanno ebbono per noi da Messer Antonio degli Alberti postò a lo quaderno di Cassa F a carte 149 a suo cagione e postò che frati debbiano dare al memorie Verde a carte CLXII.

Fior. XXV d'oro"

Comment: Donation of 25 Florins to the scriptorium from Antonio degli Alberti.

Unpublished.

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57 [1387]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4440

Folio 85 (1387): "A frati delgliangnoli di Firenze di detto Fior. trentaquattro e mezo d'oro i quali denari ebbono per parte di pagamento d'intefanari checci scrivono i quali denari obono in due partite al quaderno di chassa a carte 6 Fior. xxxiiii d'oro ff. 1 S. xvii d. vi"

Comment: S. Maria Nuova pays S. Maria degli Angeli for books written in the scriptorium.

Unpublished, but cited in Levi D'Ancona, "La miniatura Fiorentina tra Gotico e Rinascimento", in La miniatura Italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimento I (Florence, 1985), 454 (note 3).



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58 [1350, 1396]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 87 (27 October, 1350; 21 July, 1396): "Don Giacob[bo] di Francesc[h]i del pplo di sto Lorenzo venne in questo luogo di primo di Novembre MCCCXLVIII poi fece la sua p[ro]fessione di XXVII d'Ottobre MCCCL in presenza del detto priore e degli altri frati all messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto di XXI di Lulglia MCCCLXXXVI. Hic fuit magna et pulcer scriptor. Scrisitas omnes libros il nostra ecclesia."

Comment: Entry in the Monastic Register noting the enrollment and death of Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi. The passage reveals that he was a "great and beautiful writer, who wrote all the books in our church".

Unpublished.

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59 [1351, 1383]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 87 (19 June, 1351; 25 July, 1383): "Don Niccholò di Piero del pplo di Sca Maria Novella fece la sua p[ro]fessione di XVIII di Giugno MCCCLI. In presenza del detto priore e degli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in locho isto a di XXV di Iulgio MLXXXIII."

Comment: Don Niccolò di Piero enters the cloister in 1351 and dies in S. Maria degli Angeli in 1383.

Unpublished.

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60 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 2 (July, 1402): "Al nome di dio e della beata Vergine Madonna Sancta Maria e di tutti Sancti, angeli, e di Messer Sancto Benedecto e di Messer Sancto Romualdo e di tutti gli altri sancti e sancte di paradiso: Questo è il registro nuovo del monasterio de romiti di Sca Maria degli Agnoli di Firenze del ordine di Camaldoli sco e riformato in parte de Registro Vecchio del detto Monasterio e in parte secondo carte scripture e informazioni che noi abbiamo avute da persone degne di fede cominciato a scrivere per Don Girolamo di Dardano nostro monaco e perche mori innanzi chel compresse e stato seguitato per me frate Tommaso di Tommaso monaco del detto monasterio al tempo del venerabile padre Don Matheo di Guido priore di questo monasterio sotto gli anni della Salutifeza incarnatione del nostro Signore Jesus Christi nel Mille quattrocento due del mese di Luglio. Nel quale registro se scripto e scriveremo i frati di questo monasterio ci ce quelli maximamente che anno a chiarire o obligare in nostri successori e per più chiarezza lo distingivamo in IIII parti. . ."

Comment: Incipit page of S. Maria degli Angeli's Registro Nuovo, a copy of the fourteenth century monastic register (the Registro Vecchio). In addition to noting the convent's dedication to Romuald and Benedict, this passage cites the names of two scribes who may have been members of the scriptorium: Don Tommaso di Tommaso and Don Girolamo di Dardano.

Unpublished.

61 [1388]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4442

Folio 33v (5 April, 1388): "A frate Giaghobbo frate delgliangnoli di vi d'Aprile fior. cinque d'oro i quali denari ebbe per parte di libri checci scrive per la chiesa porto Nicholo di Piero Fior. V d'oro"

Folio 33v (April or May, 1388): "Non o potuto mandare piutosto il messale pero che non o potuto avere il dipintore che racconciasse il crocifisso altro che oggi et pero nel mando teste per donatemi.

Sabato fu qui a me Soldo miniatore che minia l'antifonario vostro et che devami parechi danari dissigli chom io non avea avuti anchora danari da voi. Onde egli mi disse che al postutto egli avea pur bisogno che per l'amor di dio io gliene prestassi in fino a XV L. dissemi tanto chio gli feci prestare al camerlingo nostro L. XII. Altro non dico dio sia vostra guardia.

Frate Jacob."

Folio 34 (15 May, 1388): "A frate Giacobbo frate delgliangnoli di XV di Maggio fior due d'oro ebbe per leghatura et ghoavernatura d'uno messale. Fior. II d'oro"

Folio 34 (19 May, 1388): "A frate Giacobbo frate delglialgnoli (sic) di XVIII di Maggio lire dodici i quali denari ebbe per parte di paghameto dintefanari checci fa et miniare a Soldo di Paolo Soldini porto Piero di Jacopo nostro. Lire. XII"

Comment: Payments to the scriptorium, via Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi, for work done on S. Maria Nuova's antiphonaries. Also, one of the miniaturists employed by the scriptorium petitions Don Giacobbo to intervene on his behalf in order to receive reimbursement for his work on the hospital's choral books.

Published by Levi D'Ancona, Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secoli (Florence, 1962), 242.

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62 [1396]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4450

Folio 82 (15 November?, 1396): "A frate Bartolomeo de frati delgignoli (sic) e di detto f. due d'oro ebbe per azurro comperarono per glintefanari nostri posti a cagione de frati delgli angnoli al memorie Verde a carte 162 e per loro a Giovanni del Biondo dipintore Fior. II d'oro"

Comment: S. Maria degli Angeli receives money for pigments to be used on S. Maria Nuova's antiphonaries. The scriptorium then passes the pigment on to Giovanni del Biondo. Giovanni appears to be responsible for painting the images in S. Maria Nuova's choral books.

See George Bent, "The Scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli and Fourteenth Century Manuscript Illumination: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Lorenzo Monaco, and Giovanni del Biondo", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, forthcoming.

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63 [1396]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4450

Folio 81v (7 November, 1396): "A frate Salvestro de frati degliangnoli a di VII di Novembre F. sei d'oro ebbe per parte di paghamento delglintefanari checi fanno per la chiesa porto Ser Paolo nostro spedalingho postò che frati debbiano dare al memorie Verde a carte 162.

Fior. vi d'oro"

Comment: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci receives payment on behalf of the scriptorium in 1396. This is the only document directly connecting the monk to the workshop.

Published by Levi D'Ancona, 1979, 464 (note 17). See also Bent, forthcoming.

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64 [1394]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4447

Folio 79v: "A frati di Santa Maria delgli angnoli di Firenze a di detto F. sei d'oro ebbono per parte di libri chicci scrivono per la chiesa ebbono per noi da Niccholò, Angnolo et Cionaccio Baroncelli a entrata al libro L a carte 34 e posti gli debbiano dare al memorio G a carte 162.  
Fior. VI d'oro"

Comment: Payment to S. Maria degli Angeli from S. Maria Nuova.

Unpublished.

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65 [1390]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4444

Folio 75 (11 November, 1390): "Paghamo a frate Giacobbo frate degliangnoli di XI di Novembre F. quindici doro ebbe in fino a di 20 d'Aghosto prossimo passato 1390 porto Ser Domenico Mattei, e F. sei doro ebbe per noi da Niccholò e d'Angnolo e Cionaccio de Baroncelli in fino a di' di Febraio 1389 a entrata a libro L. a carte 27 somma F. 21 ebbe per parte di paghamento dintefanari checci fa e per la chiesa posto Priore e frati degliangnoli donò (?) dare a libro  
F. XXI doro"

Comment: Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi receives a payment on behalf of the scriptorium.

Unpublished.



## Appendix D: Documents

66 [1387]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4442

Folio 32v (28 February, 1387): "A frati degli angnoli di Firenze di detto fior. sei d'oro i quali denari ebbe per parte di paghamento ditenfanari (sic) checci scrivono per la chiesa ebbono per noi da Niccholo et d'Angolo et Cionaccio di Francesco Barnocelli sino a di 28 di Febbraio paghato Fior. vi d'oro"

Comment: Payment to S. Maria degli Angeli from S. Maria Nuova for work done on the Baroncelli project.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

67 [1394]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4447

Folio 78v (23 December, 1394): "Al priore sopradetto a dì  
XXIII di Dicembre F. ventisette d'oro ebbono per la detta  
chagione in tre partite cioe F. 6 ebbono da Nicholò et  
frategli de Baroncelli nel 1392 e F. 6 nel 1393 e F. 19 ebbono  
contanti questo di detto al detto quaderno di cassa F a carte  
7 posto al memorie a carte 162 F. XXVII d'oro"

Comment: Payments to S. Maria degli Angeli from S. Maria  
Nuova.

Unpublished, but cited by Levi D'Ancona, 1985, 456 (note 5).

## Appendix D: Documents

68 [1388]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 45 (15 April, 1388): "Sia manifesto a chi vedra o udira leggere questa scritta, che noi Don Michele Ghiberti, priore di questo monastero di Sca. Maria degli Agnoli di Firenze con volontà e chon sentimento di Don Silvestro Gherarducci sopriore, Don Francischo del Fede, Don Jacobbo Francisci, . .  
."

Comment: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci is listed as a witness to a transaction between a secular donor and S. Maria degli Angeli. Don Silvestro is referred to as the convent's subprior.

Unpublished

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69 [1385]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa 5037

Folio 6 (12 December, 1385): "La ragione de libri della chiesa do dare di resto lovati dal detto quaderno a le 27 FF. nove doro e S. trenta sotto e denari sei dicono dare gliangnoli. F. VIII doro L. 1 S. XVII d. 6

E dicono di resto di FF. 77 doro dare e frati delgliangnoli di XII di Dicembre 1385 F. venticinque doro porto Papi d'Orlando Chericho nostro

F. XXV doro

A ne dati posti a v scritta a libro Giallo a carte 89  
F. 34 LL. 1 S. 17 d. 6

Comment: S. Maria Nuova pays S. Maria degli Angeli for work done on the hospital's antiphonaries.

UnPublished, but cited by Levi D'Ancona, 1985, 454 (note 3).

70 [1393]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa 5038

Folio 33v (15 May, 1393): "A frati di Santa Maria degli Angnoli e frate Nicholaio di . . . delgli Albizi loro frate deono dare di XV di Maggio (1392/93) F. cento doro i quali ci promisono per lo detto frate Niccholaio per lasciò della madre e sono messi a entrata a libro H (?) a carte 5 (9?) e non sebbono per che bisogniana confessagli F. C doro

e deono dare a di XXVIII di Febraio 1392 (1393 n.s.) F. sei doro checci mando a dire scrivessimo a sua cagione messer lo priore loro per Niccholò e d'Angolo e Cionaccio Baroncelli a entrata a libro H a carte 28 F. sei doro F. VI doro"

fol. 33v - addendum: "A ricevuto per noi F. VI doro prioghoni che gli scriviate che gli albito scritti in su questo folio doppio alinada usato e i detti F. VI prioghoni al presente. Il nostro priore de romiti degli angnoli"

Comment: Don Niccholaio degli Albizzi donates money to S. Maria Nuova to aid in the production of the hospital's antiphonaries. S. Maria Nuova then gives this gift to S. Maria degli Angeli for their work on the choral books.

Unpublished, but cited by Levi D'Ancona, 1985, 454 (note 4).

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71 [1393]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Quaderno di Cassa 5039

Folio 7v (March, 1393; 28 February, 1394 n.s.; 23 December, 1394): "A frati di Sancta Maria delgli angnoli e frate Niccholaio delgli Albizi frate de detti frati deono dare levato al detto quali a carte 33 F. cento sei doro. F. CVI doro

E de dare a di (blank) di Marzo 1393 ebbono a di XXVIII di Febraio 1393 per noi da Nicholò et d'Angnolo et Cionaccio Baroncelli F. sei a entrata libro L carte 9 F. VI doro

E dee dare a di XXIII di Dicembre 1394 F. quindici doro per frate Giacobbo portò Ser Domenicho Mattei notaio F. XV doro

Messi a uscita a libro L a carte 78 in due partite l'una F. c et l'altra F. 27 per parte delglintefanari di chiesa F. CXXVII doro"

Comment: Money received from the Albizzi and Baroncelli gifts are given by S. Maria Nuova to Don Giacobbo dei Franceschi on behalf of the monastic scriptorium in S. Maria degli Angeli.

Unpublished, but cited by Levi D'Ancona, 1985, 454 (note 4).

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72 [1388]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4442

Folio 79v (1 November, 1388): "A frati delgliangnoli di 1 di Novembre Fior. venti d'oro e 11. dieci ebbe sino a di 20 di Giugno ebbono per parte di paghamento ditenfanari (sic) checci fanno per la chiesa portò Andrea di Jacopo a frate Giacobbo. Fior. XX d'oro l. X"

Folio 80 (16 December, 1388): "A frati delgliangnoli di XVI di Dicembre fior. diecci d'oro Grani (sic: grandi) i quali denari ebbono per parte di paghmento ditetafanari (sic) checci fanno portò Andrea di Jacopo Cini nostro F. X d'oro"

Comment: Don Giacobbo receives payments from S. Maria Nuova on behalf of the scriptorium in S. Maria degli Angeli.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

73 [1390]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4444

Folio 28v: "A frate Giacobbo frate delgliangnoli di detto F. quindici doro, ebbe per parte di pagamento delglintefanari checci fa e ebbe in fino a di IIII di Dicembre 1389 al memoriale di cassa a carte 122 proto Ser Domicho Mattei Dati F. XV d'oro"

Comment: Don Giacobbo receives payment on behalf of the scriptorium.

Unpublished.



Appendix D: Documents

74 [1391]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4444

Folio 75v (27 February, 1391 n.s.): "A frate Giacob frate  
delgliagnoli di detto F. sei doro i quali denari ebbe per  
parte d'intefanari checci scribe per la chiesa ebbono per noi  
da Niccholò e Angnolo e Cionaccio Baroncelli in fino a di 27  
di febraio passato 1390 F. VI doro"

Comment: Don Giacobbo receives payment on behalf of the  
scriptorium.

Unpublished.

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75 [1391]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4444

Folio 86v (7 February, 1391 n.s.): "A Giovanni del Biondo dipintore di VII di Febraio F. sette doro i quali denari ebbe per una tavola d'altare cioe solo di lengniame chesi fa e per l'eredità di Messer Baldo da Fighine al memoriale di cassa a carte 141 e dal libro Giallo di testamenti a carte 292 F. VII doro"

Comment: Payment to Giovanni del Biondo from S. Maria Nuova for work done on a panel for Baldo da Figline. This association anticipates Giovanni's work on S. Maria Nuova's choral books in 1396.

Published by Giovanni Poggi, "Documenti su Giovanni del Biondo", Rivista d'arte 5 (1907), 28; see also Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, Section IV, Volume IV (New York, 1967), 4.

Appendix D: Documents

76 [1395, 1396]

A.S.F., S. Maria Nuova, Uscita 4450

Folio 83v: "A frati di Santa Maria delgliangnoli e di detto F. dodici d'oro i quali denari ebbono per parte di pagamento di libro checci fanno per la chiesa ebbono per noi da Niccholò e d'Angnolo e Cionaccio Baroncelli nel 1395 e 1396, a entrata a libro M a carte 34 e posto che frati debbia dare al memorie Verde a carte 162. Fior. XII d'oro"

Comment: Payments to S. Maria degli Angeli for 1395 and 1396.

Unpublished.

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77 [1299, 1347, 1360, 1370, 1378, 1392, 1393]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 110 (October, 1299): "Questa è la quarta parte di questo libro cioè de privilegiis testamenti codicilli et altre carte.

Abbiamo uno privilegio dall'Eremo di Camaldoli fatto al tempo di Don Orlando fundatore et primo priore di questo monastero come noi siamo participi di tutti i beni spirituali che si fanno nel detto heremo et per tutto l'ordine cioè di messe astinentie(?) pers al mode di giuni et orationi dato 1299 Kalends Ottobre. Item uno altro di simile gra(?) dato al tempo di Papa Benedetto XI. Anno primo.

(1347): Uno privilegio del generale del ordine di Sco Benedetto da montefano da Camerino come simile monte siamo participi di tutti i beni et opere spirituali del detto ordine cioè di messe abstinentie persalmodie di giuni orationi et altri buoni exercitii spirituali et essendo nel loro capitolo generale annutiati i nostri morti saranno raccomandati come gli loro dati 1347.

(1360; 29 July, 1378): Due privilegii comandatorii del generale nostro fatto l'uno 1360 dove ci comanda sotto virtu et penadibidenza(?) et discommunicatione che noi non dobbiamo ricevere que nel monastero ne ricettare alcuno sbandito del comune o chi si nascondesse per debito o per delitto commesso o per altra cagione il quale fugisse di comperire dinanzi a corte ecclesiastica o secolare et di questa excommunicatione si serba il generale balia di condenare chi falasse. Et che di queressima ni uno secolare debbia maggio in rifettoro con frati et d'altro tempo non sieno per volta più di quatro secolari. Questo privilegio rinfresco il gnerale Johi di 29 di Luglio 1378 manno volse checi strignesce dopo sua vita.

(1370): Uno privilegio del generale Johi comandatorio che niuno monaco o converso che sia uscito di questo monastero o di quello della Rosa da Siena non possino venire ad detti monasteri ne in Firenze ne Siena etiendo con licentia di loro prelati sotto pena di scomunicatione nella quale lo condanna se prima saro stato di ciò amonito III volte et che i prelati de detti monasteri gli possino pigliare et fare pigliare et in carcerare et implorare l'aiuto del braccio secolare sub data 1370.

Item uno privilegio del detto generale Johi comandatorio che niuno hospite del nostro ordine prelato o subdito debbi stare più che uno di nel nostro monastero et che noi nel dobbiamo oltra deto di tenere.

(3 November, 1392): Item tre privilegii da solutione di colpa et di pena in punto mortis a tutti monaci conversi et novitii di questo monastero per sino di qualii che ci si trovarono a di 3 di Novembre 1392 l'una di Papa Gregorio XI l'altro di Papa Urbano VI Il terzo di Papa Bonifatio VIII.

Item uno privilegio del detto Papa Bonifatio sub data Rome XXV in anno VII siu pontificat/ nel quale si contine che ni uno converso del nostro ordine et maxime di questo monastero possi essere ricevuto per monaco in questo o altro

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ordine ne essere permesso a sacri ordini sotto grave scomunicatione di qualunque prelato che contra accio facesse.

Item un'altro brivilegio del detto Papa sub data detto di che il nostro priore che si ritrovera per tempi et il sopriore uso la pra(?) solo del priore possi absolvere qualunque monaco et converso di questo monastero d'ogni irregolarità o scomunicatione nel quale forse in corsa essendo secolare et poi che esuto religioso per qualunque cagione o delicto savo dove domicidio(?) ove personalmente si fosse trovato o mutilatione d'alcuno membro principale o avesse celebrato in contempto delle chiavi et sodisfacendo prima a chi fosse d'anificato per cio.

Item uno altro brivilegio del detto pontifice detto di fatto e dato per lo quale da per donanza ovvero indilgenza C di' e una quarantina a tutti i monaci conversi e commessi di questo monasterio presenti e futuri i quali li visiterano tutti gli altari della nostra chiesa divotamente essendo veremente pentuti e confessi ogni anno pergardo in Dio per lo buono perspero e felice stato di tutti i cristiani e del sommo pastore questi di del anno, cioe:

Nativitas		Conceptio	
Veneris SCI	Yhu	Nativitas	Verginis
Resuretio	Xpi	Anuntiatio	Marie
Pentecostes		Assuntio	

Nativitas Sci Ihis Batiste	Sci Benedicti
Apparitio Sci Michael	Sci Leonardi
Dedicatio Huius Eccle"	

(December, 1393): Item una riformatione del comune di Firenze rogata per Ser Viviano Neri di Dicembre 1393 per la quale gli uficiali del monte sono nostri guidici ordinarii et possono cognoscere d'ogni contracto testamento codicillo o altra lite dal di predetto innanzi sommariamente et deplano.

ii Privilegii di Papa Ioanni xxiii come siamo exempti d'ogni graveza.

iii Privilegii di Papa Martino et uno di Papa Johanni sopra la badia di cerreto come apparisce in questo libro a carte 90.

Uno privilegio di capolona di papa Martino V et uno di papa Honorio.

Uno bolla conservatoria perpetua di questo monastero di Papa Martino V.

III privilegii di Papa Urbano come fu facto abbate detto Lorenzo ultimo abbate di Cerreto.

Una bolla di papa Lucio III come il monastero di Cerreto et libero da decime ed altre dignita.

Item uno breve di Papa Leone X dove in perpetuo lasciò anni L di indulgentia ad si visua ogni anno la chiesa del nostro monastero il primo Marie di della quaresima nel quale di detto Papa personalmente con molti Cardinali et con tutta la corte venne in decto monastero come in questo sinara CCXXXII."

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Comment: List of privileges and benefices given to S. Maria degli Angeli from various Popes throughout the fourteenth century. Special attention is given to particular feast days of import: Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost Sunday, Immaculate Conception, Birth of the Virgin, Annunciation, Assumption of the Virgin, Birth of John the Baptist, the Apparition of Saint Michael, Saint Benedict's day, Saint Leonard's day, and the celebration of the Dedication of the Church.

Unpublished

78 [???

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 126v-127: ". . . Prima che sempre ogni di si celebri una messa all'altare della capella di Sco Giob la quale fece fare il detto Tellino e che nella detta capella stia continuo una lampana accesa e che della detta capella sia sempre fornita di tutti suoi fornimenti bisognevoli, e massimamente d'uno messale e uno calice e pianete con que fornimenti chessi richiegono e dossali e tovaglie cosi per di festivi come feriali e di torchi e cerotti e candele necessarie. Anchora che il di della festa di Sco Giob la quale facciamo la prima domenica di Settembre. Quando si mette la storia del Giob si faccia sempre ognanno alla detta capella solenne festa e dicavisi la messa con IIII cerotti accesi e fare a frati una piatanza in refectorio. Et che ognanno sempre si facciano due anniversari l'uno per l'anima di Tellino e l'altro per l'anima della detta mona Lisa il di della loro morte celebrando ne detti anniversari la messa e l'officio moruori con questi (?) lumi che al priore parra. Et ne detti di fare a frati in rifettorio quella ricreazione che parra al priore. Anchora per la festa della conversione di Sco Paolo che di Gennaio si faccia per l'anima de detti solenne festa e fare a frati alcuna recreazione in refectorio."

Comment: Testament of Monna Lisa Dini, the wife of Tellino Dini, who recites the gifts left to S. Maria degli Angeli, including property, money, and the funds used to construct the chapel of Saint Job.

Unpublished.

79 [1420]

A.S.F., Provvisioni 110 (27 January, 1420)

Folio 204-204v: Honorantia digiti Sancti Iohannis Batiste.

Secundo provisionem infrascriptam super infrascriptis omnibus et singulis deliberatam et factam per dictos dominos priores vexilliferum et gonfaloneros societatum populi et duodecim bonos viros Comunis Florentie secundum ordinamenta dicti Comunis, que talis est videlicet.

Cum die tertia decima presentis mensis Ianuarii fuerit ab ecclesia Sancte Marie de Angelis de Florentia ad ecclesiam Sancti Iohannis Batiste eiusdem civitatis dicitus index dextre manus eiusdem Sancti Iohannis Batiste, singularis defensoris ac patroni populi et comunis Florentie, reliqua quidem non solum toti populo Florentino cui idem Santus est caput et protector, verum etiam cuilibet christiano reverendissima pretiosissima et accepta donata eidem populo per felicitis recordationis reverendissimum patrem et dominum, dominum Baldassarrem Coscia cardinalem Florentinum appellatum et nuper Santissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Iohannem papam vigesimum tertium, delatus omni populo florentino nec non dominis prioribus Artium et Vexillifero Iustitie dicti populi et comunis multa cum reverentia sociatus fueritque, pro huiusmodi translatione ob reverentiam Dei ac defensoris predicti, cuius predicta reliqua pars corporis est, facte certe expense in cera, drappellonibus et aliis, et propterea sit, pro satisfaciendo habere debentibus, necessarium opportunam habere pecuniam. Ideo Magnifici et potentes domini, domini priores Artium et Vexillifer Iustitie populi et Comunis Florentie . . . providerunt . . . die vigesimo septimo mensis Ianuarii predicti.

Quod camerarii camere comunis Florentie tam presentes quam futuri teneantur et debeant de pecunia deputata vel deputanda pro expensis capse generalis dicti Comunis dare et solvere fratri Iohanni Christofani, uno ex camerariis Camere armorum palatii populi Florentie, libras ottuaginta otto et soldos tredecim florenorum parvorum pro satisfaciendo habere debentibus pro dictis causis. . ."

Comment: S. Maria degli Angeli returns to the Commune of Florence a bone from Saint John the Baptist's finger, a relic given to them in 1413 by Pope John XXIII.

See F.L. Del Migliore, Firenze, città nobilissima (Florence, 1684), 103; Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine V (Rome, 1757), 48-50; and R.W. Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo (London, 1980), 292.



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80 [1417-1432]

A.S.F., Priorista Mariani, Manoscritti 253, Tome 6, f. 1318

1 July 1417 - Dominicus Zenobii Cecchi  
Frasca

1 Sept 1432 - Dominicus Zenobii Cecchi

"Il capitano della Rena dice apeverantemente epere questi del Frasca consorti degli Adimari, e che anderebbero posti dopo epi, conforme si vede epre stato fatto nel priorista a famiglie d'altre consorterie.

Vedendosi nella Prestanza dell'anno 1351 per S. Giov. Lion d'Oro, epervi nominato Cecco Frasca Scardapiere (che pare l'Avo del primodi questi Priori) non par' verisimile, che fosse di una nobile, ed antica schiatta, quale era quella degl'Adimari che perciò l'Accademia del segaloni, che ridusse il Priorista da Pratte a famiglie separo questi del Frasca della consorteria degl'Adimari..."

Comment: List of the positions held by Domenico di Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca in the Signoria. Also, a brief family history.

Unpublished.

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81 [1364]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, XXIII May 1364

". . . Dinanzi a voi signiori consoli dell'arte del Cambio dippone e dice Zanobi di Ceccho populo San Cristofano di Firenze tutore di Zanobi figliuolo di Giovanni Cantini e di Francesco figliuolo di dal detto Cantini pupilli ed anchora attore di Maso di Nieri e di Romeo di Giovanni e di Monna Benedetta moglie che fue del detto Giovanni Cantini tutori e tutrice de detti Zanobi e Francesco pupilli attore nome per loro che Cino Otтинelli. Rafano e Lucha e Michele e Otтинello fratelli e figliuoli del detto Cino e ciaschuno di loro in tutto erano tenuti e doveano dare e paghare a detti Giovanni e dal detto al tempo de la loro vita e infino al tempo de la loro morte E oggi sono tenuti e debbono dare e paghare a detti Zanobi e Francesco pupilli figliuoli erede de detti Giovanni e dal detto Fior. Cento d'oro a scritta e per iscritta del libro de detti Giovanni e dal detto. E che i detti Cino e Rafano e Lucha e Michele e Otтинello e ciaschuno di loro anno cessato e cessano di dare e paghare a detti Giovanni e dal detto al tempo dela loro vita e oggi cessano di dare e paghare a detti Zanobi di Giovanni e Francesco di dal detto pupilli a detti Fior. Cento doro e perciò il detto Zanobi di Ceccho tutore attore predetto adomanda e priegha voi signiori consoli sopradetti chevi piaccia di costringere e per vostra sentenza condannare i detti Cino Rafano Lucha Michele e Otтинello e ciaschuno di loro in tutto a dare e a paghare a detti Zanobi e Francesco pupilli overo al detto Zanobi attore de detti tutori e pupilli per li detti pupilli ricevendo i detti Fior. Cento doro el espese del prato fatte e chessi faranno per questa cagione e per disse il detto Zanobi attore per detto la carta del testamento de detti Giovanni e dal detto cioè il testamento di Giovanni rogato e inbreviato per mano di Ser Santi Bruni e compiuto e più vocato per mano di Ser Antonio Zuccheri dal Cischio notaio e il testamento del detto dal detto rogato e scritto per mano di Ser Francesco di Ser Piero notaio e la carte dele tutele e dello ventario e de la prengnoni dell'eredità di fatte de deni de le dette heredita di del detto Giovanni e dal detto e la carta del attoria del detto Zanobi di Ceccho scritto per mano di Ser Lorenzo di Ser Johi Buti notiao. . . .

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca is named as the guardian of Zanobi di Giovanni Cantini, who is suing his former guardians for funds withheld from him.

Unpublished.

82 [1399]

A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 15224, 24 Oct. 1399

"In dei nomine amen. Anno domino sue salutiferi incarnatione millesimotrecentesimo nonagesimonono indictione ottava die vigesimo quattro mese Octobrus auctum Florentia in pplo S. Pietri Celirem de Florentia presente testimus ad hoc vocatis et ad habitis Donna Jacopa testatrice proprio hinc gatis Johanne Bartolomei Barbaris pplo S. Xpofani de Flor bonifatio Ser Ginii Chonizano pplo S. Laurentii de Flor Matteo Johanis Chonizano pplo S. Michelis Visdomini de Florentia, Bartolomeo Johanis Barbarino pplo S. Xpofani de Flor et Frusino Bandini Fornaiio ppli S. Petri Celirem Xpofano Andree pplo S. Marie Di Verzanis Intramuros civitatem Florentia et Lippo Glini Chonizano pplo S. Laurentii de Florentia et Romolo Luce ppli S. Reparate de Florentia.

Domina Jacopa vidova uxor quondam Zanobi Cecchi pplo S. Xpofani de Florentie et filia quondam Ser Bindi Yhu Xpi quodam sana mente supra intellectus cogitans quod nicchil certans morte et nicchil incertans hora mortis et nolins intestat/ decedere et dispondere dictus omnibus suis bonis iure quod fieri debeat et salut/ sue (arc?) providere(?) propresens testament/ quod dixit sine sempre in hoc modum disponant et testat fuit videlicet. In primas humiliter et devote animam suam recommendavit altissimo creator/ et eius gloriosi matri virgini Marie et totem celeste/ curia et sepulturam sui temporis clegit ad ecclesiam S. Marie Novella de Florentia se cum mori contingat in civitate Florentia vel se cum contingat mori extra mente(?) Florentia voluit sepulturi ad ecclesiam illius ppli Nepa(?) cum contingat muri.

Item de suis bonis amore dei legavit operi S. Reparate de Florentia sold/ viginti Florenorum Parvorum.

Item fabrica murorum civitatem Florentiam soldem viginti Florenorum Parvorum.

Item legavit Bindo filio Ser Bindi frate carnali dicte testatricis a tempore mortis dicte testatricis ??? et si non vinxeret filis dicte Bindi de legiptimo matrimonio procurratibus procurrandi et natus et natus de legiptimo matrimonio omnis pannis lantos et lantos ad usum et di usum dicte domine Jacope deputat/.

Item et suis bonis logavit et dari voluit alisa filio naturali Dominicii Zenobi filio dicte testatrices Florenos centumquingenta auri et innocentiae(?) quod contingins dictum Dominichum civis Florentium heredes filius habere de legiptimo matrimonio procurratibus voluit quod angeat(?) dicte legati Florens ??? quingenta ??? quantitat/ apud legati dicte domina voluit quod dicte alisum habiat et petore(?) possit de pecuniam et quantitatus inqua dicta domina Jacopa est de singulis orditrum ins Flor in lire montros dicte comunis vel bonis cumque aliis bonis dicte domina cum conditione forme et modo quod dictus alisus habeans et heredes possit usufructum dicte legati perpetuum aut vendere alienare vel premetare non possit nec in vel tranferre vel disponere intra in ultima voluntatem co ga(?) dicte domina Jacopa testatrices vult et desponet quod innocentiae quodquem

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alio decederet sine filio de legitimo matrimonio  
procurratis quod dicte logatis (di nemere?) post mortem dicte  
alio a Domenichum di Zenobi filium ipsius testatrices et si  
dicte Domenichos ??? non ??? ad filium de legitimum  
matrimonium procurratis natus et nascitur dicti Dominicii et  
innocentie quod dictos Dominichus non mente? uxor non  
extant? filium de legitimum matrimonium procurratis filium  
vel femina voluit dictum logatum (di nemere?) ad Bindum filium  
Ser Bindi fratrem carnalem dicte testatrix et si tunc dictus  
Bindus non vixerit? ad filium et filias de legitimum  
matrimonium procurratoris dicte bindi natus et nascitur in  
omnibus auctum vel similis bonis iuris presentes et future? sibi  
herede/ herede/ universal/ instituit fecit et rem? voluit  
firmes manentibus legatis predictis Dominichum filium ipsum  
domine Jacopa Zenobii Cecchi predicti et si tempore mortis  
dicte testatrix vixerat aut si vixerat et heres non  
testamenti? vel esse nollet institue sibi heredibus filiis  
dicte Dominici de legitimo matrimonio procurratoris nate et  
nascitur et hanc asserunt esse et rem velle suum testamentum  
et ultimam voluntatem quod et qua valere voluit et iussit iure  
testamenti et si iure testamenti non valet aut non valeret  
valeat iure codicillarum vel alterius testamentum per ultime  
voluntate quosquam? nullius valere potest poterit et tenere  
cassans et irritans . . ."  
. . . rogans me Nicholaum Pierozzi de predictis  
conficerem instrumentum.

Comment: Jacopa della Frasca, the widow of Zanobi di Ceccho  
della Frasca, makes out her will in 1399.

Unpublished.

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83 [1364]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, XVI Dicembre 1364

"Io Zanobi di Ceccho mi richiamo di Gherardo di Messer  
Francescho delgli Adimari di Fior tredici doro i quali midee  
dare giue più tempo prighori che mi facciate pagare erendere  
le spese..."

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca sues Gherardo di  
Francesco Adimari for 13 Florins.

Unpublished.

84 [1365]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, V and XXVIII April, 1365

"Ad petitionis dicti Johannis Andree et Biagii Jacobi actorum pro dictorum tutori Pieri et Zanobi pupillorum filiorum quondam et hereditum decti Gamberelli Pieri decti consules sedentes pro tribunali in curia dicte artis personalis preceperunt et mandaverunt suprascripto Zanobi Cecchi debitori in suprascripta pec quale tutore dictorum Pieri et Zanobii pupillorum filiorum olim et heredi decti Gamberelli ut superius in decta sria(?) continetur et declaratum esse ibidem presenti et intelligenti quatum pro executionem dicte sententie et declarationi det insolvat et dare et solvere teneatur et debeat dicto Biagio Jacobi actori dictorum tutorum pro dictorum Pieri et Zanobii pupillorum filiorum con di inheredi dicti Gamberelli pro dictis tutoribus et pupilli nec dictos Flor auri Trecentos ottuaginta quinque L. sex et d. undeci ad Flor de quibus Iures in nomine. In dicta snia(?) adiudecatum et assignatum et dictis Piero et Zanobio pupillis filiis et heredibus dicti olim Gamberelli per satisfactum dicte quantitatum pet(?) in qua (???) in dicta snia(?) declarati fuerunt creditores dictorum sotiorum sub pena eidem Zanobio Cecchi dictorum consulum arbitrio auferendi.

Qui Zanobius Cecchi debitor suprascriptus sequens formam dicti precepti eidem ut datur factorum pro pridectos consules in presentia mei Nerii notaio. Et in presentia dictorum Consulum et soprascripti Ser Nigii Ser Johis notaio et aliorum in curia dicta Artis Camp dictorum consulum dedit soluit et numentuit dicto Biagio actori dictorum tutorum Pieri et Zanobi pupillorum filiorum et heredi dicti olim Gamberelli presenti et rec(?) pro dictis tutoribus et pupillis dictam petitionem (???). Dictos Flor. auri Trecentos ottuaginta quinque L. sex et d. undecim ad Flor int(?) quos fuerunt Flor aur CCCLXX pro ipsius Zanobium depositati ut dicitur die xiiii menses Febriao (?) penes Galeassum de Uzano et quos idem Galeassum ibidem in presentia in deman(?) dictorum consuit consentietem dicto Biagio actore sopradecto restituerot dicto Zanobio aute solvet predictam.

Decta die V Mensis Aprilis

Pierus olim Fastelli et Zanobius olim Cecchi et quilibus eorum scientes se ad infrascripta non tenere set teneri et obligari volentes cum effectum ut dictes Pierus pro heredibus soprascripti Gamberelli Pieri et dictes Zanobius Cecchi pro heredibus dicti olim dal di Cantini et Amerighus filius olim dicti Bartholi ... ipso et suo nomine et ut heres dicti olim Bartholi patris suum et quilibus eorum modis et nominibus quibus sopra premisserunt ... in vicem et dicissimi(?) unus

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alteri dicissimi hic in de solepnum(?) (???) hic in de intervmentum. Ut dictos Pierus pro dictis heredi Gamberelli et dictos Zanobius Cecchi pro dictis heredi dal detti. Et dictos Amerighus suo et hereditar nomine dicti Bartholi patris sui solve creditoribus dictorum sotiorum et dicte sotietatum dictorum olim Gamberelli dal detti Bartholi et Romei Johis olim sotiorum pre dictorum omnem ratam debiti dicte sotietatis et dictorum sotiorum contingentum dictis heredibus Gamberelli dal detti et Bartholi Servem formam dicte (???) de qua fit initio et scriptorum esse et pro ut in dicta snia ... et declaratum esse.

### Die XXVIII Aprilis

An fatti consules sedentes pro tribunali in curia dicte artis con uso et considerato de posito de iporum mandato facto die xiiii menses Febr (???) anno domini MCCCLXIIII pro Zanobium Cecchi penes Galeassum Lapi de Uzano de Florentia de Florens auri CCCLXX. Sub certis conditionibus et modis inscriptura dicti deposuti contentum et actenta et considerata restitutionem pro ipsam Galeassum de ipori(?) consulium mandato facta dicto Zanobio de dictis Flor auri CCCLXX et solutionem de ipsius Flor auri CCCLXX facta pro ipsium Zanobium die quinto presentis menses Aprilis filiis et heredibus Gamberelli Pieri (?) actori tutorum dictorum Faliorum Gamberelli ad oem(?) dubitationem tollendam declaraverunt in dixerunt dictem Galeassum legiptime restituisset et soliusse dictem depositum dicto Zanobio. Et ideo mandaverunt dicto Zanobio licet absenti Et in supra commiserunt Piero Nieri nuntio dicte artis (?) badat et ux eorum parte et mandato mandet infrascripta dicto Zanobio quo infra XV dies proxiem ventur scribat supra libro dicti Galeassi et ad pedem scripture dicti depositi qualis sibi Zanobio restitutum fuit die V dicti mense Aprilis dictem depositum a Galeasso predicto. Et ibidem propria mano faciat et scribat scripturam huius forme et continentie.

Io Zanobi di Ceccho sopradetto oe ricevuto a di V d'Aprile anno MCCCLXV da Galeasso soprodetto i detti CCCLXX fior doro per me dipositati come di sopra appare e per piu chiarezza oe fatta questa scritta di mia mano propria sotto pena di libro L. : Decta die XXVIII mensis Aprilis"

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca successfully sues Galeasso d'Uzano for 370 Florins. However, Zanobi is also referred to as "Zanobius Cecchi debitor", a term which implies poor financial standing.

Unpublished.

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85 [1366]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, XXVII Marzo 1366

". . . Zanobium Cecchi et Francischum Ser Santi contra et adversus Bartholum Luce (???) quidem petitionis tenor talis et die V mensis Febr. Dinanzi da noi signiori consoli dell'Arte del Cambio, noi Zanobi di Ceccho e Francescho di Ser Sancti ci richiamiamo di Bartolo di Lucha di Fiorini tre doro gli prestamo più temp preghiamo ci facciate pagare e rendere le spese. . ."

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca and Francesco di Ser Santo petition to receive three Florins owed to them by Bartolomeo di Luca.

Unpublished.



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86 [1369]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 61, XXX Augusti 1369

". . . In dicto officio (l'arte del Cambio) visa quadam petitione sine que rimonia coram nobis et nostra curia exhibita et porrecta pro Zanobium Cecchi coram et adversus Bartholum Cecchi, cui quidem petitionis tenor talisem die VII mensis Augusti. Dinanzi a voi signiori consoli dell'Arte del Cambio Io Zanobi di Ceccho mi richiamo di Bartolo di Ceccho di Fiorini trentadue doro i quali glio prestati e paghati altrium per lui prieghovi chemi facciate paghare erendere le spese..."

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca sues Bartolo di Ceccho for 32 Florins, an amount which Zanobi had loaned to Bartolo at an earlier date.

Unpublished.

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87 [1372]

A.S.F., Arte del Cambio, 62, XXVI April 1372

"In nomine domine amen. Nos Ghalassus Lapi de Uzano, Nerus Bartolini, Franciscus Ser Santi Bruni, et Duccius Moglini cives Florentiae consulis artis cambii civitatem Florentia visa quadam petitione sue querimonia exhibite coram nobis pro Scherlattum Nuti Scherlattini contra et adversus infrascriptum Zenobium cuius condeius(?) petitionis et querimoniae tenor talis est ut dinanzi a voi signori consoli dell'Arte del Cambio:

Io Scherlatto di Nuto Scherlattini ritagliatore in Calimala mi richiamo di Zanobi di Cieccho Frasca vostro artessiano di Flor. Quattro et L. dodici et dinari sey a fiorini parvus pro parro levato tolse da noi in fino a di X di Settembre passati priagoni mi facciate pagare et chel condepiuate(?) nelle spese chafaio nel prato.

Iures statutum et onlii(?) artis predictae vigore nostri officii auctoritatem potestatis atque balie et omni via Iure fora(?) et modo quibus magis melius et efficacus possumus et debemus in hus scriptis dicentos principalis(?) declamus et suam dicti Zenobium fuisset et con debitore dicti Scherlatti in dicta (???) Flor. quattuor L. XII et d. VI ad Flor de pura et vera sorte suis in dicta petitione (???) et declaratum et expris(?) (???) legiptis factis.

Comment: Zanobi di Ceccho della Frasca is successfully sued for 4 Florins, 12 Lire by Scherlatto di Nuot Scherlattini. One of the four men comprising the Tribunal for the Arte del Cambio is Galeasso d'Uzano, the man Zanobi sued for 370 Florins in 1365.

Unpublished.

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88 [1427]

A.S.F., Notarile Antecosimiano 9042, 1 May, 1427

Folio 133-133v: "In dei nomine amen. Anno domini ab eius incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo septimo indictione quinta, die primo maii. Actum in civitatem Florentiae, in conventum et ecclesia Sci Spiriti ordinis fratribus Sci Augustini de Florentia presentibus fratribus Dammiano Niccholai de Venetiis, Matteo Benedicti de Scarperia, . . . omnibus fratribus heremitanis ordinis Sci Augustini et de decto conventum Sci Spiriti de Flor. testibus ad infrascripta pro instantiam Dominam Antonia proprio hore vocam scriptis et rogatis.

Domina Antonia filia olim Luppacci de Bardis et uxor Domini Zenobi Cecchi Frasche popoli Sce Marie Sopr'Arno de Flor sana pro Xpi gratiam mente sensu et intellectu ac corpore revocavit omnis testamentis aliis pro eam factis et omnem eius ultimam voluntatem et asseruit se velle decedere in testatorum et sibi velle succedere venientes ab intestato quos venientes ab intestato et ad cautelam novitus pro partem noncupatum testamentum infrascriptis herede instituit rogans me et notaio infrascriptam de predectis (???) ut conficerem (???)

Item post in conventum eiusdem anno indictione die et loco et coram dictis infrascriptis testatoribus ad hoc pro infrascriptum Domenicum testatorem voc/ scriptis et rogatis. Cum nil certi et ad hoc est. Ex Dominicus olim Zenobii Cecchi Frasche ppli Sce. Marie Sopr'Arnum de Flor pro xpi gratiam sanus mente sensu corpore et intellectu suorum ror/(?) honoram omniam disponentem proprius nuncupatum testamento subscriptis in hunc modi facere procurante et fecit. In primis quodam (???) suam omnipotenti Deo et Beate Marie Vergini et toti celesti armorum devotissime recomendavit corporis non sui sepulturam elegit apud ecclesiam Sce Marie Novella di Flor in sepultura primis decti testatoris. . ."

Comment: Domenico and Antonia della Frasca make out their wills together. They request burial in S. Maria Novella.

Unpublished.

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89 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 3:

	(Left)	Gennaio
	"Anniversarii	
	Il di del mese	
VII	Suora pagola e le compagne per loro mitorio di loro che ci rimasse e cosi troviamo fu deliberato per gli antichi di farlo solennemente e disi spendere in cera e in pietanza F. 3. 118	
XII	Vanni di Metto per F. 4 ci lasciò nel testimento suo per cio ognanno. 124	
XXX	Niccolo Bondi e del padre e della madre e di tutti suoi morti per FF. 100 che avemo. 128	
XXIIII	Leonardo Bellicioni e di tutti i morti del suo parentado collo fitio(?) tutto mortuori per F. 6 2/3 che abbiamo per ciò ognanno. 139	
	Jacopo di Guidotto da Cornia messe XVIII come egli ordino in una certa donazione. 133	
	Monna Niccolosa da Taviano Bruneleschi messe 100 ogni anno per Fior. IIII che ella ci lasciò inperpetuo sopra una casa." 144	

(Right):  
"Feste"

Sancto Antonio per l'anima d'Agnolo dal Canto il capitolo ci lasciò F. 20 nel suo testamento ognanno per fare in pietanza afri e per i torchio al altare maggiore. 15

Conversice di Sco Paulo per l'anima di monna Lisa e di Tellino secondo la diliberazione del priore Johannes excutore del testamento di lei solennemente e fare alcuna recreatione a frati. 127

Di' S. Johanni e per la moglie e altri suoi morti per fior. due che noi abbiamo ogni anno per cio. . . 144"

Comment: List of feast days and anniversaries celebrated in S. Maria degli Angeli for the month of January. The left column indicates masses to be said for donors on the anniversary of their deaths, while the right column lists major feast days to be observed by the community.

Unpublished

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90 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 3v:

"Anniversarii

Il di del mese

(Left):

Febraio

III Per padri e per le madri de frati del ordine nostro  
VI Tedaldino di Ruggieri de Ricci per F. 10 che n'abiamo  
ognanno dell'arte della Lana. 117

XIII Niccolò di Pagno e monna Bindella sua donna e di  
tutti loro morti per F. 100 che navemo da Don Niccolaio nostro  
monaco. 126

XXIII Monna Giovanna di Manetto de Medici per F. 179 ci  
lascio nel suo testamento per ciò e gravaci si faccia  
solennemente per lei e per padre e per la madre. 140

VII Monna Mathea di Zanobi e per Giovanni suo suocero per  
uno podere avemo da loro in valdigrieve. 147"

(Right):

"Feste

La Purificatione della nostra Donna per l'anima di Ser Laino  
e di suo morti per F. 100 che ci lascio per cio. 118"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of  
February.

Unpublished

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91 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 4:

(Left):

"Anniversarii

Marzo

Il di del mese

VII Ser Nino Bonamichi per che gli fu permesso qn (?) fece la capella di Sancta Caternina e in recreatione a frati spendere oltra a li usato F. 4. 14

VIII Niccolò Delli e di suoi morti per compensatione di F. 400 che avemo del suo. 126

XIII Giovanni Giani e di suoi morti per compensatione di F. 117 e ultra che avemo sel suo. 131

XXII Salvestro del Maestro Benvenuto e del detto suo padre e di suoi passati e congiunti per F. 60 ci lasciò perciò e per la dota della cappella di Sancto Benedetto 134

XXVI Niccolò di Nerozzo solennemente con candele e cera e cias che d'uno per te dica messa per l'anima sua per F. 9 ci lasciò ognanno perciò e fare ricreatione a frati. 128

XXVII Monna Gemma di Manetto da Filicaia per compensatione del podere da Scandicci che ci lasciò per fare la Capella di Sancto Niccolò. 18

Monna Piera del Paffiera e per Marito e figli tre anniversarii in diversi di per F. 90 che avemo per suo testamento. 140

Monna Agnesina suocera D'Antonio di Sancti con tre figliuoli del Sancto Antonio. 148

Giovanni di Tano frati per F. 900 che noi avemo. 148

XII Maestro Niccolo da Sanminiato padre di Frate Salvestro nostro monacho per F. 350 che noi avemo." 142

(Right):

"Feste"

Sancto Benedetto per l'anima di Salvestro del Maestro Benvenuto e di suoi morti solennemente per F. 60 che ci lasciò ognanno per dota della cappella del detto Sancto e fare pietanza a frati. 134

L'Annuntiatione di Nostra Donna per l'anima di Niccolò di Tingo e di suoi morti per F. 148 e ultra che avemo per fare la capella della annuntiata e spendere tra incera e recreatione a frati F. 2 1/2. 16."

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of March.

Unpublished

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92 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 4v:

"Anniversarii	(Left):	Aprile
Il di del mese		

XIIII Pera Baldovenetti e di tutti i suoi morti per F. 200 che avemo perciò e fare alcuna recreatione a frati oltra al modo comune. 114

XX Monna Agnola e Nerone suo marito e di tutti loro disendenti e parenti come ordino ella nel suo testamento dove dispouse della cappella sua di Sancto Johannes dicollato. 18

XXV Giacommino Alfani e Vermiglio suo figliuolo per F. 298 d'uno pezo di terra che ci lasciorono perciò. 111

Maestro Fruosino, Maestro Johannes, Maestro Filippo e Maestro Bernardino e tutti gli altri nostri medici e barbieri che ci anno servito e che ci serviranno per lo innanzi di tutti si faccia in anniversario ognanno in perpetuo e cosi si dilibero per tutto il capitolo."

(Right):  
BLANK

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of April. Note that no feasts are observed in this period, due probably to the movable celebrations surrounding Easter Week.

Unpublished.

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93 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 5:

(Left):

"Anniversarii

Maggio

Il di del mese

IIII Salvatore Bartoli e del padre e della madre e di tutti gli altri loro morti per F. 400 e ultra sebbe del suo e di quello di Don Luca e desi spendere F. 9 tra in uno torchio di libbre 6 e in candele e in recreatione a frati. 119

XXIII Nuto Barbieri e del padre e della madre per F. 4 ci lasciò ognanno perciò. 138

Monna Marherita di Geri Geri F. 25 d'oro" 148

(Right):

"Feste

Sancto Michele per l'anima di Neri Partucci e di tutti i suoi parenti per la capella di S. Michele che si fece delloro retaggio e spendere F. 9 tra una pietanza a frati e uno torchio di libbre 6. 16

Sancto Eustasio per l'anima di Nastagio degli Albizi per la casa nella via de bucciai che costo F. 129 benche della pigione debba avere certa perte ogni anno una monaco di candechi mentre che vive. 83"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of May.

Unpublished



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94 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 5v:

"Anniversarii (Left):  
Il di del mese Giugno

IIII Bindo e messer Bartolomeo Benini col officio tutto mortuori il di che susa(?) di dire fra la settimana per grandi lasci e limosine e cose che avemo del loro e fare recreatione a frati oltra l'usato. 129

XI Lanfredi Bellincioni e di suoi morti per suo retaggio che avemo e son diputati per dio officio e recreatione a frati F. 6 dopo la morte di Monna Niccolosa. 20

XXV Masino Bartolini per una festa perte duna bottega in Santo Martino che ci lasciò perciò e fare una pietanza a frati. 113

XXVIII Monna Margherita di Francesco Ricci per F. 4 che ci lasciò ognanno perciò. 138

XXX Tellino Dini dommesse officio mortuori e lumi per deliberatione del priore Johi executore del testamento della moglie e fare recreatione a frati. 127

XXIIII Paolo di Tommaso per uno lasciò che ci fa benche non sia chiarezo per lui e per suo morti il di' di Sco. Johi. 141"

(Right):  
"Feste

X Crucifixori per l'anima di Monna Isabetta di Cervagio per F. 2 che dobiamo avere aganno dalla compagiva del bigallo perciò. 131

Sco Romualdo per l'anima di Johi Ghiberti per l'eredità che avemo del suo di che si fece la capella e spendere la pigione d'una meza casa che avemo in su la piazza di Sca Maria Novella. 76

Sco Johi Batista per l'anima di Bindo Benini solennemente come egli ordino nel suo testo e fare una pietanza a frati. 124 or 129

Sco Piero per l'anima di Guido di Messer Tomaso che ci lasciò perciò e per lo anniversario suo F. 200 e per l'anima di Piero di Neri che fece la capella del detto Sco. 136

Pasequa del corpo di Xpo per l'anima di Don Niccolaio nostro per F. 100 che traemo (?) del podere da Sco Friano e fare pietanza a frati. 128

La Festa di Sco Nofri per l'anima di Nofri del Bria ritagliatore per che noi abbiamo ogni anno perciò. 143"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of June.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

95 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 6:

(Left):

"Anniversarii

Luglio

Il di del mese

II Monna Ghesa di Pinuccio Guidalotti per F. 6 che ci lasciò ognanno gravandoci di farlo solennemente con dire messe officio per salmi con candele e torchi accesi e andare a percessione. 133

III Benci Charucci e due sue figliuole per F. 90 che avemo perciò e spendere F. 2 1/2 tra in cera e fare alcuna recreatione a frati. 114

V Bernardo di Cino e Monna Piera sua donna per le molte limosine che avemo da lui.

VII Monna Letta di Lando degli Albizzi per F. 90 che avemo perciò da Monna Zanobia Ferantini. 138

VIII Neri Partucci e tutti i suoi morti per retaggio suo che ne facemo la capella di Sco Michele spendere F. 3 tra in candele e in rifettoro. 16

X Messer Francesco Bruni per F. 10 che ci lasciò ogni anno e per certi libri. 130

XIIII Soldo di Lippo Soldani per staia 12 di grano e barduino che abiamo ognanno del suo. 137

XV Giovanni Ghiberti e Monna Giovanna Pinzochera per una casa nostra del Castellaccio la ser (?) le si compero sotto quella conditione e desi fare solennemente e spendere la pigione in candele e cera e fare alcuna recreatione a frati e dire tutte le vigilie de morti il di più atto fra settimana. 79

XXVI Bardo Corsi per F. 1190 e ultra che avemo del suo. 129

XXVII Ser Maso di Ser Feo e tutti i suoi morti per F. 342 che avemo perciò e per deliberatione de nostri antichi." 123

(Right):

"Feste

La Translatione di Sco Martino per l'anima di Lionardo Bellincioni e di Lanfredi suo fratello e di tutti suoi morti e vivi solennement per F. 6 2/3 che ci lascia perciò ognanno con competente pietanza. 139

Sancta Margherita per l'anima di suora pagola e delle compagne per romitorio loro che ci rimasse e cosi troviamo fu diliberato per gli antichi di fral(?) solennemente e di spendere F. 9 tra in pietanza e per la festa. 118

Sco. Jacopo per l'anima di Bernardo di Cino e della moglie e suoi discendenti per la cappella di Sco Jacopo solennemente e spendere per la detta festa F. 29. 19

La festa di Sca Maria Magdalena per Monna Niccholosa di Zano bi madre di frate Agnolo per F. 9 che noi abiamo perciò ogni anno. 176"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of July.

## Appendix D: Documents

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

96 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 6v:

(Left):

"Anniversarii

Augusto

Il di del mese

II Monna Giovanna di Lapo da Uzano per F. 100 che avemo perciò. 131

XII Monna Giovanna di Benci Carucci per F. 90 che avemo perciò e spendere F. 2 1/2 tra in cera e fare alcuna recreatione a frati. 114

XXIII Guido di Messer Tommaso e de suoi morti per F. 200 che a lasciò per l'anniversario suo e per la festa di Sco Piero. 138

XXV Neri da Ricasoli per F. 90 che ci lasciò ognanno per fare la festa di Sco Michele e pare che fosse così la sua volonta. 133

XXVI Agnolo e Galasso e tutti loro morti solennemente con tutto l'ufficio de morti per dare cose che avemo perciò dal generale Girolamo e fare alcuna recreatione a frati. 126

XXVIII Monna Isabetta d'Uberto degli Albizzi e per lo detto Uberto per F. 90 che ci lasciò perciò la detta monna Isabetta. 129

XIII Monna Costanza di Luigi de Bardi per parte d'una bottega di via Maggio che la ci lasciò. 148

Monna Margherita D'Agostino del Chiaro per lei e tutti i suoi morti per certa piccola quantità di dare che noi avemo." 149

(Right):

"Feste

Sco Lorenzo per l'anima di Cennino Tucci come gli fu permesso per la II casa que di rimpetto che ci comisse e spendere F. 2 in recreatione de frati della pigione della detta casa. 72

L'Assumptione della Nostra Donna per l'anima d'Agnolo dal Canto in ??? ci lasciò perciò ognanno F. 20 per fare prima pietanza e per primo torchio al'altare maggiore. 14 or 19

Sco Bartolomeo per l'anima di Frate Niccolo di Filippo degli Albizzi frate predicatore per F. 100 che traemo (?) del podere da Sco Friano e fare pietanza a frati. 128

Sco Johi Dicollato per l'anime di Bernardo di Cino e della moglie e suoi discendenti solennemente per la cappella di Sco Jacopo che ci fece come ordino nel suo codicillo e spendere F. 29 per la detta festa. 19

Item per l'anima di Monna Agnola di Nerone per la cappella che si fece del suo. 18

Sco Bernardo per l'anima di Bernardo Ardinghelli per F. 3 che ci lascia ogni anno perciò. 148"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of

## Appendix D: Documents

August.

Unpublished.

Appendix D: Documents

97 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 7:

(Left):

"Anniversarii

Settembre

Il di del mese

IIII Federigo di Nerone per la redità sua che avvenne e così dispuose che si facesse cioè nel suo testo. 22

XVII Dardano di Giovanni e monna Piera sua Donna per F. 6 che dobbiamo avere ognanno e per dare che avemo de figliuoli loro. 129

Monna Margherita di Stefano e del suo marito per la meta di sua heredità che noi avemo e siamo tenuti il detto anniversario tra noi e il monna di chiarito. 140

VI Monna Tessa di Ser Riccardo di Cino di lei e di suoi morti per F. xxv che noi avemo perciò e vogliamo dire una messa. 140 or 149

Monna Gualterma suo cera d'Agnolo da Uzano per l'anima sua per F. 100 che ella ci lasciò per a cominciare il dormitorio o altro a commicione.

Monna Caterina madre di Frate Silvestro nostro per l'anima sua per F. 200 che ella ci lascio. 142"

(Right):

"Feste

Sco Job propheta per l'anime di Tellino e di Monna Lisa alla cappella del detto Sco. sede la diliberatione del priore Johi executore del testo della detta monna Lisa e fare alcuna recreatione a frati e farla la detta festa solennemente. 127

La Natività della Nostra Donna per l'anima del Ser Riccardo da Castello flor, e tutti suoi morti secondo che ce ne grava nel suo testamento e spendere nella detta festa F. 10. 120

Sco Michele per l'anima di Neri da Ricasoli solennemente e commesse e oroi(?) per F. 90 che ci lasciò ognanno in perpetuo e fare pietanza a frati. 133

La Festa di Sca Croce di Settembre per l'anima di Monna Mathea di Zanobi e di Giovanni suo succero per uno podere avemo da loro in valdigrieve. 147"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of September.

Unpublished.

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98 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 7v:

"Anniversarii (Left): Ottobre  
Il di del mese

III Lionardo di Giovanni Jacopo e tutti suo morti  
solennemente per una meza casa che ci lasciò per cio. 138  
V Monna Giovanna di Lapo madre di Don Zanobi nostro per  
F. 113 che avemo del suo e del figliuolo per che parve fosse  
di sua volontà. 139"

(Right):  
"Feste

Sco Francesco per l'anima di Monna Nastazia di Ser Manino  
Ser per due feste SS Annunziata (?). 150  
Sancti Vergini per l'anima di Monna Niccolosa di Zanobi  
di Ser Zello. . . 145"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of  
October.

Unpublished

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99 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 8:

(Left):  
"Anniversarii  
Il di del mese  
Novembre

VII Ser Filippo di Ser Albizo per F. 90 che a lasciò ogni anno. 126

XXIII Il Generale Girolamo perchè fu nostro monaco e que sepolto e usati di fare il simile al' eremo e più. 126

XXI Ser Viviano ci lascio F. 19 l'anno in perpetuo per uno anniversario e officio di morti per se e per suoi morti e la pietanza a frati. 149"

(Right):  
"Feste

Sco Leonardo per l'anima di Lionardo Bellincioni e di Lanfredi suo fratello e tutti i suoi morti e vivi solennemente per F. 6 2/3 che ci lasciò perciò ognanno e fare competente pietanza a frati. 139

Sco Martino per l'anima di Lanfredi e di Lionardo Bellincioni per la capella del detto Sco che ci feciono e son deputati F. 6 per la detta festa e per fare pietanza a frati dopo la morte di monna Niccolosa. 20

Sca Caterina per l'anima di Ser Nino Bonamichi come gli fu permesso qn(?) fece la capella e spendere in recreatione de frati F. IIII oltre al modo usato. 19

Ogni Sci per l'anima d'Antonio di Santi per lire 12 che ci lasciò perciò ognanno in perpetuo. 121"

Comment: Feast days and anniversaries for the month of November.

Unpublished



Appendix D: Documents

100 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 8v:

(Left):  
"Anniversarii                      Dicembre  
                                    Il di del mese

XV        Monna Lisa di Tellino Dini commesse e officio  
mortuori e lumi per deliberatione del priore Giovanni  
executore del testamento suo e fare recreatione a frati. 127  
          Monna Niccolosa figliuola di Bernardo di Cino per  
fior. 90 e una pianeta che noi avemo. 147  
XII       Monna Lucia da Favano per parte di F. XLVIII che noi  
avemo perciò da Agnolo da Uzano. 148  
          Nicholò di Gentile degli Albizi e de suoi morti ogni  
dì in perpetua una messa: e ogni anno uno anniversario per F.  
400 ci scripsi in sul morte comune liberi nostri. 150"

(Right):  
"Feste

Sco Niccolò per l'anima di Niccolò di Tingo e di tutti  
suoi morti come ordino nel suo testamento e spendere tra  
incera e recreatione a frati F. 2. 16  
Item il di seguente o più atto per l'anima di Sandro da  
Quarata per L 10 che ci lasciò perciò ognanno in perpetuo.  
119  
Et per l'anima di Zanobi di Ser Gino per Fior. 6 che ci  
lasciò ogni anno perciò. 144  
Item undi fra loctava per l'anima di Niccolò Dondi.  
Monna Gemma da Filicaia in questo libro. 128  
Sco Andrea per l'anima D'Andrea di messer Ugo e de suoi  
morti per Fior. 6. 17  
Item per l'anima di Niccolò del Suono Busini per F. 12  
che noi abbiamo l'anno al morte perciò. 148."

Comment: Feasts and anniversaries for the month of December.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

101 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 9: "La messa matturinale che si dice allo altare maggiore ogni dì fu diputata per nostri antichi per l'anima di Giovanni Giani setauioło per le molte limosine che ci fece.

131

Allo altare di Sca Caterina ogni dì una messa per uno podere che ci de Ser Nino Bonamichi per fare la capella con la detta graveza. 19

Allo altare di Sco Job ogni dì una messa scritto (scib?) ordino il priore Johi executore del testamento di Monna lisa per l'anima della detta monna Lisa e di Tellino suo marito.

17, 127

Allo altare di Sco Johi Batista ogni dì una messa per l'anima di Bindo Benini e di tutti i suoi morti e vivi scritto (?) patti che fecione in nostri antichi que ne civendani(?) tiratori suoi. 17, 75

Nella faccia di la si fara ricordo come in corti casi noi nostro siamo obligati a dire a dire più che quattro messe la settimana alle chappelle: Cioe, Sca Katerina, Sco Job, e Sco Johani Baptista. Et in certi tempi aviamo a dire ogni dì una messa."

Comment: List of masses said everyday, and the place where each each mass should be recited.

Unpublished.

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102 [1402]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Nuovo 96

Folio 9:

"Ciandro Arrighi  
Monefantini  
Andrea e Messer Tommaso e Piero e Neri figliuoli di Neri  
di Lippo (Palagio)  
Cherico da Samminiato e Ciampi suo figliuolo  
Monna Biagia di Guido Mini  
Bernardo di Cino (in capitolo)  
Andrea di Franceschino degli Albizzi e di suo passati e  
discendenti e di Monna Lena  
Monna Niccolosa di Giovencho di Messer Ugo della Stufa  
Matteo di Lorenzo  
Monna Gera D'Andrea di Maso"

Comment: List of people for whom daily masses are to be said.

Unpublished

Appendix D: Documents

103 [1373, 1379]

A.S.F., Corp. Rel. Sopp. 86, Registro Vecchio 95

Folio 88v (11 December, 1373; 28 March, 1378): "Don Placido di Vanni degli Albizzi pplo di San Piero Maggiore di Firenze fece la sua p[ro]fessione di XI di Dicembre MCCCLXXIII in presenza del detto nostro priore e di tutti gli altri frati alla messa del convento. Obiit in loco isto a di XXVIII Marti anno d[omi]ni MCCCLXXVIII."

Comment: Entry in the Monastic Register noting the presence of an Albizzi in S. Maria degli Angeli's cloister.

Unpublished.

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## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

Figure. 1 - Anonymous, Monks Singing the Liturgy, Corale 3 (folio 41), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 2 - Master of the Dominican Effigies, Coronation of the Virgin; Madonna and Child (double-sided altarpiece), Florence, Accademia.

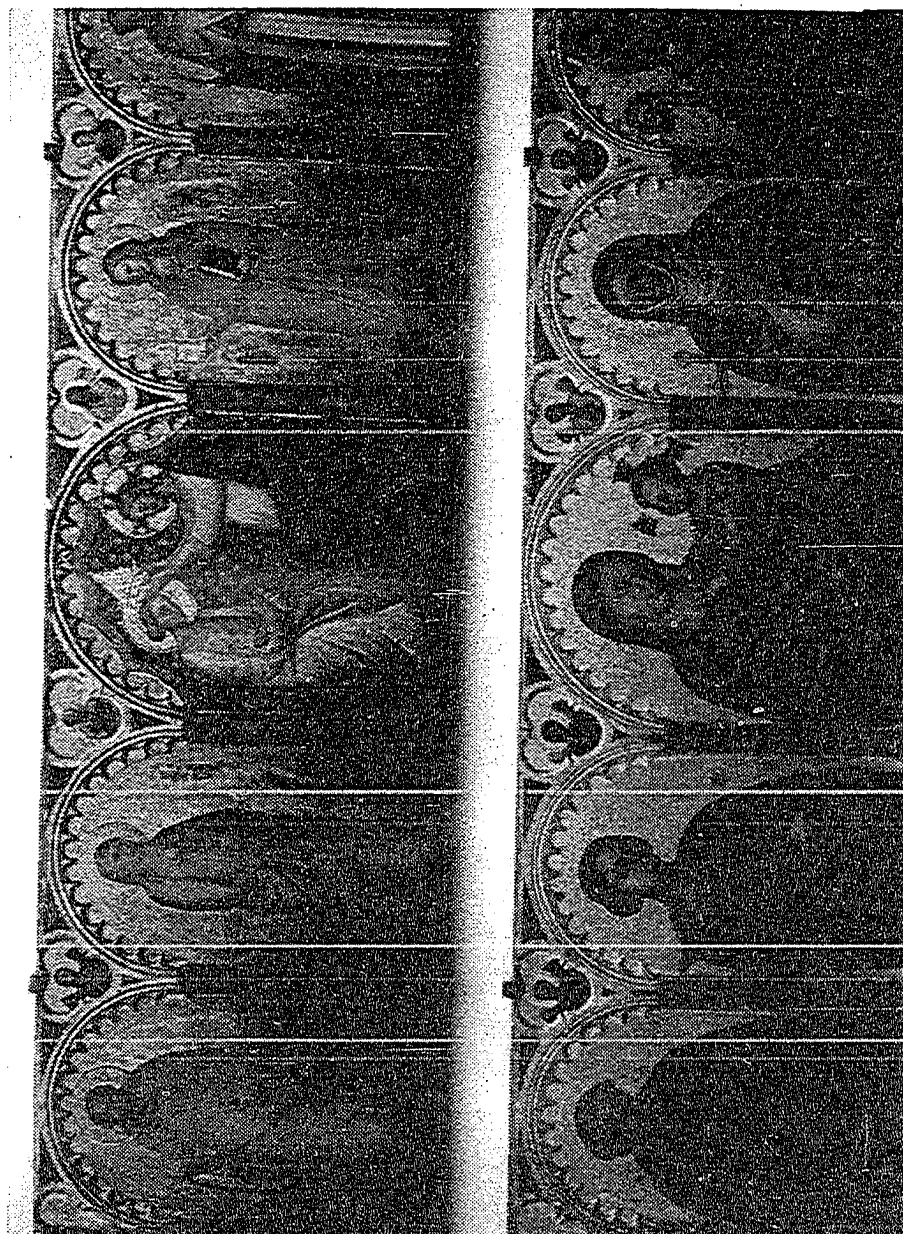


Figure 3 - Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese, Enthroned Madonna,  
Florence, Accademia.

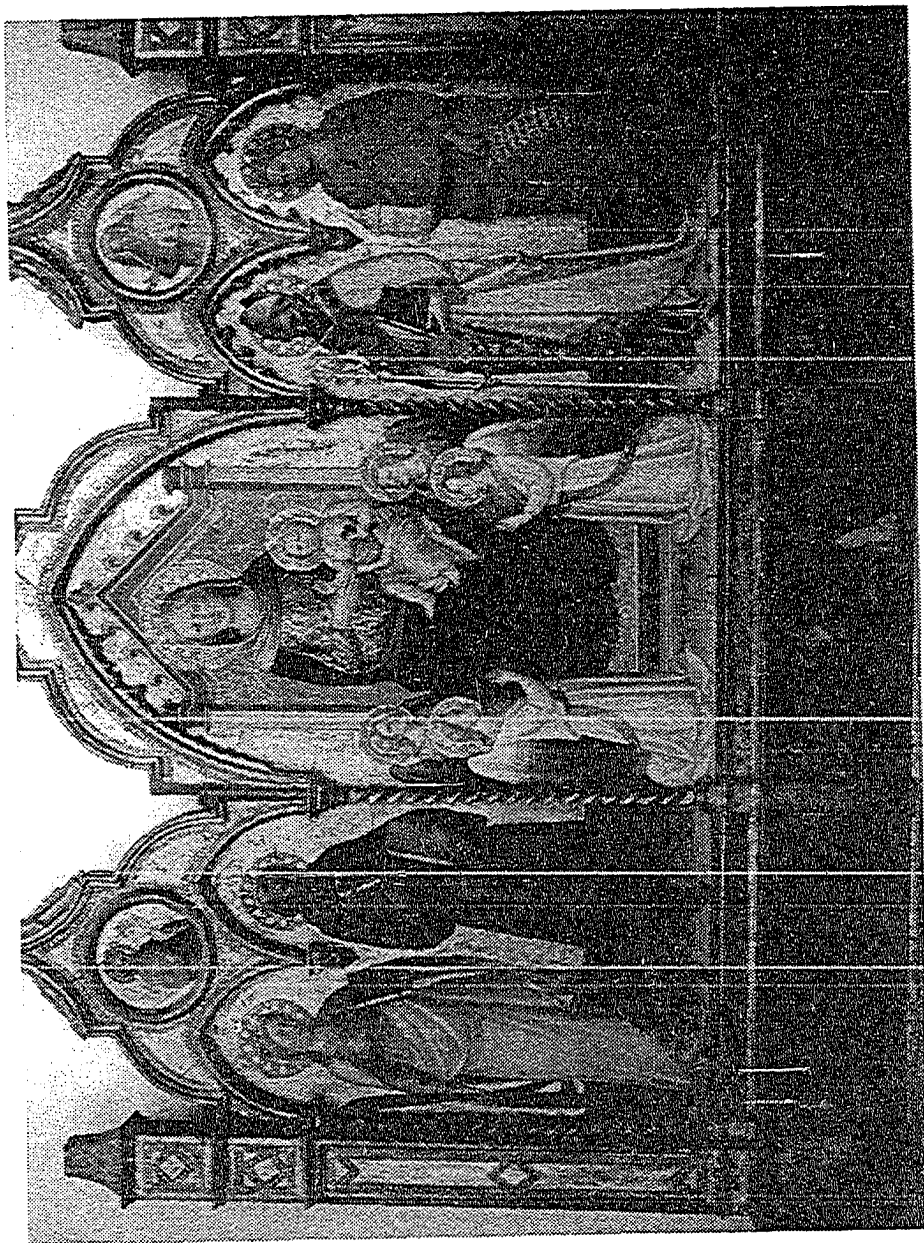


Figure 4 - Nardo di Cione, Saint Benedict, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.





Figure 5 - Nardo di Cione, Saint Benedict Revives a Young Monk (detail, fig. 4), Ponte a Mensola, Berenson Collection.

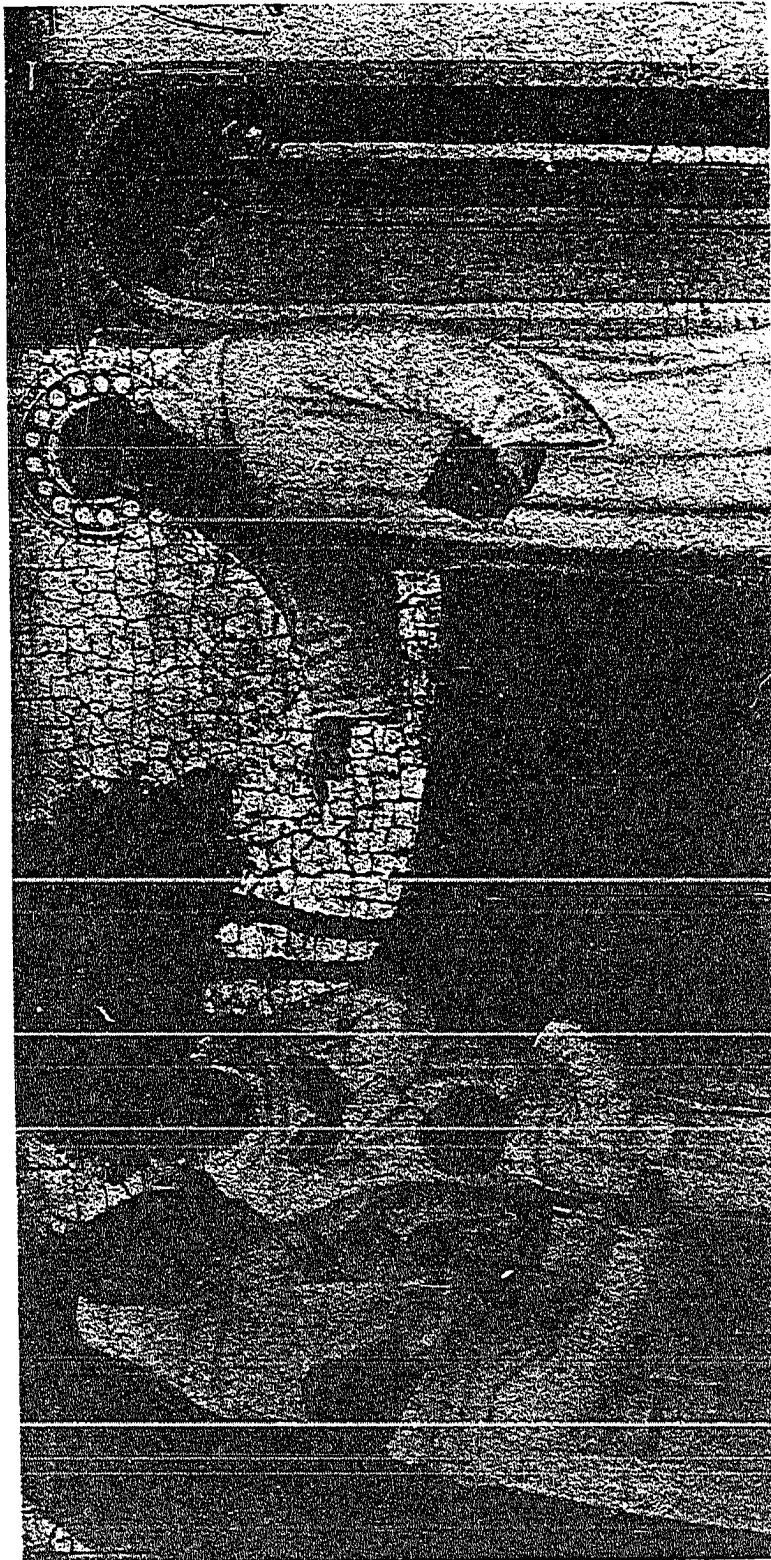


Figure 6 - Giovanni del Biondo, Four Church Fathers,  
Florence, S. Croce.

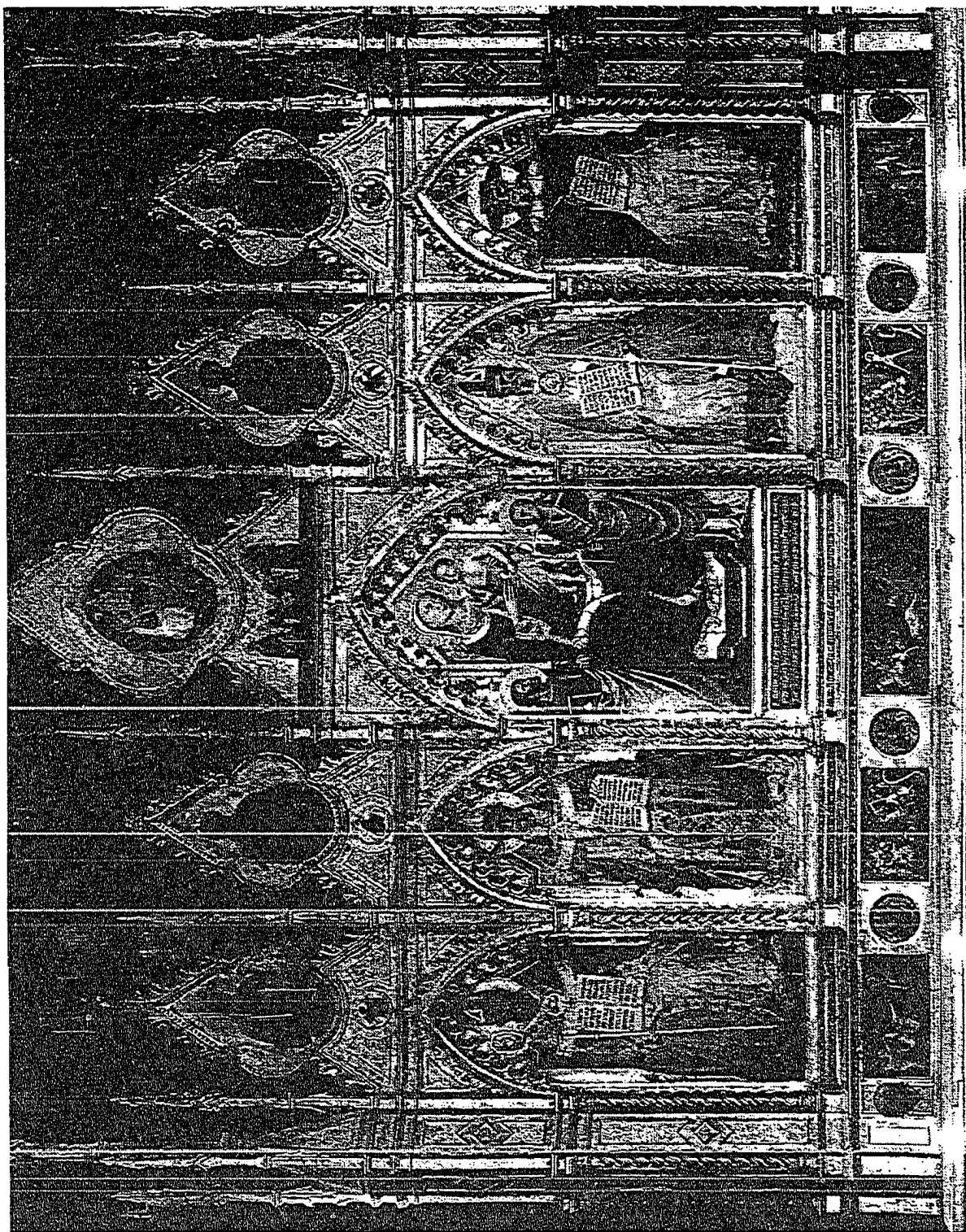


Figure 6a - Giovanni del Biondo, Saints Ambrose and Gregory (detail, fig. 6), Florence, S. Croce.

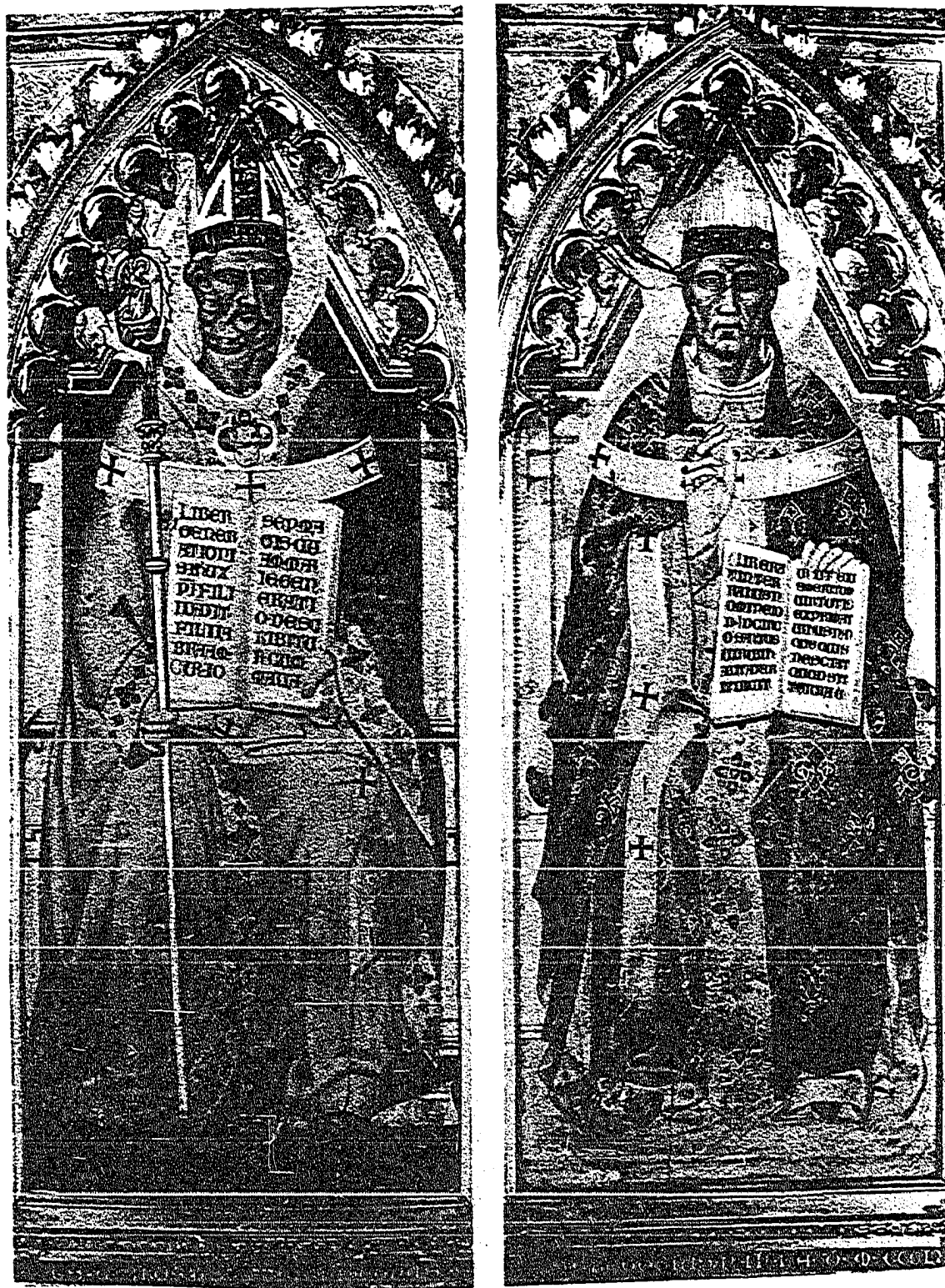




Figure 6b - Giovanni del Biondo, Saints Jerome and Augustine (detail, fig. 6), Florence, S. Croce.



Figure 7 - Giovanni del Biondo, Presentation in the Temple, Florence, Accademia.

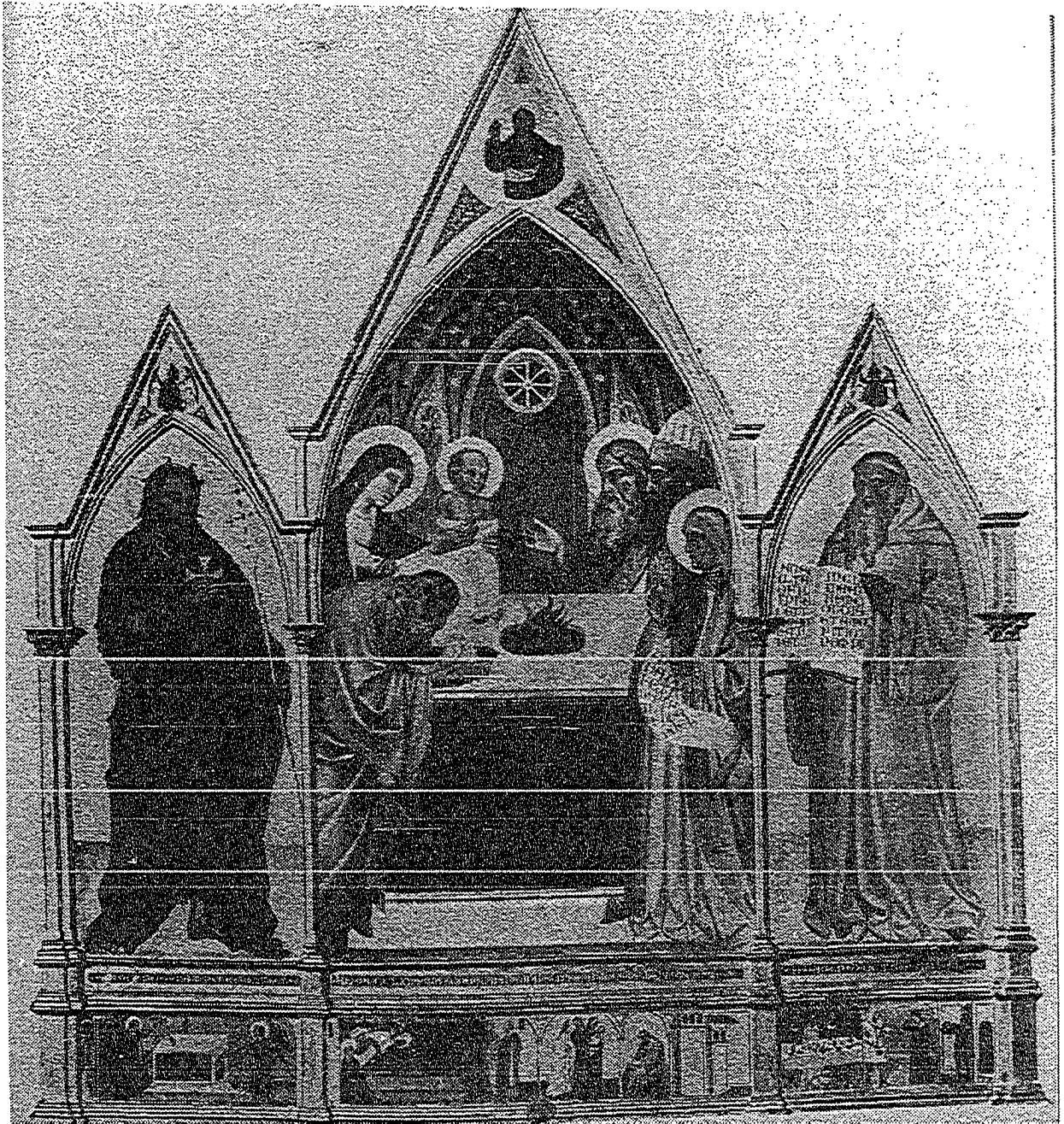


Figure 8 - Giovanni del Biondo, John the Baptist (detail, fig. 7), Florence, Accademia.



Figure 9 - Giovanni del Biondo, Annunciation to Zacharia  
(detail, fig.7), Florence, Accademia.

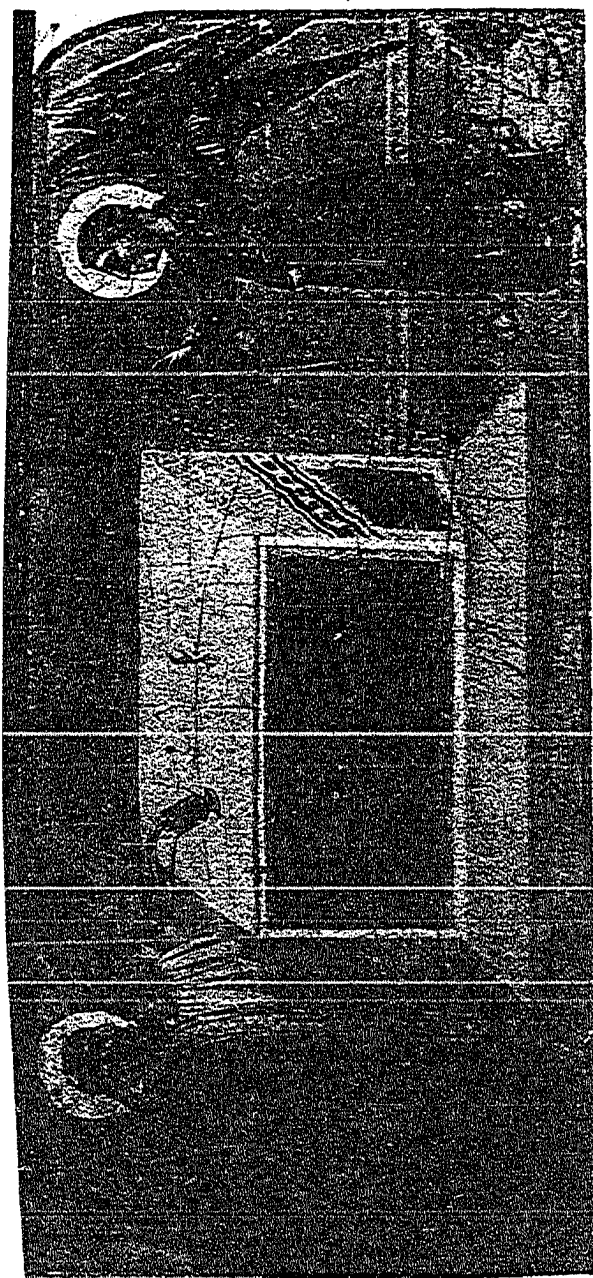




Figure 10 - Giovanni del Biondo, Birth of John the Baptist  
(detail, fig. 7), Florence, Accademia.

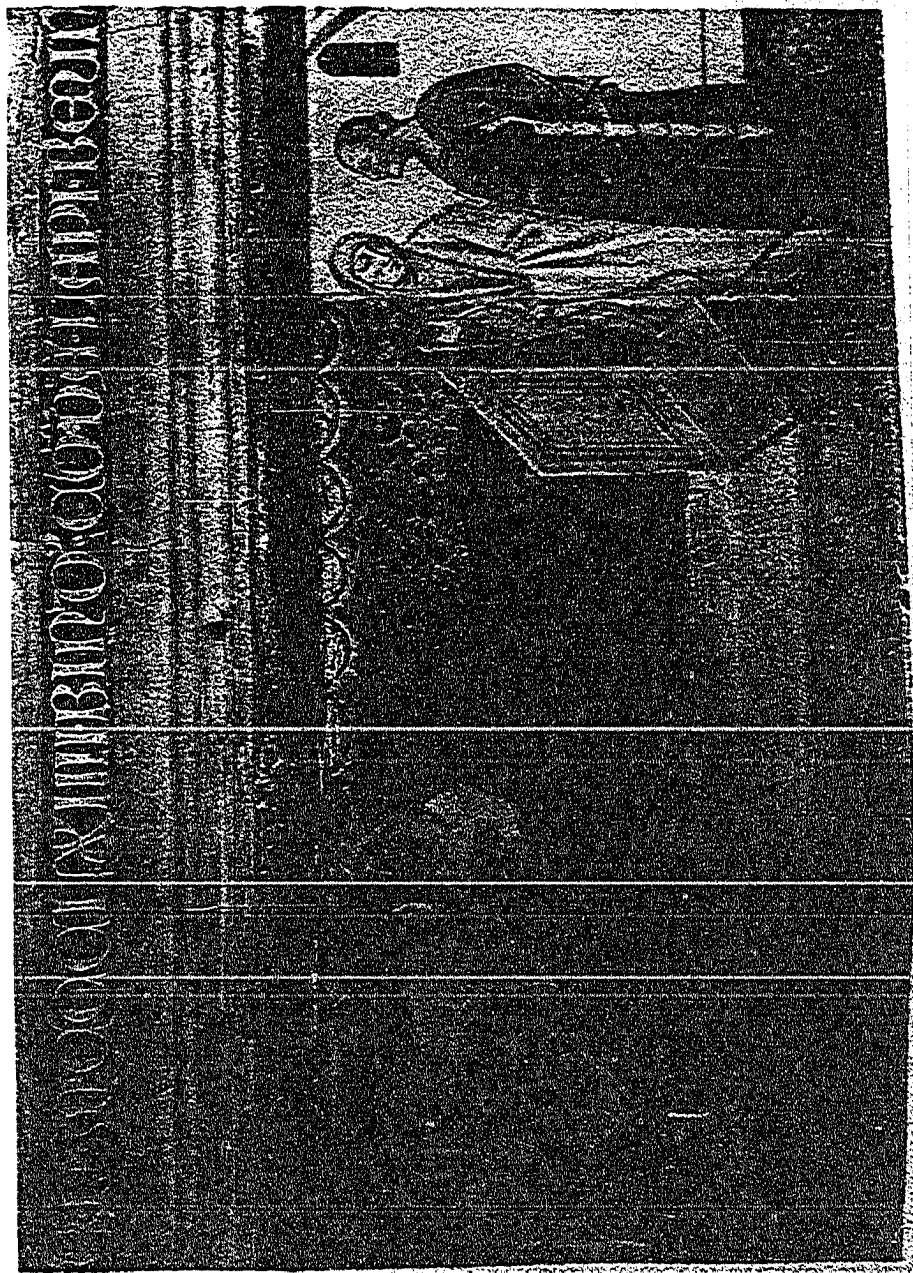


Figure 11 - Giovanni del Biondo, Zacharia Inscribing John's Name (detail, fig. 7), Florence, Accademia.

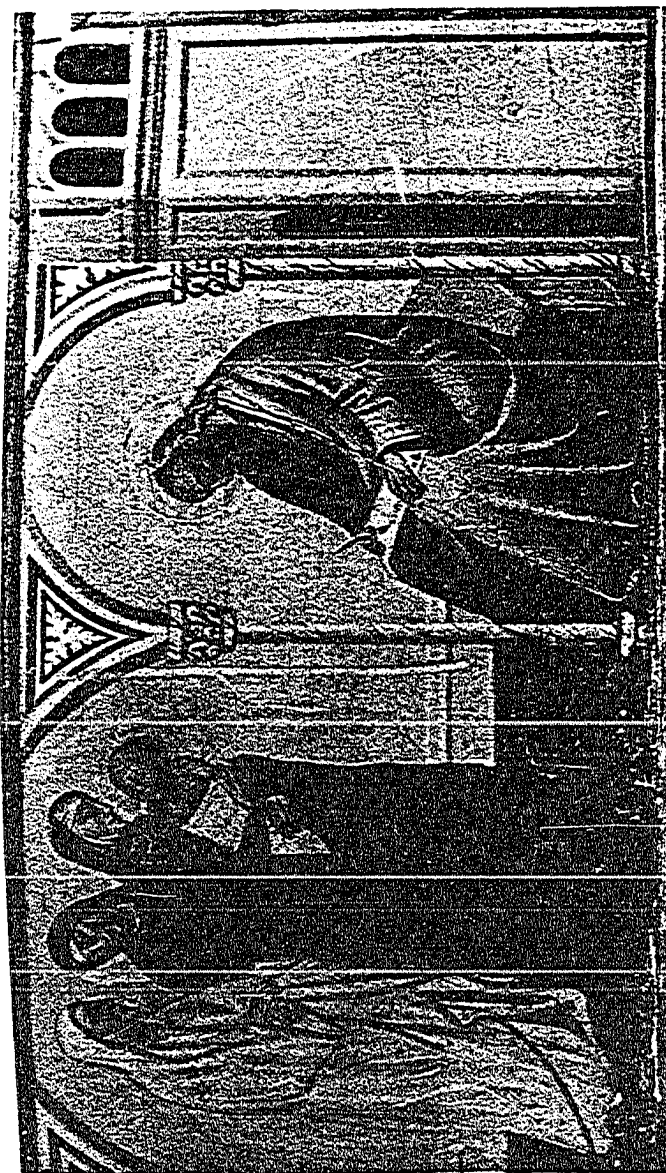


Figure 12 - Giovanni del Biondo, Feast of Herod (detail, fig. 7), Florence, Accademia.

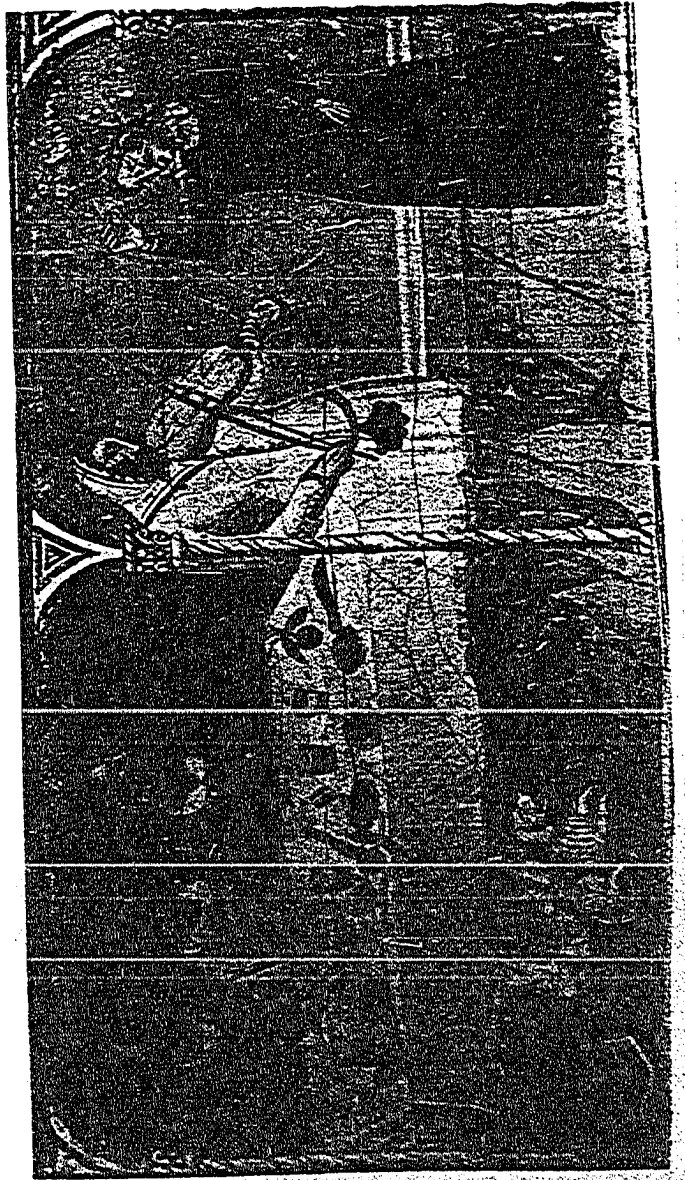


Figure 13 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, Trinity,  
Florence, Accademia.

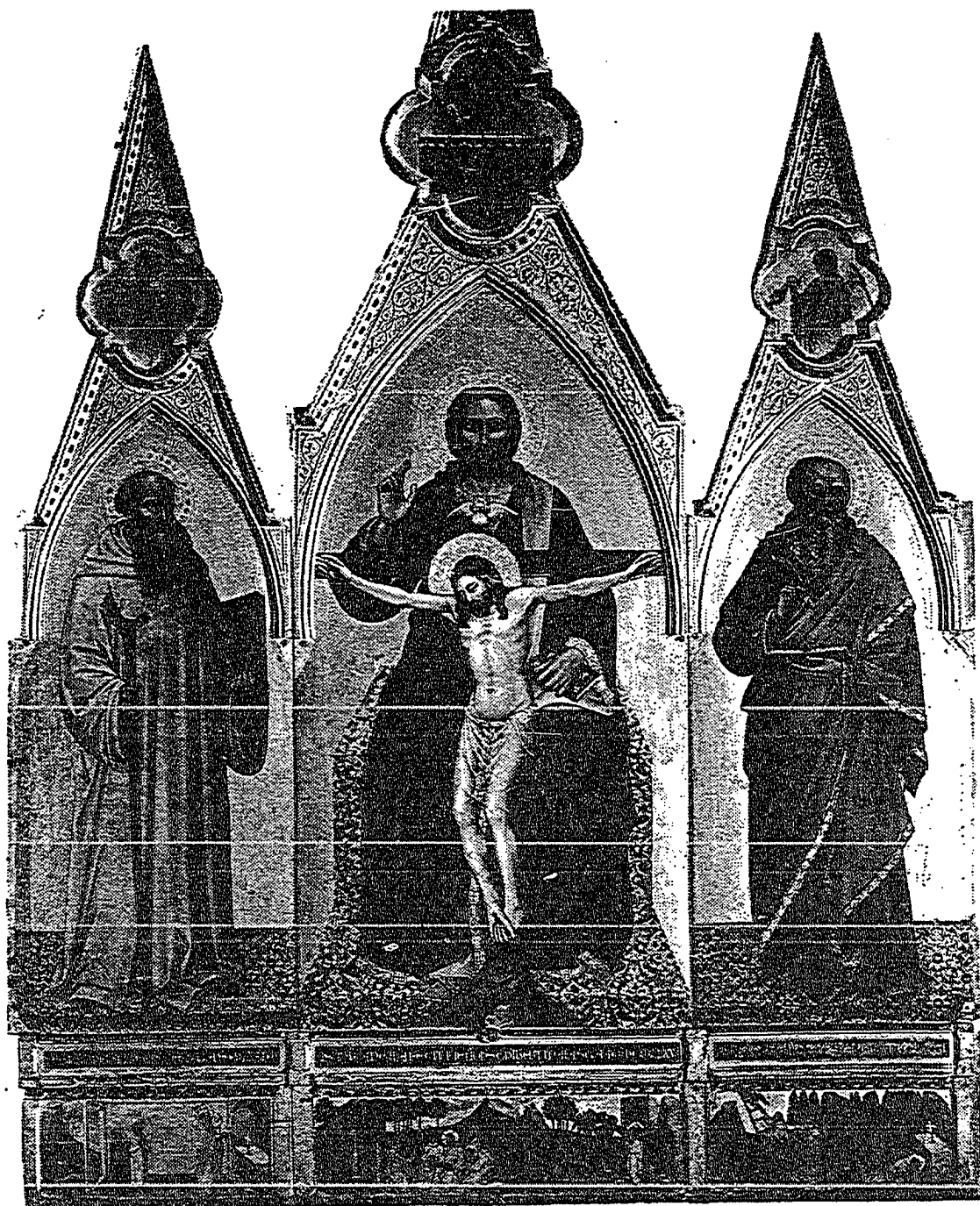




Figure 14 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, Saint Apollinaris  
appearing to Romuald (detail, fig. 13), Florence, Accademia.

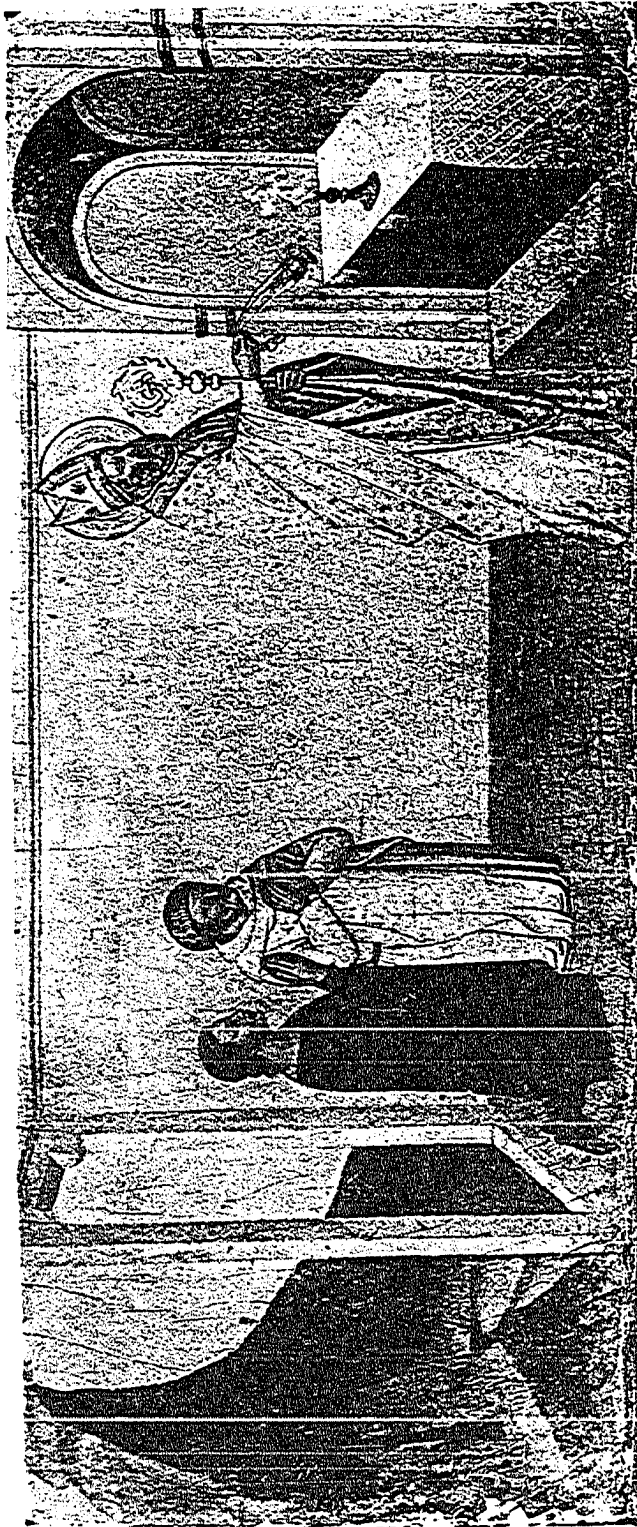


Figure 15 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, The Disciplining of Saint Romuald, Romuald Tormented by Demons (detail, fig. 13), Florence, Accademia.



Figure 16 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, Vision of Saint Romuald (detail, fig. 13), Florence, Accademia.

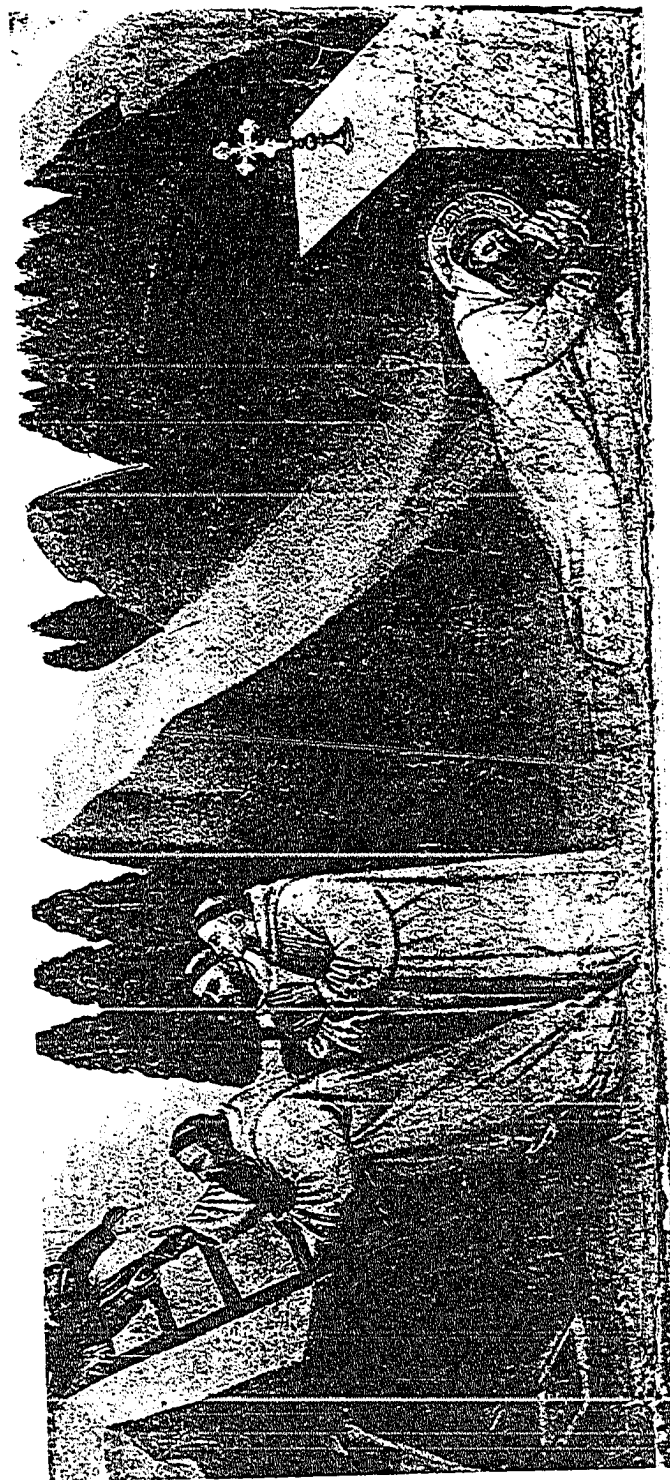


Figure 17 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, Enthroned Madonna, Florence, S. Croce.

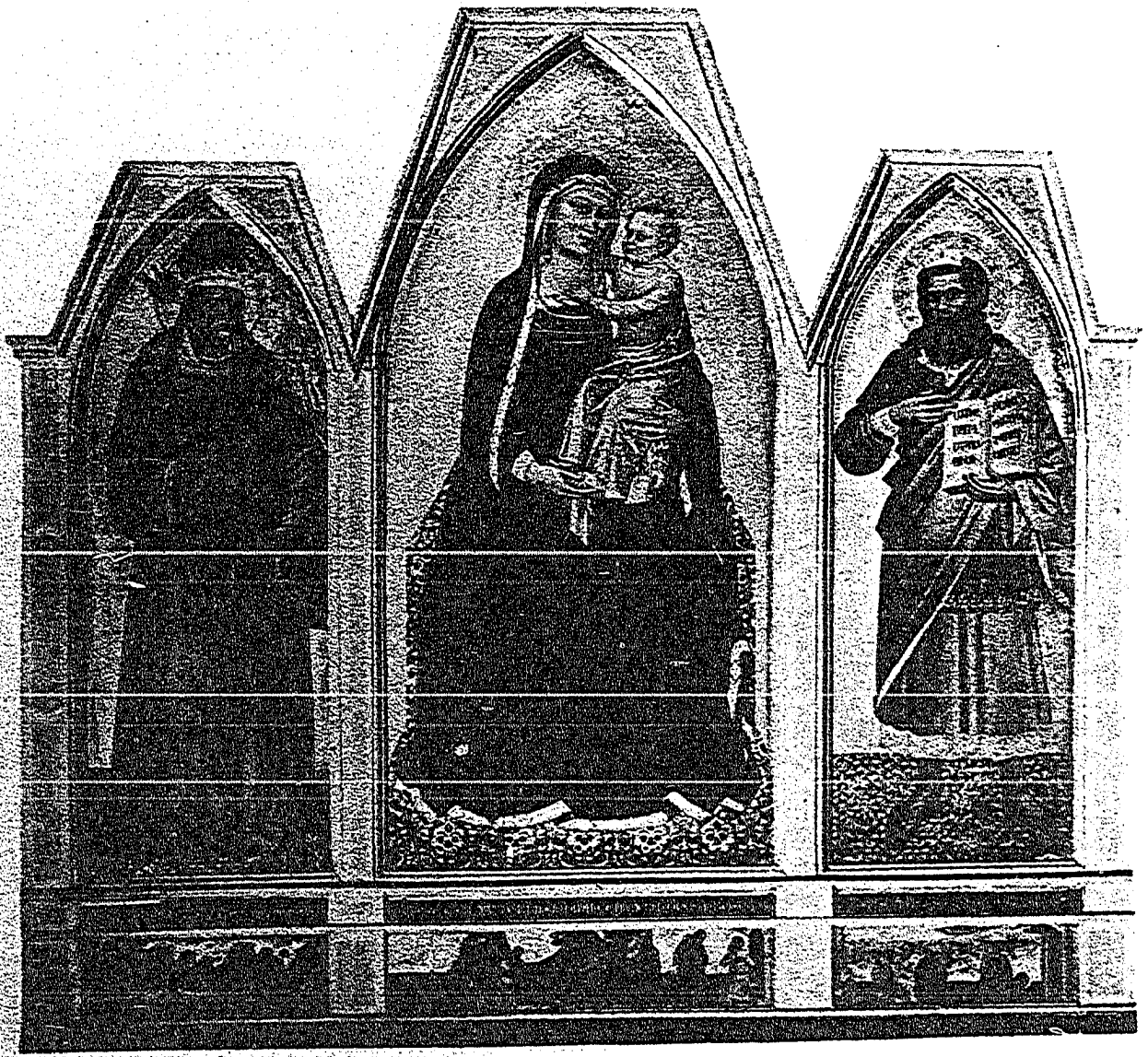


Figure 18 - Nardo di Cione, Madonna (detail, fig. 17),  
Florence, S. Croce.

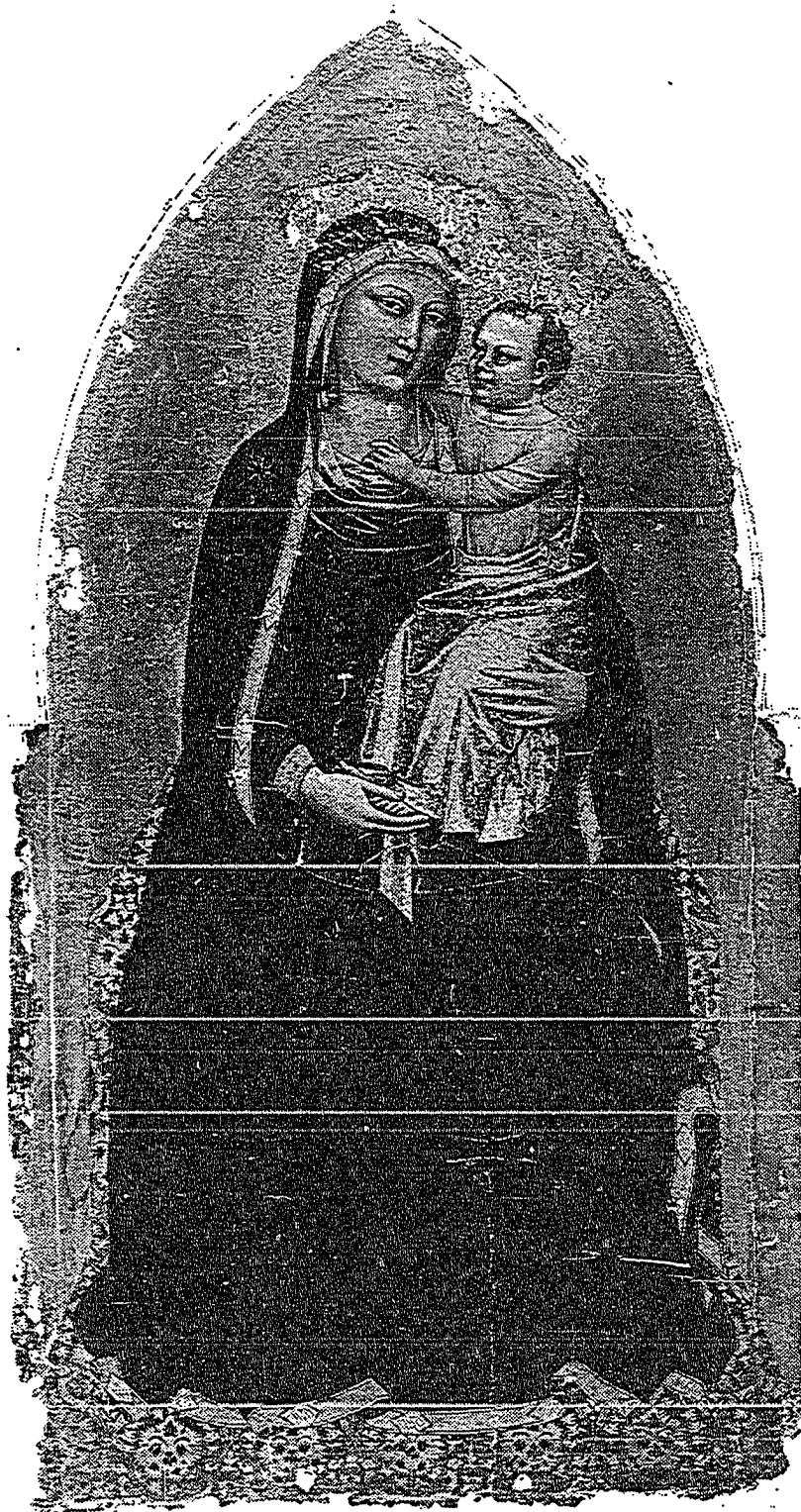




Figure 19 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, The Death of Job's Children (detail, fig. 17), Florence, S. Croce.



Figure 20 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, The Loss of Job's Flocks and the Communication of the News to Job (detail, fig. 17), Florence, S. Croce.



Figure 21 - Nardo di Cione and workshop, Infirm Job, with  
Wife and Three Friends (detail, fig. 17), Florence, S.  
Croce.





Figure 22 - Nardo di Cione, Coronation of the Virgin,  
Munich, Alte Pinakothek.



Figure 23 - Nardo di Cione, Attending Saints, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

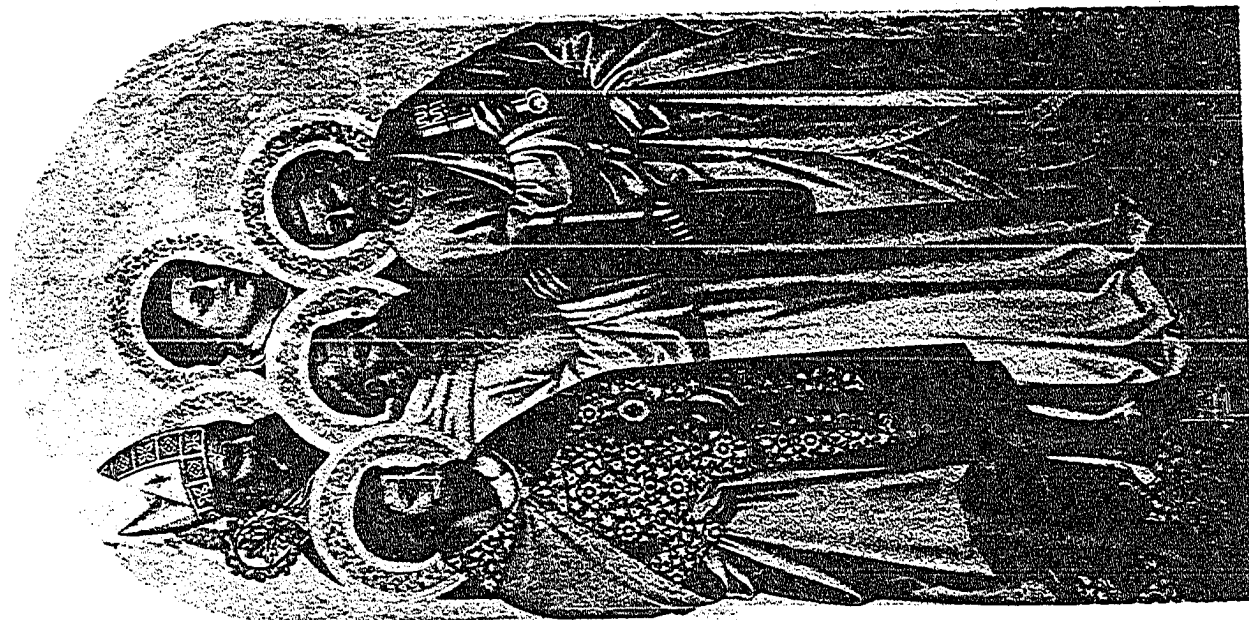


Figure 23a - Nardo di Cione, Coronation of the Virgin (Munich) and Attending Saints (London). Reconstruction of altarpiece according to Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting (New York, 1960), page 20ff.

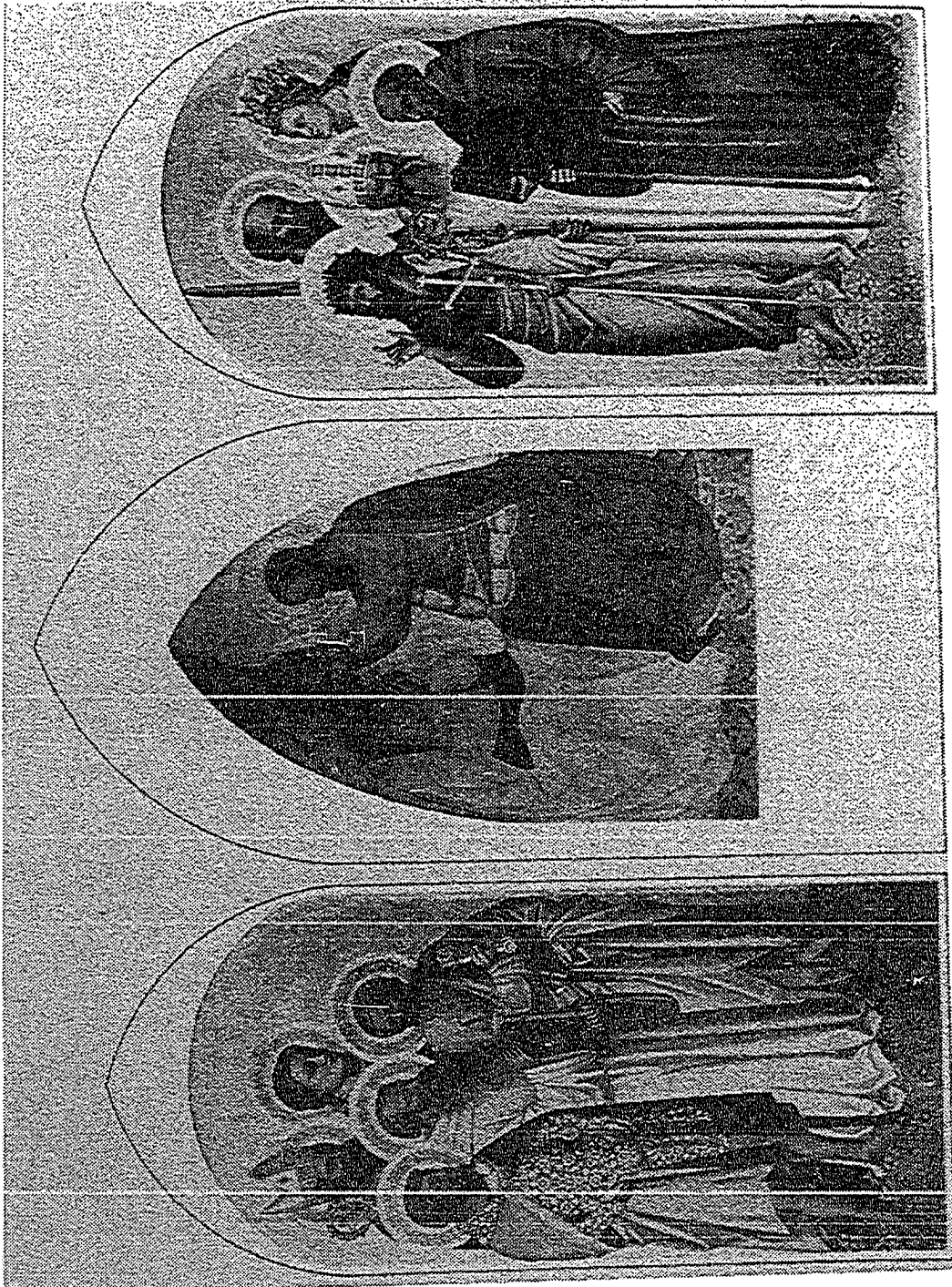


Figure 24 - Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Crucifixion,  
Florence, Accademia.

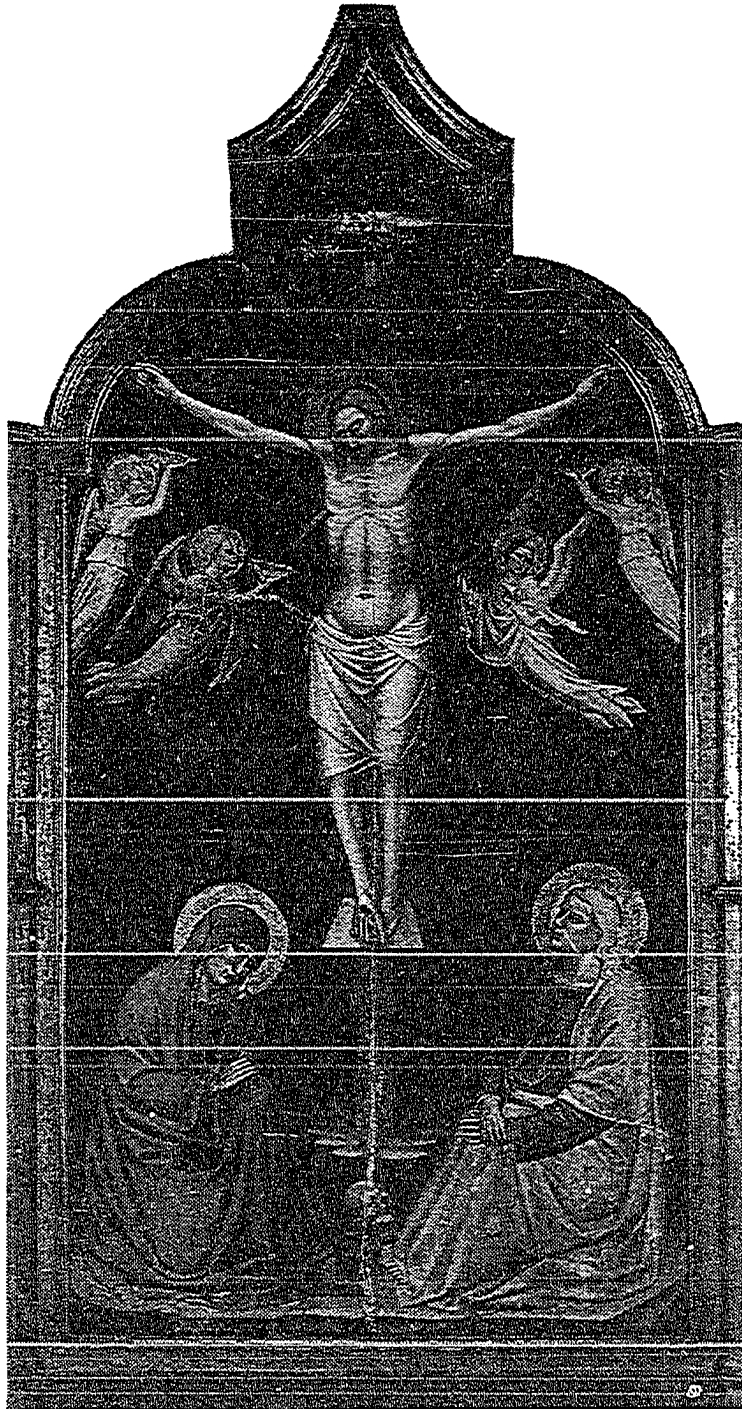




Figure 25 - Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Baptism of Christ,  
London, National Gallery.

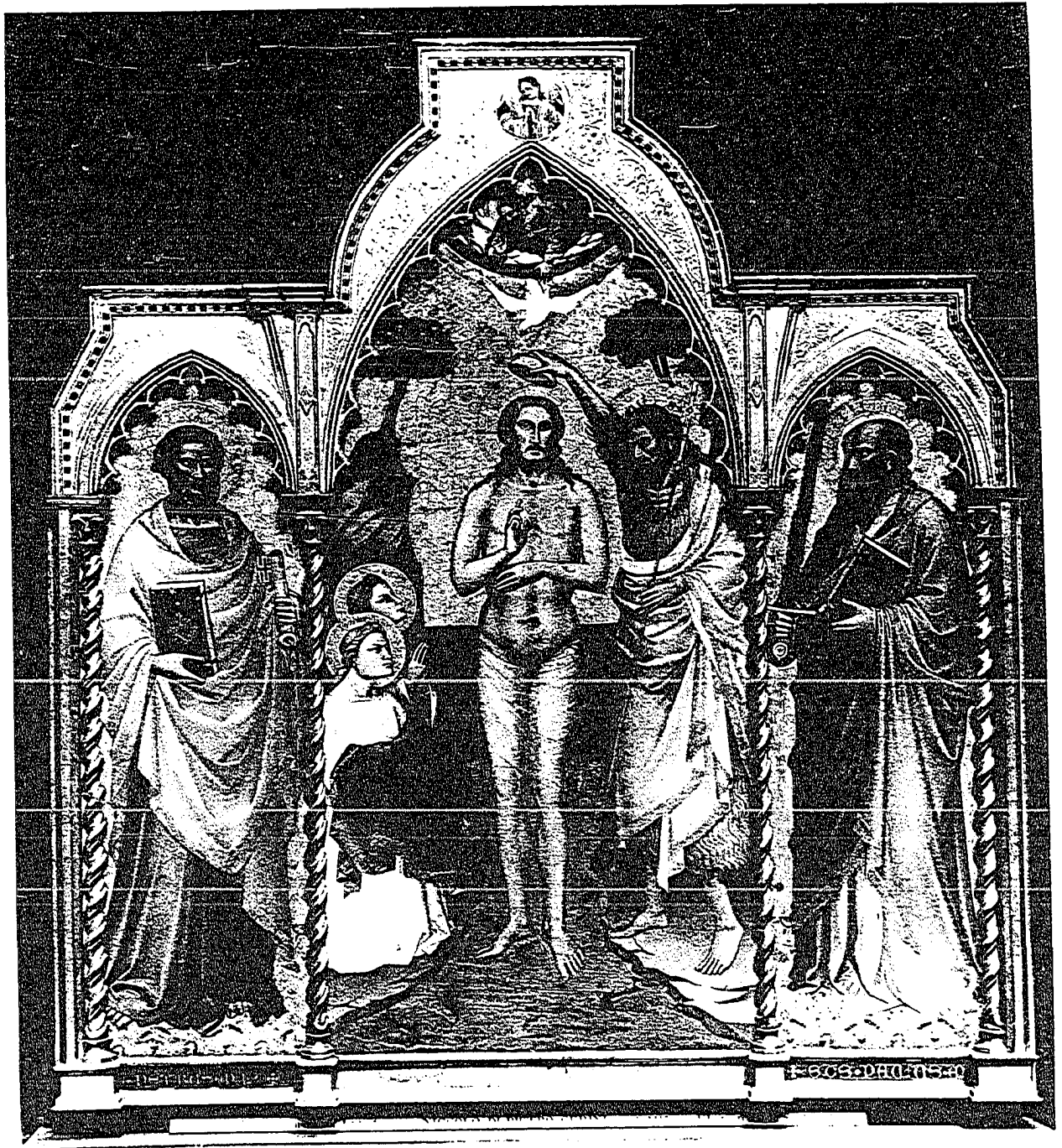


Figure 26 - Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Birth of the Baptist (detail, fig. 25), London, National Gallery.

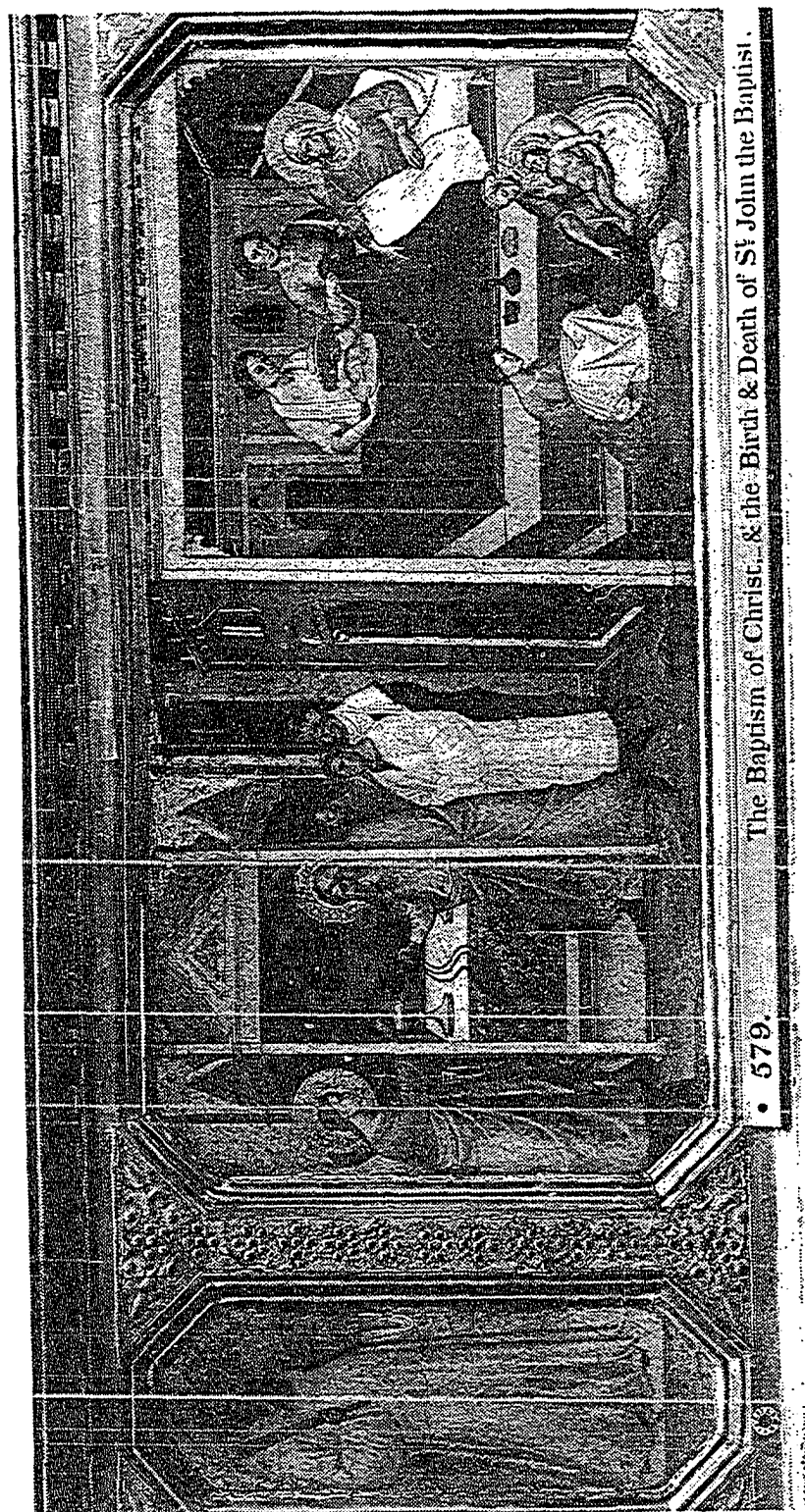


Figure 27 - Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, The Feast of Herod (detail, fig. 25), London, National Gallery.

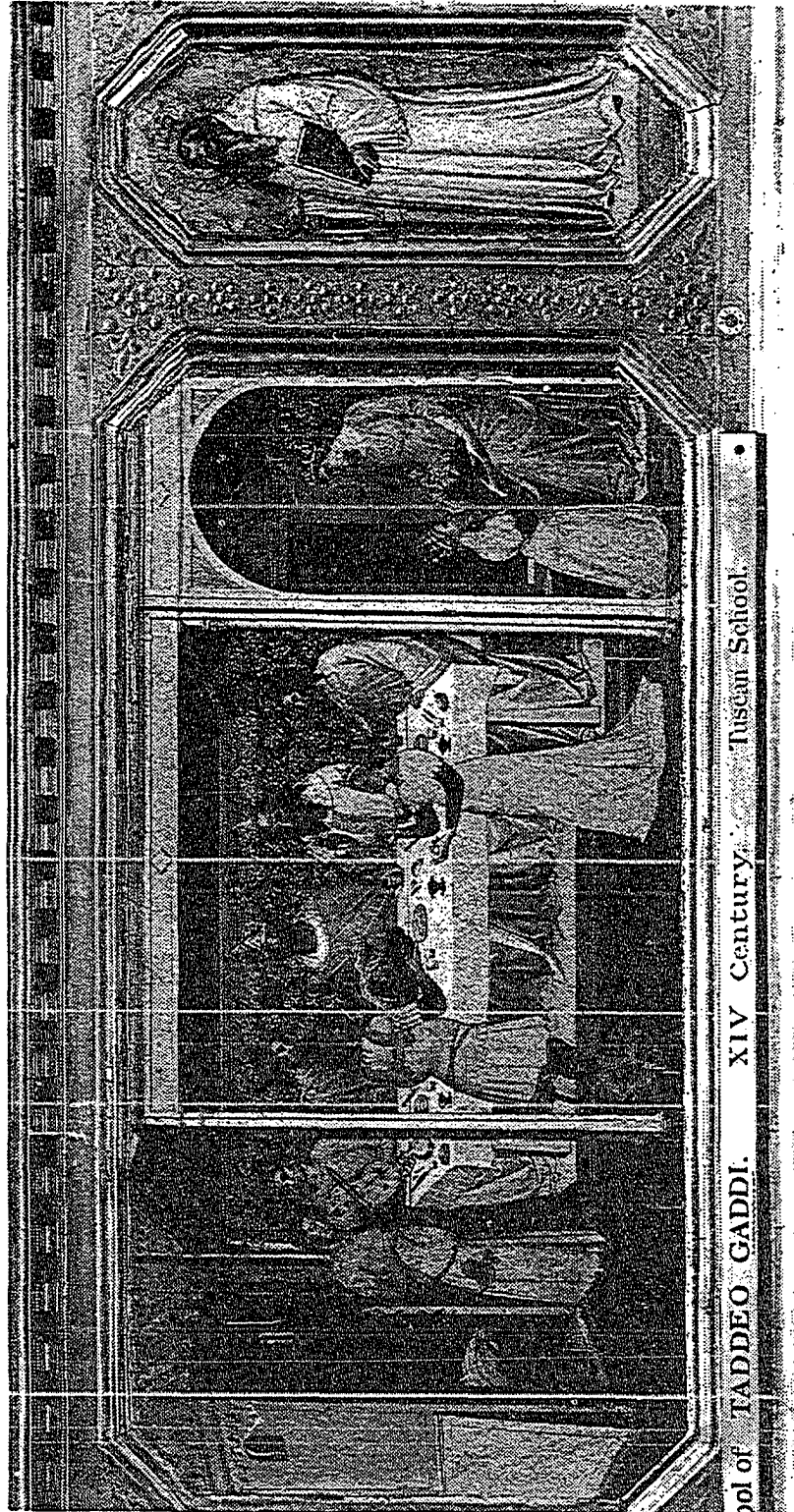


Figure 28 - Agnolo Gaddi, Enthroned Madonna, Berlin, Bode Museum.

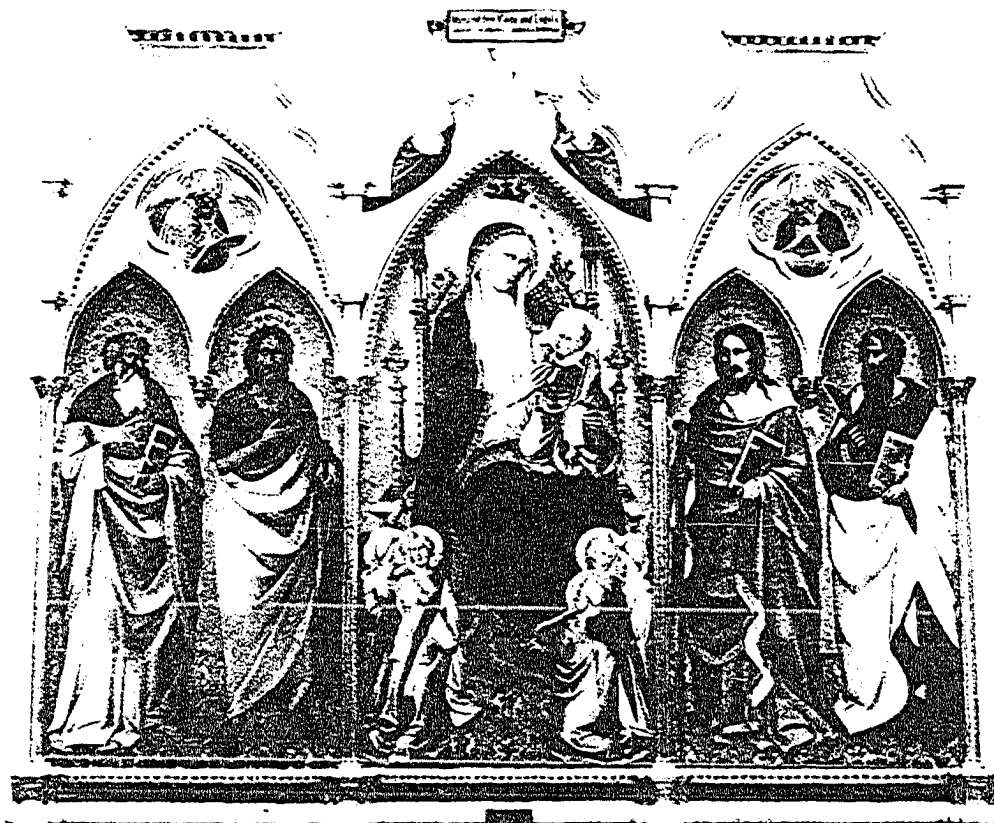




Figure 29 - Agnolo Gaddi and workshop, Feast of Herod  
(detail, fig. 28), Paris, Louvre.

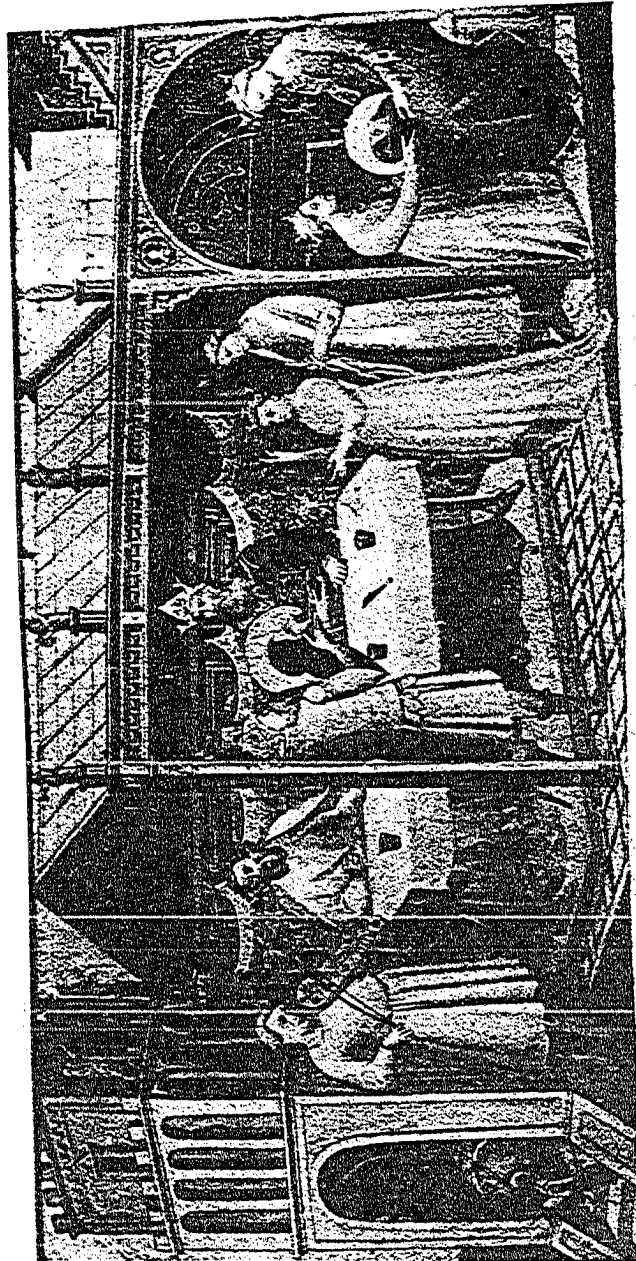


Figure 30 - Agnolo Gaddi and workshop, Crucifixion (detail, fig. 28), Paris, Louvre.



Figure 31 - Agnolo Gaddi and workshop, Hermogenes Before Saint James and the Beheading of James (detail, fig. 28), Paris, Louvre.

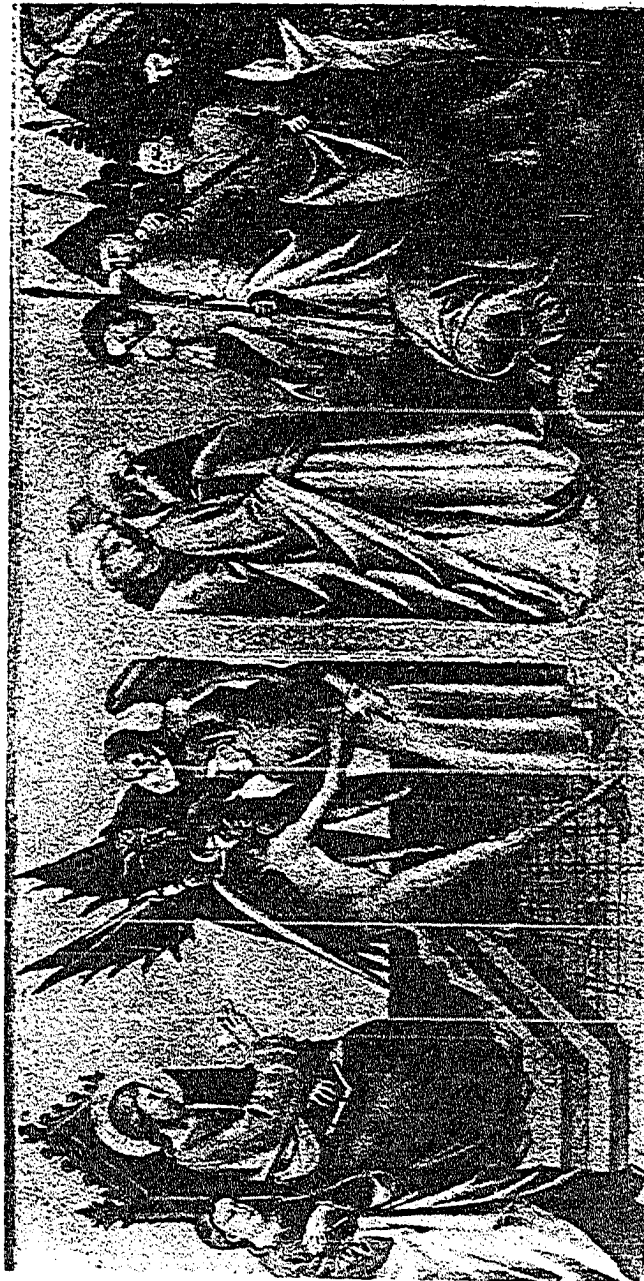


Figure 32 - Mariotto di Nardo, Enthroned Madonna, Tosina, S. Margherita.



Figure 33 - Follower of Jacopo di Cione, Madonna of Humility, Florence, Accademia.



Figure 34 - Jacopo di Cione, Madonna of Humility,  
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

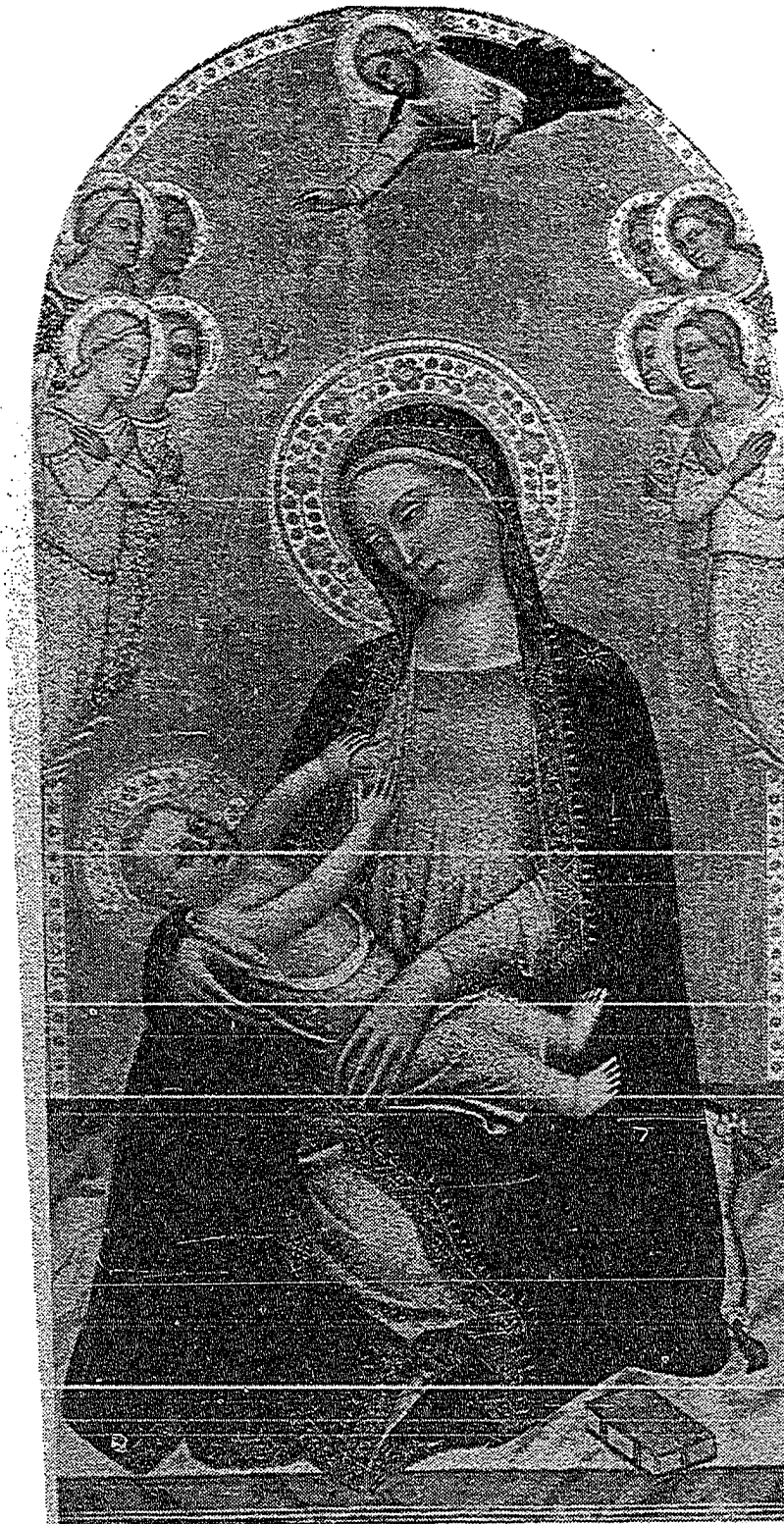




Figure 35 - Lorenzo Monaco, Vir Dolorum, Florence, Accademia.

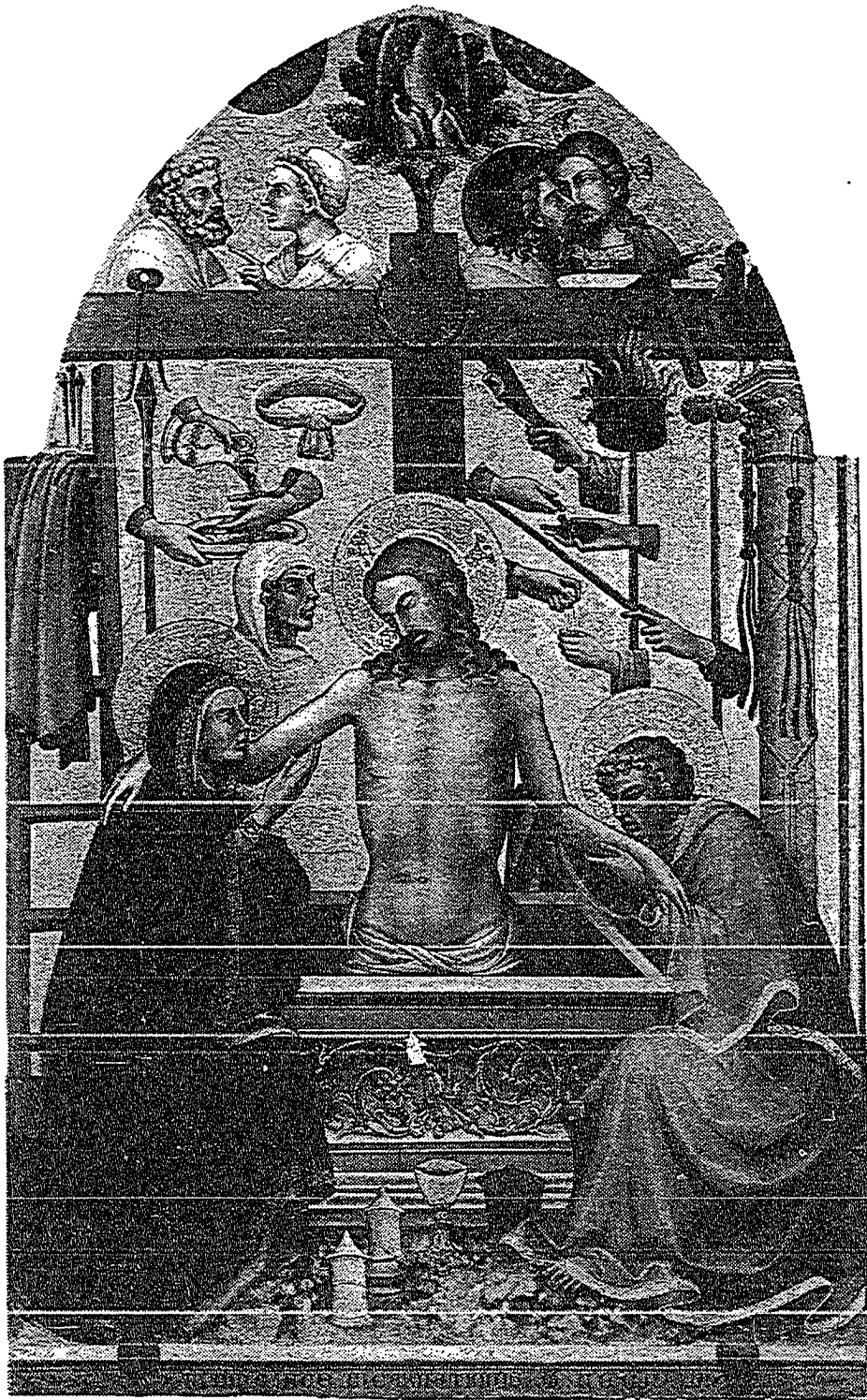


Figure 36 - Lorenzo Monaco, Agony in the Garden, Florence, Accademia.





Figure 37 - Lorenzo Monaco, Kiss of Judas (detail, fig. 36), Florence, Accademia.



Figure 38 - Lorenzo Monaco, Stripping of Christ's Garments  
(detail, fig. 36), Florence, Accademia.



Figure 39 - Anonymous, Dedication of the Church, Corale 2  
(folio 1), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 40 - Anonymous, Saint Nicholas, Corale 2 (folio 6v), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 41 - Archivio di Stato, Florence, Compagnie  
Soppresse, G XII, 192.

[illegible]



Figure 42 - Painted initial, Corale 16 (folio 60v),  
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 43 - Incomplete initial, Corale 18 (folio 7v),  
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.

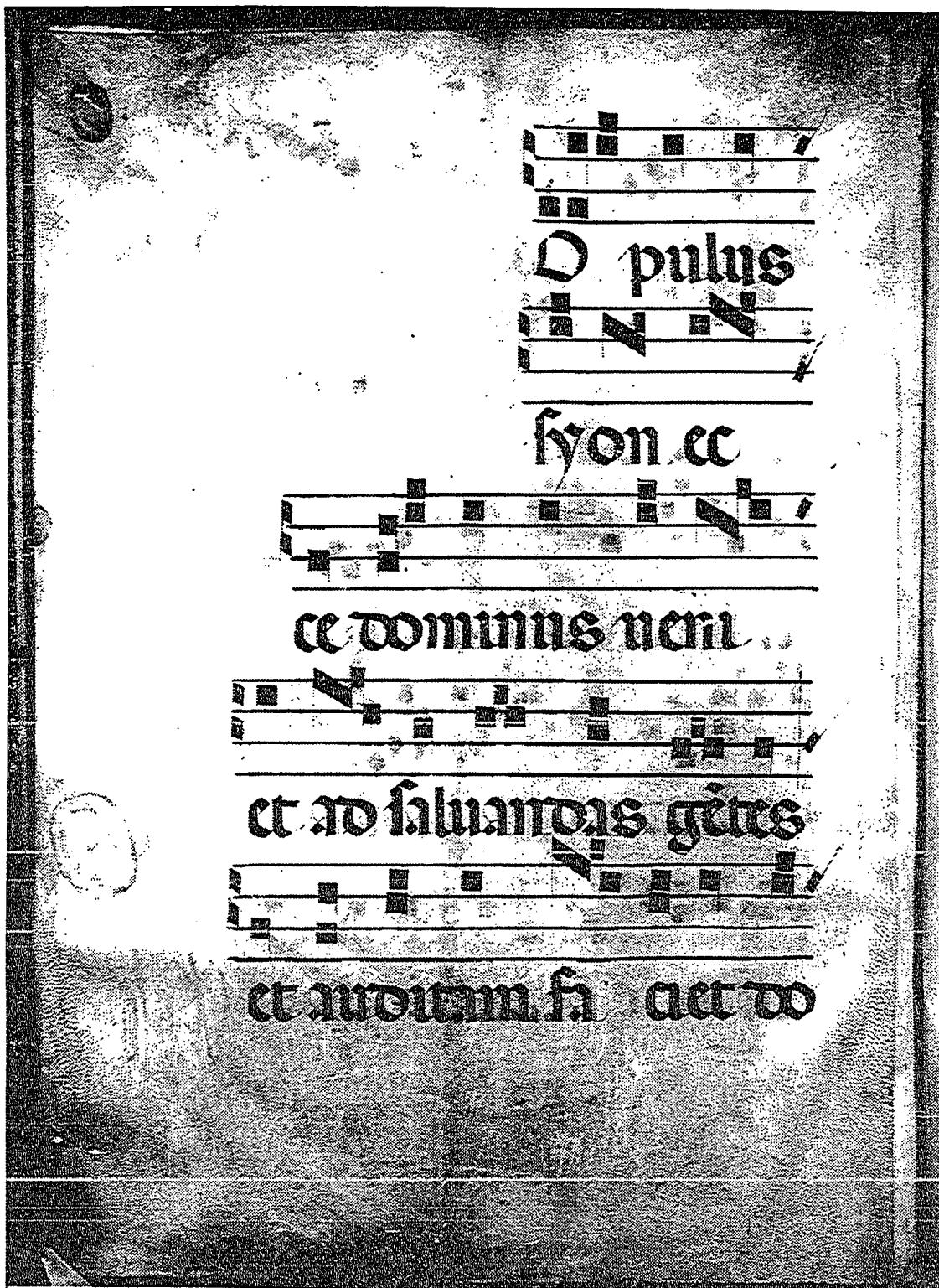


Figure 44 - Lorenzo Monaco and Workshop, Resurrection,  
Corale 3 (folio 1), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.





Figure 45 - Decorated initial, Corale 18 (folio 52),  
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 46 - Lorenzo Monaco, Saint John the Evangelist, Codex C 71 (folio 105), Florence, Bargello Museum.



Figure 47 - Anonymous, Saints Andrew and James (with signature intact), originally in Corale 2, Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

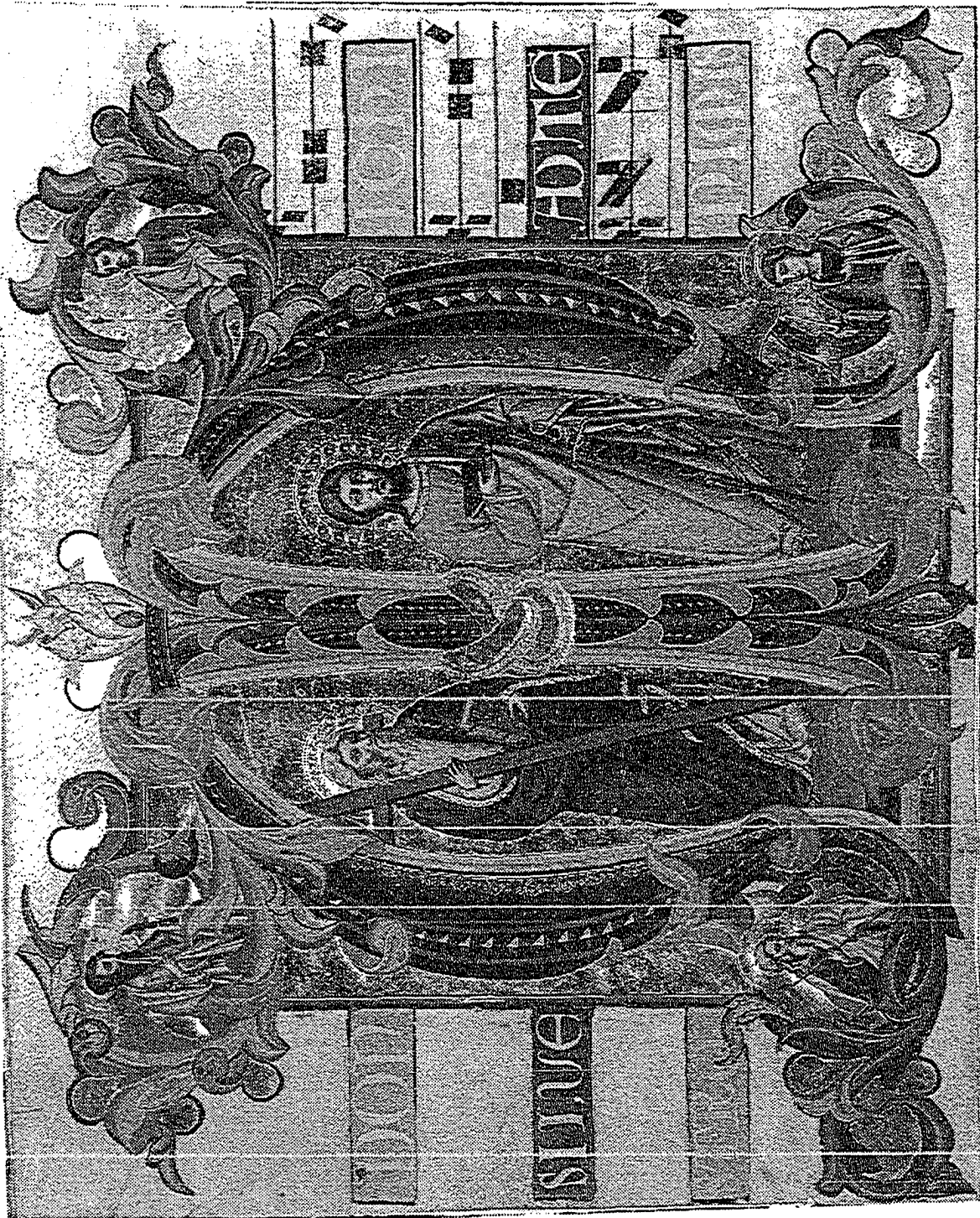




Figure 48 - Anonymous, Saints Andrew and James (with signature removed), originally in Corale 2; Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



Figure 49 - Anonymous, Gregory the Great and Job, Subiaco, Sacro Speco.



Figure 50 - Anonymous, The Presentation in the Temple,  
originally in Corale 2, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.





Figure 51 - Lorenzo Monaco, Coronation of the Virgin,  
Florence, Uffizi.

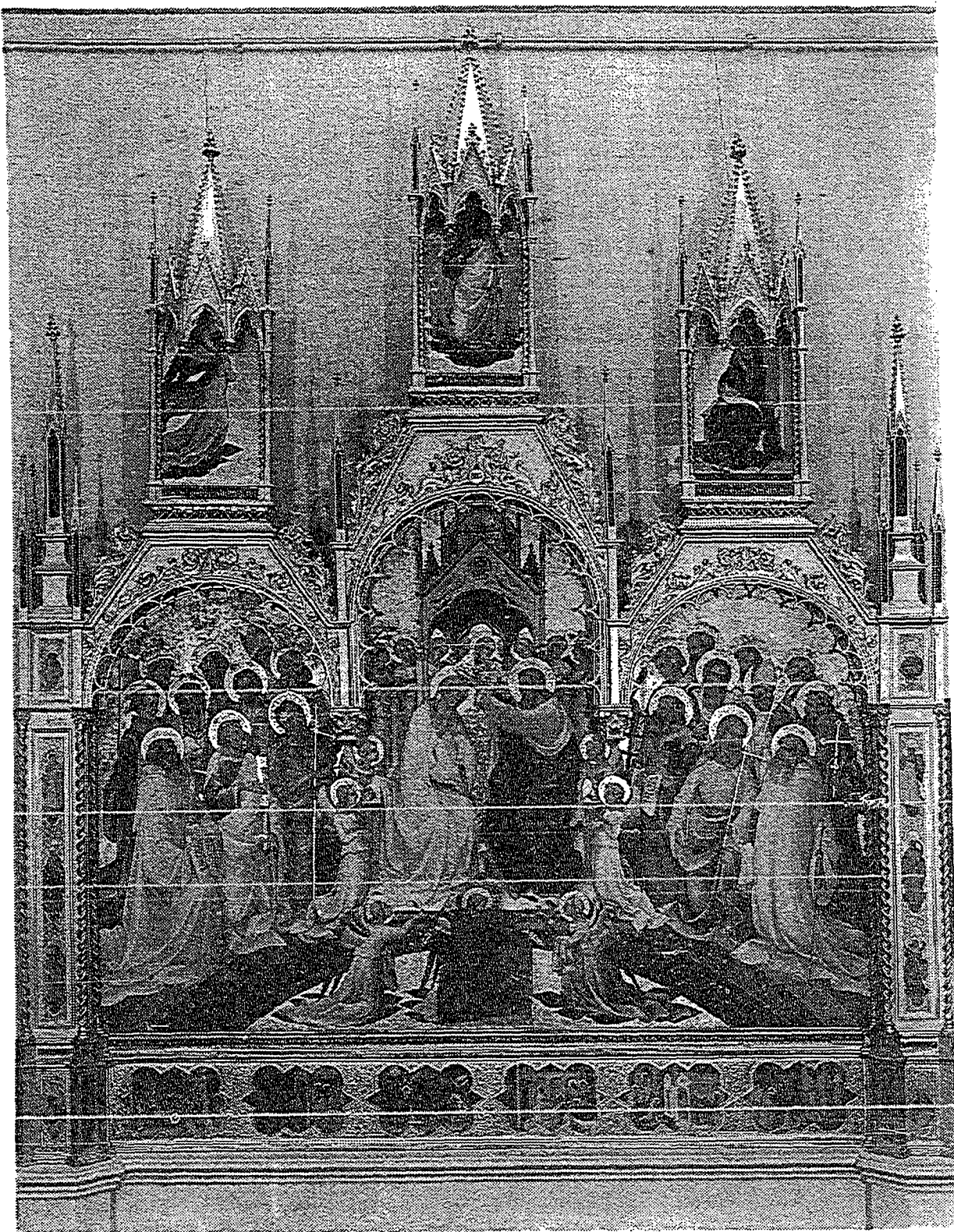


Figure 52 - Jacopo di Cione, Coronation of the Virgin,  
London, National Gallery.

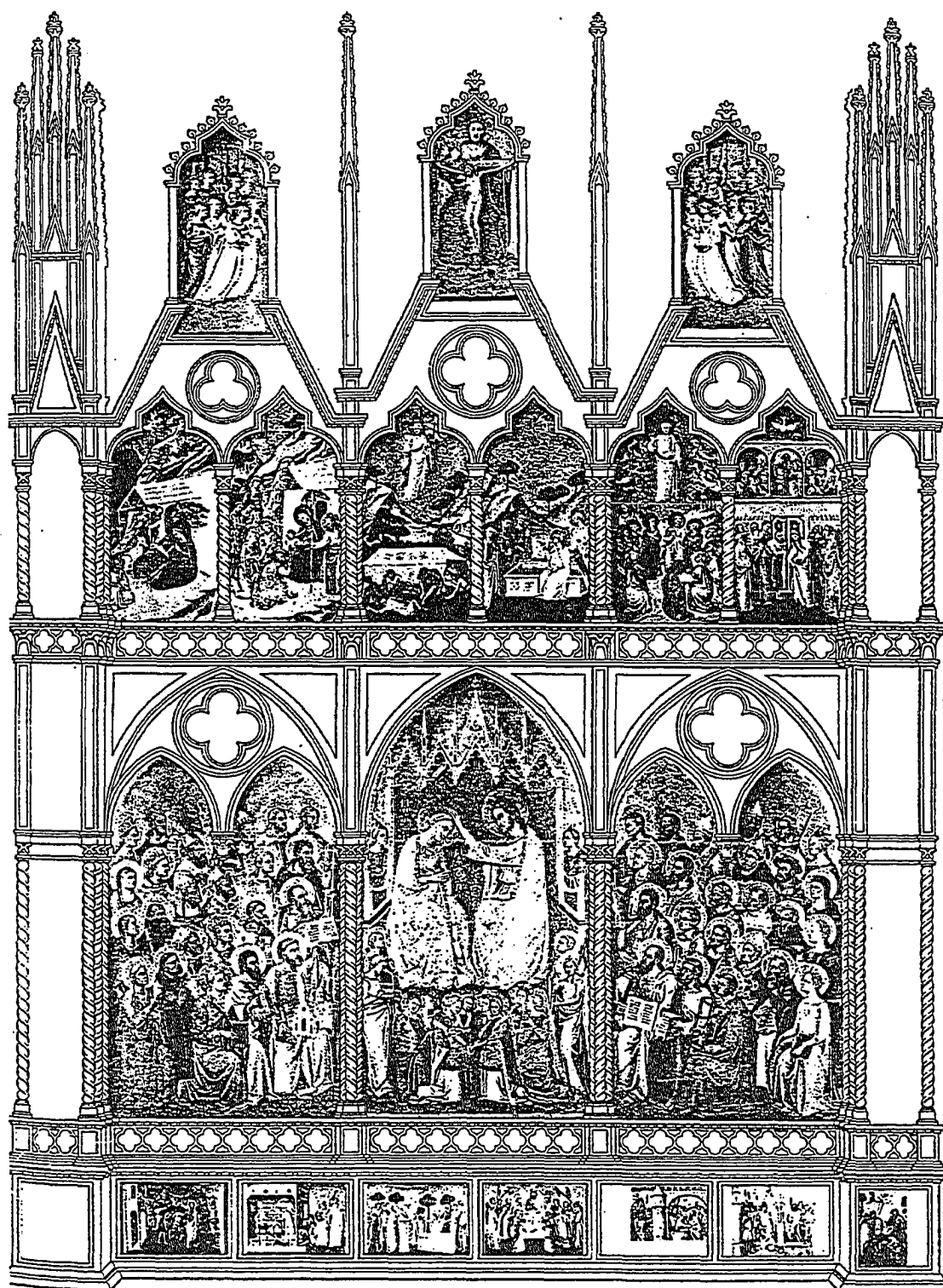




Figure 53 - Giovanni del Biondo, Coronation of the Virgin,  
Fiesole, Museo Bandini.

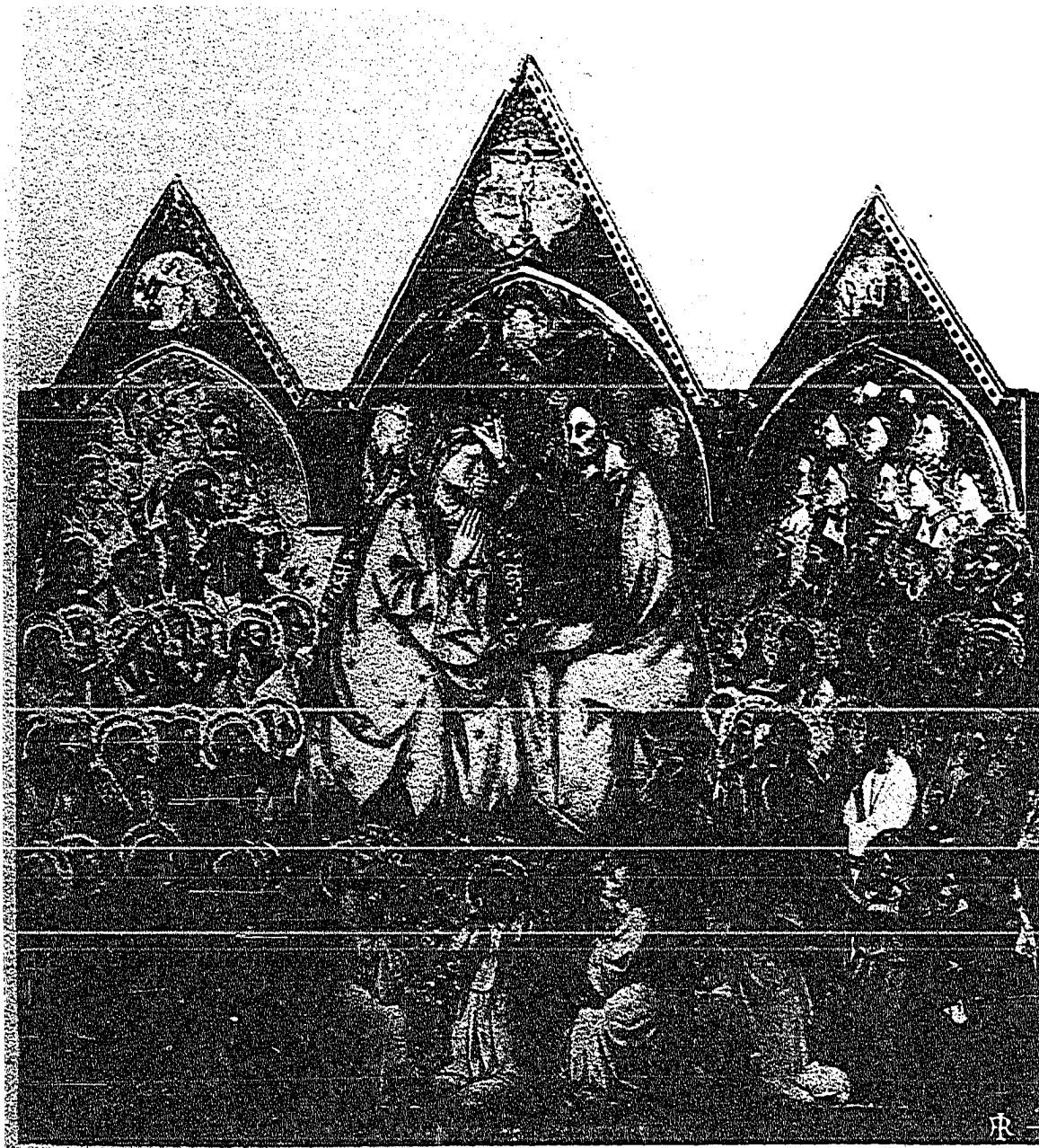


Figure 54 - Lorenzo Monaco, Coronation of the Virgin  
(detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

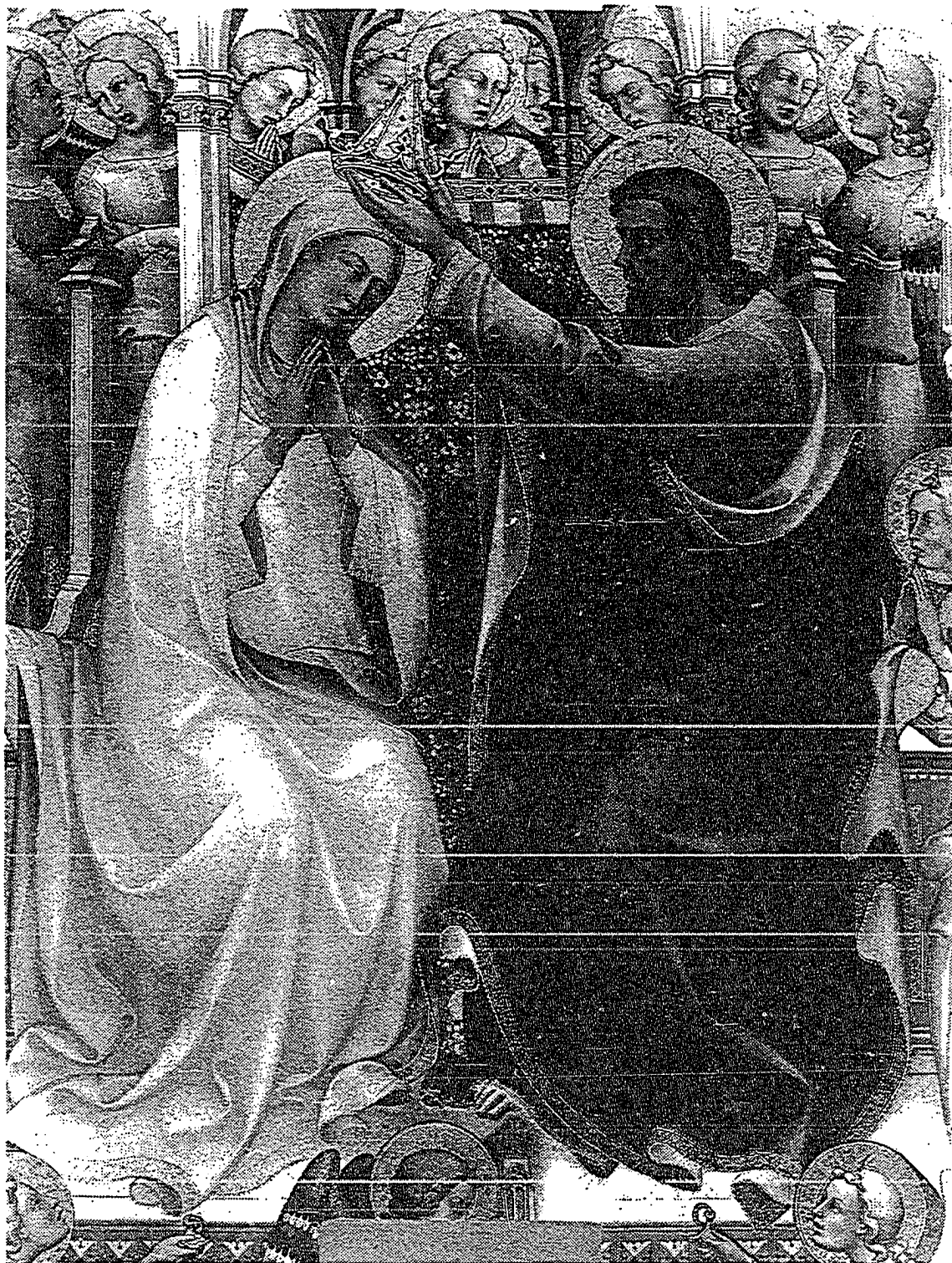


Figure 55 - Lorenzo Monaco, Coronation of the Virgin  
(detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

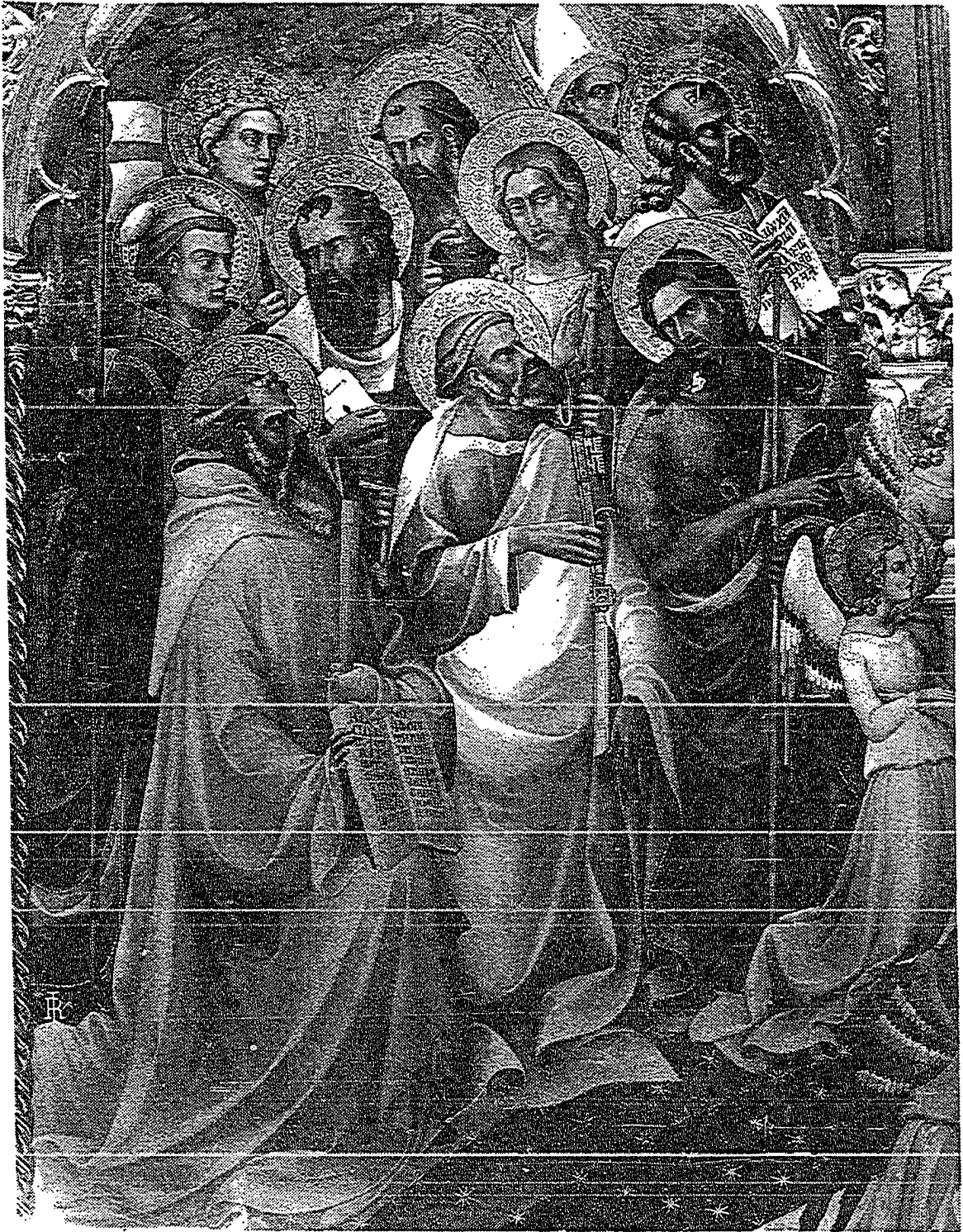




Figure 56 - Lorenzo Monaco, Coronation of the Virgin  
(detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

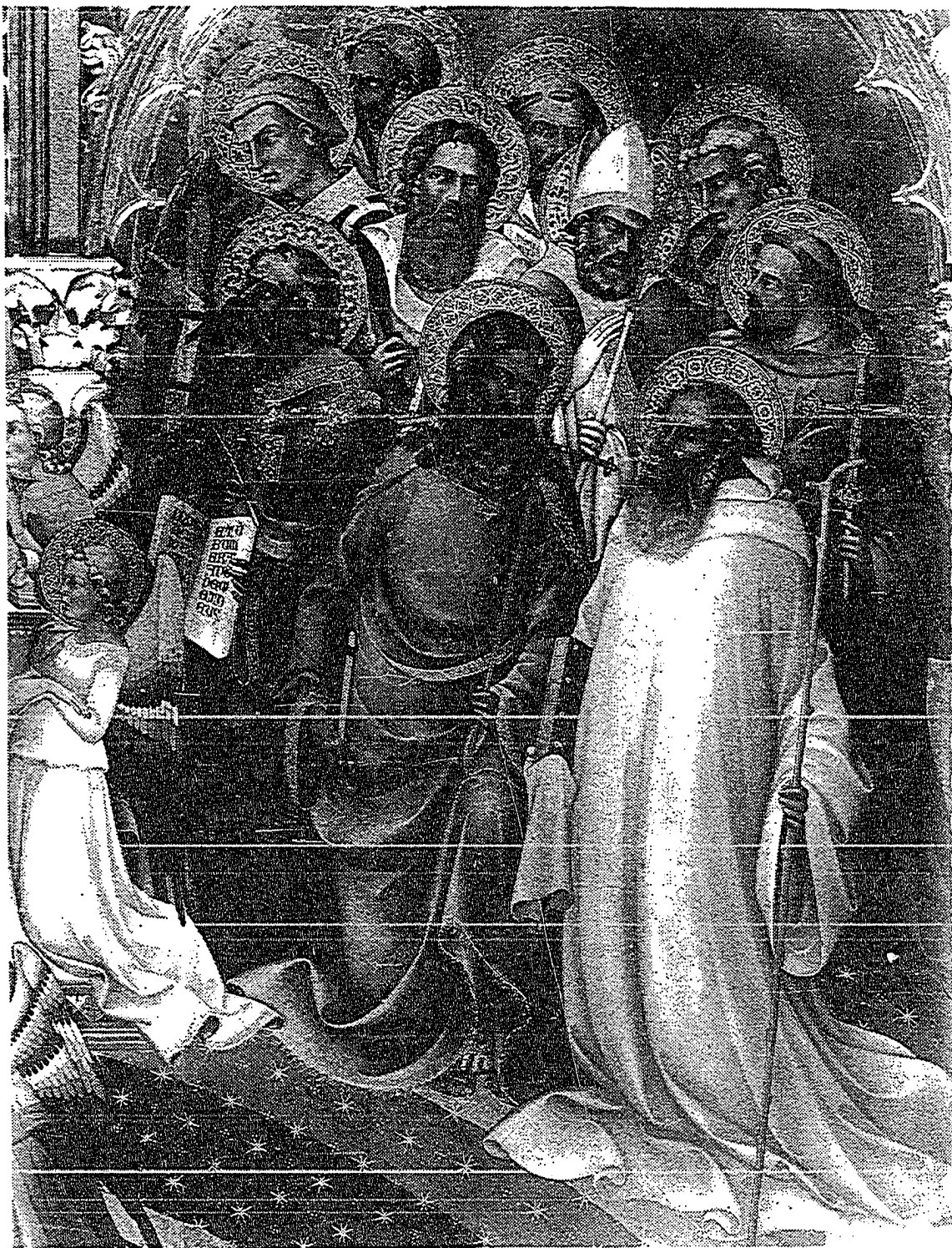


Figure 57 - Lorenzo Monaco, Death of Saint Benedict (detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

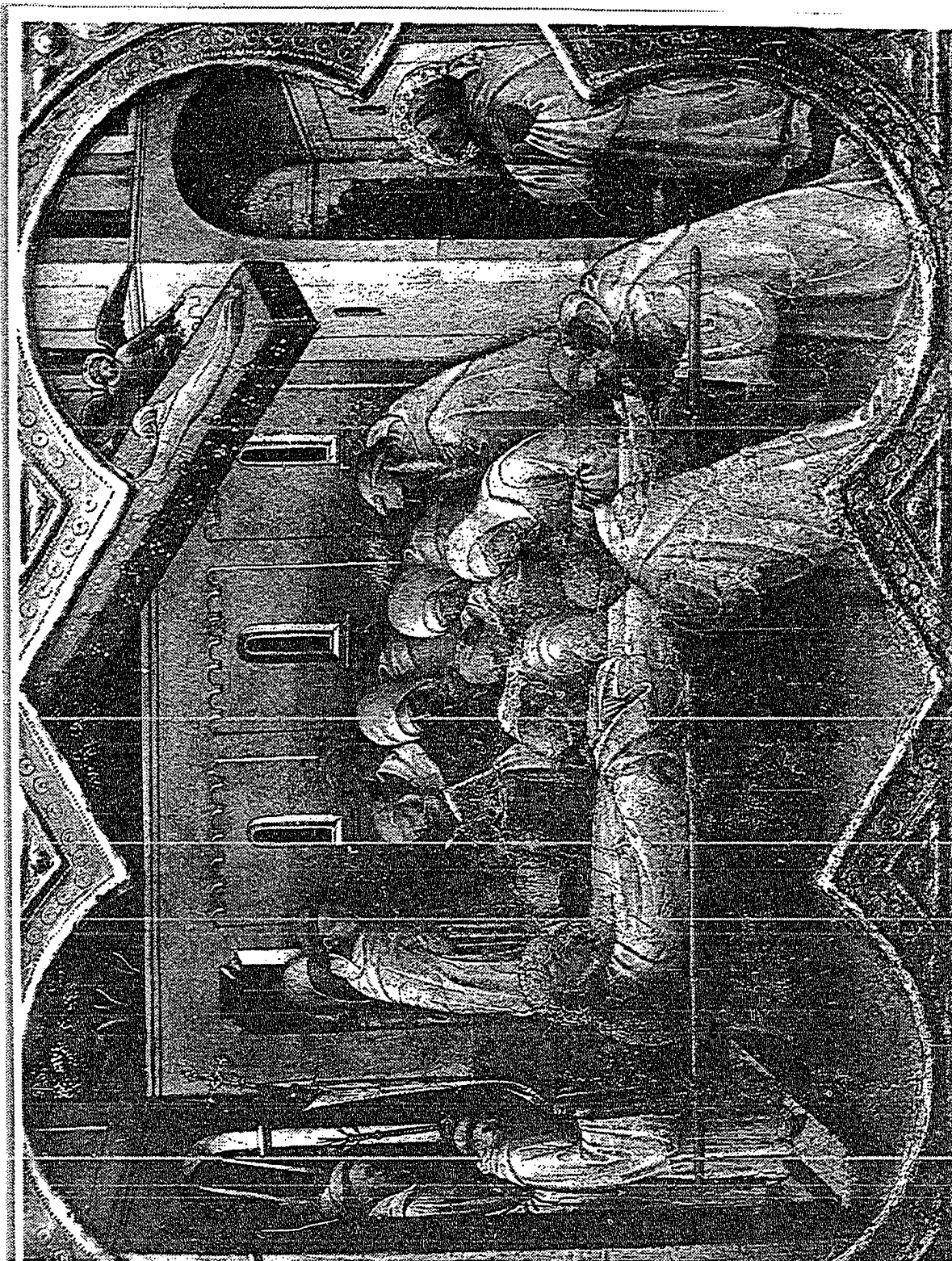


Figure 58 - Lorenzo Monaco, Saint Benedict at Sacro Speco and The Temptation of the Young Monk (detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

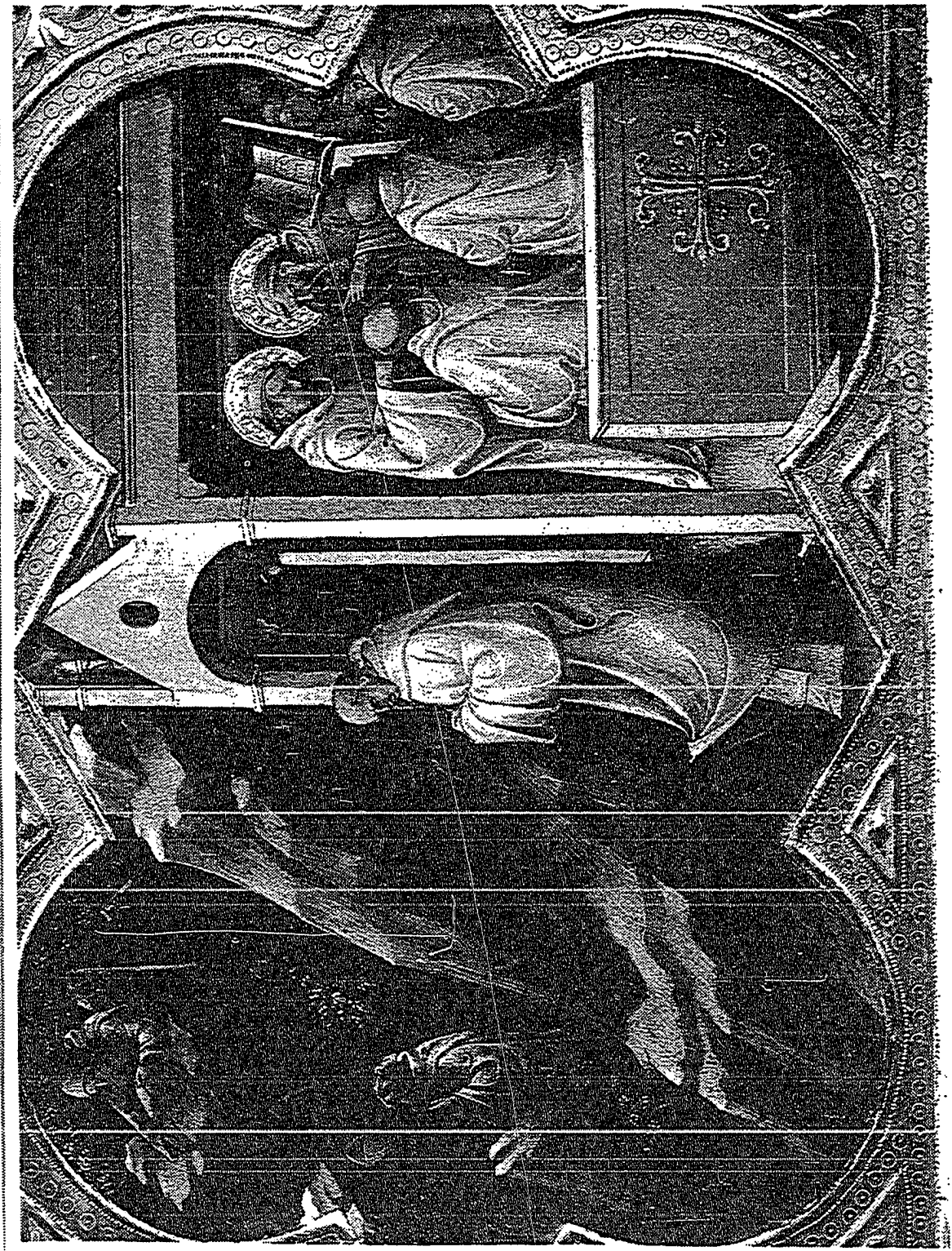




Figure 59 - Lorenzo Monaco, Nativity (detail, fig. 51),  
Florence, Uffizi.

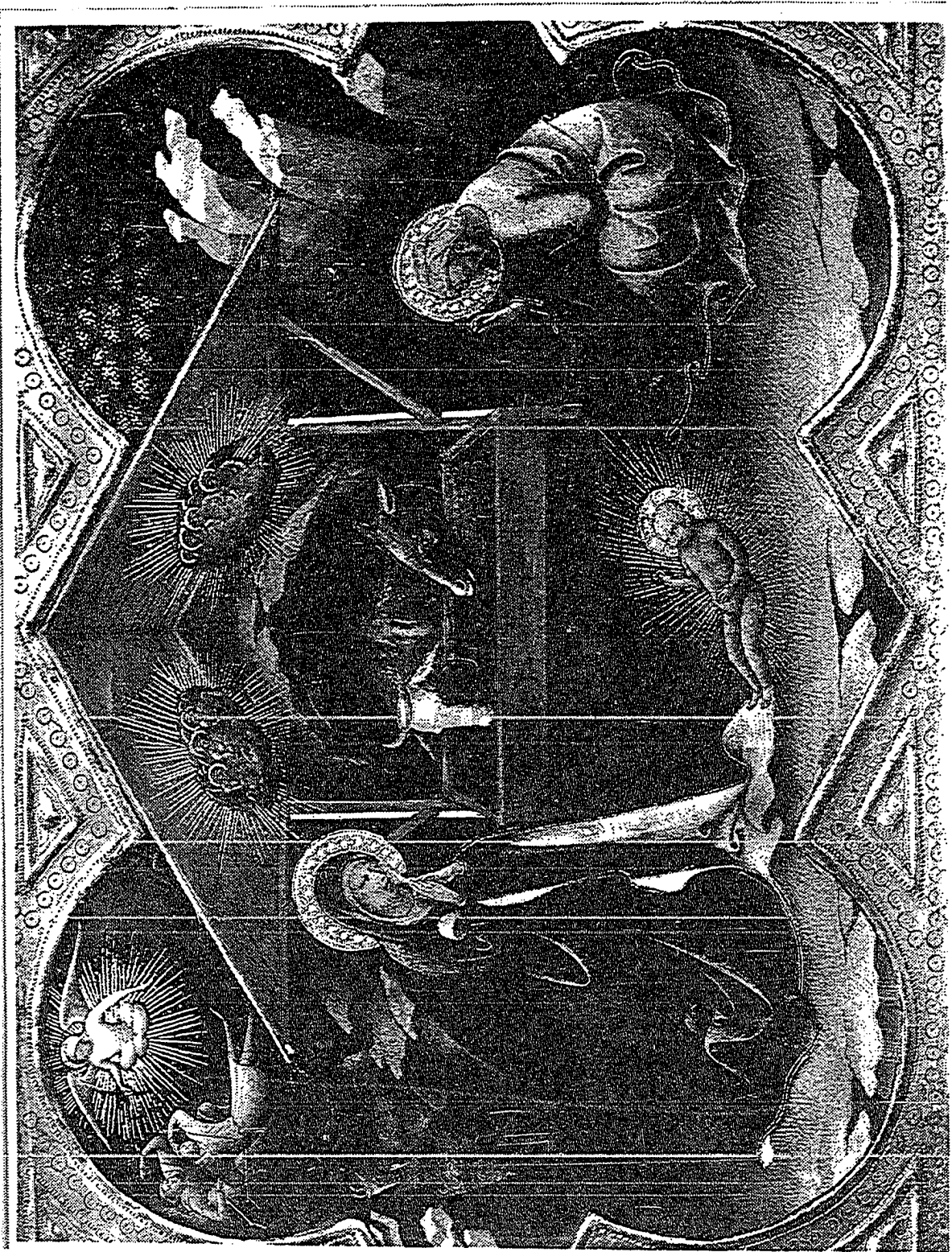


Figure 60 - Lorenzo Monaco, Adoration of the Magi (detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.





Figure 61 - Lorenzo Monaco, The Rescue of Placidus and Visit to Santa Scholastica (detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.

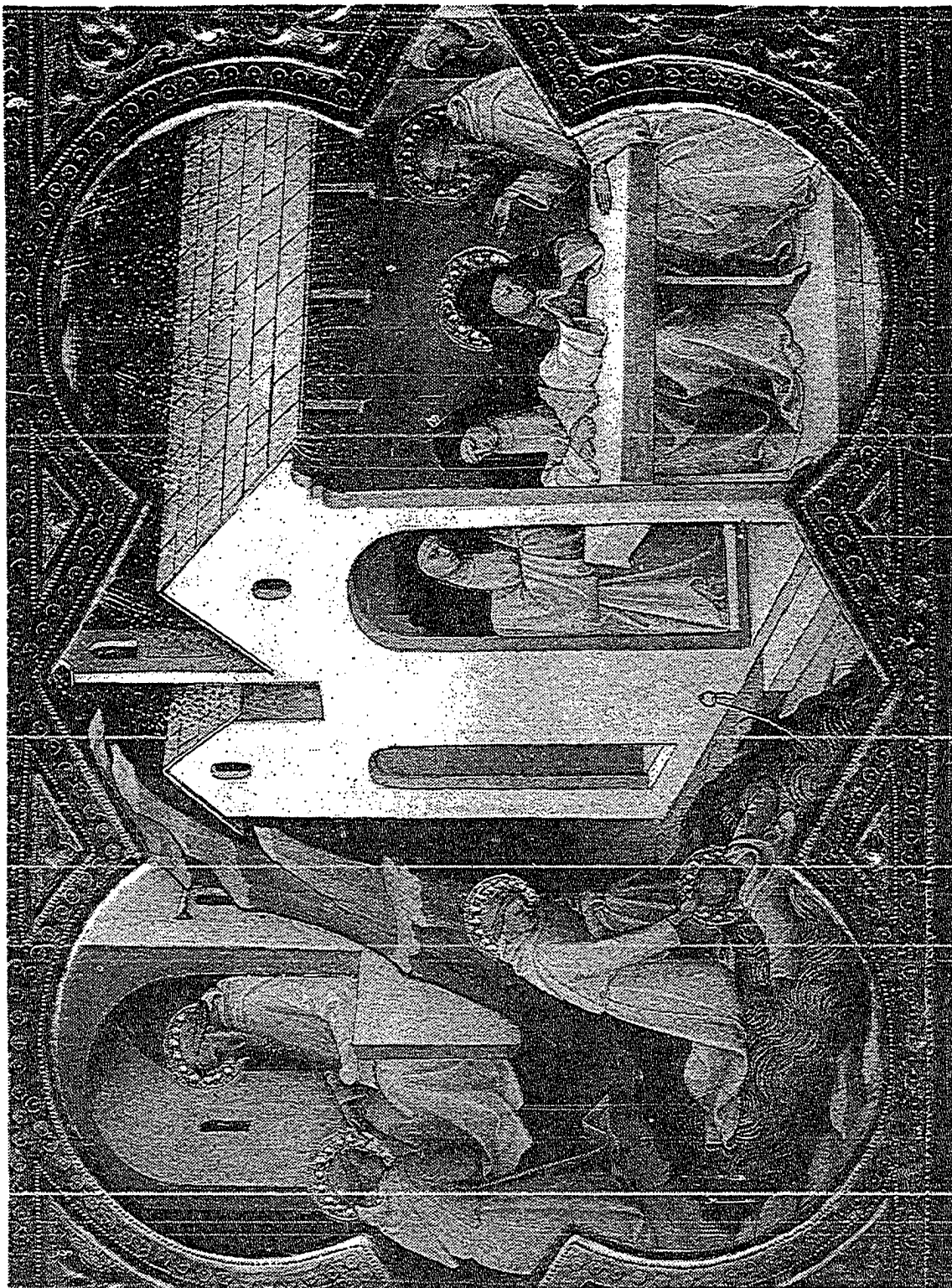


Figure 62 - Lorenzo Monaco, Raising of the Young Monk  
(detail, fig. 51), Florence, Uffizi.



Figure 63 - Anonymous, Christ and the Virgin in Glory, originally in Corale 2, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art.

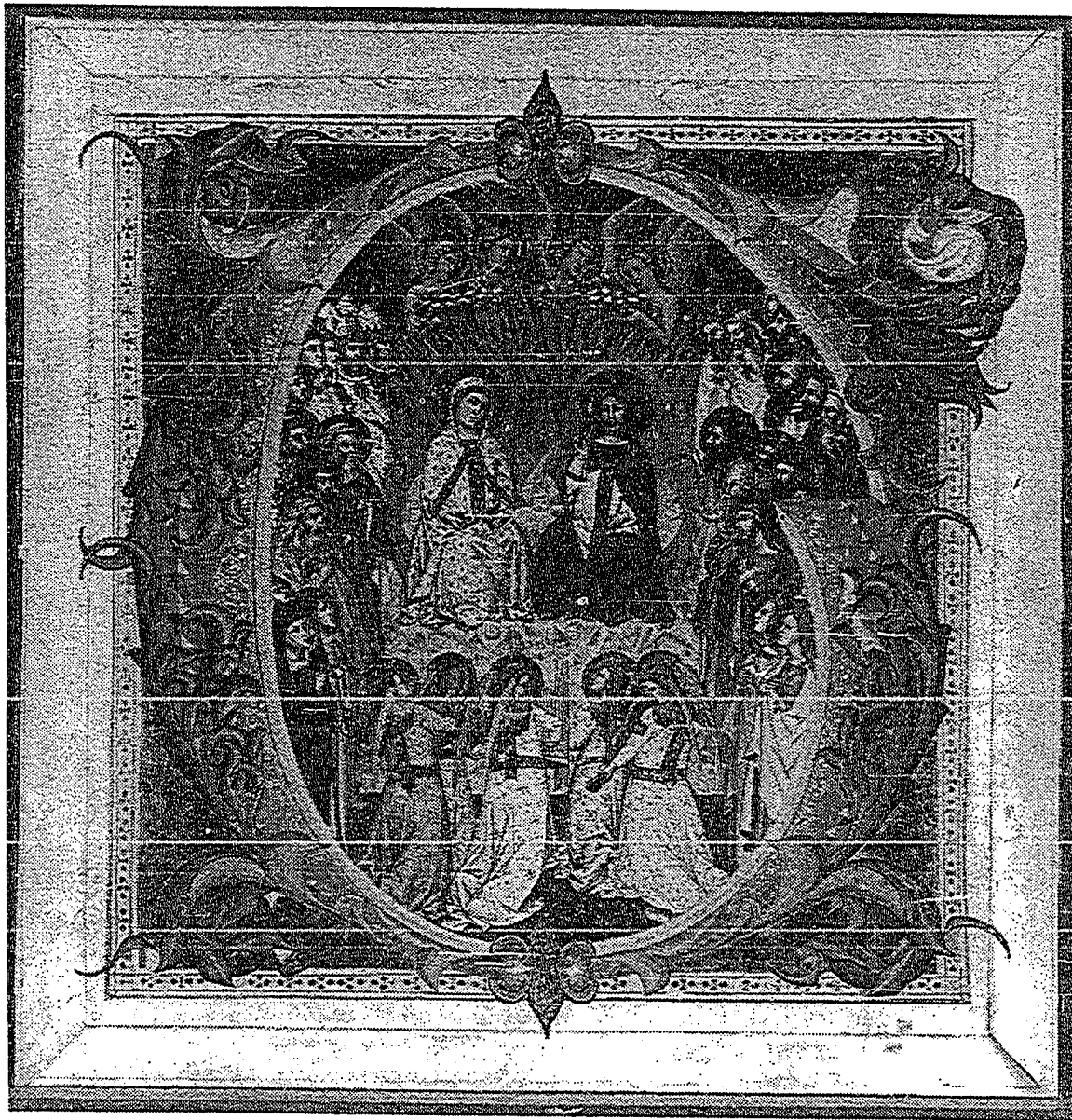




Figure 64 - Lorenzo Monaco, Prophet, Corale 3 (folio 89v), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 65 - Lorenzo Monaco, Prophet, Corale 3 (folio 86v), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Figure 66 - Donatello, Saint Louis of Toulouse, originally at Orsanmichele, Florence, Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce.



Figure 67 - Donatello, Tomb of Baldasare Cossa (detail),  
Florence, Baptistery.





Figure 68 - Lorenzo Monaco and Workshop, Saint Michael Slaying the Dragon, Corale 5 (folio 105), Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.





Diagram A - S. Maria degli Angeli: 1295-1320

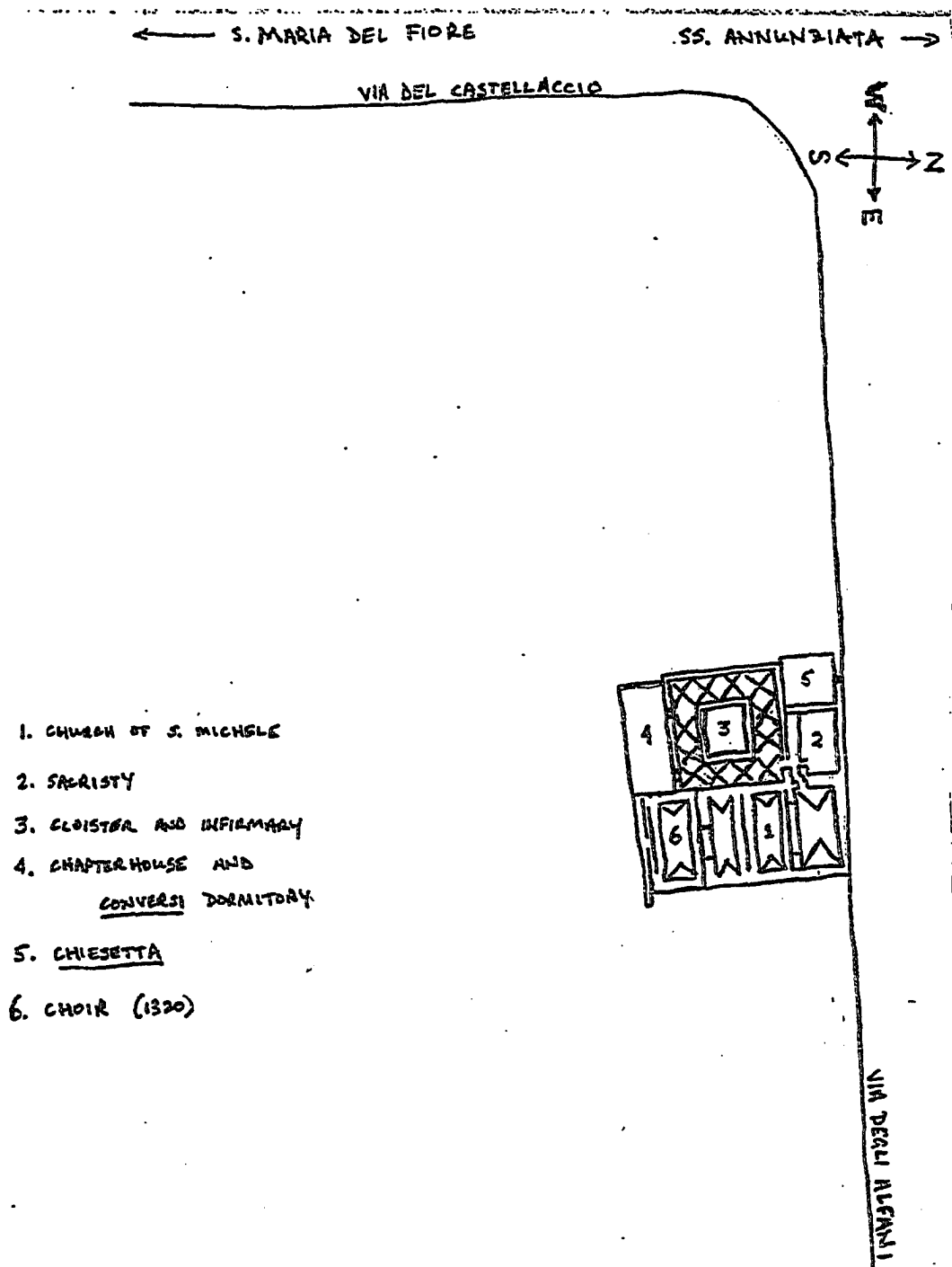


Diagram B - S. Maria degli Angeli: 1345

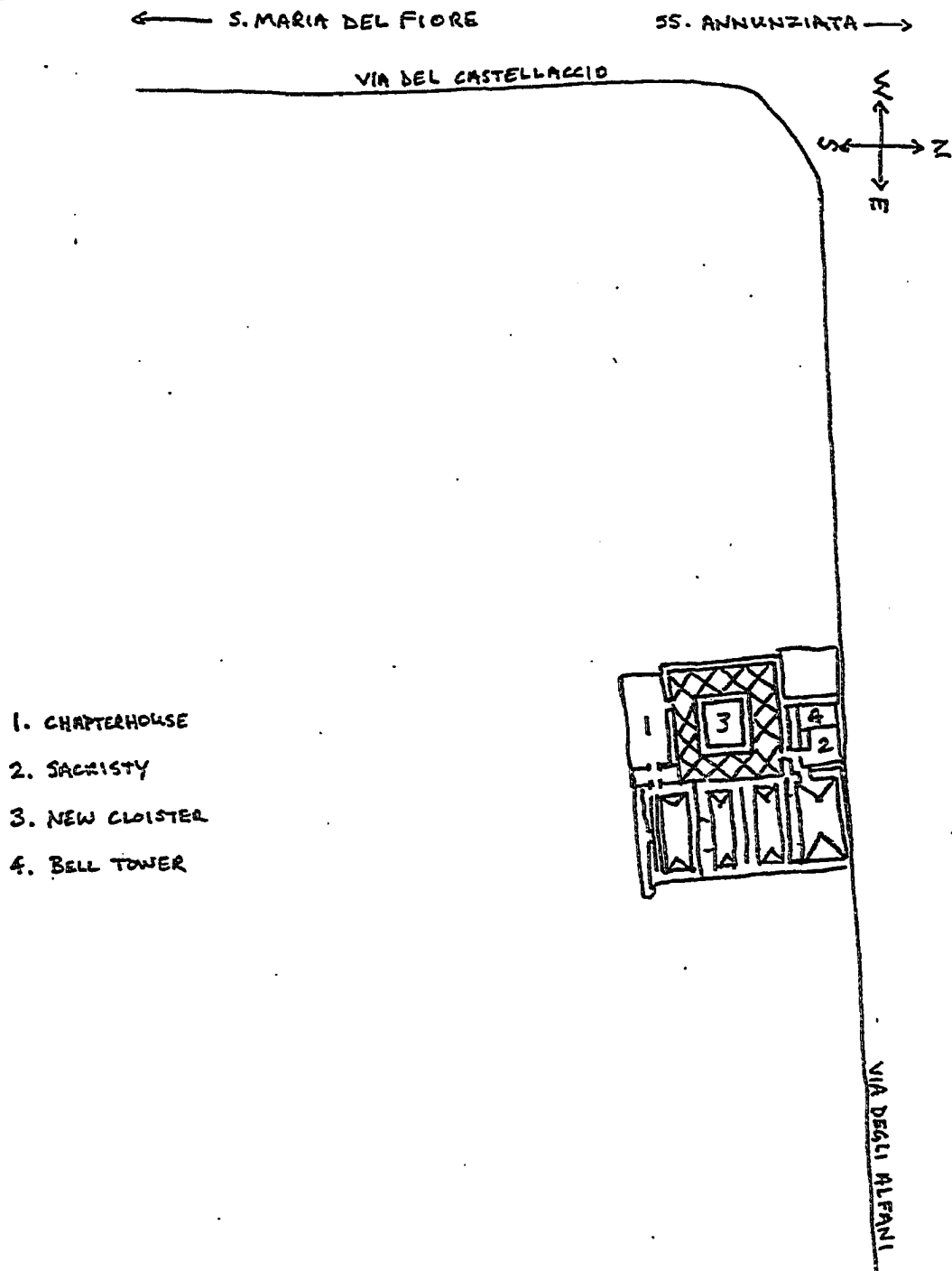


Diagram C - S. Maria degli Angeli: 1354-59

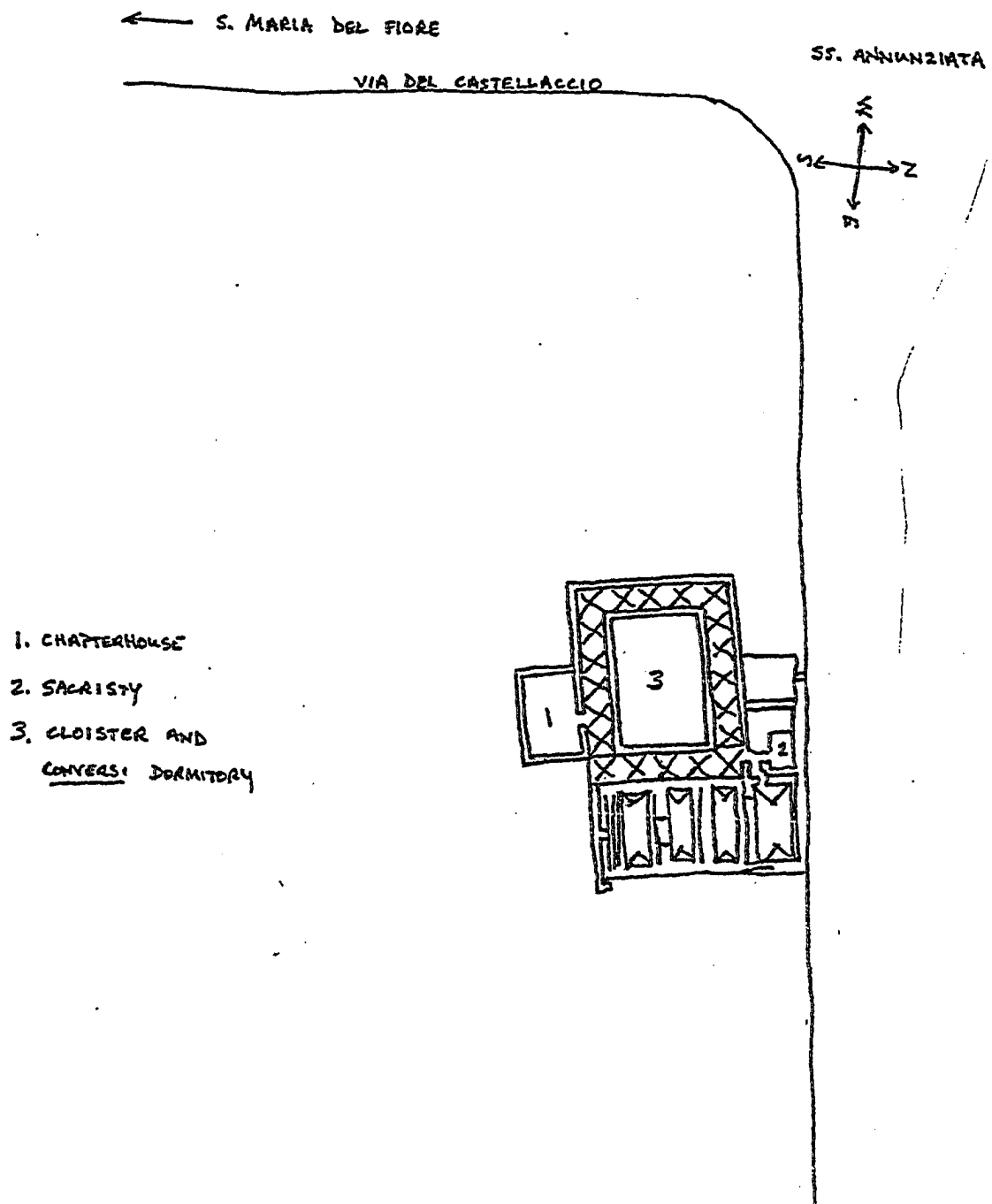


Diagram D - S. Maria degli Angeli: 1375

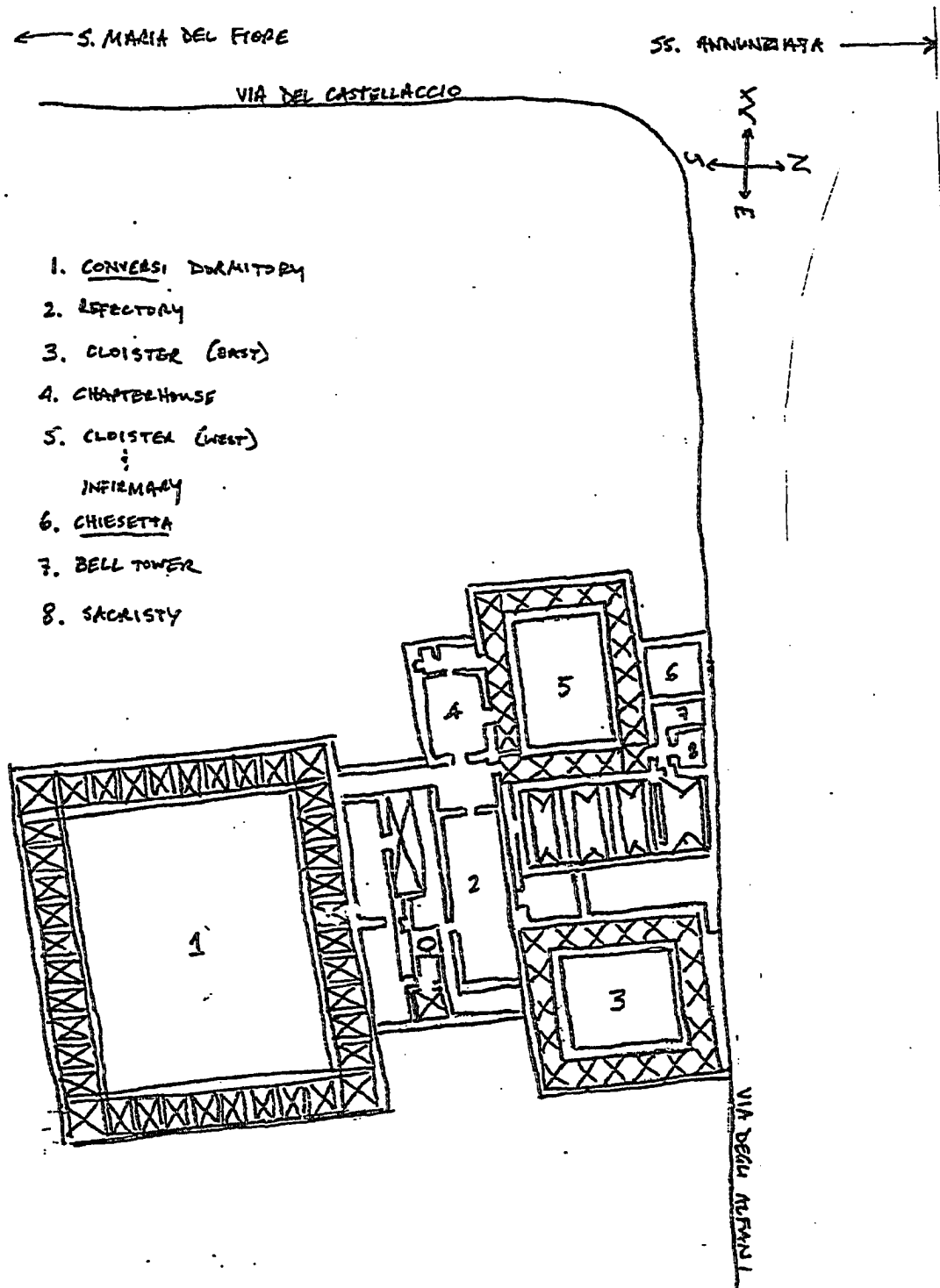


Chart I - Images in S. Maria degli Angeli: 1336 to 1413

Enthroned Madonna and Child, Nardo di Cione, 1365; Dini chapel

Enthroned Madonna and Child, Agnolo Gaddi, c. 1388; Nobili chapel

Enthroned Madonna and Child, Mariotto di Nardo, c. 1388; Filicaia chapel

Enthroned Madonna and Child, Pseudo Ambrogio Baldese, c. 1390-1400; Peruzzi chapel

Madonna of Humility, Master of the Cionesque Humility, c. 1411-1413; Alberti chapel

Presentation in the Temple, Giovanni del Biondo, 1364; Benini chapel

Baptism of Christ, Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, c. 1388; Stoldi chapel

Agony in the Garden, Lorenzo Monaco, c.1396-98; location unknown

Crucifixion, Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, c. 1385; refectory (?)

??? Man of Sorrows, Lorenzo Monaco, 1404; location unknown

Coronation of the Virgin, Nardo di Cione, 1365; Ser Francesco di Berto chapel

Coronation of the Virgin, Lorenzo Monaco, 1413; High Altar

Holy Trinity, Nardo di Cione, 1365; Ghiberti chapel

Chart II - Feast days celebrated in S. Maria degli Angeli

\*Anthony - 17 January  
\*Conversion of Paul - 25 January  
Purification of the Virgin - 2 February  
\*Benedict - 22 March  
\*Annunciation - 25 March  
Eustace - 6 May  
\*Romuald - 19 June  
\*John the Baptist - 24 June  
\*Peter - 29 June  
?Ascension of Christ - June  
Onofrius - June  
\*Translation of Martin - July  
Mary Magdalene - 22 July  
\*James the Major - 25 July  
\*Lawrence - 10 August  
\*Assumption of the Virgin - 15 August  
\*Bernard - 20 August  
\*Bartholomew - 24 August  
\*Beheading of John the Baptist - 29 August  
\*Job - First Sunday in September  
\*Nativity of the Virgin - 8 September  
\*Michael the Archangel - 29 September  
Feast of the Holy Cross - September  
Francis - 4 October  
The Holy Virgins - October  
\*Ognissanti - 1 November  
\*Leonard - 6 November  
\*Martin - 11 November  
Catherine - 25 November  
\*Andrew - 30 November  
\*Nicholas - 6 December  
\*Stephen - 26 December  
\*John the Evangelist - 27 December

Feast Days Requiring Processionals

Life of Christ

\*Nativity of Christ  
\*Adoration of the Magi  
\*Resurrection of Christ  
Pentecost

Life of the Virgin

Conception of the Virgin  
Nativity of the Virgin  
\*Annunciation of the Virgin  
\*Assumption of the Virgin

\*Nativity of the Baptist  
\*Apparition of S. Michael  
\*Dedication of the church  
\*Saint Benedict  
\*Saint Leonard

\* Represented in Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin

Chart III - Reidentification of saints in Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin, left panel.



Chart IV - Reidentification of saints in Lorenzo Monaco's  
Coronation of the Virgin, right panel.





Chart III - Reidentification of saints in Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin, left panel.

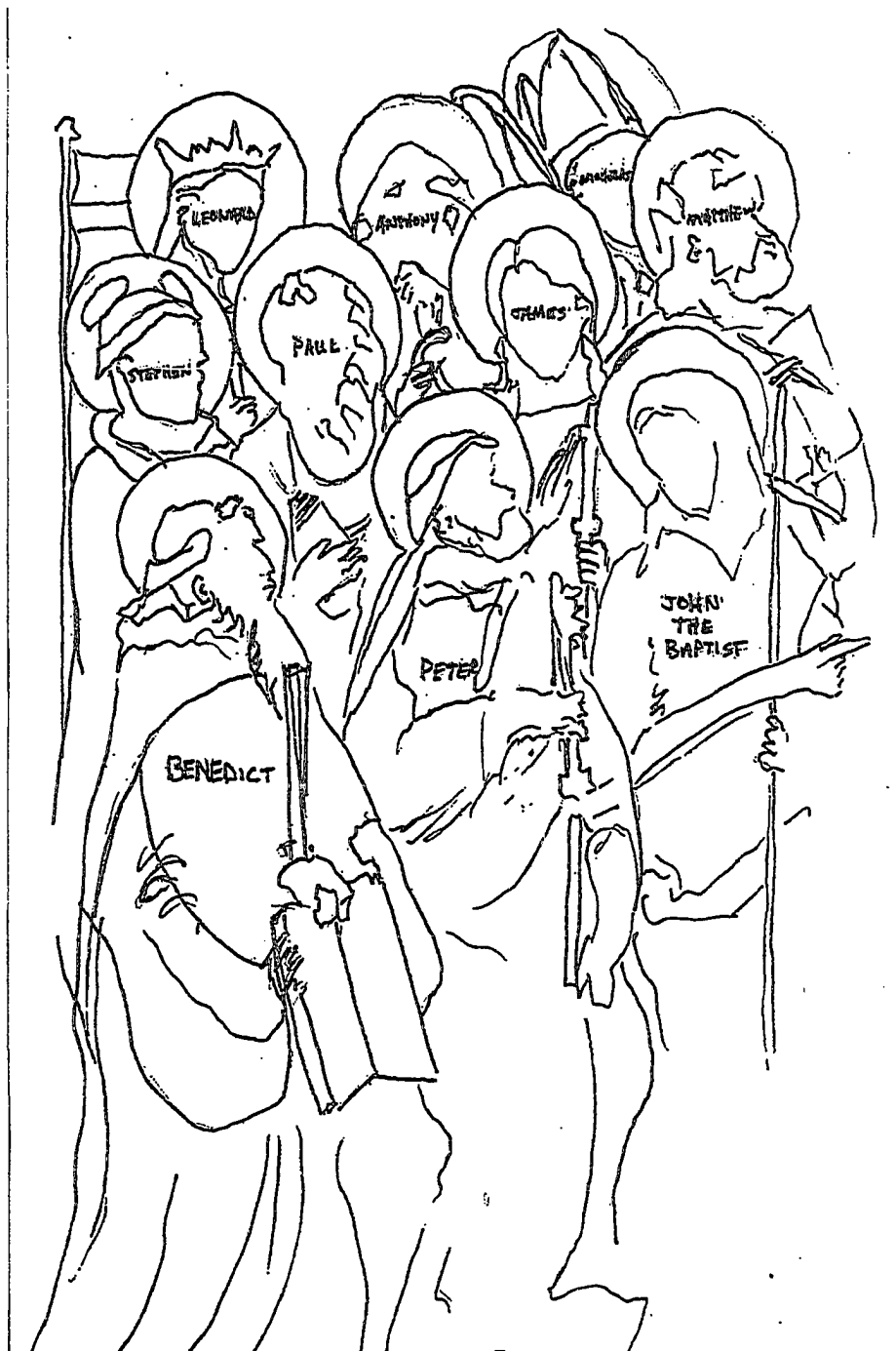


Chart IV - Reidentification of saints in Lorenzo Monaco's Coronation of the Virgin, right panel.

