

PORTRAITURE AND PATRONAGE
IN QUATTROCENTO FLORENCE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE TORNAQUINCI AND THEIR CHAPEL
IN S. MARIA NOVELLA

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ABBREVIATIONS

All archival references are to the Archivio di Stato, Florence (ASF), unless otherwise indicated. All dates cited are New Style.

Archival Citations

App : Appendice
Bib Laur : Biblioteca Laurenziana
Bib Ricc : Biblioteca Riccardiana
BNF : Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze
Cat : Catasto
Comp Sopp : Compagnie Religiose Soppresse
Conv Soppr : Conventi Soppressi
Copia : Copia di Catasto Monte
CS : Carte Stroziane
Dec Rep : Decima Repubblicana
Magl : Magliabechiana
MAP : Mediceo Avanti il Principato
MSS : Manoscritti
NA : Notarile Antecosimiano
on : oncie (ounces)
Pupilli : Pupilli avanti il Principato
Tratte : Tratte, Libro dell'Età

Other Citations

AB : The Art Bulletin
AH : Art History
ASI : Archivio Storico Italiano
BB Central : B. Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Central Italian and North Italian Schools. 3 vols. London, 1968.
BB Drawings : B. Berenson, Drawings of the Florentine Painters. Amplified Edition. 3 vols. Chicago, 1938.
BB Florentine : B. Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Florentine School. 2 vols. London, 1963.
BM : Burlington Magazine
Delizie : Delizie degli eruditi toscani. Edited by I. di San Luigi. Florence, 1770-1789.
GazBA : Gazette des Beaux Arts
JSAH : Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
JWCI : Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MittFlor : Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz
MOPH : Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica
Protocolli : Protocolli del Carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1473-74, 1477-92. Edited by M. del Piazzo. Florence, 1956.
RenQ : Renaissance Quarterly
Vasari-Milanesi : Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori. Edited by G. Milanesi. Florence, 1878-81.

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CHAPTER ONE: NOTES

1. M. Baxandall, "Rudolph Agricola on patrons efficient and patrons final: a renaissance discrimination," BM 124 (1982):424-25. Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 207 and F.W. Kent, "Più superba," 322 (citing Filarete) have both made a distinction between the patron's paternity and the artist's maternal operation.

2. E.H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art" in Italian Renaissance Studies, ed E. Jacob (London, 1960), repr in his Norm and Form, 35-57; a similar view had been proposed in Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, Ch 7 and A. Chastel, Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique (Paris, 1959). Barfucci's Lorenze de' Medici, first pub in 1945, was rather general and romantic.

A revision was perhaps begun in M. Martelli, Studi Laurenziani (Florence, 1965) and his "I pensieri architettonici del Magnifico," Commentari 17 (1966):107-11; see also Ch 2 n 176 and the works by Etam, Foster and F.W. Kent cited there; also P.E. Foster, "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florence Cathedral Facade," AB 63 (1981):495-500; F.W. Kent, "Poggio," and Morselli and Corti, S.Maria delle Carceri.

3. See esp Bulman (cited in Ch 2 n 38); Craven, "Patronage in Florence 1494-1512" (incl 8, 22-23, 58, 89, for noting that family occasions like marriage and death led to patronage of the arts); Glasser, Artists' Contracts; Luchs, Cestello (esp 38: "a broader and perhaps more representative case study"); Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 240f, Ch 8. Filippo Strozzi has received much attention recently: Borsook, "Lecceto" and "S.Maria Novella"; Friedman (cited in Ch 5 n 84); Goldthwaite, "Strozzi Palace"; Sale, Strozzi Chapel; Winternitz (cited in Ch 6 n 112). For the study of a patron active in the mid Quattrocento see the volume on Giovanni Rucellai, esp F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron" and Preyer, "Rucellai Palace." Stimulating and wide-ranging comments on patronage are offered in Gundersheimer, "Patronage in the Renaissance"; D. Kent, Rise, esp Introduction and Pt I; F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage.

4. See the plates in Birbari and Polidori-Calamadrei (each cited in Ch 7 n 106), passim; also Herald (cited in Ch 7 n 11), Pls 125-26, 131, 137, 140, col pl 15 and Levi-Pisetzky (cited in Ch 7 n 8), Pls 102, 105, 107, 111, 113, 114, 118, 130, 168. In Niccolini di Camugliano, Chronicles of a Florentine Family, pls opp pp 94, 138, 142, 144, Ghirlandaio's frescoes illustrate costume and the Sasseti altarpiece is shown for its "example of the red breed of cattle." Ghirlandaio is taken literally and as an exemplar of historical reality in such surveys of the period as Bargellini (cited in Ch 7 n 1), Welliver (cited in Ch 2 n 220) and Weiser-von Inffeld (cited in Ch 3 n 144); see also Ch 7 at n 118. G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, is the only English monograph on the artist of any substance, but is very out-of-date, defending the artist's religious and humane impetus but also saying that "he is the simple straightforward historian of the outward appearances of the life of the Renaissance": see esp 49-50, 118-20, 146, 152. Burke, Tradition and Innovation, 40f treats Ghirlandaio's works as an example of "domestic realism"; see also Marchini in n 10 below.

5. F. Hartt, A History of Italian Renaissance Art (London, 1970), esp 304, 303; repeated in the revised edition (1980), 353-54, although he now adds: "Gradually, in the last two decades, Ghirlandaio's real qualities have become appreciated again. After closer study, his art has shown at least three important characteristics ... [firstly] the freshest and most consistent color sense of any Florentine painter of his day ... [secondly, an ability] to compose figures and architectural spaces into a complex unity beyond that achieved by Quattrocento painters anywhere else ... [and thirdly] his reserve veils an unsurpassed delicacy in the analysis of character" (cf Beck, at n 14 below, on the characterisation).

Berenson, Italian Painters, 83-84, 155 also criticised both Ghirlandaio and his patrons, since only "the superior philistine of Florence" enjoyed this artist who was neither "significant" nor decorative. Hope (cited and quoted in Ch 7 n 147), similarly believes that "Ghirlandaio was one of the most popular Florentine artists of his generation, if by no means the most talented."

6. The first word is from the assessment of a Milanese envoy, c 1488 (Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 26) who, like Giovanni Santi (Gilbert, Documents, 99) and Luca Paccioli (van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:117), coupled Ghirlandaio with Botticelli and Filippino Lippi. The other words quoted here are from the contract between the Ghirlandaio brothers and Giovanni Tornabuoni in 1485: Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 173, 175. For favourable judgements by contemporaries see also Ch 5 n 190 and Vasari-Milanesi III:272-73; for his frequent employment by the Tornabuoni, Ch 4 at n 134. Sabatini's defence of the artist in 1944, against the prevailing opinions of Ruskin and Berenson, also cited the anonymous envoy and Vasari: Ghirlandaio, 1ff. On the other hand, Verino's list of Florentine artists written in 1488 neglects Ghirlandaio: Gilbert, 192-93 (cf his inclusion of the now dead artist in 1503: van Marle, 117).

7. The first quotation is from Borsook, "S.Maria Novella," 745 (although in Mural Painters, li, Ghirlandaio is recognised as "extremely adept in painting illusions of space and mass"); the second quotation is from Hartt (cited in n 5), 308, repeated in the revised ed, 358.

8. J. Burckhardt, The Cicerone. An Art Guide to Painting in Italy (London, 1918), 72; G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 116; Sabatini, Ghirlandaio, 1, 19; Steinmann, Ghirlandajo, 59, 65; H. Wölfflin, Classic Art, trans P. and L. Murray (London, 1953), 15, 129-30, 161-63; Ch 2 n 230. For the association between Fra Bartolommeo and the Ghirlandaio school see E. Fahy, "The Beginnings of Fra Bartolommeo," BM 108 (1966):456-63; idem, "The Earliest Works of Fra Bartolommeo," AB 51 (1969):142ff.

Raphael's awareness of Ghirlandaio probably first arose through Perugino who had worked with Domenico in the Sistine Chapel and who was in and out of Florence from at least 1486 to after 1497, probably visiting the Ghirlandaio shop (Camesasca, Perugino, 83-84). A recently discovered compositional sketch, attributed to Perugino or the young Raphael, for the Birth of the Virgin scene in the predella of Perugino's Fano altarpiece (1488-97: S. Ferino-Pagden, "Pintoricchio, Perugino or the young Raphael? A problem of connoisseurship," BM 125 [1983]:87-88, fig 28), may even be in fact a first sketch by Ghirlandaio for the subject in S.Maria Novella, on a

sheet then accidentally or deliberately passed on to the Perugino shop. The quick summary style, fluid graphic ease, airy space, angular blocking of the faces, stick-like legs, and group of three around the child, for instance, all recall Ghirlandaio's larger and fuller sketch for the Birth in the British Museum (Pl 27). Indeed Shearman notes that the drawing looks "like the work of a contemporary of Ghirlandaio": BM 126 (1984):403.

9. Cadogan, "Aspects of Ghirlandaio's Drawings," 282ff and idem (cited in n 13); Fahy first noted a relationship between the drawings of Ghirlandaio and Leonardo in 1969 (cited in n 8), 152-53; see also his Followers, 70-71 and "Michelangelo," esp 156. For Michelangelo as a pupil see Ch 2 n 230; for another relationship in their drawings, Gilbert, "Masaccio's Sagra." Grossman, "Ghirlandaio's 'Madonna and Child,'" esp 108 and n 29 accepts Fahy on Leonardo and grants an early, senior role to Ghirlandaio: "The Verrocchiesque paintings which can now be confidently attributed to him show not only that Ghirlandaio was for a period the leading painter in Verrocchio's workshop but also that it was he who exercised the initial influence on Leonardo" (113f, esp 120).

J. Beck, Italian Renaissance Painting (New York, 1981), 335 and Hartt (revised edition, cited in n 5), 357, note the influence of Ghirlandaio's compositions and spatial handling on Michelangelo. More generally, a continuity between the later Quattrocento and the High Renaissance has been suggested by Goldberg (cited in Ch 2 n 229) and Summers, Michelangelo, 249.

10. J. Ruskin, Mornings in Florence (London, 1901), 24-27; BB Drawings I:136 (see also n 5 here); O. Fischel, Raphael (Berlin, 1962 ed), 5, 95; Hendy (cited in Ch 3 n 198). See also Kennedy, Baldovinetti, 205 n 42; F.J. Mather, A History of Italian Painting (New York, 1951 ed), 187, 193; Pope-Hennessy, as quoted in Ch 2 at n 5; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 47, 244, 292-93; G. Davies and Burke, quoted in n 4 above. Sabatini's essay is still a worthwhile introduction (Ghirlandaio, 18f on the frescoes in S.Maria Novella) and influenced Marchini, "Ghirlandaio, Domenico," who nevertheless emphasises the artist's "worldly and everyday, ... documentary" aspects (esp col 322).

11. NA, M 237, ff 159r-160r; here amended from the translation in Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 172-75. The contract was first pub by G. Milanese in Il Buonarroti, n.s. 3, II/X (Jan 1887):335-38; then in G.B. Cavalcaselle and J.A. Crowe, Storia della pittura in Italia (Florence, 1896), VII:296f and Milanese, Nuovi documenti, 134-36. All have omitted "villes"; G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 170-72 and subsequently Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 18, Chambers, and Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 227-28, have also omitted "aquis." The contract is discussed in Glasser, Artists' Contracts, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 25 n 2, 26-27, 32-37 passim, 41, 42, 53, 81, 112, 141-45, 150-51, 206.

12. Trinkaus, "Recent Studies," 688; for the inscription see esp Ch 7 at n 35. D. Norman's review of Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, in AH 6 (1973):225-26 acutely criticises the reading of Ghirlandaio's "realism" as a worldly and irreligious style.

13. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, Ch IV, with English summary, 247 (often rather emblematic: see Ch 7 nn 90, 115, 119 below). Recent studies include Ames-Lewis, "Drapery 'pattern'-drawings";

Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits"; Behrends (cited in Ch 7 n 91); Cadogan, "Aspects of Ghirlandaio's Drawings"; J. Cadogan, "Linen drapery studies by Verrocchio, Leonardo and Ghirlandaio," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 46 (1983):27-62; Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique"; Dobrick (cited in Ch 6 n 85), 356, 359; Fahy, esp Followers; Grossman, "Ghirlandaio's 'Madonna and Child'"; O'Leary (cited in Ch 6 n 3); Rosenauer, "Frühen Werke"; Ross (cited in Ch 5 n 139 and Ch 6 n 3); Thomas, "Classical reliefs." The Sassetti chapel has attracted most attention: see the studies by Borsook and Offerhaus and the bibliography cited in their History and Legend, and Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes."

14. Beck (cited in n 9), 274, 268; similar to the assessment of the altarpiece made by Hartt (revised edition, cited in n 5), 357; cf the more traditional study, J. Mesnil, "L'Influence flamande chez Domenico Ghirlandaio," La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne 29 (1911):61-76. The most recent comment on Ghirlandaio and the Flemish influence is in L. Campbell, "Memlinc and the followers of Verrocchio," BM 125 (1983):675-76, with letter by A. Wengraf, BM 126 (1984):91-92.

15. Burckhardt (cited in n 8), 67. Wölfflin (cited in n 8), 12, 14-15, 217-18, 231-33, although mixed, was often positive in his reaction to Ghirlandaio too.

16. C. Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1972), repr in his The Interpretation of Cultures (London, 1975), 412-53, esp 448. The nature in which art could authenticate and affirm is also noted by Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', 34: "The believable presence in an idealized form was one more means through which society could be persuaded to believe in itself."

17. Pointed out in the review of Schuyler, Busts, by M.D. Garrard, AB 61 (1979):486.

18. Burckhardt, Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, esp Parts 2 and 4; also his Cicerone (cited in n 8), 57-60. His stress on "realism" and "individualism" is accepted by Burke, Tradition and Innovation, Chs 1 and 2, but placed in an illuminating context by H. White, Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe (Baltimore, 1973), Ch 6, esp 235-37, 254-59. Individualism is still highlighted in A. Heller, Renaissance Man (London, 1978), esp Ch 7 "Individuality, knowledge of man, self-knowledge, autobiography," also 9, 264-65, 361, 403.

19. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth and "Palaces"; Becker, "Quest for Identity" and "Individualism"; also, eg, Heller (cited in n 18), esp 260-61, 443 and Lesnick, "Dominican Preaching." Cf Trinkaus, "Recent Studies," for a critical review of current thinking (1976). Goldthwaite's continued stress on individualism in his Building has received critical comment in reviews: Burroughs, AH 6 (1983):359-63; R. Starn, AB 65 (1983):332, 334.

20. F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 298; see the works by these authors cited in the bibliography here. A convenient summary of literature up to 1976 is available in F.W. Kent's review of Heers. A more recent survey of thinking on all periods is L. Stone, "Family History in the 1980s. Past Achievements and Future Trends," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 12 (Summer 1981):51-87, esp 72f, who

concludes that a more private and bourgeois family developed between 1650 and 1850.

21. Quoted by F.W. Kent in his review of Heers, 78. For emotional life and the use of letters see the example by E. Swain, "Faith in the Family: The Practice of Religion by the Gonzaga," Journal of Family History 8 (1983):177-89, esp 181-82, which treats "the collective self-consciousness of the Gonzaga" in the 15th century.

22. Gage, Life in Italy, 23, also 14; Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 90, 98, also 113-14.

23. Even A. Molho's review essay on F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, would only extend the realms of sociability and investigate such matters as less aristocratic families and "spiritual kinship" ties formed through god-parenthood or marriage: "Visions of the Florentine Family in the Renaissance," Journal of Modern History 50 (1978):304-11. D. Herlihy's review of that book and of Brucker, Civic World and D. Kent, Rise, in Medievalia et Humanistica 10 (1981):229-33, specifically addresses these studies in the light of Burckhardt's thesis and finds that "this classical interpretation retains its power to stimulate, if not always to convince."

24. Weissmann, Ritual Brotherhood, 26ff; also his "The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations in Renaissance Florence," paper presented at the Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 23 May 1983.

25. Gundersheimer, "Patronage in the Renaissance," esp 19, places a valuable stress on "the networks of mental attitudes and social connections that provide ... [the] supportive structures" of patronage. See Ch 7 Section F here, esp n 179, for the corporate and moral basis of "fame."

26. Alazard, Portrait Florentin, 51; I. Lavin, "Bust"; Lipman, "Florentine Profile Portrait"; Pope-Hennessy, "The Portrait Bust" in his Renaissance Sculpture; idem, Portrait, esp Ch 1; Schuyler, Busts, heading on p 11: "The Craving for fame: the main motivational force." Other examples include B. Cole, The Renaissance Artist at Work (London, 1983), 166; K. Garas, Italian Renaissance Portraits (Budapest, 1965), 5-7; H. Klotz, "Formen der Anonymität und des Individualismus in der Kunst des Mittelalters und der Renaissance," Gesta 15 (1976):303-12; R.M. Letts, The Renaissance (Cambridge, 1981), 44-47; T. de Mauro et al., "Portraiture" in Encyclopaedia of World Art (New York, 1966), XI:cols 487f, incl the Renaissance "cult of the individual"; Moulton (cited in Ch 2 n 58), esp 27, 35; A. Smith, Renaissance Portraits (London, 1973), 14. Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen, Secular Painting, 4, 56-63, briefly recognises the "commemorative and documentary" nature of portraits, but by describing Filippo Lippi's Double Portrait in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, as "a family manifesto rather than ... a portrait in the modern sense," the preoccupation with a narrow sense of portraiture remains (for further criticism, see Ch 2 nn 78, 109, 119).

For other approaches, in which individualism is not central, see Brilliant, "On Portraits," who stresses that such areas as patronage and artistic conventions must be considered; Castelnovo, "Il significato del ritratto"; Debs, "From eternity to here"; Hatfield, "Early Renaissance Portraits"; Keller, "Die Entstehung des

Bildnisses"; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 110f, 290f; Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', 6-8, 14; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 94-98, 169-72 combines individualism with several other perceptive comments, although overall he saw worldly fame as the increasing motivation for all patronage. R. Starn's review of Trexler, Public Life, notes one of that study's implications for portraiture: "self-display was more a function of dynastic pride or of princely pretensions than of the individual ego" (AB 65 [1983]:334).

27. Valla is quoted by C. Trinkaus, "Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious: Petrarch, Salutati, Valla," Studies in the Renaissance 11 (1964):40; the Tornabuoni priest by Maguire, Medici Women, 207-08 n 40 (J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 173 omits this phrase), a statement uttered in the very act of seeking patronage.

28. Hatfield, "Early Renaissance Portraits," esp 326; for Filippo Strozzi see n 52 here and Ch 4 n 56. F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 75, explicitly argues against individualism for such men as Filippo Strozzi and Giovanni Rucellai.

29. A. Strozzi, Lettere, 57; the English quotation is from Brucker, Documentary Study, 63. On the importance of honour see also Alberti, Family, passim, eg 201; Brucker, 66; Kirshner, Monte delle Doti; Kuehn, "Honour and Conflict."

30. D. Kent, Rise, esp 15, 19, also 108-09, 190f; also her "Florentine reggimento"; also Brucker, Civic World, 255, 303, 312. For Gondi see Rubinstein, Government, 126; translated in Gage, Life in Italy, 21.

31. Rinuccini is translated in Watkins, Humanism and Liberty, 212. See also Alberti, Family, 26-28, 44, 178; Landino's Disputationes Camaldulenses in Garin, Prosatori latini, 748; O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 168f for Poggio and preachers.

32. Becker, "Quest for Identity" and "Individualism"; B.Z. Kedar, Merchants in Crisis. Genoese and Venetian men of affairs and the fourteenth-century depression (New Haven, 1976); Kuehn, "Honour and Conflict" and Emancipation, 63f; Kinsman, Darker Vision of the Renaissance, esp L. Martines, "The Gentleman in Renaissance Italy: Strains of Isolation in the Body Politic" and L. White, Jr. "Death and the Devil"; Price-Zimmermann, "Confession"; R. Starn, "Petrarch's Consolation on Exile: A Humanist Use of Adversity" in Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore, eds S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), I:241-54; Trexler, esp "Search," Public Life and "Honour Among Thieves" (cited in Ch 2 n 219). See Ch 2 n 178 for "golden age" and attesa.

33. See Ch 6 n 94 for the device; esp Ch 3 Section E for Giovanni. Goldthwaite's studies include "Palace," Building and "The Empire of Things: Consumer Culture in Renaissance Italy" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage.

34. Weissman's paper (cited in n 24). On ricordi, manuals etc, see esp Kuehn, Emancipation, 57f and Ullmann, Medieval Foundations, 68-70, 177ff.

35. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 32-33 (1490); Dominici, On the

Education of Children (cited in Ch 2 n 187), 37. For the efficacy of the visual see Ch 2 Section B; for the socialising role of art in relation to marriage see esp Callmann, Apollonio, 39ff; on ritual and display esp Trexler, Public Life. Alberti's Della Pittura was aware of art's educational role and was itself typified by "the nature of an address ... to a physically present audience": Spencer (cited in Ch 2 n 201), 31.

36. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 6; from the translation in D. Thompson and A.F. Nagel (eds) The Three Crowns of Florence. Humanist Assessments of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio (New York, 1972), 88. A similar statement is made by Giannozzo Manetti's On the Dignity of Man: Murchland, Two Views of Man, 102; for S. Antonino, see Ch 7 at n 192; see also Ch 7 n 179. Alberti wrote of architecture as an aesthetic and moral duty: "we decorate our houses as much to adorn our fatherland and family as for the sake of elegance" and this is the "duty of a good man": J. Onians, "Alberti and [Filarete]: A Study in Their Sources," JWCI 34 (1971):100 and passim. See also Alberti, Family, 135; O'Malley, Praise and Blame, Ch 5 "The Ideal of the Christian Life"; Westfall, Perfect Paradise, esp 33, Ch 3; Ch 2 nn 144, 173, 179 here. Despite Wackernagel's awareness of the interpenetration of religious and "worldly" motivations, he tended to see "fame" and realism as irreligious: Florentine Renaissance Artist, esp 292-95, cf review by D. Norman in AH 6 (1983):225-26.

37. E. Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (Stockholm, 1960), esp Ch I; also C. Davis, "Il Buon Tempo Antico" in Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence, ed N. Rubinstein (London, 1968), 45-69; J. Spencer, "Rinascere a vedere" in Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964 (Berlin, 1967), III:234-36; R.N. Watkins, "Petrarch and the Black Death: From Fear to Monuments," Studies in the Renaissance 19 (1972):196-223; E. Wind, "Platonic Tyranny and the Renaissance Fortuna. On Ficino's Reading of Laws IV, 709 A - 712 A" in Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky (New York, 1961), 491-96.

38. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend and "Storia e Leggenda"; Sasseti is quoted from Gombrich, "Personification," 255; Mazzei from Jones, "Florentine Families," 202 and n 162.

39. The first phrase is a paraphrase of Bruni by A. Brown, "Pater Patriae," 191; the second from Lorenzo Ghiberti, Commentarii (Courtauld Institute, London, n.d.), 7. Other examples incl P.W.G. Jordan (ed) Two Renaissance Book Hunters. The letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de' Niccolis (New York, 1974), 176; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 91 (Antonio Lanfredini in 1484 on the brevity of life); Wilcox, Humanist Historiography, 8. Family ricordi "were concerned with preserving honour and resources; ... with preserving the family in the face of many real threats to its continued existence": Kuehn, Emancipation, 63.

40. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 3; translated in Thompson and Nagel (cited in n 36), 84.

41. Ghiberti (cited in n 39), 22; the poet is Bartolomeo Aragazzi, quoted in Caplow, Michelozzo, 226. On Lorenzo see esp A. Chastel, "Melancholia in the sonnets of Lorenzo de' Medici," JWCI 8

(1945):61-67.

42. Price-Zimmermann, "Confession"; Ullmann, Medieval Foundations, 177-80; Ch 2 at n 211.

43. Rucellai, Zibaldone, 2 (see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 55, 113-14 too); Dati in Brucker, Two Memoirs, 124.

44. Borsook, "Lecceto," 9 and Doc 19 (Strozzi); Ch 3 at n 125f (Tornabuoni).

45. For the chapel see Ch 7 passim, esp n 100, with the Ficino quotation from the Davies translation cited there, p 47. For family pride and the desire for protection in a Venetian group portrait see P. Pouncey, "The Miraculous Cross in Titian's 'Vendramin Family,'" JWCI 2 (1938-39):191-93.

46. Becker, "Quest for Identity" and "Individualism." In Petarch's words, "fear, negotium, and trouble" could create "full vigour": Trinkaus (cited in n 27), 12. Men "desperately sought new sources of security and identity": Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 101.

47. Alberti, Family, 186.

48. Ficino, Letters, I:150; probably derived from Seneca's Letter I to Lucilius ("who understands that he is dying daily?"), of some interest to humanists (see Panizza [cited in Ch 4 n 89], esp 41, 53). See also Ficino, I:94 ("We must live today, since he who lives for tomorrow never lives"); Watkins (cited in n 37), 217.

49. Kuehn, Emancipation, 57 cf Alberti, Family, 185. The importance of seeing is poignantly voiced by Donato Acciaiuoli, who commented in 1456 on the void created by his father's death: "I had barely seen the light when I lost my father; I never once set eyes upon him, nor did I ever know him..." (M. Ganz, "Donato Acciaiuoli and the Medici: A Strategy for Survival in '400 Florence," Rinascimento, ser 2, 22 [1982]:38). On fathers and education see also Alberti, Family, esp Bk I; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, Ch 2; Kuehn, 57f; Palmieri, Della vita civile, esp 19. Gundersheimer has now perceptively and briefly noted the importance of "dynastic continuity" and the way in which patrons sought to belong to "a great continuum, extending deep into the past and far into the future": "Patronage in the Renaissance," 20.

50. Ficino, Letters, I:92, see also 120-21, 160, II:49-50, 66. For Lorenzo see esp Ch 3 at n 171f and Ch 7 Section C.

51. Watkins, Humanism and Liberty, 143. Barbaro spoke of the "well born" who "understand that the image [imagines] of their parents is more of a burden than an honour unless they prove themselves by their own virtue worthy of the dignity and greatness of their ancestors": King, "Caldiera and the Barbaros on marriage and the family," 33.

52. Ficino, Letters, I:151; see also Ch 2 at n 212. On "remaking" see Ch 2 n 212; the first quotation here is from Brucker, Documentary Study, 41; the second from Alberti, Family, 113 (see also 47); see also Ch 2 at n 208f; at n 61 here; Kohl and Witt, Earthly Republic, 136 (Bruni); Paleotti, Discorso, 337 (on portraits used to prove family resemblance); Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 8, 17, on Filippo Strozzi's

desire "rifare la nostra casa"; A. Strozzi, Lettere, 61, 599. For the Tornaquinci practice of naming, see esp Ch 3 nn 37, 38, 167.

53. Morelli, Ricordi, 82; translated in Kent, Household and Lineage, 252, 296. For councillors on this continuum see the references to Brucker in Ch 2 n 145; see also Alberti, Family, esp 31, 40, 44; D. Kent, Rise, 45, 142. For an instance where memorial masses were to be heard with consorti present and for the salvation of the souls "of his ancestors and future descendants" see D.V. Kent and F.W. Kent, "Temperani," 246 n 3.

54. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 6; translated in Thompson and Nagel (cited in n 36), 88; Niccolini (Bec), 95. See also Alberti, Family, passim; Brucker, "Medici," 1; for the importance of conserving family heritage and honour.

55. Paoletti, Discorso, 341, see also 339-40. De Mauro et.al. (cited in n 26), col 492 only cites what is p 337 in this edition, earlier in Ch XX, to make Paoletti sound more restrictive, whereas the Cardinal does recognize the familial, inspirational role of portraiture. For other examples of art as inspirational and for exemplary images see Jenkins, State Portrait, 4-5; Vergerio in W. Gundersheimer (ed) The Italian Renaissance (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), 28, 34-35; Watkins, Humanism and Liberty, 123, 143 (n 51 above); Ch 2 Section D iii, incl n 204; n 63 here (Colonna).

56. G. Szabo, The Robert Lehman Collection (New York, 1975), 58 for the diptych by Lorenzo Costa; R. Salvini, All the Paintings of Botticelli (London, 1965), Pt 2, Pl 132 for a Youth from the Botticelli circle, in the Musee des Beaux Arts, Besançon.

57. See Ch 7 at n 67.

58. See n 114 below for 1394 (note that the ancestor commemorated was not simply the man's father); P. Bacci, "Documenti e commenti per la Storia dell'Arte," L'Arti 3 (1940-41):353-70 (1455).

59. The quotations here are from Ficino, Letters, I:43-44, 50, 165; for physiognomy see 122-23, 185. On a Renaissance interest in physiognomy see M. Barasch, "Character and Physiognomy: Bocchi on Donatello's St. George. A Renaissance Text on Expression in Art," Journal of the History of Ideas 36 (1975):413-30; M. Barasch, "A Silenus Surviving in Nicola Pisano," AB 58 (1976):13-18; P. Meller, "Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits" in Studies in Western Art. Acts of the XX International Congress of the History of Art (Princeton, 1963), II:53-69; Summers (cited in Ch 2 n 104). Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', 24-28 point out that physiognomic categories and stereotypes were counter to "the tabula rasa of Burckhardtian individualism."

60. Luchs, Cestello, 40, 159 n 7, 378-79; Walker (cited in Ch 4 n 78), 33 for Landino.

61. The first quotation is from A. Ferruolo, "Botticelli's Mythologies, Ficino's De Amore, Poliziano's Stanze per la Giostra: Their Circle of Love," AB 37 (1955):19; the latter from F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 46-47. See also the translation by Davies (cited in Ch 7 n 100), 37; Ch 2 at n 208f.

62. Burckhardt, Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, 247.

63. Gilbert, Documents, 97 (Santi); Alberti is quoted in Italian by Goffen, "Icon and Vision," 495 and Jenkins, State Portrait, 4 (who gives a similar statement from Biondo too); its translation is given in Ch 2 at n 29. Poggio Bracciolini wrote about a classical bust, a "lifeless thing," "as if it breathed and spoke": Krautheimer, Ghiberti, 303. Vittoria Colonna's belief that painting "makes present to us men long dead ... so that we may imitate their noble deeds" is reported by Hazard, "Renaissance Aesthetic Values," 18. In 1513 Julius II's portrait appeared to revivify this recently deceased Pope: Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', esp 1, 75, 79. Other examples include Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 71 (on Pisanello); G. Robertson, in a review of a book on Titian, BM 125 (1983):365 (a letter by Aretino).

64. Pliny, Natural History, esp XXXV, II, 6; see the classical statue of a patrician carrying busts of his ancestors: Schuyler, Busts, Pl 44. Pliny, Polybius and others are cited by Paoletti, Discorso, 316, 472, on arme and portraits.

65. A rough translation from the text in R. Weiss, Primo Secolo dell'umanesimo (Rome, 1949), 120-21; Giovanni da Ravenna also argued that "nobility dazzles us with rays of virtue, not with wealth and ancestral portraits" (Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators, 62). The issue was also addressed by Poggio Bracciolini: Watkins, Humanism and Liberty, 122ff passim.

66. Pliny, as cited in n 64; J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432," JWCI 28 (1965):145-62, esp Pls 27, 28 b; Scaglia (cited in Ch 2 n 100), 430.

67. C. Carnesecchi, "Un fiorentino del secolo XV e le sue ricordanze domestiche," ASI, ser 5, 4 (1889):165; Ch 3 n 44 for the Tornaquinci ricordo.

68. Ficino, Letters, II:66; Walker (cited in Ch 4 n 78), 34 (Landino); Santi at n 63 above; Alberti, Family, eg 49, 53 also uses the tree imagery for offspring.

69. Vasari-Milanesi III:168; quoted from the Everyman ed, II:51 cf Alberti (Spencer), 63 on "great pleasure."

70. Pliny, Natural History, XXXV, II, 6-7; Vasari-Milanesi III:373 (quoted from the Everyman ed, II:101). His life of Baldovinetti also mentioned portraits "nelle case dei discendenti loro, o di gesso o di pittura" and "ritratti in carta" left in his estate: Vasari-Milanesi II:595, 598.

71. For the early history see P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (New York, 1981), 261f and Caplow, Michelozzo, 182 n 70. Dante's mask is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; the Quattrocento examples are all illustrated in E. Benkard, Undying Faces: a collection of death masks (London, 1929).

On death masks see also Fusco (cited in n 72); E. MacLagan, "The Use of Death-masks by Florentine Sculptors," BM 43 (1923):303-04;

Pigler, "Portraying the dead"; J. Pohl, Die Verwendung des Naturabgusses in der italienischen Porträtplastik der Renaissance (Würzburg, 1938); Schlosser (cited in Ch 2 n 44); Schuyler, Busts, 114-45; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 94-95. M. Barasch, "Masks in Renaissance Art," Scripta Hierosolomytana (Studies in the Drama, XIX), Jerusalem, 1967, 75-87 discusses masks as symbols of death.

72. Cennini has often been cited (eg Schuyler, Busts, 116-17) but now Ghiberti has also been recognised by myself (see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 111 n 210) and L. Fusco, "The Use of Sculptural Models by Painters in Fifteenth-Century Italy," AB 64 (1982):182-83, who also correctly notes that Ghiberti's interpolations to Pliny suggest personal experience of the technique.

73. Possible examples incl those discussed by P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (New York, 1981), 261f; Caplow, Michelozzo, 181f; Fusco (cited in n 72), fig 28; Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes"; MacLagan (cited in n 71); Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 47; Schuyler, Busts, 114ff; n 116 below.

74. Berenson, "Nova Ghirlandajana," esp fig 6; Castelnovo, "Il significato del ritratto," 1053; Gilbert, "Renaissance Portrait," 284; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 56, figs 54, 55.

75. For portraiture of Dante see esp Gombrich (cited in Ch 2 n 117); for S. Bernardino, esp Mode (cited in Ch 2 n 38).

76. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 75f, who notes the "two assumptions implicit in this account: that these men formed a group and that their critical intelligence was brought to bear upon artistic problems."

77. Palmieri, Della vita civile, incl 122-23 (and at n 84 here) and Baron (cited in Ch 2 n 144) on magnificence. Martines, Social World, 198 is quoted here; for biography, incl the mediocre station of his ancestors, see also Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 262ff and Vespasiano, Le Vite, I:563-67. For contacts with the Tornabuoni see Ch 3 n 116, Ch 4 n 101.

78. Ficino, Letters, I:113. For La città di vita see Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, cols 74ff; M. Davies, London, 122-27; Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 319f; Vespasiano, Le Vite, I:565-66.

79. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 5. On this mutual imagery see also Ady, "Morals and Manners," 181; Alberti, "De Iciarhia" in Opere volgari, II:266-68; legislation of 1470 speaking of "this body which we call city" (Kirshner and Molho, "Marriage Market," 438); J. Najemy, "Guild Republicanism in Trecento Florence ...," American Historical Review 84 (1979):53-71, 69.

80. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 70, 44, also 85, 93, 122, 128, 136. For similar concentric or overlapping circles in Ficino see his "Platonic Theology," translated by J.L. Burroughs, in Journal of the History of Ideas 5 (1944):235 and nn 83, 118 below. For other instances of an organic continuity in Ficino see at n 68 here and Ch 7 n 64.

81. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 136; partly translated in F.W.

Kent, Household and Lineage, 14.

82. Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," esp 323-25, also 256, 267-68, 271-72, 299. Contemporaries saw Matteo as the head of his own household: Vespasiano, Le Vite, I:563, 565, cf Martines, Social World, 191.

83. Ficino, Letters, II:66, 67; for the altarpiece n 86 below.

84. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 164; part translated in Holmes, Florentine Enlightenment, 168.

85. Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 266, 275, 322-23, with burials and offices at S. Pier Maggiore on 271, 299, 317, 318, 325; also Palmieri, Della vita civile, 123, 151, 164 on villas and loggie; Carocci, Dintorni, 106; I. Lavin, "Bust," 213; Rinuccini, Lettere, 78-85; Schuyler, Busts, 10 and n 19.

86. For the ms. see Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, col 74ff; BB Drawings I:71-72, II:no 588; F. Gurrieri (ed) Disegni nei Manoscritti Laurenziani. Secoli X-XVII (Florence, 1979), 192; Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 318.

For the altarpiece see A.M. Brizio, "Un'opera giovanile del Botticelli," L'Arte 36 (1933):108-19; M. Davies, London, 122-27; Messeri, 318, 320f; Vasari-Milanesi III:314-15.

87. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 168, 176 (my emphases); see also at n 36 above and S. Antonino, quoted in Ch 7 at n 192.

88. Literature incl I. Lavin, "Bust," 213, n 10 no 9; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 75f and Renaissance Sculpture, 48, 51, 280, 282; Schuyler, Busts, 10, 16-17, 24f, 154-55. It is notable that in 1468 Matteo was an ambassador in Rome and then in Nov-Dec a prior (when Niccolò Tornabuoni was Gonfaloniere: Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 308f, 311, 335-37; Ch 4 n 101).

89. For Pliny and Vasari see at n 70 above; Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto," 1051; I. Lavin, "Bust," 208, figs 3, 4; Schuyler, Busts, 10, 24-28, figs 14, 15 for placement. The latter two cite panels by Jacopo del Sellaio which show busts positioned above a doorway, but the significance of the parallel with arme has not been noted. See Borsook, "Lecceto," Doc 37 for the Strozzi arme; Ch 4 n 26 for the Tornaquinci ones; Savonarola in Gilbert, Documents, 158 also referred to the practice; Shapley, Catalogue, Pl 231 for the "Sassetta." On this interchangeability see also Ch 2 at n 84f. Portraits and/or arme could also be displayed above the household fireplace.

90. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 77; from Palmieri, Della vita civile, 167.

91. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 132; partly translated in F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 253. Morelli commented that "no seed [seme] remained from" his sister: Ricordi, 182, translated in Trexler, "Search," 232.

92. Palmieri, Della vita civile, 85. It was important to Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 76, that Palmieri was a friend of Neri

Capponi, yet the only evidence cited for this remains Matteo's introductory letter to his De captivitate Pisarum liber (F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 291 and Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 270), which could have resulted primarily from Neri's key role in that conflict.

93. Literature on the tomb incl F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, esp 104-05, 291; Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 42, 277, 282; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 69-74, 114-17, 166, figs 114-20, with bibliography on 115. For Neri see esp G. Cavalcanti, Istorie Fiorentine, ed F. Polidori (Florence, 1838), II:434-43; Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, esp 189-94; F.W. Kent, esp 73, 104-05, 128-29, 137, 158, 202-03, 264-65, 272, 283; Martines, Social World, passim.

S. Spirito was a particular Capponi locus: Neri himself was on the rebuilding committee and, in all, 4 chapels there were held by the Capponi, one of them a communal chapel for the entire lineage. Neri's son Gino paid money "per la chappella della chasa della consorteria" in 1469 and 1483, as well as improving another chapel where his grandfather, father, self and son found burial. Throughout the Quattrocento, Capponi members, incl Neri, shared the expenses of family masses held for St. Nicholas, the general "protector of our house." On this see esp Kent, 104-05, 264-66, 272; Schulz, passim; Craven, "Patronage in Florence 1494-1512," 9f.

94. See Cavalcanti (cited in n 93), esp 439-40, 442 for the will; also F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 73, 137.

95. On the importance of such helmets see Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 109-10, 221 n 2; on a possible Tornabuoni example, Ch 4 at n 143 here.

96. On the chapel's decoration see esp S. Craven, "Three dates for Piero di Cosimo," BM 117 (1975):572-76; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 104-05, 283; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 69-74, 166.

97. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 75, 78 cf his Renaissance Sculpture, 277, 282. See Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 69, 72-73, for the date and death-mask.

98. Cavalcanti (cited in n 93), 439.

99. I. Lavin, "Bust," 213; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 73.

100. Quoted at n 63. A family palace could have a similar function: for Filippo Strozzi's, see Ch 4 n 56; for others see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 48-49, 70.

101. Literature incl M. Battistini, "Giovanni Chellini, medico di S. Miniato," Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali 18 (1927):106-17; Caplow, Michelozzo, 518ff; H.W. Janson, "Giovanni Chellini's Libro and Donatello" in Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für L.H. Heydenreich, eds W. Lotz and L. Mötler (Munich, 1964), 131-38; R. Lightbown, "Giovanni Chellini, Donatello and Antonio Rossellino," BM 104 (1962):102-04; de Maddalena, "Archives Saminati"; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 75f; Renaissance Sculpture, 47, 282; Victoria and Albert Museum, 124-26; A. Radcliffe and C. Avery, "The 'Chellini Madonna' by Donatello," BM 118 (1976):377-87; A.M. Schulz, "The Tomb of Giovanni Chellini at San Miniato al Tedesco," AB 51 (1969):317-32; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, esp 72, 75-81, 117-20, with bibliography;

Schuyler, Busts, 150-54.

102. Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 47; Victoria and Albert Museum, 125; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 72 accepts the notion of a Tife mask. The other quotation is from Lightbown (cited in n 101), 104.

103. For the texts of Cennini and Ghiberti see n 72. The sitter's smile sets the whole configuration of the facial bones and flesh, so is not the result of a simple intervention by the artist imposed later upon the mask. Nor is it clear how a terracotta mask was used in the carving of a marble work. Like the mirror (see esp Ch 2 n 207), the mask would only have been a first, observational tool, then considerably re-shaped by the values and visual intelligence of artist and patron.

104. Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 47, where he also speaks of the "whole man" in the same paragraph, like I. Lavin, "Bust," placing humanism hand-in-hand with individualism.

105. For the bust see Pope-Hennessy, Victoria and Albert Museum, 124; the tomb's inscription is quoted at n 113 below; see Lightbown (cited in n 101), 102 n 1, 103, 104 n 15 for the other matters.

106. A contemporary appreciation quoted in Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 282.

107. Here quoted from the translation in Radcliffe and Avery, 378; also discussed by Janson (each cited in n 101).

108. Lightbown (cited in n 101), 103; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 76; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 75.

109. Lightbown (cited in n 101), 103 for the guild; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 75 for the chapel.

110. Lightbown (cited in n 101), 102-04 passim: his library included 3 classical works and the Psalms of David and he was a lecturer at the University for 1401-03, then Vice-Rector, but his salary was on the lower end of the scale, judging by the figures in G. Brucker, "Florence and Its University, 1348-1434" in Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison (Princeton, 1969), 234 n 56, 236 n 66. Few staff there were long term, it was beset by economic and administrative troubles and was closed in 1407-13 (Brucker, 231, 224), perhaps the reason for Chellini's move into private practice.

111. Adapted from the translation of Lightbown (cited in n 101), 103, who gives "freedom of the city" for Cittadinanza.

112. Lightbown (cited in n 101), 103 and nn 12, 15; Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 75. The marriage of Tommaso in 1452 was the occasion for one of the two documented contacts between Chellini and Capponi. Neri acted as "operatore" for the bride's family, the Sacchetti, and his own wife was Selvaggia Sacchetti (Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, 188).

113. Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 118 for the inscription, 75 and 119 for the will of Feb 1460. On 23 Jan 1460 he made a large donation to

S. Domenico: Caplow, Michelozzo, 521. For the names of the nephew's sons see Battistini (cited in n 101), 116.

114. Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 51.

115. Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 76f.

116. Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 75, 81, fig 131. Desiderio da Settignano's tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal also employed death-casts of the face and hands. The sculptor was paid in 1463, four years after the Cardinal's death. See Hartt and Corti, Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 53, 82, 144 Doc 8; Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 47, 281.

117. Schuyler, Busts, 8-9, figs 8, 9; for Julius II's portrait placed on the altar see Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', esp 1, 75, 79.

118. Ficino, Letters, I:124.

119. For this dedication inscription, dated 1490, in the chapel, see esp Ch 7 at n 35. The contract for an altarpiece at S. Francesco di Palco in 1490 specified that Domenico Ghirlandaio was to do the heads (Milanesi, Nuovi documenti, 156; Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 15), as had another contract with him for a fresco at Settimo in 1487 (Fabriczy [cited in Ch 3 n 171], 257). For the Tornabuoni contract see the quotation at n 11 here.

CHAPTER TWO: NOTES

1. The quoted phrase is Gilbert's, in "Last Suppers," 371 who argues against a polarisation between "only two possible alternatives" in Renaissance art, realism and symbolism. A discussion pertinent to a fresh examination of the issue of naturalism has been offered in an article which arrived too recently to be used in the body of this thesis: C. Harbison, "Realism and Symbolism in Early Flemish Painting," AB 66 (1984):588-602.

A caution against associating paganism with a "secular outlook" is cited in n 176 below from Holmes, Florentine Enlightenment, 265-66; for dichotomies applied to the classical material in Ghirlandaio's frescoes see, eg, Ch 7 at nn 44, 47.

Recent thoughts of importance are offered by W. Hood, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo. Renaissance Art and Popular Religion" in Monasticism and the Arts, ed T. Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 291-311. Exceptions of course increase, an example treating portraiture being Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II,' notably a collaboration between an historian and an art historian.

The relationship of Renaissance art to "popular taste" has rarely been debated, whereas discussion amongst historians is lively on the horizontal and vertical ties in Florentine society: S. Bertelli, "Politology in the Florentine Republic," paper presented at the Frederick May Foundation Conference, Sydney, 4 May 1982; D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 8-9, 116-17; idem, "Temperani," esp 250; D.V. Kent, "The Dynamic of Power in Cosimo de' Medici's Florence" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage; Molho, "Cosimo"; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, incl 19f, 24 n 42, 40-41.

2. Trexler, "Charity"; Becker, "Lay Piety".

3. The wide network through which family aid could extend is treated in F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, esp Ch 3; D.V. and F.W. Kent, "Temperani." Variation in wealth amongst the Tornaquinci is discussed in Ch 3 esp n 50 below.

4. For example, see Hatfield, "Review," on the unconscious actions of a society, and Baxandall, Painting and Experience; Hatfield, Botticelli, xiv paraphrases Wind: "it is necessary for us to know more than the painter himself had to know."

5. Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, 30, 48.

6. L. Cendali, Giuliano e Benedetto da Maiano (San Casciano Val di Pesa, 1926), 182-84; now trans in Gilbert, Documents, 43-47. For further discussion on this issue see Section E below.

7. For Trexler see n 8; R. Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (London, 1949), Pt I. See esp Trinkaus, "Recent Studies" (quoted in Ch 1 at n 12) and Weinstein, "Critical Issues" (quoted in Ch 7 at n 61).

8. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 8, 18; elaborated in his Public Life, 54ff. Naturally there were exceptions, incl Salutati who distinctly spoke of "similitude" and the "ignorant vulgar" but who nevertheless believed that "simulcra of the crucified have sweated live blood" (Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 60-61 cf Trexler, Public Life,

68). Another valuable discussion on images as sacred is D. Freedberg, "The hidden god: image and interdiction in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century," AH 5 (1982):133-53, esp 138f.

9. Landucci, Diario, 368 (trans Trexler, "Sacred Image," 16); Rinuccini, Ricordi, lxxvii (16 April 1452). Other occasions not cited by Trexler in his "Sacred Image" include 14 May 1487 and Feb 1499 (Rossi, Ricordanze, 236, 276). See also D. Herlihy, "Santa Maria Impruneta: A Rural Commune in the late Middle Ages" in Florentine Studies, ed N. Rubinstein (London, 1968), 244f.

10. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 15 n 28, 19, 23 for the above. Conversely, an image which broke with its contract and no longer performed when man invoked its power, was destroyed or defiled (Ibid, 9f; Brucker, Documentary Study, 151-52; nn 11, 18 below). At other times, an image could be attacked because it represented too efficaciously the devil or an heretic: eg Sassetta's St. Anthony beaten by devils, Siena, Pinacoteca (Carli, Sassetta, Tav II); Botticini's Palmieri Altarpiece, (M. Davies, London, 122); a classical statue in Siena (H. van Os, "The Black Death and Sieneese painting: a problem of interpretation," AH 4 [1981]:246-47).

11. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 28 and n 65.

12. Gage, Life in Italy, 88 (my emphasis). If the translation is accurate, the active and present verb is telling.

13. Borsook, Mural Painters, fig 33; for another example see Goffen, "Icon and vision," 507 who also speaks of "the act of painting [as] an act of devotion;" for other instances of artists aware of efficacious imagery or acts see nn 30, 55 below.

14. See Ch 1 n 95.

15. Christiansen, Gentile, 46-47, Pl 59; Shapley, Catalogue, 197-99, Pl 137, with 3 other versions noted: Andrea di Giusto's is also reproduced in BM 112 (1970) opp. 766, fig 49, as it was in Berenson, Homeless, 278 with the comment that "the subject escapes my erudition and gift of guessing." Other depictions of the efficacy of a saint's tomb include Andrea di Firenze's Healing the Sick at the Tomb of St. Peter Martyr, Spanish Chapel, S. Maria Novella (Antal, Florentine Painting, Pl 63) and the Provencal Master of St. Sebastian's Pilgrims at a Sanctuary, (N. di Carpegna, Catalogue of the National Gallery Barberini Palace Rome [Rome, 1969], 39-40, Pl 100).

16. Trexler, "Setting," 125.

17. G. Brucker, "Sorcery in Early Renaissance Florence," Studies in the Renaissance 10 (1963):7-24; idem, Documentary Study, 260-73.

18. Brucker, "Sorcery," 18; idem, Documentary Study, 267. One "nobleman," executed in 1501 for throwing horsedung at an image of the Virgin, obviously had believed that the image could be effective and, conversely, blamed for ineffectuality (Landucci, Diario, 233; S. Edgerton, "A little-known 'purpose of art' in the Italian Renaissance," AH 2 [1979]:47, Pl 28). For votives commissioned by oligarchs see nn 44f, 135 below. Hood (cited in n 1) documents visits to Varallo by such figures as a Milanese chancellor in 1507 and

Cardinal Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in 1584.

19. Landucci, Diario, passim, incl 41-42, 44; n 8 above. An articulate, long letter from mother to daughter advised "nor to give heed to soothsayers, nor to their witchcraft and incantations," as though it were possible for others in her class to do so (Maguire, Medici Women, 11). Coral warding off the evil eye is shown in Renaissance paintings by such artists as Mantegna and Piero della Francesca: see L'Oreficeria, nos 205f.

20. Brucker, "Sorcery," 12-13 and n 16 for 1396; Trexler, Public Life, 61 for 1490. When Savonarola advised one "to take a skull in one's hand and contemplate it often" (Burke, Tradition and Innovation, 241), the reference to death is, in a sense, also future-oriented and contemplative of the head's form. Portraits such as Bernardino Licino's Young Man with a Skull, c 1510-20, (Lloyd, Ashmolean Museum, 98-100, Pl 71) could then be nuanced along with the notion of memento mori.

21. Zemon Davis, "Popular Religion," for instance, sees superstition, magic and so on as unfairly opposed to rationality; see also H. Geertz, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, I," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 6 (Summer 1975):71-89. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, esp Ch 1, addresses "sociability."

22. Condivi, Michelangelo, 6-7; cf 125 n 9 only links this with "the ancient metaphor of drinking at the breasts of Wisdom"; C. Klapisch-Zuber, "Genitori naturali e genitori di latte nella Firenze del Quattrocento," Quaderni Storici 44 (1980):543-63; Trexler, "Infanticide," 100f, 107 on a balia; Pagolo Morelli stayed "sempre in villa" with his balia until he was 10-12 years old, "poco meglio ch'un lavoratore" until his "gentile" and virtuous nature triumphed in the city (Morelli, Ricordi, 144-45).

23. H. Bober, "In Principio, Creation Before Time" in De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky (New York, 1961), 13-28; A.C. Spearing, Medieval Dream-Poetry (Cambridge, 1976), esp 8-11; C. Erickson, The Medieval Vision. Essays in History and Perception (New York, 1976).

24. Ficino, Letters, I:49-50; D. Kent, Rise, 268 for 1426; R. Hatfield, "Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459," AB (1970):233 for 1459; Gombrich, "Personification."

25. Meiss, Black Death, 105-31; Cole, Giotto, 181 n 19; Gilbert, Documents, 15: in 1494 Francesco Mantegna, having heard a caricatured description of the King of France, had a vivid dream which then resulted in a portrait sketch.

26. See text at nn 194-95; Goffen, "Icon and vision," esp 498-99; Purtle, Marian Paintings, Ch 4; J. Snyder, "Jan van Eyck and the Madonna of Chancellor Nicolas Rolin," Oud Holland 82 (1967):163-71.

In other instances art depicts art enlivened, an image addressing man (eg St. Francis, S.Giovanni Gualberto or Aquinas: for the last see Sassetta's panel, Carli, Sassetta, Pl 6), which is more, surely, than just a matter of "intimacy" (Cole, Giotto, 18, 49).

27. Morelli, Ricordi, 483, 513-4, 503, 458. Discussed by Trexler,

"Search," and Public Life, Ch 5.

28. La Cronica Domestica di Messer Donato Velluti, scritta fra il 1367 e il 1370, ed I. del Lungo and G. Volpi (Florence, 1914), 11-154, 160, 290, 304-05, 310-13, passim (his self-portrait is at 154); also Morelli, Ricordi, 197, 501 (the former a description of himself); A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, 225 (quoted at Ch 5 n 29). The practice is briefly noted by Ullmann, Medieval Foundations, 69, 179.

29. Alberti (Spencer), 63; Leonardo quoted by Trexler, Public Life, 62. See Ch 1 n 63.

30. Vasari-Milanesi, III:691; Kury (cited in Ch 3 n 144), 31 n 27; Pigler, "Portraying the Dead," 1, 4.

31. Including a medal and several panels associated with Botticelli: G. Mandel, L'opera completa del Botticelli (Milan, 1978), nos 46-48; Hatfield, Botticelli, 76f; Lightbown, Botticelli, II:29-32; n 53 below on the medal.

32. On Albiera see Ficino, Letters, I:54-55, 232; Poliziano (Del Lungo), 145-47; A. Perosa, "Febris: a poetic myth created by Poliziano," JWCI 9 (1946):74-95; I. Lavin, "Bust," 214-15; A. Brown, Scala, 273 n 55; n 128 below. On Giovanna as a half-sister see Dumon, Les Albizzi, 184 and Ch 3 n 203.

33. See citations in n 31; H. Friedman, "Two paintings by Botticelli in the Kress Collection" in Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida (London, 1959), 116-23; Shapley, Catalogue, 83-84; the possibility that the portrait is actually posthumous is raised most cogently by Hatfield, "Early Renaissance Portraits," 328. Horne, Botticelli, 52-53 discusses Simonetta Vespucci's death and the literary reaction but denies that any portraiture, in mythologies, resulted.

34. The letter was published by E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 432 n 2; see Ch 3 nn 125, 126. A wife's demise did not often provoke such a personal, emotional response, although Giovanni Rucellai also counted it "la maggior perdita che mai abbi avuto o potessi avere" (Zibaldone, 119; F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 18), and Federigo da Montefeltro's loss has often been connected with various art (M. Lavin, "Corpus Domini," 22-23; M. Meiss, "Ovum Struthionis: Symbol and Allusion in Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece" [1954] repr in his Painter's Choice, 105ff, esp 116f).

35. Wohl, Domenico Veneziano, esp 48-49, whose doubt on the background representing Borgo degli Albizzi (as claimed, eg, by Thiem, Sgraffito, Pl V2) is based on too literal an expectation.

An example, with further references, of a 15th century dialogue of consolation is in P.O. Kristeller, "Francesco Bandini and His Consolatory Dialogue Upon the Death of Simone Gondi" in his Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters (Rome, 1956), 411-35. It was a father's loss of a son which generated the most intense and personal reactions: on Giovanni Morelli, Giannozzo Manetti and Giovanni da Ravenna see nn 210, 211 below; on Giovanni Chellini Ch 1 at n 111 above; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 56. Further examples include F. de Roover, "Andrea Banchi, Florentine Silk Manufacturer and Merchant in the Fifteenth Century," Studies in Medieval and

Renaissance History, 3 (1966):230 and n 26; Niccolini (Bec), 137; Velluti (cited in n 28), 310-13.

When women were mourned it was as a lover or fiancée (see nn 32, 33 above), a wife (n 34 above) or, rarely, a mother (Lorenzo de' Medici on his mother's death: Bandini, Catalogus Latinorum, II:cols 323, 605-08, the latter Francesco da Castiglione's Lamentation addressed to Lorenzo in Apr 1482; J. Clough, The Medici. A Tale of Fifteen Generations [London, 1976], 156; Protocolli, 187-89; Levantini-Pieroni, Lucrezia, 13-16, 62f; Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 35-36; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 244-45).

36. Wohl, Domenico Veneziano, 49, 60 nn 38-39 comments on the panel; by implication, the studies of D. Shorr, "The Mourning Virgin and St. John," AB 22 (1940):61-69 and M. Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art (New York, 1976) can be applied to the Verrocchio especially, for which see also Ch 3 n 126; the fresco's classical source has been discussed by Gombrich, Warburg, 180 and Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'Antique," 436-39. For Donatello's filtering of classicism see H.W. Janson, "Donatello and the Antique," in Donatello e il suo tempo (Florence, 1966), 77-96.

37. E. Casalini, Un inventario inedito del secolo XV. Testo dell'inventario e note al testo dell'inventario (Florence, 1971), 106, line 471.

38. Domenico di Leonardo Buoninsegni, Storia della Città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460, ed T. Guadagni (Florence, 1637), 124. For effigies and death masks of saints see L.M. Bulman, "Artistic Patronage at SS. Annunziata 1440-c 1520" (Ph.D. diss, Univ of London, 1971), Ch IV, 13 (hereafter cited as Bulman, with all page numbers referring to this chapter); R. Mode, "San Bernardino in Glory," AB 55 (1973):58-76; n 42 below.

39. Casalini (cited in n 37), 106, line 464; Shearman, "Collections," Doc C, nos 74, 75.

40. Borsook, "Lecceto," 5, n 44 and Doc 63.

41. Seymour, Verrocchio, 170, Pls 139-41. Often difficult to identify with certainty as either a young boy, Christ or the Baptist, this bust type includes Ibid, Pl 144; Pope-Hennessy, Victoria and Albert Museum, Pls 185-87, 204-06, 390, 426; idem, Luca, figs 60, 61. Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 97 briefly but perceptively noted that such works were "an intermediate stage between the family portrait and household devotional image."

42. I. Lavin, "Bust"; Schuyler, Busts, 67-69 on reliquaries, 118-19 on Brunelleschi; see also A. Moskowitz, "Donatello's Reliquary Bust of Saint Rossore," AB 63 (1981):41-48.

43. For "memoria cera" see Davisson, "S.Trinita Sacristy," 317; Filippo Strozzi required "torchi...et 4 falcole di cera bianca,...per l'altare, con l'arme nostra impressavi" (Borsook, "Lecceto," Doc 24) as did a will regarding S.Trinita in 1367 (Hoger, Familienkapelle, 191 Doc II); Dante wrote of "Nature...printing the mortal wax" (Paradiso, VIII, line 128; XIII, lines 69f).

44. Bulman, 16: the quantity of votives peaked in 1480-1510.

References on votives not otherwise cited here incl P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (New York, 1981), 286-88; Burke, Tradition and Innovation, 141-42; L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, Das Votivbild (Munich, 1958), chiefly illustrative; R. Lightbown, "Ex-votos in gold and silver: a forgotten art," BM 121 (1979):353-59, mainly on France; G. Masi, "La ceroplastica in Firenze nei secoli XV-XVI e la famiglia Benintendi," Rivista d'Arte 9 (1916):124-42; Meiss, Painter's Choice, 114, figs 101, 104; A. Strozzi, Lettere, 129, 134, 197; J. von Schlosser, "Geschichte der Portratbildnerei in „Wachs,“ Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhochsten Kaiserhauses Wien 29 (1910):171-258; Vasari-Milanesi, III:254, VI:632-35; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 78-79, 95, 98n 88, 267; Warburg, Rinascita, 117-18, 137-41.

45. Dei, "Cronica," MSS, 119, f 32v; now in Romby, Descrizioni, 49.

46. For S.Maria Novella see Orlandi, Necrologio, II:40, 398; for Or San Michele, Compagni, Cronica, 141 mentions "molte immagine di cera" destroyed by fire in 1304; Sacchetti's Novelle mention wax votives there (Warburg, Rinascita, 137); and Bulman, 7 refers to a ruling of 1417.

47. The best treatment of votives at SS. Annunziata is Bulman, Ch IV; see also G. Brunetti, "Una vacchetta segnata A" in Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci, ed. M. Grazia Ciardi Dupre Dal Poggetto and P. Dal Poggetto (Milan, 1977), I:228-35 for an inventory of 1439; S. Lang, "The Programme of the SS. Annunziata in Florence," JWCI 17 (1954):288-300; Teubner, "Langhaus der SS. Annunziata," esp 35, 36, 38, 41 and Docs XII no 4, XIII, XVII no 1, XXV, XXVI no 3, XXVII; P. Tonini, Il Santuario della Santissima Annunziata di Firenze (Florence, 1876). George Eliot's Romola, Ch 14 is an evocative reconstruction of the church's crowded appearance which Fra Domenico Corella's Theotocon of 1469 had mentioned: "This hall has the look of a city, where modeled settlers live, so many men's images are in it ... tightly packed" (Gilbert, Documents, 151).

48. Brucker, Documentary Study, 186. Other accounts of visitors incl Arlotto, Facezie, 45-46; Bulman, 1, 3; Benedetto da Cepparello's letter to Lucrezia Tornabuoni of 24 Sept 1477 in del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, II:141-42. For the Gonzaga see esp B. Brown, "SS. Annunziata."

49. Bulman, 7; Teubner, "Langhaus der SS. Annunziata," Doc XXVII no 9; the Theotocon mentions "kings and powerful lords," "generals," "aged lords ... and younger ones," "kings and famous dukes and powerful tyrants" (Gilbert, Documents, 150, 152). Legislation in 1401 permitted only an "uomo di Repubblica ed abile alle arti maggiore" to leave his "voto in figura" but Bulman thinks this was not followed (Warburg, Rinascita, 137 n 4; cf Bulman, 6-7 and Trexler, Public Life, 99).

50. Bulman, 7; Caplow, Michelozzo, 576; A. Parronchi, "Storia di una 'Gatta Malata,'" Paragone 157 (1963):60-68.

51. Vasari-Milanesi, III:373-74; Bulman, 10 cites a document of 21 Mar 1479.

52. Vasari-Milanesi, loc.cit.; the Este also placed votives at Assisi

(Bulman, 2 nn 4, 5). Lorenzo's other votives included a silver bust in the Baptistery (Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 28, 34) and Rossi, Ricordanze, 238 recorded Lorenzo's actions "per boto a S. Maria di Loreto" in 1488. For comparative use of a votive image by the Gonzaga in 1497 see n 135 below.

53. Trexler, "Martyrs," esp 298, 307, to which I would add a greater stress on the family overtones. The medal is reproduced in Hatfield, Botticelli, fig 35, with Giuliano's, inscribed LVCTVS PVBLICVS, as fig 36. Although they would support his case, Trexler does not mention the votives, nor Giuliano's panel portraits (nn 31, 33 above) which Shapley, Catalogue, 84 and n 3 thinks were commissioned "to foster the idea that the young prince was a martyr." It is intriguing to note that in 1739 Francesconi, Firenze sacra, 53-54 recorded a regular mass on the last Sunday in April at S. Croce "per l'anima di Francesco di Antonio Nori, che morì per difendere la vita a Lorenzo de' Medici." Francesco had died with Giuliano in April 1476. For possible commemoration of Giuliano by the Tornabuoni see Ch 3 n 208, Ch 4 n 32.

On the other hand, I would differ somewhat from Trexler's overall interpretation. That Alamanno Rinuccini in 1493 could, when addressing the Signoria, fervently refer to Justice and the "infinito numero di martiri" who died "per zelo della iustitia et constantia et per difensione della fede" (Lettere, 203), suggests that the civic connotations of martyrdom were not confined to the Medici or Savonarola. Probably Lorenzo was manipulating beliefs more commonly held than Trexler allows (also cf his n 11 with Rucellai, Zibaldone, 30 and Watson, "Virtù and Voluptas," 311). Lorenzo, let alone Giorgio Antonio Vespucci in 1499, also could have been attending anew to the Martyrs at a time when penitential, active worship was growing (eg n 214 below).

54. Wackernagel's study still remains a rare reconstruction of art's physical context. In museums, the Palazzo Davanzati is a refreshing exception: M. Fossi Todorow (ed) Palazzo Davanzati (Florence, 1979).

55. On the Purità confraternity of "gentili uomini e di stato" see Fineschi, Cimitero, 29-30; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:332, 338; Trexler, "Adolescence," 264; Public Life, 114; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 44. Conv Soppr, 102, 94, second filza of inventari, is a later copy of the June 1474 agreement whereby the Ricasoli patrons of the Purità chapel were able to destroy old tombs and display their arms. For Prato see Morselli and Corti, S. Maria delle Carceri, esp 69-70. Several others are mentioned in Sinding-Larsen, "Centralized Church" and include Assisi and Loreto. The "Nutiata e Santa Maria de Loreto, Santa Maria degli Angeli, ..." were precisely the guises used by a prisoner to invoke the Virgin's aid: Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia," 230.

56. Craven, "Patronage in Florence 1494-1512," 66: "Sandro di botticelli per dipintura della testa di piero nostro padre." That the "decorative or minor arts ... must be embraced in the mainstream of the history of forms" is also the argument, well substantiated, in Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 23.

57. Paintings with thanksgiving connotations are cited by G. Achenbach, "The Iconography of Tobias and the Angel in Florentine Painting of the Renaissance," Marsyas 3 (1943-45), esp 82 n 10, fig 2; Bulman, n 13; and include Raphael's Madonna di Foligno. Inscribed

"vows" near donor portraits include Lane, "Medieval Devotional Figure," 55, 58 n 1, 62 n 2, 71 (hereafter cited as Lane, 1970).

58. Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 49-52, 88-91 for the panels. Donor portraiture as a distinct category is now receiving more attention: see, in chronological order, E. Schaeffer, Das Florentiner Bildnis (Munich, 1904), Ch 2; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait (1966), Ch VI; K. Bauch, "Giotto und die Porträtkunst" in Giotto e il suo tempo (Florence, 1967), 299-309; Lane, 1970; D. Kochs, Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen Malerei des 13-15 Jahrhunderts (Diss., Cologne, 1971), not available to me; Philip, Ghent Altarpiece (1971), 192-200; M. Lavin, "Sigismondo Malatesta" (1974); Debs, "From eternity to here" (1975); E. Helter, Das altniederländische Stifterbild (Munich, 1976); P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (French ed, 1977; New York, 1981), 254f; S.G. Moulton, "Titian and the Evolution of Donor Portraiture in Venice" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford Univ, 1977); Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II' (1980), 97f; Geiger, "Filippino Lippi" (1981):65-69.

59. Examples of votives incl Brunetti (cited in n 47), 230, 232: Cardinal de' Conti at the foot of a silver Virgin and Child in 1439; Bulman, 7, 12, with the importance of proximity to an altar on 9; Lightbown (cited in n 44), 354-55, 359. Wackernagel's brief comment is in his Florentine Renaissance Artist, 267.

60. G. Volpi (ed) Ricordi di Firenze dell'anno 1459 di autore anonimo in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new ed. XXVII pt I (Citta di Castello, 1907):4-5.

61. Goffen, "Masaccio," esp 501-04 applies Hebrews only to the Trinity and mentions the Offertory Rite, for which see also Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 295-302; Hatfield, Botticelli, 42-48; Jungmann, Mass of the Roman Rite, esp 2-30; King, Liturgies of the Orders, 381-82; Lane, 1970, 21-34; G.A. Michell, Landmarks in Liturgy (London, 1961), Ch 2, 214; O. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna (Chicago, 1948), esp 24-30, 36, 38, 88, 92, 98; Watkins, "Brancacci Chapel," 107; text at n 216 below.

62. W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Orant as Donor," Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, College Art Association of America Conference, Jan 31-Feb 3, 1979, Washington, 25; Lane, 1970, 38-41; Panofsky, Tombs, Ch III passim.

63. On Ravenna see esp von Simson (cited in n 61), incl 24-30, 38; also D. Bullough, "'Imagines Regum' and their significance in the Early Medieval West" in Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice, eds G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), 227f. For portrayal of the Emperor in general see Ibid, 223-76; Lane, 1970, 41-46; W.C. Loerke, "The Miniature of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," AB 43 (1961):171-95, esp 177-82; Ringbom, Icon to Narrative, 41. Another essay of interest is E. Kitzinger's "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art" (1963), repr in his The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies, ed W.E. Kleinbauer (Indiana, 1976), 256ff. For a comparable instance, where Leo X was present at a wedding by means of his portrait, see R. Sheer, "A new document concerning Raphael's portrait of Leo X," BM 125 (1983):31-32.

64. On Intercession see Lane, 1970, 28-34; R. Brooke, The Coming of the Friars (London, 1975), 158 cites a Dominican document of 1250 where it was considered virtually heretical not to plead for intercession, since the Cathars "never implore the help or patronage of the angels or of the blessed Virgin or the saints."

65. J. Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: A Reconsideration," JWCI 37 (1974):57-103 for the Giotto. The Dominican example is discussed, with others, in Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 147-48 and "Simone Martini," 84, Pl 19a, who is not clear on whether the bishop, who died in 1330, remained in Orvieto after the altarpiece was commissioned. Nor does she comment on the Maries' address to the viewer/donor.

66. The altarpiece, discussed by Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 56-60, has been attributed since to Lorenzo di Niccolò by E. Fahy, "On Lorenzo di Niccolò," Apollo (Dec 1978):379. The inscriptions are treated in Covi, "Inscription," 77f, App 106, 282; their textual source by B. Lane, "The Symbolic Crucifixion in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves," Oud Holland (1973):4-26, 10. See also Warner, Virgin Mary, Ch 13 esp 199-200 and O. von Simson, "Compassio and co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," AB 35 (1953):esp 11-12 for the Virgin's mercy but not this Double Intercession type.

67. Seven Italian derivations are listed by Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 58 n 2, to which can be added (i) a design by Gentile da Fabriano to commemorate the death of a Florentine patron (1423): Christiansen, Gentile, 49, 106, Pl 60 and (ii) variants referring to deliverance from the plague which are more hierarchical in that further saints plead beneath the Virgin and Christ: see BB Central, II, Pls 654, 680 and BB Florentine, II, Pl 894 (this last, by Gozzoli, is the only Italian version other than the one of c 1402, listed by Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 123).

For the Lippi see Alte pinakothek München. Italienische Malerei (Munich, 1975), 64-65, Pl 28; F. Gamba, "Di una predella falsamente attribuita a Filippino Lippi" in Studi in onore di Matteo Marangoni (Florence, 1957), 197-201; Vasari-Milanesi, III:465-66. For the Montreal example, Covi, "Inscription," 552-53; Fahy, Followers, 80 n 39; Lane (cited in n 66), esp 13, fig 13; M.N. Rosenfeld, "Problems of Iconography in Italian Painting," Apollo 171 (May 1976):386, fig 4.

68. In the 6th century, St. Gregory's Libri Miraculorum already records the Virgin protecting with her cloak a Jewish boy who had participated in the Mass: Lane, 1970, 8, who never refers to the Misericordia type. The Virgin is called "Advocata Universitatis" in a manuscript in the manner of A. Gaddi: U. Procacci, The Gallery of the Academy of Florence (Rome, 1951), 22. References to iconographical discussions are given by Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 19 n 11.

69. Gilbert, Documents, 211-12 and see n 147 below.

Examples before 1458 which contain probable portraits include BB Central, II, Pls 50 (c 1331), 407 (1364); BB Florentine, I, Pl 427 (1435/37) and the contemporaneous sculpted version for the same confraternity in Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, Ch 1, figs 1ff; Christiansen, Gentile, figs 11, 14 (incl 1407); P. Deschamps, "La Vierge au Manteau dans les peintures murales de la fin du moyen age" in Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi (Rome, 1962), II:175-85, fig 2 (late 14th century); Grossato, Da Giotto al Mantegna, nos 71, 72 (1408, 1419).

A variant is another instance of continuity: for the type in which one edge of the seated Virgin's cloak is lifted around kneeling donors we have examples from the Dugento (White, Duccio, 55), Trecento (Lane, 1970, 139) and Quattrocento (Mantegna: n 134 below).

70. E. Brockhaus, "La Famiglia Vespucci e l'affresco del Ghirlandajo in Ognissanti" in his Ricerche sopra alcuni capolavori d'arte fiorentina (Milan, 1902), 81-127; G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 20f; R. Langton Douglas, "The Contemporary Portraits of Amerigo Vespucci," BM (1944):30-37; Lauts, Ghirlandaio, 8-9, 48, pls 4-9; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:10-12, fig 2; Rosenauer, "Fruhen Werke," 60f dates the work c 1480, but it seems to me and others rather earlier than the Sistine frescoes.

71. Lane, 1970, esp 12, 14, 15, 25, 27-8, 110.

72. Borsook, Mural Painters, 38-42, pls 48-9. The doctrinal problems leading up to the 1336 Bull and the particular involvement in these by the Franciscans are placed evocatively in context by U. Eco, The Name of the Rose, trans. (London, 1983), 296f.

At S.Croce the adjacent niche portrays a woman beneath a Deposition: salvation is again the theme but neither tomb nor boundaries allow such an explicit visionary reading. Nearby frescoes with sleeping figures and a Resurrection scene from St. Sylvester's cycle opposite further the chapel's iconographic emphasis.

Other tombs with a depiction in mosaic or fresco of the risen soul, but above a carved effigy, include those of Bishops G. Durandus (1296) and Giovanni de Coca (before 1494), both in the Dominican church, S.Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. See also C. Dempsey, "Masaccio's Trinity: Altarpiece or Tomb?" AB 54 (1972):278, 280; Panofsky, Tombs, 76ff and pls 334f; Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 206; A. Tenenti, "L'attesa del Giudizio Individuale nell'iconografia del Quattrocento" in L'Attesa dell'eta nuova nella Spiritualità della fine del Medioevo, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, III (Todi, 1962), 173-93.

73. Brief comment on both works is made by Lane, 1970, 126-29 passim; for Duccio see White, Duccio, esp 54-55, whose stress on the Franciscans has been queried by a reviewer, H. van Os, who balances this with mention of the Dominicans: BM (1981):166. For Fra Angelico see at nn 162, 188f below. In general, the Dominicans are mentioned also here at nn 26, 65, 118, 173, 187, 195, 204; Ch 5 Section D; Ch 7 at n 58f. The material in Cannon, "Dominican Patronage" could allow my tentative conclusion on the Dominicans, but further comparative research is needed.

Other works on the Dominicans and art include Antal, Florentine Painting; Borsook, Mural Painters, eg 51; J. Cannon, "Dating the frescoes by the Maestro di S.Francesco at Assisi," BM 124 (1982):69; Cannon, "Simone Martini"; Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 67ff; L. Gillet, Histoire Artistique des Ordres Mendicants: Étude sur l'Art religieux en Europe du XIIIe au XVIIe siècles (Paris, 1912); V. Marchese, Lives of the Most Eminent painters, sculptors and architects of the Order of St. Dominic (Dublin, 1852); Meiss, Black Death, esp 9-26; G.G. Meersseman, "L'architecture dominicaine au XIII^e siècle. Legislation et pratique," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 16 (1946):136-90; idem, "Origini del tipo di chiesa"; H. van Os, "The discovery of an early 'Man of Sorrows' on a Dominican triptych," JWCI 41 (1978):65-75; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 306-07.

74. Stubblebine, Giotto, esp figs 2, 77 and the essays by Schlegel and Shorr; also R. Rough, "Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Gaudenti, and the Arena Chapel in Padua," AB 62 (1980):24-35.

75. Gardner (cited in n 65), esp Pls 9, 10b, 16a; see Ch 7 Section F on Giovanni's donor portrait.

76. For Simone Martini and the Dominicans see Cannon, "Simone Martini," esp 84-85 (n 65 above); on the Assisi Chapel, Borsook, Mural Painters, esp 24, Pls 34, 35. Donor portraits in the Magdalen Chapel, Assisi, contemporaneous with Simone's fresco, are not as bold in scale, placement, gesture or architectural setting, but are important early examples (Ibid, Pls 14, 15).

The last phrase in my paragraph is M. Lavin's, "Sigismondo Malatesta," 349; "mere familiarity" is White's judgement on unspecified donor portraits sometime after Duccio's (Duccio, 55); "intimacy" is seen as the endpoint of all implicitly "progressive" devotional portraiture by Lane, 1970.

A French ms. of 1311 placed a full-size Countess in the same space as a Virgin and Child before whom she kneels. Lane comments that "an unprecedented degree of intimacy is achieved here, for the Virgin reaches down and touches the devotee's wrists as if assuring her that her prayer will be answered (106, fig 103). Another French ms., unfinished in 1348, with a female donor, verbally referred to the gesture which however was not shown visually: "manum misericordie tue michi porrigas" (110, fig 110).

Countless examples of the hand- or wrist-holding gesture in Limbo or at the Gates of Paradise include Ibid, 119 (the Duke of Berry before the Gates); the Lorenzetti shop at Assisi itself in the 1320s or earlier (Borsook, Pl 40); also BB Central, II, Pl 191; BB Florentine, I, Pl 290; van Marle, Italian Schools, IV:figs 133, 180, V:fig 65. For later variations in other contexts see, eg, BB Florentine, I, Pl 278 and II, Pl 845.

Lane considers the "equality of scale" between worshipper and worshipped important and agrees with Meiss that this occurred well before c 1390 (117 n 4 cf Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 47). But her concentration on mss and the Northern tradition leads her to give little attention to Italy and she ignores frescoes. Even Giotto's Arena Chapel, earlier than the French ms. of 1311, is mentioned in a negative context: "The large size of the donor ... does not continue in [Italian] panel painting of this period" (133). The sheer scale of wall painting, its own innovations and influence, need consideration. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, also neglects key instances in this medium (nn 115, 119 below). Full size donors, "never in panel paintings" of the earlier Trecento but present in fresco, a medium permitting "greater freedom of invention," are noted briefly by H. Maginnis, "The So-Called Dijon Master," Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte 43 (1980):133 n 24.

77. Borsook, Mural Painters, 30-31, Pl 39; H. Maginnis, "Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations," BM 117 (1975):516-17 and idem, Letter, AB 62 (1980):481.

78. The Giotto is briefly discussed by Schaeffer (cited in n 58), 70, 73; Smart, Dawn, 84, Pl 95.

Later examples include n 70 (Ghirlandaio), n 101 (Alfonso II) and the Pietà by the Sienese Master of the Osservanza (1432-33: H. von

Erffa, "Der Nürnberger Stadtpatron auf italienischen Gemälden," MittFlor 20 [1976]:1-12, who incorrectly judges the scale of the posthumous donor as innovative).

For examples, mostly self-portraits, of Titian, Tintoretto, Savoldo, Bandinelli and Michelangelo, in the Pietà or Entombment, see Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 295f, in which context several of his preconceptions shine. Speaking of the examples by Titian and Tintoretto, he says "in these paintings the portrait image partakes of a corporate experience. But it was also possible, by eliminating narrative, to reduce it to terms that were more meaningful. The first occasion on which that is done in Italy is about 1525, in an altarpiece" by Savoldo, "of which the upper part alone survives" and in which we see that "the surrounding figures are for the first time omitted, and a single portrait figure is introduced. The composition is indeed conceived in terms of an antithesis between the intensely realized living portrait and the head of the dead Christ" (my emphases). Such a contrast is neither so evident, nor new nor "meaningful," whatever Pope-Hennessy means by that term other than presumed individualism, even modern agnosticism. For his quotation from Michelangelo in this context see n 186 below.

79. J. Gardner, "Saint, Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 39 (1976):12-33; also Debs, "From eternity to here," 49. For precedents see also E. Kitzinger, "On the portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo," Proporzioni 3 (1950):30-35 (repr now in the Studies cited in n 63); Lane, figs 22, 23, 26, 29, 43, 49, 50, 64, 69, 78: the inscription in the 11th century Evangelary of Henry III is particularly clear on the legitimacy granted thereby from a divine source, "Per me regnantes vivunt Heinricvs et Agnes," 69, fig 50; M. Lavin, "Sigismondo Malatesta," 348 and n 10; S. Steinberg, "I ritratti dei rei Normanni in Sicilia," La Bibliofilia 39 (1937):29-57.

80. The most recent bibliography and overview is presented by E.C. Southard, The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, 1289-1539: studies in imagery and relations to other communal palaces in Tuscany (New York, 1979). See esp N. Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sieneese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico," JWCI (1958):179-207; U. Feldges-Henning, "The Pictorial Programme of the Sala Della Pace: A New Interpretation," JWCI 35 (1972):145-62, incl the idea that the City is shown as Heavenly Jerusalem; supported by the argument in C. Frugoni, "The Book of Wisdom and Lorenzetti's Fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena," JWCI 43 (1980):239-41. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 4 judges that "the community is composed of individuals and can be depicted only in terms of crudely differentiated portrait heads," which would appear to suggest that such "individualism" could not be visually realised. On the contrary, Borsook, Mural Painters, Pl 47 shows seven heads, all carefully distinguished by feature, build, age and so on, yet arranged in an isocephalic, dignified order.

81. E. Borsook, "Maestro Francesco and a Portrait of the Signoria of Florence" in Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf (Berlin, 1968), 60-63. For an early instance, 1310, of a single Podesta commemorated, with his wife, beneath his name saint, see van Marle, Italian Schools, IV:fig 1 and Lane, 1970, 142; other instances of civic ruler portraits include Larner, Culture and Society, Ch 4 and n 69 above.

82. M. Lavin, "Sigismondo Malatesta;" with letters AB 57 (1975):306-07; and M. A. Lavin, "The Antique Source for the Tempio Malatestiano's Greek Inscriptions," AB 59 (1977):421-22. These studies cite only the Imperial and one-to-one tradition of ruler portraiture such as Simone Martini's instance (n 79 above).
83. Trans in Chambers, Patrons, 173.
84. Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," esp 154, fig 23; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:444. Goffen, "Masaccio," 495 speaks of the saints in the Trinity as "legal witnesses."
85. Borsook, "Lecceto," Doc 24.
86. See esp the issue of Revue de l'Art 26 (1974):8ff on "Art de la signature," although it does not address the matter of interchangeability in the same context. Another notable instance is the apse chapel designed by Alberti for his own benefice, S.Martino a Gangalandi near Florence, where his arme act as signature in a location that usually indicates patronage (the inscription only acknowledges a local confraternity): Borsi, Alberti, 288-91. In Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise the self-portrait is on the same eye level as the inscription, forming a punctuation mark to that signature: Krautheimer, Ghiberti, Pl 81. Dirk Bouts, c 1467, not only signed a financial quittance with his patrons but added his self-portrait: Blum, Netherlandish Triptychs, 64. For Ghirlandaio's self-portraiture see n 133, Ch 7 at n 76f below. Unfortunately E. Eng, "The Significance of the Mirror and the Self Portrait in Renaissance Developments in Psychology" in Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of the History of Science (Ithaca, 1962), 2, 1045-47, is too general.
87. Bulman, 7 and n 50 above; Ch 1 at n 89 for the placement of arme and portraits.
88. Gombrich, Norm and Form, 42. Piero de' Medici and the Calimala guild came to a compromise agreement in 1448 for the Cappella del Crocefisso in S.Miniato al Monte: he was able to place his arme on the "marble adornment" but the guild's arms were to be in the most conspicuous place (Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 248).
89. Warburg, Rinascita, 228; for other instances see Ch 5 n 38. See F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 254ff on the importance of family arme; also Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 241, 267.
90. Vasari-Milanesi III:260-2; here quoted from the Everyman edition, II:71-72. See Ch 5 Section B (i) for a more detailed discussion. Vasari says the "scudicciuolo" was "un quarto di braccio" and, although there is some dispute on this, a braccia is given as an average 58.33 cm in BM (June 1978):358 n 3.
91. Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 196-97; also Lane, 1970, 207, 228 and Purtle, Marian Paintings, 62: van Eyck's Rolin Altarpiece "immortalized the chancellor's prayer and devotion within the chapel." See also n 194 below.
92. Trexler, "Setting," 130. In this context, more recently he has used the Ricci dispute, although with minor errors (Public Life, 96)

and the legal signification of arme would further enhance his case. A votive's proximity to an altar was prestigious: Bulman, 9; A. Strozzi, Lettere, 197 showed interest in a votive's location. Eisler, "Man of Sorrows," esp 233 comments on arme and the position of a reliquary which was probably also a eucharistic repository. Abbot Suger "mentioned his name on places where the eucharistic sacrifice was celebrated" (Lane, 1970, 86).

93. See nn 149f below for the Corpus Christi; Ch 5 at nn 141, 173f for the Tornabuoni vestments; B. Markowsky, "Eine Gruppe bemalter Paliotti in Florenz und der Toskana und ihre textilen Vorbilder," MittFlor 17 (1973):105-40 for comparative material on other paliotti.

94. The phrase is Pope-Hennessy's, Portrait, 257, in a disappointing Ch VI "Donor and Participant." See n 76 above on Lane.

95. The following discussion particularly refers to Eisler, "Perspective"; Goffen, "Masaccio," esp 502-04; Lane, 1970, 148-49; for the Rolin Madonna and the passage from Augustine see Purtle, Marian Paintings, esp 61, 81; the Cavalli fresco by Altichiero is reproduced in M. Lavin, "Montefeltro Altarpiece," fig 3. Reference is also made to material, in this chapter, at nn 61, 78. Other works consulted incl Berti, Masaccio, esp 115f; Borsook, Mural Painters, 58-63; Debs, "From eternity to here," 52; Dempsey (cited in n 72 above); E. Hertlein, Masaccio's Trinitat (Florence, 1979); R. Lieberman, "Brunelleschi and Masaccio in Santa Maria Novella," Memorie Domenicane n.s. 12 (1981):127-39, esp. 135; J. Polzer, "The Anatomy of Masaccio's Holy Trinity," Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 13 (1971):18-59; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 257-58; Schlegel, "Masaccio's Trinity."

96. Not mentioned in Pope-Hennessy, Portrait; Lane, 1970; Hatfield, Botticelli. See Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 17-24, 31-50; Berlin, 261; Berti, Masaccio, esp 152, Pls 24-25; Davisson, "Advent of the Magi," 282; Debs, "From eternity to here," 52. J. Stubblebine, "'The Face in the Crowd.' Some Early Sienese Self-Portraits," Apollo (Dec 1978):391 suggests that Masaccio portrayed himself here "struggling to see us from between the horses' heads."

In the Brancacci chapel's window wall and the Raising, portraits exist amongst crowds or as propagandistic "honour" portraits (P. Meller, "La Cappella Brancacci. Problemi Rittrattistici ed Iconografici," Acropoli 1 [1960-61]:186-227, 273-312, often received with some doubts). The register with the Tribute Money and Enthroning of Peter may include a self-portrait, and portraits of patron(s) and monks, but no donor portrait is easily distinguishable, just as an archival search fails to reveal one! (A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in its Iconography and History," JWCI 40 [1977]:50-98). As the Raising, on the lowest register, was not finished by Masaccio, the inclusion of one there may have been intended.

For the Sagra see n 139; for the Bovi Chapel and Altichiero see esp nn 112, 124.

97. Hatfield, Botticelli, 33 and passim; also Davisson, "Advent of the Magi." The iconography of Masaccio's altarpiece has been commented upon by J. Shearman, "Masaccio's Pisa Altar-piece: an alternative reconstruction," BM (1966):449-55, esp 454 (as Redemption, although the predella is not considered) and C. Gardner von Tuffel, "Masaccio and the Pisa altarpiece: a new approach," Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 19 (1977):23-68, esp 52-57 (on the Carmelite context

but also not attending to the predella closely).

98. Davisson, "S.Trinita Sacristy," 324 (as Palla and his father Nofri); Christiansen, Gentile, 98 more plausibly suggests Palla and his son Lorenzo.

99. Conveniently available now in Gilbert, Documents, 157-58. Fra Filippo Lippi's supposed use of models, esp his mistress, for the Virgin is well known but need not be taken to mean that his paintings are "more mundane than Fra Angelico's" (Shapley, Catalogue, 262).

100. See, eg, G. Scaglia, "An Allegorical Portrait of Emperor Sigismund by Mariano Taccola of Siena," JWCI 31 (1968):428-34, esp 429 for earlier German instances; B. Kery, Kaiser Sigismund. Ikonographie (Vienna, 1972); E. Knauer, "Kaiser Sigismund. Eine ikonographische Nachlese" in Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65 Geburtstag (Berlin, 1977), 173-96. Emperors and rulers especially have entered art as one of the Magi: other than the above, see, eg, n 141; Plant, "Portraits," 412, fig 14 and, for King Louis of Hungary as St. Ladislaus, fig 15; Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 186 n 363.

Fouquet may have portrayed the King's mistress as the Virgin (Berlin, 162 and Warner, Virgin Mary, 203, fig 28), as later English painters certainly did (F. Cossa, "John Evelyn as penitent Magdalen: 'saints' and 'malcontents' in seventeenth century English portraiture," Rutgers Art Review 1 [Jan 1980]:37-48. Rather unaware of European traditions, the article treats other English examples of "guise" too). As the Queen of Heaven, the Virgin was adaptable to the visage or actions of a queen on earth (Warner, Virgin Mary, esp 114, fig 15). An interesting example is Marie, Duchess of Gueldre and Juliers, shown as her namesake, the Virgin Annunciate, around 1415, perhaps as an "allegorical prayer for offspring": Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 101; J. Harthan, Books of Hours and their Owners (London, 1977), 78f; M. Thomas, The Golden Age. Manuscript painting at the time of Jean, Duke of Berry (New York, 1979), Pl 34.

101. Bacci, Piero di Cosimo, 69-70, Tav 7; on St. Nicholas, Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, 756ff and Davisson, "S.Trinita Sacristy," 321; for Alfonso, G. Hersey, Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples 1485-1495 (London, 1970), 29, 118ff, Pls 169-73. See n 78 on Giotto. Michelangelo's position on imitation, relevant to portrayal as a "saint," is quoted in n 186 below. E. Wind's "Studies in Allegorical Portraiture," JWCI 1 (1937-38):138-62, esp 152, is a sensitive and thoughtful approach to "guise," examining Grünewald's portrayal of Albrecht von Brandenburg as St. Erasmus.

102. Meiss, Painter's Choice, 120.

Another form of "guise," perhaps even its origin (see n 104 for an example from 1400), was to choose one's namesake, who was usually one's patron saint: eg SS. Lorenzo and Cosmas appear in Fra Angelico's altarpiece commissioned by the like-named Medici brothers for S.Marco (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 199-200, Pl 48).

Other examples of "guise," not always certain however, include Luca Pacioli in Piero della Francesca's Brera Altarpiece (Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 269, 325 n 8) and Gino Capponi as St. Sebastian in Pollaiuolo's altarpiece for the Pucci chapel (M. Davies, London, 444; Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, 140): both instances where, if the identifications are accurate, the artist seems to have been using a face as a model rather than a donor as an imitator, for which see n

105 below.

Douglas (cited n 70 above), 35, identifies St. George in Ghirlandaio's Deposition as Giorgio Vespucci. P. H. Jolly, "Antonello da Messina's 'St. Jerome in his Study': a disguised portrait?" BM 124 (1982):27-29 sees Alfonso V as St. Jerome and gives many examples at 29 n 8. Donatello may have "disguised" himself as S. Rossore (Moskowitz, cited in n 42).

103. For Botticelli see M. Davies, London, 100; the Ghirlandaio, Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e leggende," 291; for the Pucci arme in Pollaiuolo's altarpiece, Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 80; also G. Smith, "Bronzino's Holy Family in Vienna: a note on the identity of its patron," Source 2 (Fall 1982):21-25.

104. Taddeo Bartolo fittingly portrayed himself as St. Thaddeus and gestures in scholarly disputation in the Assumption altarpiece, Montepulciano, 1400: van Os, "Persona," 449-50, who would disagree with Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 4 and fig 1 who claims that "his puzzled face peers out at us through the ground fog of a theocratic world."

For Botticelli see Hatfield, Botticelli, 31-32, 70, 100; L.D. and H.S. Ettliger, Botticelli (London, 1976), 41 claim "it is unlikely that a fifteenth century painter should have included his own full-length likeness in so prominent a place." Lippi at Spoleto and Gozzoli at S.Gimignano already had shown themselves full-length. Botticelli's more assertive forward thrust, accentuated by elbow, glance and colour, would all suit a young, ambitious and aware artist, here working for a "parvenu" (Hatfield, Botticelli, 22).

On Michelangelo, see C. Seymour, Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity (Pittsburgh, 1967) and D. Summers, "David's Scowl" in Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art, eds W. Stedman Sheard and J. Paoletti (New Haven, 1978), 113-24; for Giorgione, Ibid, 120 n 24 and J. Anderson, "The Giorgionesque Portrait: From Likeness to Allegory," in Giorgione. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio per il 50 Centenario della Nascita (Venice, 1979), 153-58. Other comment of interest includes E. Panofsky, "'Facies illa Rogeri Maximi Pictoris'" in Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honour of A. M. Friend, Jr. (Princeton, 1955), 392-400 and on St. Luke as a painter in relation to self-portraiture see also Goffen, "Icon and vision," 505-11.

Around 1476, in his own burial chapel, Vecchietta produced ...OB SVAM DEVOTIONEM, a panel of the Virgin and Child which includes his name saint, S.Lorenzo, kneeling like a donor, being presented by St. Peter and receiving a blessing which is equally a recognition directed at the viewer (including the artist as devotee). Although van Os does not comment on this possibility, which would support his argument, it is likely that we have here a conflation of donor, self and "guise" portraiture (cf Alberti, n 86 above; van Os, "Persona," 453, figs 16, 17 which compares well with another possible self-portrait, fig 8, on which see n 133 below).

For other self-portraiture in a religious context see nn 78, 105 here.

105. Janson, Donatello, 35, 40-41, who argues differently; Vasari-Milanesi II:294-95 (Masaccio). Similar motivations may lie behind Donatello's possible self-portrayal in his reliquary bust of S.Rossore: Moskowitz (cited in n 42). For the use of models by Lippi, Pollaiuolo and Piero della Francesca see nn 99, 102 above.

106. See also Sections D (i) and E below. The references here are to

Eisler, "Perspective" and M. Kemp, "Science, Non-science and Nonsense: The Interpretation of Brunelleschi's Perspective," AH 1 (1978):134-61, esp 151-54, who concludes that "our next task in explaining its [Brunelleschi's perspective] historical position will lie within an understanding of the growth of naturalism in art. This growth has, I believe, more to do with the specific functions of images than with 'paradigms' of collective psychology or nebulous spirits of an age." Earlier he suggests that we search for "shared motivation," which for him means "the emulation of antiquity." I am more concerned with religious "functions."

Naturally examples where naturalism is "read" beneath its surface, between the lines, by art historians, are more plentiful than I can name: another would be van Os' brief indication that Vecchietta's bronze Resurrected Christ (1476) "is in the most literal sense the embodiment of physical triumph over death, which is sin, symbolized by the snake. That is the inner motivation for this verism" ("Persona," 453). On the other hand, too often "intimacy" is considered the ultimate purpose of naturalism (eg nn 76, 102 here).

107. O'Malley, Praise and Blame, passim, incl 173, 176, 178, 181 and his "Preaching," esp 417-19, 430f; see also nn 153, 175, 179 below. T. Martone, "Interpretation of the Sistine Ceiling" (letter) AB 64 (1982):484-85 makes use of O'Malley, as does Steinberg, "Sexuality of Christ," herewith quoted from 9, 24, 12, 127 (who cites works by Ghirlandaio and his school: Pls 46, 50, 51, 66, 178). The last quotation is from O'Malley's "Postscript" in Steinberg, 201.

108. Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e leggenda"; idem, History and Legend; Meiss, Painter's Choice, 120-21; W. Welliver, L'Impero Fiorentino (Florence, 1957); idem, "Alterations in Ghirlandaio's S. Trinita Frescoes," Art Quarterly 32 (1969):269-81.

109. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 263: "Florentine fresco cycles commonly included portraits, but the Flemish practice of donor portraiture was distinct from the commemoration of the family in frescoes; it provided an occasion for personal commemoration which paid tribute to the devotion of the individual, ministered to his self-importance, and supplied a record of his physique." Again he posits the implicit progress from corporate to individual (n 78 above), whereas such donor portraiture of "individuals" either side of a central scene had had a long life in Italy (Lane, 1970, 125ff and n 58 above). Nor did "commemoration of the family" exclude "devotion," "self-importance" or a "record" of physique. Indeed, Gilbert's comment precisely focuses on group portrayal after c 1475 ("Portrait," esp 283-85).

110. To choose just one of Berenson's volumes, see the examples (some of which are only possibilities) in BB Central, II, incl Pls 142, 143, 174, 193, 220f, 514, 521, 547f, 626.

111. Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 186-87, fig 184.

112. Plant, "Portraits," quoted here from 425, 412. The over-eager inclusion of portraits could have its dangers however: in Altichiero's Martyrdom of St. George, Oratory of St. George, Padua, Francesco da Carrara is one of three men on horseback who supervise more than witness the execution! (BB Central, II, Pl 223; on the identification but not the problem see Plant, "Fresco Painting," 207).

113. Larner, Culture and Society, Ch 5; Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses." Works in Naples included Simone Martini's Anjou Altarpiece (n 79 above) and a fresco cycle of the sacraments, once attributed to Giotto (BB Central, II, Pls 143-45; van Marle, Italian Schools, V:332ff; Vasari-Milanesi, I:422-25). Losses are many, including works by Giotto in Naples and Milan: C. Gilbert, "The Fresco by Giotto in Milan," Arte Lombarda 47/8 (1977):31-72; C.L. Joost-Gaugier, "Giotto's Hero Cycle in Naples: A Prototype of Donne Illustri and a Possible Literary Connection," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 43 (1980):311-18; Vasari-Milanesi, I:389-91, 400-01.

114. On Ferrara see esp Warburg, "Arte Italiana e Astrologia Internazionale nel Palazzo Schifanoja di Ferrara" (1912), in his Rinascita, 249ff; for Mantua, n 115 below; for Milan and Lombardy, eg, Gilbert, Documents, 122-26, 139-40.

115. Gilbert, Documents, 130-31. A convenient overview and bibliography is available in D. Chambers and J. Martineau (eds) Splendours of the Gonzaga (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981), esp C. Elam, "Mantegna at Mantua," 15-25 and catalogue entry, 118-21; see also Debs, "From eternity to here," 52-53. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 86-89 mentions Mantegna but his Ch V "The Court Portrait" rarely treats frescoes.

116. Gozzoli still awaits detailed investigation: see Gombrich, Norm and Form, esp 48f; A. Grote, "A Hitherto Unpublished Letter on Benozzo Gozzoli's Frescoes in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi," JWCI 27 (1964):321-22; Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, 55ff, 123-24. For the milieu see also E.H. Gombrich, "Alberto Avogadro's Descriptions of the Badia of Fiesole and the Villa of Careggi," Italia Medioevale e Umanistica 5 (1962):217-29; C. Gutkind, Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae, 1389-1464 (Oxford, 1938), esp 216-21, 235; Hatfield, "Magi" and his article cited in n 24 here. For Domenico Veneziano's tondo of the Magi see n 141; other instances of portraiture in the Magi narrative incl nn 96, 98, 100 here, but for extended discussion see Davisson, "Advent of the Magi" and Hatfield, Botticelli.

117. See n 74 for the Arena Chapel and for the Palazzo del Podestà, E. H. Gombrich, "Giotto's portrait of Dante?" BM 121 (1979): 471-83 and Vasari-Milanesi, I:372-73, 413-22.

118. NA, M 237, fff 192r-193v (1486). On the Strozzi Chapel see BB Florentine, I, Pls 194-200; Giles, "Strozzi Chapel."

For Andrea di Firenze's Spanish Chapel see BB Florentine, I, Pls 235-45 passim incl Pl 243, a possible donor portrait; Borsook, Mural Painters, 48-54, Pls 59-65; M. Devlin, "An English Knight of the Garter in the Spanish Chapel in Florence," Speculum 4 (1929):270-81; Fineschi, Corpus Domini, 13; Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes"; A. Luttrell, "A Hospitaller in a Florentine Fresco: 1366/8," BM 114 (1972):362-66; Meiss, Black Death, 94ff; P. Watson, "The Spanish Chapel: Portraits of Poets or a Portrait of Christian Order?" Memorie Domenicane, n.s., no 11 (1980):471-87; n 163 below.

For Dominican portraiture see Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," esp Chs 4 and 5; nn 65, 73, 162 here. B.H. Rosenwein and L.K. Little, "Social meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," Past and Present 63 (1974):21, contrasts Dominic, "one of the least charismatic of saints," with "the immediate, personal example" set by the "Christ-like" Francis. The institutional and social context

treated in that article would be a useful starting point for further investigation of Mendicant attitudes to art. The Dominicans were leaders in the development of hagiographical literature: P. Mandonnet, "Order of Preachers" in The Catholic Encyclopaedia (New York, 1911), XII:364.

For Fra Angelico's Crucifixion in S.Marco's capitolo see Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 22, 205-06, Pls 72-73; for his Risen Christ glorified in the Court of Heaven adored by Dominican saints and beati, the predella from the altarpiece of S.Domenico, Fiesole, 10, 12, 189-90, fig 1, Pls 4-5 and M. Davies, London, 16-31. The series of 40 learned Dominicans in the capitolo of S.Niccolò, Treviso (1352) is the most famous precedent: BB Central, II, Pls 260, 262; Gardner, 127-28; van Marle, Italian Schools, IV:358ff, figs 182f; Plant, "Fresco Painting," Ch IV; Smart, Dawn, Pl 169. But sometime c 1336-47, a Florentine precedent for Fra Angelico's predella was undertaken at S.Maria Novella, with a panel by the Master of the Dominican Effigies showing Christ and the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by 17 Dominican saints and beati in the court of paradise, which is in fact the earliest known depiction of any beati: Antal, Florentine Painting, 185-86, 338, Pl 34; Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, xxx. For later examples, incl a Dominican tree, frescoed at the convent in the Trecento, see Lunardi, S.Maria Novella, 37-38, with ill. Other examples, of Dominicans as donor portraits in the Trecento, include BB Central, II, Pls 84, 85, 330, 522 and Berlin, 45-46.

119. Gilbert, "Portrait," 283. For the use of models see n 105. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 19 incorrectly states that "in North Italy the collective portrait made its appearance rather later than in Florence," referring to Pisanello and Gentile Bellini. Gilbert, Documents, 198, 211 is also inaccurate, claiming that "portraits in the crowd of spectators ... seems to have first appeared just about 1460," citing Lippi, Gozzoli and Piero della Francesca, that is, only Tuscan examples. For the Giovanni da Milano fresco in S.Croce (note his Lombard origin) see BB Florentine, I, Pl 123.

120. Plant, "Fresco Painting": I have consulted only Ch V, on Padua and Verona, and the Conclusion in detail. Other chapters treat such places as Avignon, Bologna and Treviso. My quotations here are from 226-30 passim. On the narratee see also G. Prince, "Introduction to the Study of the Narratee" (1973) repr in Reader-Response Criticism. From Formalism to Post-Structuralism, ed J.P. Tompkins (Baltimore, 1980), 7-25.

121. Plant, "Fresco Painting," 204 (other examples of types and generations portrayed are noted explicitly at 206, 211). The Baptism is also illustrated in idem, "Portraits," fig 10. For another, relevant aspect of the influence of religious practice and belief on style and iconography see R. Goffen, "'Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est': Observations on the 'Sacra Conversazione' in the Trecento," AB 61 (1979):198-222, esp 215, 220-21.

122. Plant, "Fresco Painting," 228; Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators, esp 54, 87, 91f, 94-96, 134, 136-37 and quoted, with emphases added, from 104, 108-10. For Alberti see n 205 below. For Poliziano's ideal of the docta varietas see Summers, Michelangelo, 242-49. Since Florentine portrayal during the Trecento often occurred in non-narratives, a portrait was not a narrative device alone, nor was it thus when Tuscan portraiture did enter the narrative.

123. For Alberti see n 201. Plant, "Fresco Painting," 229 makes a similar comment on Michelangelo, but not in relation to Alberti, where incidentally, she does not note adequately that Trexler and Hatfield discuss the Quattrocento more than the Trecento: her desire to ignore Tuscany also tends to negate a century.

124. Gilbert, "Portrait," 283-84 where he reverses the dating of Ghirlandaio's cycles, putting the Sassetti implicitly after the Tornaquinci chapel. Unfortunately his comments are brief and my development from them, to stress the viewer and a visual tension, would disagree with his approach (nn 119, 207 here). Another key example would be Botticelli's Adoration of the Magi, Uffizi, Florence, c 1472-75 (Hatfield, Botticelli, esp 29-32). As may be Vecchietta's Way to Calvary, Baptistery, Siena where three portraits on the edge stand, observe or comment (BB Central, II, Pl 802). Gozzoli and Ghirlandaio in S.Gimignano had begun to edge full-length portraiture into greater prominence too. For the Bovi chapel see Grossato, Da Giotto al Mantegna, no 59 and van Marle, Italian Schools, IV:fig 87.

125. I have tried to take account of losses: eg see nn 113 (Giotto), 139 (Masaccio's Sagra), 140 (in Santa Lucia), 141 (in S.Egidio), 156 (Fra Angelico at Rome). Another example of interest, Filippino Lippi's panel showing himself with his friend and patron, Piero Pugliese, is documented in A. Perosa, "Un'opera sconosciuta di Filippino Lippi nella testimonianza di un poeta umanista," Rivista d'Arte 24 (1942): 193-99.

One of our most important losses is the fresco cycle with Old Testament stories by Baldovinetti in the main chapel, S.Trinita, commissioned by Messer Bongianni di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi early in 1471 (just after he was knighted but years since he was granted patronage rights in 1464) but not finalised until arbitration and payment in 1497. Nor does Baldovinetti's window (1466) survive, but his Trinity altarpiece does (Accademia, Florence: van Marle, Italian Schools, XI:fig 176, of 1470-72), along with the Prophets in the vault and remains of the lunettes (illustrated in Nocioni, S.Trinita, 67). Vasari reports that Lorenzo de' Medici and a renowned clockmaker and astrologer, Lorenzo della Volpaia, were portrayed in Sheba visiting Solomon. Later writers often record further unnamed portraits in this appropriately courtly scene. Opposite this were portrayed various Gianfigliuzzi men and other oligarchs, some of whom may be posthumous if Vasari's identifications are correct (eg Giuliano de' Medici died in 1478, Paolo Toscanelli [astronomer and geographer] in 1482, Bongianni himself in 1484). The selection of scenes and some of the portraits suggest an iconography treating wisdom and prophecy, including astronomy.

The inclusion of many portraits, particularly Lorenzo's, was an important precedent for Ghirlandaio's nearby frescoes in the Sassetti chapel (c 1482f), esp since Baldovinetti is often considered Ghirlandaio's teacher (see Ch 7 at n 83f). The unnamed scene, with at least 4 portraits on one side, 6 the other, may have been crowded in Gozzoli's mode, or more like Ghirlandaio's: the degree of "bold entry" and distinguishable clarity can never be known. No other comparable works by Baldovinetti, including his involvement at S.Egidio, survives. Of course another cappella maggiore with portraits was to be the Tornaquinci chapel, where Bongianni's daughter, Lorenzo Tornabuoni's second wife, was portrayed, c 1489-90 (Ch 4 at n 76f).

The bibliography consulted for the Gianfigliuzzi chapel was, in

chronological order, Vasari-Milanesi, II:592-95, VIII:87; S. Rosselli, Sepoltuario, MSS, 625, II, 918-19; Richa, Chiese, III:177-78; H. Horne, "A newly discovered 'Libro di Ricordi' of Alessandro Baldovinetti," BM 2 (1903):22-32, 167-74, 377-90; G. Poggi, I ricordi di Alesso Baldovinetti (Florence, 1909), esp 4-5, 9-10, 14-16, 37-38, 48-49, 51-52; van Marle, XI:247-48, 272-75; Kennedy, Baldovinetti, esp 172ff, 237, 247; Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 205-06; R.N. Vasaturo, Church of S.Trinita. Historical Notes and Artistic Guide (Florence, 1973), 28, 38, figs 29-31; Nocioni, 30-32, 100-05; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 171-74.

126. Alpers, "Exclusions," esp 185, 190, 193 has astute, succinct comments on Alberti; see also A. Procaccini, "Alberti and the 'Framing' of Perspective," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 40 (1981):29-39. Hindsight is treated by J. Ackerman, "Style" in Art and Archaeology with R. Carpenter (New Jersey, 1963), 164ff.

127. Another sort of visual distinction to indicate portraits was made in Byzantine art, where portraits were often more abstract than the Saints and especially less actual than Christ. The square nimbus was another device to distinguish secular from sacred. See Kitzinger (cited in n 63), esp 186, 188, 190.

128. For the painting by Lorenzo Costa in Bologna see C.M. Ady, The Bentivoglio of Bologna. A study in despotism (1937) (Oxford, 1969), 142f; BB Central, III, Pl 1626 with the Triumphs opposite, 1628-29. The inscription commends Giovanni Bentivoglio, his family and his city to the Virgin's (intercessory) prayers.

Other references are to I. Lavin, "Bust," esp 213-15; for Ficino and inwardness see Section D ii below; for Albiera's bust, n 32. J. Bialostocki, "Man and Mirror in Painting: Reality and Transience" in Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss (New York, 1977), 61-72, esp 68, explains the absence of mirrors and reflections in 15th century Italian art as due to "their lack of experience in the oil-painting technique." But when mentioning Brunelleschi's perspective experiments with panels containing real mirrors, he implies another reason: "the mirror was not in the picture; in Brunelleschi's works, it became an element of the picture," a point which can then be applied to my notion of a metaphorical threshold.

Since writing this chapter I have dipped into M.A. Caws, The Eye in the Text. Essays on Perception, Mannerist to Modern (Princeton, 1981) which evocatively treats thresholds, mirrors, gaze, gesture and so on, mainly in the work of French poets. Any future work on the ideas in this chapter would benefit from a reading of that text. So too our "post-modern" self-consciousness could be employed to re-examine the role of visual irony during the Renaissance: in the meantime see E. Reiss, "Medieval Irony," Journal of the History of Ideas 42 (1981):209-26, esp 214, 218.

129. The only discussion known to me is A. Chastel, "Le Donateur in abisso dans Les Pale," originally in Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1977), 273-83; repr in his Fables, Formes, Figures, II:129-44. He locates the innovation at Verona, c 1470-1530, and cites few precedents, although Filippo Lippi is mentioned. But he does not notice Lippi's most obvious example, the Virgin and Child with angels and a half-length donor in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Marchini, Filippo Lippi, 199, Pl 10.

Chastel's exclusion of earlier instances in Venice can be corrected by reference to Goffen, "Icon and vision" (quoted here from 499; see H. Wohl, letter, AB 58 [1976]:473-74 for his addition on Domenico Veneziano). Other examples include the Gentile Bellini of c 1450-60 in Berlin, 48 (with later Venetian instances, 43, 106) and an example from Giovanni Bellini's workshop in Paris, Louvre, 151.

The earliest dated instance known to me is a fresco in Volterra by the Siense artist Benvenuto di Giovanni, of 1466: BB Central, II, Pl 842, although documents allow a date between 1441 and 1447 for the donor portrait within Lippi's Coronation of the Virgin for S. Ambrogio (Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 163, 170 and n 164, which comments briefly on the type's "multiple significance" incl "an eschatological allusion - that the donor's good acts will not be overlooked after his death").

For examples by Ghirlandaio and his associates, including a panel of 1494 in S. Maria Novella, see BB Florentine, II, Pls 996, 1131, 1155, 1173, 1175, 1297; E. Carli, La Pinacoteca di Volterra (Pisa, 1980), 32-33, Pl 16, with an example of the 1580s from the same Badia as Ghirlandaio's, 19 and Pl 9; Chastel 139-40; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:figs 99, 159 for works of 1501 and 1486 not reproduced by Berenson. (A work by Botticelli for Volterra from around the same time as Ghirlandaio's is briefly discussed in Lightbown, Botticelli, II:143-44).

Others from various regions include BB Florentine, II, Pls 1023, 1344; BB Central, II, Pl 868; BB Central, III, Pls 1092, 1203, 1261, 1309, 1322, 1366, 1449, 1515, 1692, 1813, 1893, 1906, 1907, 1962; a school of Mantegna Madonna della Vittoria with Jews at the base who do not attend to the image, reproduced in Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte 44 (1981):350 fig 12; Steinberg, "Sexuality of Christ," figs 72, 73, 76, all private devotional images of the early Cinquecento; a self-portrait by Falconetto in Mantua, reproduced in Revue de l'Art (1974), 10 (cited in n 86 above).

Further investigation of the type and its sources is needed. Its funerary associations in classical times are mentioned by Goffen, 494 (see, eg, Panofsky, Tombs, Pls 91-94, 115, 125-27) but could also be linked with later images of souls arriving at Heaven on the Last Day which are shown half-length, rising up from tombs: for Signor Bardi see n 72 above, the Strozzi chapel in S. Maria Novella n 118 and Fra Angelico shows this without using portraits (eg BB Florentine, II, Pl 635). For half-length or bust images on Christian tombs see Panofsky, Pls 155-56, 158, 167, 192, 231, 281, 283, 284 (Epitaph of Bishop Donato Medici, 1475, Pistoia Cathedral), 285, 288, 314 (Francesco Sassetti), 336, and 431-36 for Baroque examples, esp by Bernini. For a half-length figure in a Descent into Limbo fresco of the 10th century in S. Clemente, Rome, see Lane, 1970, 40, fig 16. In this connection it is interesting to note that two of Chastel's examples are situated near demons (figs 294, 298).

The Imperial and majestic connotations of the half-length portrait are mentioned by Goffen, 494 and Ringbom, Icon to Narrative, 39f (who turns to intimacy on 48f).

Since the half-length figure, connoting a blessed soul, an imperial ruler or the Virgin all refer to the higher realms in an hierarchy, it is not surprising that writers too have granted the body's upper portion greater status, developing the topos pedes in terra, caput in coelo. Durandus speculated that Greek icons used the form "in order to remove all occasion for foolish thoughts" (Steinberg, 27, 143-44). In this regard it is worth noting that many

of the in abisso portraits are men of religious vocation who had disavowed their worldly and sexual nature.

Byzantine and Western texts early suggest an awareness that the half-length image precisely refers "to more than meets the eye" since the divine is unknowable: I. Lavin, "Bust," n 34 (Mesarites) and Steinberg, 27 (Leo VI).

Of course not only the Virgin or the Pantocrator but also the saints were often shown half-length, in icons, reliquaries, dossals and countless polyptychs, so the form and its suggestion of eternal presence was well known. For a convenient selection see White, Duccio, Ch V and figs 5, 16, 51; also, eg, a mid 14th century format, attributed to Barna da Siena and with a Dominican donor in diminutive full-length in Berlin, 45-46; and for the use of half-length saints or figures, who are not portraits, at the base of works to engage the viewer in the 16th century, see BB Florentine, II, Pls 1392, 1424, 1427.

For the Fouquet in Berlin, c 1450, see Berlin, 162 and Lane, 1970, 164. The Flemish diptych with a half-length devotional figure is discussed by Lane, 1970, 219-20, 229-31; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 294f; Ringbom, 45f. Roughly dating from 1460 and with the dividing frame, this Flemish format is quite different in form if not in conception, as Ringbom, 48 implicitly recognises. For closer examples from German Romanesque manuscripts see Lane, 1970, 74, 77, figs 62-64, 66, who does not however make any comment on the format or half-length type.

Ringbom, 42 n 17 briefly mentions the imperial box and parapet in Byzantine iconography; for Giotto's use of this to portray Pope Boniface VIII proclaiming the Jubilee of 1300 see C. Mitchell, "The Lateran Fresco of Boniface VIII," JWCI (1951):1-6. Ringbom, 43f also mentions the Flemish use of windows and enclosures, without reference to the settings used by Filippo Lippi (Chastel, 137-38). A. Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: illusionism and mysticism," AH 1 (1978):57-89, at n 51 links the "sort of pen" in Lippi's Annunciation, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, to the setting for Bernini's portraits in the Cornaro chapel, but he otherwise treats only works of the 16th century. Hence he forgets that Ghirlandaio had shown a family "flanking an altarpiece" (77) in both the Sassetti and Tornaquinci chapels and flanking a fictive altar in the Joachim and Zacharias scenes too. I. Lavin, Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts (London, 1980), 93f links Bernini's settings with coretti, so neither author investigates much older traditions.

The totus homo is discussed only in relation to sculpted busts by I. Lavin, "Bust". With the re-orientation I have suggested in n 128, much of Lavin's argument could be pertinent here. "From Manetti [On the Dignity and Excellence of Man, 1451-52] it was but a short step to the view of man as a free and independent being midway between Heaven and Hell, a concept which is one of the principal glories of Florentine humanist thought in the second half of the fifteenth century" (213). He then cites Palmieri's Città di Vita (1450s-60s): see Ch 1 Section D above. Man "midway" but never "modern" is the sense generated by the in abisso donor.

Many of the issues raised by the half-length donor may also relate to the domestic panel portrait (usually taking the bust or half-length form in the Quattrocento), such as eternal presence and preservation, funeral connotations and totus homo. The same considerations probably affected portraiture in family trees: those

illustrated by B. Hinz, "Studien zur Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses," Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 19 (1974):139-218, figs 9, 10, 13-16, all show portraits in half-length.

But the special significance of a donor portrait in a religious setting requires a consideration of such factors as placement at an altar, prayer gestures and eye glance, so that we are aware of the ritual and sacral nature of the visual effect.

130. For mss see Lane, 1970, passim; for Assisi n 77 above. The Daddi is reproduced in BB Florentine, I, Pl 165, with a contemporary "replica" in van Marle, Italian Schools, III:fig 212, and briefly discussed by Lane, 1970, 140 and Ringbom, Icon to Narrative, 43 n 20.

131. M. Davies, London, 119-22, without comment on the unusual framing. Meiss, Painter's Choice, 193 dates it to the early 1470s. F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 262-63 offers further evidence on Girolamo Rucellai's patronage.

132. BB Central, III, Pl 1236; in I:236-37 he notes that the Piedmontese artist was acquainted with Tuscan painting, including Ghirlandaio's. Further bibliography is given by N. Gabrielli, Galleria Sabauda. Maestri Italiani (Turin, 1971), 159-60, Tav 91 no 213. The precedent might be representations of Constantine shown the images of SS. Peter and Paul (eg BB Florentine, II, Pl 645).

A secular example of illusionary framing is A Woman holding a Portrait of a Man, attributed to Bernardo Licinio, c 1525-35 (Splendour of the Gonzaga [cited in n 115], 164), where the single painting appropriates something of the form of a diptych or paired portraits of a married couple. In this case the man is probably dead, so that the portrait itself, rather than an unframed figure, signified eternal presence.

133. Perugino, Collegio del Cambio, Perugia (1496-1507): Camesasca, Perugino, no 71L, Tav XXXVII; Pinturricchio, Annunciation, S.Maria Maggiore, Spello (1501): BB Central, III, Pl 1137 and Chastel, Studios, Pl 189; Gozzoli, Chapel, Medici Palace, Florence (c 1459): n 116 above; Botticelli, Adoration of the Magi, Uffizi, Florence (c 1472-75): n 104 above. See also Stubblebine (cited in n 96).

From an artist superbly skilled in portraiture, Domenico Ghirlandaio, we have at least 5 self-portraits, the first being his wide-eyed but blank gaze outwards as he appears at the left edge behind other portraits in the Funeral of S.Fina, Collegiata, S.Gimignano (c 1475). From there the degree of visibility and self-possession increases, through the Crossing of the Red Sea, Sistine Chapel, Vatican (c 1482), to the Raising, Sassetti chapel, S.Trinita (c 1482-85), to the Adoration for the Ospedale degli Innocenti (1488), to his last in the Joachim, Tornaquinci Chapel (c 1489-90), which is the most full-bodied possession of space and foreground. For further comment on the Joachim portrait see Ch 7 at n 76f. Convenient if poor reproductions of all these works are available in van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:figs 4, 19, 35, 40, 231.

Well known is van Eyck's "framed" inclusion within the Arnolfini Marriage, precisely by means of a mirror, with legalistic signature inscribed below: E. Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," BM 64 (1934):117-27; P. Schabacker, "'De Matrimonio ad Morganaticam Contracto': Jan van Eyck's 'Arnolfini' Portrait Reconsidered," AQ 35 (1972):375-98.

An example earlier than those of Perugino and Pinturricchio, of a

bust-length self-portrait framed, may be Vecchietta's presence in the Collegiata, Castiglione Olonna (c 1460), where a figure grips the sides of a "window": van Os, "Persona," 449, fig 8.

134. Gilbert, Documents, 135-36. He comments that the document "evokes ... the fundamental aesthetic assumption of the age that what the painting shows is fully real, not different from what is outside the painting," a comment he states more generally in "Last Suppers," 372. I would stress a less literal reading, considering the efficacy of the visual and its conscious manipulation. To use Gilbert's words from the latter article, I would instead distinguish between art as a "window" and as a "mirror" and pay more attention to the frame. For further disagreements, see nn 182, 207 below.

The procession is discussed succinctly by Elam (cited in n 115), 23, fig 29.

135. Gilbert, Documents, 134, 136. The wish for a cult, the votive's position, the political usage of the image before a large audience (including "they should all pray to her to preserve you in happiness for the future"), recall Lorenzo de' Medici's earlier use of votives (text at n 52).

136. On the cavalleresco spirit see Plant, "Fresco Painting," incl 169, 202, 223.

North Italian examples of armoured devotional figures are cited by M. Lavin, "Montefeltro Altarpiece," 368, n 9 and figs 3, 5; see also BB Central, II, Pls 219, 233. The type enters panels too in the 15th century (Piero della Francesca, Brera Altarpiece, M. Lavin, op.cit.; Mantegna, n 134 above; Giovanni Santi, Baxandall, Painting and Experience, Pl 62). For armoured donors in East Anglian mss. see Lane, 1970, 97f and for Flemish panels 191f, figs 216, 218. On tombs see, eg, S.F. Bridges and T. Ward Perkins, "Some Fourteenth Century Neapolitan military effigies, with notes on the families represented," Papers of the British School at Rome 24 (1956):158-73 and Panofsky, Tombs, 190, 208, 212, 219, 220, 222, 247, 257, 261-62, 274-75, 332, 343, 355a,b, 371, 378ff passim, 416, 429, 430.

A few Tuscan instances do, however, survive: P. Lorenzetti, S.Domenico, Siena (BB Central, II, Pl 86 and Meiss, Painter's Choice, fig 113); Spinello Aretino, S.Agostino, Arezzo, 1377 (BB Florentine, I, Pl 400); Giovanni da Milano (?), Carmine, Florence (van Marle, Italian Schools, IV:fig 118) where the only distinguishing attribute of the donor as a "knight" is a sword. The knights shown in two frescoes of political allegory are obviously offering their fealty in a communal context: A. Lorenzetti (n 80 above) and Jacopo di Cione, The Expulsion of the Duke of Athens, detached fresco, previously in the Palazzo della Signoria and now the Museo Nazionale, Florence (BB Florentine, I, Pl 233). A very different social context existed by the time of Piero di Cosimo's Portrait of a Man in Armour (Bacci, Piero, Pl 73; M. Davies, London, 424-25), where the background is, however, of the Piazza della Signoria as it was between 1504 and 1534, and Michelangelo's Medici tombs, S.Lorenzo.

The content and context of these Tuscan examples makes evident the religious and political nature of the armoured portrait. Lavin says of the North Italian examples that they show "pride of might" and "chivalric piety," seeking "protection in their military deeds" (368). However, other motives must be added, such as thanksgiving, fealty and posthumous prayer. Nor then is Piero della Francesca's representation

of Federigo da Montefeltro so starkly different. It is indeed a "pledge of fidelity" declaring "Federico's trustworthiness as a Soldier of God," but that it "is he who offers protection" to Ecclesia (370) is not borne out by visual cues nor tradition.

Lavin makes her claim on the basis that no interceding saint presents him to the Virgin and that he "stares straight before him in a totally abstract way" unlike "every early example" where "the donor looks imploringly at the Virgin." However the two instances from the Trecento in Tuscan town halls need no patron saint and the fresco in Arezzo, surely known to Piero, has the saint's left hand at a similar distance from and angle to the donor's head. Admittedly the elderly saint behind Federigo now holds a book but his raised foot, gaze and forward thrust of draperies and book all visually move the donor towards the Virgin.

At least one instance from the Trecento, not cited by Lavin, also has the donors staring ahead (BB Central, II, Pl 233) and now Federigo's gaze is the common unseeing one of donors in "civilian" garb. Indeed, on the necessity of such a gaze see text at n 194 below. Lavin claims that "Federico's gaze implies no such supplication ... He kneels in a strict, unbending profile in close physical proximity to the holy personages, but emotionally isolated from them ... Piero has given him a pose archaistic in its hieratic immobility, and has expressed with it a new psychological independence" (368). On the contrary, I would argue that Piero and his kneeling patron were being quite pious and finely aware of the visual notations used. The lack of a patron saint and the gaze which keeps the donor in strict, immobile profile are features of van Eyck's Rolin Altarpiece, for instance, where again the donor is not literally present in the heavenly sanctuary, let alone psychologically independent. A deliberate ambiguity applies also to the elderly saint "presenting" Federigo and to Piero's famous use of the architecture (eg Lavin 367 herself on the latter). Perhaps something of Lavin's interpretation of Federigo's political position vis-a-vis the Church and Pope at the time still applies to this "pledge of fidelity" but with more sense of traditional veneration and visual tension or deliberate ambiguity than she would allow.

137. For the placement of arme and such see Ames-Lewis, "Devices," and n 88 above; an instance of name saints is in n 102 above. For Gozzoli see n 116; for the earlier cycle, Vasari-Milanesi, II:50. Goldthwaite and Rearick, "San Paolo," n 63 also comment on "the Republic's reluctance to permit personal glorification, a stricture the Medici were careful to observe," in relation to sculpted portraiture.

138. See nn 117, 118; J. Polzer, "Aristotle, Mohammed and Nicholas V in Hell," AB 46 (1964):457-69.

139. The lost Sagra by Masaccio, recording the consecration in 1422 of S. Maria del Carmine, is treated by Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 12-13; Berti, Masaccio, esp 23-24, 79-82, figs 43-48; M. Chiarini, "Una citazione dalla 'Sagra' di Masaccio nel Ghirlandaio," Paragone 149 (1962):53-56; Gilbert, "Masaccio's Sagra" and Chiarini's response in Arte Illustrata 39-40 (1971):78-80; Vasari-Milanesi, II:295-97. For the Brancacci chapel see n 96 above; for S. Egidio's consecration and its fresco, J. Beck, "Masaccio's Early Career as a Sculptor," AB 53 (1971):177-95 and Vasari-Milanesi, II:55. For S. Maria Novella earlier see Ch 6 n 74. The impact of papal ceremonial and practices upon portraiture requires investigation.

140. Vasari-Milanesi, II:54; D. Kent, Rise, esp 166 for Niccolo's political stance.

141. Upon his return from exile, Cosimo did employ (by proxy?) a familiar, political form of portraiture, commissioning from Castagno a series of infamosi uomini which showed hung effigies of the defeated Albizzi: H. Horne, "Andrea del Castagno," BM 7 (1905):223-24 dates them to 1434; Horster, Castagno, 12, 190 to 1440.

Much remains unclear on the lost fresco cycle in the cappella maggiore of S.Egidio. Vasari (II:673, 676-78) attributed to Domenico Veneziano the Meeting at the Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin and Marriage of the Virgin (the last unfinished) on one wall and, on the other, to Castagno, an Annunciation, Presentation of the Virgin and Dormition. Opposite each other on the lowest registers, the Marriage and Dormition contained portraits which Vasari alone identified, but with great precision.

As for the Tornaquinci chapel, however, we need to be aware of changes. At S.Egidio it is evident that the Virgin's cycle has no consecutive narrative flow, even if one attempts to read the walls alternately. Perhaps Domenico's wall was intended as a self-contained cycle of the Virgin, appropriately placed on the "woman's side" of the chapel closest to the female cloister and ward (Wohl, Domenico Veneziano, 206, fig 24 with Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 105, 163 enabling this deduction regarding placement). A cycle of St. Luke opposite would have been appropriate in terms of iconography, placement and function, since the chapel was the home of the painters' Compagnia di S.Luca and, when not referred to simply as the cappella maggiore by nearly all the documents, was called the "cappella di SantoLuca" at just this time, 1441-43, when Luca della Robbia produced its tabernacle (Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 234). [The few writers I have consulted never note the chapel's dedication: "S.Maria Nuova," as the Ospedale, would presume, as at S.Maria Novella, an interest in the Assumption which Vasari does not list. "S.Egidio," as the church, may be another possibility but no document speaks of the chapel thus.]

Further, this other cycle may have been reserved for a Florentine, lessening scholars' concern (Ames-Lewis, "Veneziano," 68, 74) that a foreign painter was commissioned to decorate the devotional headquarters of the Florentine painters. Certainly actual execution was to be divided thus, but over an extended period. Domenico produced the Golden Gate in 1439, the Birth in 1441-42 (when Luca made his tabernacle in the new technique of enamelled terracotta) and, Wohl argues, the sinopia only for the Marriage by 1445 when he left S.Egidio (esp 200-09). The slow pace continued, with the Tuscan Andrea Castagno only undertaking (or returning to?) the opposite wall in 1451-53 (Horster, esp 205) and, in 1461, Baldovinetti finishing "una storia," plausibly identified by Wohl as the Marriage (esp 347).

So several changes in style and programme occurred over two decades. Patronage too may have altered. Ames-Lewis, 68f cogently argues that the earliest campaign could not have been overseen by the Portinari, who held the patronage rights, as this branch consisted then of young children under Medici care. We do not know whether such Medici "proxy patronage" as I would call it, applied again in the 1450s and 1460s, when the sons of Folco Portinari were now adult but absent from Florence (de Roover, Medici Bank, 232f). (Not till the 1480s are the Portinari active at S.Egidio, most noticeably donating Hugo van der Goes' triptych: Blum, Netherlandish Triptychs, Ch 8).

Vasari observed the spedalingo kneeling like a donor in the Dormition but the name, "Messer Bernardo di Domenico della Volta," is not that of the spedalingo, "ser Iacopo di Piero," who contracted with both Castagno and Baldovinetti; nor can it accord with the ser Michele di Fruosino da Panzano, spedalingo in 1433 who aided Cosimo's escape from Florence, the event Ames-Lewis associates with the choice of portraits made by both Domenico and Castagno (esp n 6; D. Kent, Rise, esp 292ff is a fuller reference on these events).

All in all then the portraits' dates, intended significance, artist and placement require further consideration. Only Ames-Lewis has addressed the issue, developing Vasari's clear association of the Dormition portraits with the "liberazione di Cosimo" from the Palazzo della Signoria's "alberghetto." Of the 6 named quite precisely, one was a self-portrait, one the spedalingo, one the arch-villain Rinaldo Albizzi, two were men of the lower classes who unlocked Cosimo's prison, and the last was Puccio Pucci, another man of minor station whose partisanship made him, in Cosimo's words, one of "my most valued friends" (D. Kent, esp 105, 123). Ames-Lewis does not point out that Cosimo's escape from probable death was an apt reference for the Dormition, in which the Virgin only "falls asleep" and then is assumed bodily into heaven (Ch 6 n 84 below). Cosimo's implied apotheosis would fit the time of Castagno or Baldovinetti more than the early 1440s, but it would best suit Vasari's own idealisation of Duke Cosimo.

The Marriage portraits, by either Domenico (c 1443-45) or Baldovinetti (1461-62), were identified by Vasari as including "Folco Portinari, ed altri di quella famiglia," hence another sort of donor portrait, along with "messer Bernadetto de' Medici, conestabile de' Fiorentini, con un berrettone rosso; Bernardo Guadagni, che era gonfaloniere." Guadagni, whose costume presumably indicated his office, was Gonfaloniere not in 1411 (Wohl, 209 n 16) but precisely during the troubled Sept-Oct 1433 term (Ames-Lewis, 69-70; D. Kent, esp 292f). "Head of a leading exile family who died just before the return of the Medici," his death in Sept 1434 signified that "God has paid him back" according to the Mediceans (Ibid, 165, 331). So he is represented, rather like Rinaldo Albizzi in the Dormition, as Ames-Lewis, 70 says of that figure alone, for his "historical significance," a dramatic contrast and an historically veristic inclusion. One suspects he was one of the rejected suitors in the Marriage! The only Medici recognised by Vasari was "Bernadetto," a distant cousin whose "only wish is that he [Cosimo] should escape without injury" (D. Kent, 302). Probably an agent in that escape (Ames-Lewis, 70), he was later "the discoverer and patron of the young Castagno" (Horster, 16; also Horne, 69, 222, 224 and Vasari-Milanesi, II:668).

So Domenico Veneziano may have executed some portraiture in S.Egidio, which may have contained Medicean allusions. The situation is clearer on his tondo, the Adoration of the Magi, after the arguments of both Ames-Lewis and Wohl that appeared independently in 1979 and disagree principally on which figure is a portrait of Piero de' Medici (Ames-Lewis, 74f; Wohl, 15, 18, 19, 70-74, 120-23; with Ames-Lewis' review of Wohl, AH 4 [1981]:esp 341). Here, c 1439, a North Italian and courtly manner is introduced, perhaps freshly under the impact of the Council of Florence with its Eastern and Papal contingents. In terms of portraiture, what another "foreign" artist had done in the Strozzi altarpiece of the Magi in 1423 was now

extended, but in a tondo for domestic view: full-length portraits are more evident amongst the actors and perhaps include Emperor John VIII Palaeologus. An "honour portrait" of the Northern mode, with possible references to an historical occasion of great ceremonial splendour, its only Florentine precedent for the clarity allowed the portraits would seem to be Masaccio's Magi predella of 1426 (n 96 above).

142. Becker, "Lay Piety," esp 182, 184; Borsook, Mural Painters, 39; Hoyer, Familienkapelle, esp 50ff; J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise. Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485 (London, 1972).

143. F.W. Kent, "Più superba"; Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 263f; cf Goldthwaite, esp Building (for the latter see reviews by C. Burroughs, AH [1983]:359-63 and R. Starn, AB [1983]:329-35).

144. Francesco Sassetti is dressed in an ermine lined cloak, of greater splendour than that of the adjacent Lorenzo de' Medici; not having been Gonfaloniere, that costume was not available to him as it was to Giovanni Tornabuoni. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, esp 51-52, 58, argue that Francesco used the fresco to convey a sense of belonging to the elite's core, precisely at a time when his status was in some jeopardy. For restraint see n 137 above and for inwardness Section D ii below. The "Theory of Magnificence" is also relevant here: see esp H. Baron, "Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought," Speculum 13 (1938): 1-37; Fraser Jenkins, "Magnificence"; Herlihy, "Family and Property"; O'Malley, Praise and Blame, Ch 5; Poggio Bracciolini's On Nobility in Watkins, Humanism and Liberty, esp 124, 129, 139, 143.

145. On Dei see n 221; for the councillors, Brucker, Florentine Politics, 73; Civic World, esp 290-03, 300-02; Documentary Study, 81; "Humanism, Politics and the Social Order in Early Renaissance Florence" in Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations (Florence, 1979), I:5-11.

Comments on historiography, incl a link with rhetoric and/or art, incl Ames-Lewis, "Veneziano," 70-72; Angiola (cited in Ch 6 n 26), 1-27; Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators; P. Fortini Brown, "Painting and History in Renaissance Venice," AH 7 (1984):263-94; Holmes, Florentine Enlightenment; Larner, Culture and Society, 80, 111f; N. Rubinstein, "Vasari's Painting of 'The Foundation of Florence' in the Palazzo Vecchio" in Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower (London, 1967), 64-73.

Mark Phillip's worthwhile focus on vernacular history, although neglecting to consider the pro-Medicean texts of such men as Dei, might offer the art historian a category worth investigation (as P. Brown has now taken up in relation to Venice). His conclusion on the importance of "continuity" is also important and relevant to the Tornabuoni chapel: "from Velluti's domestic chronicle to Guicciardini's family memoir, family traditions and family concerns were always at the center of the vernacular tradition. Only the city itself loomed larger in the narratives of its native historians": "Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and the Tradition of Vernacular Historiography in Florence," American Historical Review 84 (1979):86-105, 104-05.

146. For the Sagra see n 139. An interesting group of "history" subjects with portraits, needing investigation, is the depiction of a confraternity's activities, presenting its own myth and exemplary

actions to inspire members: eg BB Florentine, I, Pl 365; BB Central, II, Pls 795-97; the Ghirlandaio workshop cycle in S. Martino dei Buonomini (van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:figs 93-95).

147. Gilbert, Documents, 211-13, used at n 69 above too; for the document of 1561 see Ch 7 Sections B (a) and C (a).

148. Adapted slightly from Gombrich, Warburg, 117; see Ch 7 Section B (b).

149. Arlotto, Facezie, 101f records the rush to see the Elevation; Blum, Netherlandish Triptychs, 62f esp 64: "By taking a less active part in the service, the laity were reduced more and more to the role of spectators: witnesses rather than participants. Finally on June 15, 1415, the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity was formally sanctioned." Blum's emphasis upon passivity and distance is typical of her argument concerning artists and patrons after c 1460, with which I would disagree; Borsook, "Cults and Imagery"; P. Browe, Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter (Munich, 1933), esp Chs 3, 4, incl 66-68 on seeing; idem, Textus antiqui de Festo Corporis Christi (Munster, 1934); Brucker, Documentary Study, 173; H. Caspary, "Kult und Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie in Italien vor dem Tridentium," Archiv fur Liturgiewissenschaft, 9/I (1965):102-30; M.E. Cope, The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the sixteenth century (New York, 1979); Eisler, "Man of Sorrows," 243 and passim; idem, "Perspective"; Gilbert, "Last Suppers," incl 388ff where the examples, esp from predelle, stressing the sacramental nature of the "Last Supper," are from the later Quattrocento [the distinction he draws between Last Suppers near altars ("sacramental") and in refectories ("ethical") is valuable for its attention to the importance of location, but see the queries raised at the conference, 402-07, which in my terms treat visual manipulation and consciousness exercised by artists and patrons]; Hatfield, Botticelli, esp 48f; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 117f; Ladner (cited in n 154), 264f esp on the "act of visualization"; M. Lavin, "Corpus Domini"; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, II:720 nos 8, 9, where the new capitoli of the Confraternity of St. Dominic, approved by the friars of S. Maria Novella in 1477, regulated that each member receive the eucharist twice a year but every morning "almeno vegha levare el corpo"; B. Neri (ed) In sermone inedito di A. Poliziano (Montepulciano, 1902) for his "De Sacrosanctae Eucharistiae mysterio"; L. Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays," Speculum 48 (1973):491-509; Trexler, incl "Sacred Image," 34 and Public Life, incl 53-56, 101-02, 203.

150. H. Caspary, Das Sakramenttabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trent. Gestalt, Ikonographie und Symbolik Kultische Funktion (Munich, 1965). The literature on Tuscan tabernacles of the 15th century includes Cope (cited in n 149), esp Ch II; Janson, Donatello, 95-101; O. Kurz, "A Group of Florentine Drawings for an Altar," JWCI 18 (1955):esp 46f; A. Parronchi, "Tabernacolo brunelleschiano," Prospettiva 11 (Oct 1977):55-56; Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 33f (with Michelozzo's contribution to the project in Caplow, Michelozzo, 434-37); Schulz, Bernardo Rossellino, 52-58. For confraternities, esp in Venice, see Cope (cited in n 149), and P. Hills, "Piety and Patronage in Cinquecento Venice: Tintoretto and the Scuole del Sacramento," AH 6 (1983):30-43.

151. Conv Soppr, 102, 106, unnumbered fragment, for the bequest of 1462; a practice mentioned too in a will of 1367 regarding S.Trinita (Hoger, Familienkapelle, 191, Doc II) and in a codicil of 1400 for S. Ambrogio (Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," n 70). See also Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 98-100. Corazza reports Eugenius IV celebrating the Purification of the Virgin at S.Maria Novella in 1435, at which candles were lit "così al levare del Santissimo Sacramento" ("Diario," 288). For the Purification and the symbolism of light see Ch 6 Section B; for the visual effect of lighting, Ch 5 at n 151ff.

For Luca della Robbia's angels holding candlesticks on the Cathedral altar of c 1448 see Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 39, 236, Col Pl IV, Pl 46; Desiderio da Settignano's Altar of the Sacrament at S.Lorenzo which included such angels at the side, Seymour, Verrocchio, 115, figs 115-19; Verrocchio's bronze candelabrum for the Chapel of the Palazzo della Signoria, c 1468, *Ibid.*, 161, figs 31-34 and Passavant, Verrocchio, 10-11, 171-72, Pls 2-4 (with another example, 11, fig 3); Bernini's angels for the Altar of the Sacrament in St. Peter's, 1673-74, R. Wittkower, Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, 3rd ed., (Oxford, 1981), 260-63, 277.

See nn 91, 92 above for proximity. In this context, it is interesting that the tomb of the Medici brothers, by Verrocchio at S.Lorenzo, was placed in an arch between the family's Old Sacristy and a Chapel of the Sacrament: Clearfield (cited in Ch 5 n 95), 21, also 30; Seymour, 54, 161-62, fig 35.

152. Purchased 1976; Christiansen, Gentile, fig 53; G. Moran, "The Original Provenance of the Predella Panel by Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta) in the National Gallery of Victoria - a Hypothesis," Art Bulletin of Victoria 21 (1980):33-36.

Representations of miracles at an altar were popular with Sassetta and other Siense: eg Berenson, Homeless, fig 97 and Carli, Sassetta, Pls 4, 5, 121. For Uccello see n 155 below; Raphael's Mass at Bolsena is wellknown.

Other subject matter affected by eucharistic veneration includes the Adoration of the Magi: Hatfield, Botticelli, Ch II; U. Nilgen, "The Epiphany and Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Medieval Epiphany Scenes," AB 49 (1967):311-16; Steinberg, "Sexuality of Christ," 65f, 164-66, esp Ghirlandai's tondo of 1487 for the Tornabuoni (Pl 54 here), for which the author stresses the seeing of Christ as man without linking this to the eucharist. For Last Suppers see Gilbert, "Last Suppers"; M. Lavin, "Corpus Domini"; L. Steinberg, "Leonardo's Last Supper," Art Quarterly (1973):297-410.

153. Jungman is quoted by Hatfield, Botticelli, 49.

For Eisler, "Perspective," see n 106 above. The association of the architecture of Masaccio's Trinity, designed by Brunelleschi, with the architecture of tabernacles has more often been made: Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 33f; Schlegel, "Masaccio's Trinity," 31.

For O'Malley and Steinberg see n 107. The former found very few explicit references to the meaning or reception of the Eucharist (167-68), though an exception was a sermon before Eugenius IV in S.Maria Novella (c 1435? see n 151 above). In part this again would imply a greater stress on visual adoration rather than reception (n 193 below). Further, it might be determined by audience: like Last Suppers in refectories (n 149 above), the sermons O'Malley investigates are addressed to those whose vocation was religious. Finally, the theme of fraternity and love evoked by the Corpus Christi

(n 168 below) is instead that chosen by O'Malley's preachers. Orations before confraternities, on the other hand, seem to concentrate upon the eucharist (n 170 below).

154. See n 78 for the Pietà and n 63 on S.Vitale. Examples of the other practices are profuse throughout Lane, 1970.

G.B. Ladner has suggested that the origin of our now familiar gesture of prayer, palms placed together, lies in the gesture used by the celebrant when he held the elevated Host: "The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" in Didascaliae: Studies in honour of Anselm Albareda, ed S. Prete (New York, 1961), 245-75. Lane, 1970, 84-87 and *passim* seizes on this alone to associate every usage of the gesture with special concern for the sacrifice of the Mass, whereas its occurrence long after its introduction in the early to mid 13th century strikes me as being by then a common gesture of veneration. Further, the variation of gesture shown by figures waiting to receive the Host would repay careful study. This ordinary gesture of prayer can be used (BB Central, III, Pl 1321) but so too can several others: variations incl BB Central II, Pl 987; Lane, 1970, fig 94. In frescoes from the second half of the Trecento the communicant waits with hands crossed on the chest: van Marle, Italian Schools, V:fig 197; Vasaturo (cited in n 125), fig 3; as does the apostle receiving the Host from Christ in Fra Angelico's Communion in both S.Marco and on the SS. Annunziata Armadio (Baldini, Fra Angelico, nos 90, 116 0). So too those venerating the eucharistic relic in Mino da Fiesole's tabernacle relief for S. Ambrogio adopt this gesture (Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," Pl 21) which is the one used by Giovanni Tornabuoni in his donor portrait at S. Maria Novella (see Ch 7 esp n 181). Ladner, n 33 only mentions this gesture of crossed arms as indicating reverence in Byzantine art. Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 93 refer to this cancellatio gesture as "a habitual attitude of prayer only among certain communities (the Carthusians; in the Benedictine Suscipe)," whereas the gesture is more widely associated with prayer and supplication by L. Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages (London, 1927), 19-20.

155. Eisler, "Man of Sorrows," for Cortona. On Uccello see M. Goukovskij, "A Representation of the 'Profanation of the Host': A Puzzling Painting in the Hermitage and its possible author," AB (1969):170-73 and M. Lavin, "Corpus Domini." Dirk Bouts' Altarpiece of the Sacrament (1464-67) has been treated by Blum, Netherlandish Triptychs, Ch 6. See also Borsook, "Cults and Imagery" for S. Ambrogio.

156. For the S. Marco works see Baldini, Fra Angelico, nos 90, 93; a Communion on the Armadio from SS. Annunziata is no 116 0. The Temptation has not been reproduced. Further, his high altarpiece for S. Marco, with a Pietà in the predella projecting Christ's body forward and presenting it as the Sacrament, and a small Crucifixion above, set at the base of the main panel, refers to the ritual practised at the altar.

The work in Rome is mentioned in Vasari-Milanesi, II:517 (quoted from the Everyman ed, I:340); Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 238-39; and its date established by C. Gilbert, "Fra Angelico's fresco cycles in Rome: their number and dates," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38, 3-4 (1975), esp 246-49, 257-61.

157. Hatfield, Botticelli, esp Ch II on the Magi altarpiece; Lightbown, Botticelli, I:29-30 and II:23-24 for the other work.

158. Reproduced in BB Florentine, II, Pls 1010-11. See Vasari-Milanesi, III:185-86 (quoted from the Everyman ed, II:54) who there recognized "oltre a molti altri" a portrait of Pico della Mirandola. Hence the work most readily reaches the literature as a group portrait of humanists: S. Dresden, Humanism in the Renaissance (London, 1968), 12-13 as "Pico, Ficino, Politian" and Barfucci, Lorenzo, Pl 15 who identifies the middle figure in the same detail as Pico. A. Lorenzoni, Cosimo Rosselli (Florence, 1921), 39f, 76 is also most concerned with the identification of portraits. A rare exception to the neglect of Rosselli is H. Saalman, "The Baltimore and Urbino Panels: Cosimo Rosselli," BM 110 (1968):376-83, whose fig 7 reproduces the S.Ambrogio fresco but mentions it only in passing. Even Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 176, 178, 181-82 mentions Rosselli's fresco briefly.

For the miracle see O. Orzalesi, Della Chiesa di S.Ambrogio in Firenze e dei suoi restauri (Florence, 1900) and Richa, Chiese, II: 240f.

159. Gilbert, "Portrait," 284 and idem, "Last Suppers," 383; van Marle, Italian Schools, XI:606 explicitly linked the S.Ambrogio fresco with the compositions and groupings at S.Maria Novella; Marchini, "Frescoes in the Choir of S.Maria Novella," 327 discerns Rosselli's style in the chapel's upper frescoes.

160. Weinstein, "Critical issues" uses the phrase "civic religion"; for Vasari see n 158 above. On Caroli and the Office see Hatfield, Botticelli, 52 and Orlandi, Necrologio, II:353-81. However, the paleography of the manuscript, BNF, XXXVI, 70 seems to me to be of the 14th century. His exposition on the hymns is BNF, Magl, XL.9.46. For Caroli see also at nn 173, 208 here and Ch 5 n 181. The confraternity of the Madonna del Neve at S.Ambrogio also participated in a "feast and procession" for Corpus Christi: Comp Rel Soppr, Capitoli, 606, ff 29v, 38v-39v, 52r-52v (the latter trans in Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 224). But S.Maria Novella is not mentioned in these capitoli, nor in Borsook's study of S.Ambrogio, "Cults and Imagery."

161. For the early history of the feast see the sources cited in n 163. S. Antonino's role is often noted: S. Orlandi, "I Primi 5 Anni di Episcopato di S.Antonino," Memorie Domenicane 76 (1959):150f; repr in his Antonino with App II:136f documentation of visitations; Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 121. In the 1450s he affirmed the canon law requirement that "almeno una volta l'anno si debbano confessare e comunicare nella Pasqua": R. Trexler, "The Episcopal Constitutions of Antoninus of Florence," Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 59 (1979):258, see also 270. For a relevant controversy between the Dominicans and Franciscans over the cult of the Precious Blood see Ettlinger, Sistine Chapel (cited in Ch 3 n 144), 83-84; G. Geiger's review of Hatfield, Botticelli, AB 62 (1980):321.

162. See n 73; Baldini, Fra Angelico, nos 53, 70, 75, 84, 92, 94, 95, 101, 104, 105, 109; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, 219, Pls 66, 72-73, 141, figs 16, 41, 89. For Torquemada's address in 1439 on the eucharist see J. Gill, The Council of Florence (Cambridge, 1959), 274, 275, 280-81, 301.

163. This and the following brief history of the Corpus Christi celebration at S.Maria Novella is drawn from diverse, often sketchy, sources. See esp, in chronological order, Fineschi, Corpus Domini; F. Mariotti, Della Festa del Corpus Domini in Firenze. Notizia Storica (Florence, 1855); Orlandi, Necrologio, I:450, 541ff, II:410, 438-39, 443, 469-70; Hatfield, Botticelli, 49f; Borsook, Mural Painters, 48-54, 58. See n 118 above for the Spanish Chapel.

Other sources on the Corpus Christi fešta include nn 149-50; Bonniwell, Dominican Liturgy, 223-25; Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," esp 149-58 passim; F. Callaey, "Origine e Sviluppo della Feste del Corpus Domini," Euntes Docete 10 (1957):3-33; A.N. Galpern, "The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth Century Champagne" in The Pursuit of Holiness in late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, ed C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 141-76; King, Liturgies of the Orders, 359-60, 371, 372; G. Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (London, 1974), 59-67.

The event of 1321 is recorded in Santi Arrighi (OP), "Memorie del Convento di S.Maria Novella," (c 1626-27), BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96. f 13r. The suppression of 1392 is reported by Trexler, "Magi," 154f, his Public Life, 272 and n 198, and Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," n 67. The conflict with the Cathedral canons, former "owners" of the site, and a procession as a ritual enactment of their claims for possession, is mentioned by Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 29. For early actions by the Dominicans favouring the Corpus Christi see MOPH III: 70, 234, 300 (1254, 1286, 1300).

164. For a possible Papal stimulus to the feast in Florence as early as 1412 see Corazza, "Diario," 252; Cambi's Istorie, XX:142-43 makes a similar mention of the "Corpus Domini" in Feb 1419. Martin V's actions have not been associated closely with the declaration of 1425 but Papal ceremonial impressed the chronicler Corazza (esp 257, 259f, 263, 269, 273) and Papal practice probably stimulated the Florentine usage of group and honour portraiture. Two Bulls by Martin amplified the feast: Franco and Dalmazzo, Bullarum, 4:726-27 (25 Jan 1426), 731-32 (26 May 1429). Later Papal Entries with the Corpus Christi include those of Eugenius IV in 1434 (Corazza, 285, 286 n 2), Pius II in 1459 (Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 75-76) and Leo X in 1515 (J. Shearman, "The Florentine Entrata of Leo X, 1515," JWCI 38 [1975]: 151-52).

Fineschi, Corpus Domini, 14ff offers the best documentation for 1425, the subsequent disputes and the resolution of 1459 (in which Pius mentions S.Maria Novella, "in qua deposito super altari maiore Dominico Corpore": 26); to which Trexler has added, unwittingly and only briefly the Provisioni reference of 24 Aug 1425 ("Sacred Image," 10 and Public Life, 55). See also Borsook, Mural Painters, 58 and n 6; Goffen, "Masaccio," 498.

165. Hall, "The tramezzo in S.Croce," 340 n 51, from Borghigiani, an 18th century compilation from older records now lost; Hatfield, Botticelli, 50-51.

166. Pulci in Gage, Life in Italy, 52; Dei, "Cronica," MSS, 119, f 38v; Giusto d'Anghiari's report of 1477 is as cited by R. Trexler, "Florentine Theatre, 1280-1500, A checklist of performances and institutions," Forum Italicum 14 (1980):468 (n 149 above gives another more general reference to the Corpo at S.Maria Novella in 1477). Fineschi, Corpus Domini, 38-39 documents a procession in 1494, but

given that year's turmoils and Landucci's failure to mention the festa, this may be an error for another year. In 1497 Landucci, Diario, 150-51 records the "processione" by Savonarola but does not mention any church, whereas on the previous day S.Maria Novella's sacristy books note the purchase of wax "per la festa del corpo di Cristo": for this and 1500 see Ch 6 n 8; for 1521, Fineschi 34f; for 1522, Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 129f; for 3 processions in the 1580s, G. de' Ricci, Cronaca, 321, 364, 521. In 1739 Francesconi, Firenze sacra, 185-86 notes it.

For the 1480s, the decade of immediate relevance to the Tornaquinci chapel, we have only indirect evidence. It was from 1481, with Mino da Fiesole's commission to produce a marble tabernacle, that the Cappella del Miracolo at S.Ambrogio was rebuilt and to which the monks at S.Maria Novella processed (n 160 above, esp Orlandi, Necrologio, II:380-81), a ceremony reflected in Rosselli's fresco of 1486 (n 158 above). Fra Simone Berti delivered a sermon at S.Maria Novella on Palm Sunday 1485 which treated the necessity of penitence when taking the Host (Zafarana, "Una raccolta privata di prediche," 1055-58). Certain ritual, pastoral and artistic events then indicate a continuing attention to the eucharist at S.Maria Novella.

167. Gombrich, Warburg, 115 cf Gilbert, "Portrait," 284: "citizens seeing a mystery play"; the chronicle is cited in n 165 above.

168. On unity see 1 Cor. 12:12, the text cited by Rinuccini, Lettere, 23 in an oration of 1457; Borsook, Mural Painters, 50; Hatfield, Botticelli, 54ff. The Attavante ms. is Trexler, Public Life, Pl 16. Galpern (cited in n 163 above), 169, 171 documents the 1570 occasion. Nicholas of Cusa is in Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 624-26. The Office for S.Ambrogio (n 160) often mentions citizens and ecclesia within the context of the corpo.

169. Hatfield, Botticelli, 53 (quoted here) and idem, "Magi," 122ff esp 131. E. Garin, "Desideri da riforma nell'oratorio del Quattrocento" in Contributi alla storia del Concilio di Trento e della Controriforma, Quaderni di 'Belfagor,' i (Florence, 1948), 1-10; repr in his La Cultura, 166-82. In the latter see also "Problemi di religione e filosofia nella cultura Fiorentina del Quattrocento," 127-42. Garin's essay on "riforma" would now fit well with O'Malley's thesis in Praise and Blame, Chs 5 and 6.

For earlier developments in spirituality see Marrow's Introduction (cited in n 220) and Rosenwein and Little (n 118 above), esp 19, 22f, 26.

170. Ficino, Letters, II:37, see also 79-80, his "short Lenten oration" to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1477. Other such orations are in Hatfield, "Magi"; B. Neri (ed) Un sermone inedito di A.Poliziano (Montepulciano, 1902); Rinuccini, Lettere, esp 22-23 (1457), 146-62 (1470) and 185-87 (1487), the latter much more penitential and arousing (n 214 below). The importance of these sermons and orations was recognised by P.O. Kristeller, "Lay Religious Traditions and Florentine Platonism" in his Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters (Rome, 1956), 99-122. It is notable but not commented upon that nearly all such orations treat the "Corpo di Cristo" and other eucharistic themes (eg the list in Kristeller, 105 n 17).

Garin notes the "interiorità del divino" in such writers as Giannozzo Manetti (La Cultura, 136). O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 175-77 also notes in late 15th and early 16th century sermons "an

interiorized religious sentiment" and an "emphasis on inner affections and attitudes" which were balanced nevertheless by action, including Christian "good works" (see also nn 173, 179 below).

171. Hay, Church in Italy, 80, 93. On confraternities see Becker, "Lay Piety"; Hatfield, "Magi"; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, incl II:698f on the Confraternity of St. Dominic at S.Maria Novella with its "regola più stretta" after 1477; Trexler, "Adolescence" and Public Life; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood.

172. Hay, Church in Italy, 79 (on S. Antonino, 79-80). On confession see also Price Zimmermann, "Confession"; T.N. Tentler, "The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control" in The Pursuit of Holiness in late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, ed C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), esp 105, 106, 110, 122 and intervention by L. Boyle, 127-28; idem, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, 1977).

173. The sermon on efficacy by Cajetan is paraphrased by O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 109, who comments that "By an exposition of standard Thomistic doctrine on secondary causality and on man's 'participation in the divine nature,' Cajetan has established the Renaissance themes of man's dignity and the emphasis on action that we associate with Jacob Burckhardt. Burckhardt would be surprised, however, to see these themes grounded in an orthodox Christian theology" (see also 173). For Fra Giovanni Caroli's commentary see n 160 above. Sermons by Fra Simone Berti and others are given in Zafarana, "Una raccolta privata di prediche," esp 1034-36, 1055-58, 1068-71.

174. For Berenson see n 218; for Matteo Palmieri and Ficino, Ch 1 esp at Section D.

Garin has pointed to the continuing civic content of later Quattrocento philosophy, summarising in one essay: "L'umanesimo fiorentino, rimasto nel suo fondamento civile anche quando fu platonico, combatte perche la città terrena fosse immagine della città celeste; pose una pia philosophia al servizio di una docta religio perche il filosofia da sterile giuoco di sillogismi si facesse operoso programma onde la pace scendesse fra gli uomini nel secolo nuovo" (La Cultura, 142).

175. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 23, 30; O'Malley in n 173 above.

176. Most of the quotations here derive from Martines, Social World, in a section entitled "The Decline of Civic Humanism," 286-302, esp 291, 293, 294, 296, 297. The other chief references are to Lopez, "Hard Times," then Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 256-66.

An historiographical context is provided in G. Brucker (ed) Renaissance Italy: Was It the Birthplace of the Modern World? (New York, 1958); K.H. Dannenfeldt (ed) The Renaissance. Medieval or Modern? (Lexington, Mass., 1959); W.K. Ferguson, The Renaissance in Historical Thought (Cambridge, 1948).

Other reflections of such thinking about the later 15th century as a time of increasing individualism, atomism and "withdrawal" include Becker, "Lay Piety"; Goldthwaite, esp Private Wealth, 253ff; A. Hauser, The Social History of Art. Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque (London, 1962 ed.), II:34, passim; Marks, "Financial Oligarchy," esp 146. The last three cited, like Lopez and to some extent Martines, notably focus on economic issues. In a most

individual way, Trexler's Public Life has succumbed somewhat to this interpretative cluster, arguing that Florence imported many of her aristocratic ceremonies and styles to overcome shame at her "tarnished burgher image" (240).

The move towards a more aristocratic yet economically depressed culture is fundamental to Gombrich's account of Medici patronage, where the notion of a generational cycle and decay is another underlying structure: Norm and Form, 35-57. More recent studies suggest a different view of Lorenzo's architectural patronage in relation to funding and the economy: Elam, "Urban Development"; Foster, Poggio, eg 308, who argues that financial troubles led to the expansion of agricultural activities, so implicitly a rentier mentality is turned into desperate action!; F.W. Kent, "New Light on Lorenzo de' Medici's convent at Porta San Gallo," BM 124 (1982):292-94. Often the supposed, tyrannical "cause" of this "flight," Lorenzo himself, is seen as its common victim, retreating from political activity to private poetry and contemplation: M. Shapiro, "Poetry and Politics in the Comento of Lorenzo de' Medici," RenQ (1973):444-53; S. Sturm, Lorenzo de' Medici (New York, 1974), Ch 7.

On language, Molho, "Cosimo," 10, for instance, claims that for the rich and powerful it was "increasingly allusive, synoptic, esoteric," Trexler, Public Life, 436f that the "tone of discourse" with Lorenzo "is best characterised as chummy obsequiousness." Cf Wilcox, Humanist Historiography, 182ff on the concreteness of Scala's language. The role of language and rhetoric throughout the Quattrocento needs more systematic attention. Studies by Baxandall and O'Malley are of particular use to art historians.

The "persistence" of "the traditional genetic-modernist bias" has been noted by Trinkaus, "Recent Studies," esp 686, as has been the link still made between metaphysics and "a more despotic, hierarchical, courtly political condition" (694). To this he makes an approving exception, Weinstein, Savonarola, which he says establishes "the homogeneity of populist apocalyptic, Florentine civic mythology, and the religio-cultural programs of the Laurentian humanists and Platonists" (707). In his last chapter, "The Return to Metaphysics," Holmes, Florentine Enlightenment also warns against being misled by the "pagan gods and the Platonism" "into thinking that this is a more secular outlook. It was more mysterious and magical." He also discounts linkage with social transformation or "Medicean tyranny. There is no evidence that any such radical change in social or political organisation took place" (265-66). That the aristocracy was "a far more powerful, confident, and conceivably independent group" has been suggested by F.W. Kent in his review of Trexler: Journal of Modern History 54 (1982):388.

Other recent works, which do consider social and economic conditions, yet counter the thesis put forward by Lopez, Martines, et. al. include D. Kent, Rise, eg 41-42, 71f, 81 and F.W. Kent's study of Giovanni Rucellai as an "audacious," "daring" and "optimistic" patron of architecture ("Making of a Renaissance Patron," esp 12-13, 52-53; whose summation of the view as a "flight" is quoted here). Goldthwaite still stresses a private, individual overview but has pointed to a "Building Boom" ("Palaces") and now the production of "luxury goods" (Building, esp 397ff and the review by R. Starn AB 65 [1983]:331-32) which offers a revivification of the later Quattrocento's economy. More recently he has countered explicitly Lopez' thesis, in lectures given in Melbourne in May 1983, and he has addressed further the issues in "The Empire of Things: Consumer

Culture in Renaissance Italy" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage.

Historiographically, it is striking to a non-economic historian that a vast, simplifying model of "feudal" vs "capitalist" economics is employed by Americans like Lopez, Martines, Lesnick ("Dominican preaching") and even Goldthwaite. So too the art historian Gilbert, "Last Suppers," 401 can speak of a 12th century painter being "outside feudalism, a free agent" as capitalism and "free enterprise" emerged. Further, capitalism is seen in graphic, supply and demand, profit and loss polarities: since Marxists themselves can speak of "vulgar Marxism" it seems appropriate, to an Australian born in a post-Keynsian world, to speak of "crude Capitalism." Almost literally Florentines of the late 15th century are accused of feebly fiddling whilst the economy burnt out (eg Martines, Social World, 291-93); cf Goldthwaite's sense of the economic vitality of luxury spending.

The issue is returned to later, esp Ch 3 n 85 and Ch 4 Section G.

177. See Chs 3, 4 below, *passim*.

178. See Ch 7 Section E (b) for the Massacre; Ch 1 at n 48 for Ficino's "moment to moment" and some discussion of anxiety, now an issue opened by Kinsman, Darker Vision of the Renaissance. For the Golden Age see not only Ficino (Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 79-80) but also Garin, La Cultura, 141 for Giovanni Nesi on "questo secolo nuovo" and the "età d'oro"; E.H. Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age" repr in his Norm and Form, 29-34. Rinuccini in 1472 and Verino in 1488 happily judged Florentine art as equal to that of the ancients: Gilbert, Documents, 185, 192.

Comments on an attesa include A. Chastel, "L'Apocalypse en 1500. La fresque de l'Antichrist à la chapelle Saint-Brice d'Orvieto," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance 14 (1952):124-40 and his "L'Antéchrist à la Renaissance" in Cristianesimo e ragion di Stato. L'Umanesimo e il demoniaco nell'arte, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi umanistici, Rome, 1952 (Rome, 1953), 177-86, both repr in his Fables, Formes, Figures; essays in L'Attesa dell'età nuova nella spiritualità della fine del Medioevo, Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, III (Todi, 1962) including E. Garin, "L'attesa dell'età nuova e la 'renovatio'," 11-35 and C. Vasoli, "L'attesa della nuova era in ambienti e gruppi fiorentini del quattrocento," 370-432, esp 375, 380-82; Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', 68f, 85; Weinstein, Savonarola.

Garin is particularly aware of the period's tension or dialectic between renovatio and attesa, citing amongst others Ficino, Leonardo da Vinci, Savonarola and Pico. Earlier, he had written: "the man of the Renaissance was indeed a living synthesis, a meeting-point, a mediator; and his world as well as the God he worshipped, are not only the poles of this tension, but are seen in terms of tension" (Italian Humanism, 221). The terms of O'Malley's title, Praise and Blame, are seen by him as co-relates, esp 182ff where he treats the period's reproach and belief in a golden age, seeing as "typical" the "curiously comfortable co-existence of both pessimistic and optimistic assessments of their age." Fra Giovanni Caroli's commentary on the Corpus Christi spoke not only of consolation (n 173 above) but also of the time's troubles.

For the application of "crisis" see R. Starn, "Historians and 'crisis,'" Past and Present 52 (Aug 1971):3-22, esp 18f.

179. O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 175-76. For Fra Simone Berti's sermon on good works, at S.Maria Novella in 1485, see Zafarana, "Una

raccolta privata di prediche," 1101-02.

180. See n 121; Gilbert, "Last Suppers," for an important awareness of the visual effects of imitation, though I would add further distinctions (nn 182, 207); Hay, Church in Italy, 98; Jenkins, State Portrait, 4-5; O'Malley, Praise and Blame, esp 169, 174ff; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 86f. On the role of infamosi uomini in this context see Trexler, Public Life, 113, 122ff. On Castagno's uomini famosi cycle (1449-51) serving as "exempla for Christian action" in a style directed, for the first time, at both didactic and emotive effect see Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 29-30, 32, 44-45, 50f (with Petrarch on exempla quoted, 41, 43).

181. Steinberg, "Sexuality of Christ," 119, also 11, 127.

182. Gilbert, "Last Suppers," 384, without noting the visual nature of imitation and contemplation, nor its changes, nor the mnemonic technique, on which see esp F. Yates, The Art of Memory (Harmondsworth, 1966); idem, "Lodovico da Pirano's Memory Treatise" in Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed C.H. Clough (New York, 1976), 111-22.

Caplan, Of Eloquence, 74-75 is from a Dominican tract on preaching which urges that sermons be impressed upon the audience's memory; Dominicans themselves used mnemonics to be able to "retain" and "resort frequently" to material, including their sermons, 71-72; opp 78 reproduces the Arbor de Arte sive Modo Predicandi which was a visual mnemonic. Novices had to learn large portions of the liturgy by heart and chanted much of the Offices from memory: Hinnebusch, Dominican Order, 294. Aquinas and Albertus Magnus wrote on memory, introducing a new devotional atmosphere to the classical theory and Dominicans well into the 16th century continued to produce treatises on memory: Yates, Art of Memory, 68-69, 72-88, 93ff, 116, 121ff. Yates interprets the Hell in the Strozzi chapel and the Triumph of Aquinas, in the chapterhouse of S.Maria Novella, as visual memory systems: 90-92, 103-04.

Interesting comments on Franciscan meditation, verism and piety are made by Hood (cited in n 1), with particular reference to a period from the 1480s.

183. Morelli, Ricordi, 479, 477, 478 (my emphases); see also 480, 483.

184. The triptych by Allegretto Nuzi in the Vatican Pinacoteca is mentioned by Lane, 1970, 137-38, fig 143, with a clearer reproduction in van Marle, Italian Schools, V:Pl II. In full the inscription reads: "I have lifted my eyes to you who dwell in Heaven. Behold, just as the eyes of men servants are in the hands of their master and just as the eyes of a maid servant are in the hands of her master, so our eyes deplore you, our Master, until you take pity on us. Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us." Note the derivation of the commencement from Ps. 121, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills...", sung at Vespers in the Office for the Dead. Keeping one's "eyes fixed on Jesus" (Heb. 12:2) was to follow the way: Goffen, "Masaccio," 491-92. Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 159-60 n 315, 197 n 388 discusses the donor as spectator.

185. Purtle, Marian Paintings, 72-73 cites à Kempis and relates meditational techniques to art (n 194 below); see also O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 130-31 on "looking up."

186. Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 387 (cited also by Lane, 1970, 18-19, 228 but not placed in context or compared with later or Italian practice). Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 46 gives extracts from the Zardino de Oration.

The "divine" Michelangelo was rather explicit on imitation and "guise": "in order to imitate to some extent the venerable image of Our Lord, it is not sufficient merely to be a great master in painting and very wise, but I think it is necessary for the painter to be very good in his mode of life, or even, if such were possible, a Saint, so that the Holy Spirit may inspire his intellect" (Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 300, making the connection with Michelangelo's self-portrait as Nicodemus).

187. Gilbert, Documents, 145-46 cf On the Education of Children, a trans by A.B. Côté of G. Dominici's Regola, Pt IV (Washington, 1927):34, see also 37 for dress as exemplary and 40-41 for good companions in this role. For the Palace see Ch 4 after n 116.

188. See nn 26, 73, 162 for the Dominicans; n 132 for a Franciscan instance. For preaching see, eg, Caplan, Of Eloquence, 40ff, 129.

189. A theme I first explored in "Fra Angelico Painting as a Dominican in his Convent of S.Marco, Florence" (Honours thesis, Department of Fine Arts, Univ of Melbourne, 1975), esp Ch 8: "Private Art as a Stimulus for Meditation." Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 68-69 comments intelligently on the frescoes as meditational. A Dominican kneels before a Flagellation of the late Quattrocento or early Cinquecento by the artist from Parma, Giovanni Francesco Maineri: BB Central III Pl 1622 (col. pl. in BM 125 [Jan 1983]: v).

Another instance might be Botticini's altarpiece of c 1483 in S.Spirito (BB Florentine, II, Pl 1069), with an enthroned St. Monica adored by Augustinian nuns and, as smaller figures in the foreground, two young novitiates or female donors: another exemplary hierarchy seems to be at work, with gaze linking the viewer to this chain.

190. The contrast between Pope-Hennessy's first and second editions of Fra Angelico (1952, 1974) is instructive. P. Cardile, "The Observant Dominican Iconography of Fra Angelico's San Domenico Altarpieces," Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, College Art Association of America Conference, Toronto, Feb 23-25, 1984, 114 still finds it necessary to conclude that the paintings are "theological statements ... rather than the traditionally assumed mystical creations of the late Middle Ages."

191. O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 181, 130; see also his "Preaching," 424ff. St. Bonaventure is quoted at n 181 above. Other material of relevance includes G.B. Ladner, Ad imaginem Dei; the image of man in medieval art (Latrobe, Penn., 1965); Trinkaus, In Our Image and Likeness; idem, "Recent Studies."

192. O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 129. Savonarola, despite his (Neoplatonic?) awareness that art was but an imperfect imitation of Nature, was a member of this traditional school: "... we want to imitate God, whom we do not see ... We will look at the designs, the exemplars, and the images that he has sent forth, that is, we will imitate natural things as the painter does ..." (1493) or "You see that saint there in that church and say: I want to lead a good life

and be like him" (1496): Gilbert, Documents, 156-57 (my emphasis).

193. O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 63. A sense of visual efficacy and an awareness of meditational practices would enrich O'Malley's case.

194. The above particularly has been stimulated by Purtle's discussion (Marian Paintings, esp Ch 4, also 141, 151f, 170; quoted here from 62, 63, 65); see also Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 197 and n 388; S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions. Notes on the place of art in late medieval private piety," GazBA (March 1969):159-70. These treat an earlier period and a different region, so I would place more stress on activation, Incarnation, the necessary presence of (any) portraiture and the greater ambiguity or tension evident when man is a little more deified and more practised in visual means. On Federigo's gaze see n 136 above; for Bernini see Blunt (cited in n 129), 75f. Hazard, "Renaissance Aesthetic Values," 7 stresses the "secular orientation" of Ghirlandaio's Annunciation to Zacharias because "no group ... looks at the sacred event."

195. Meiss brilliantly pointed out art's effect on St. Catherine's visions (n 25 above); for other Dominicans praying before art objects and being influenced by the representations of such a mode of prayer see the text at n 73 above; Simons (cited in n 189), esp Ch 8. W. Hood, "Prayer Gesture in Fra Angelico's Cell Frescoes at San Marco in Florence," Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, College Art Association of America Conference, Toronto, Feb 23-25, 1984, 115 argues that the gestures made by the witnesses in each cell's fresco "indicate the mode of meditation and prayer appropriate to the mystery represented." The function of such cues as exemplary, as visual "preaching" to the viewer, is not suggested in Hood's abstract (cf Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 68-69).

The nature of much of van Eyck's imagery as "unremarkable" and derived from then common practice is one of Purtle's central themes (Marian Paintings, 62).

The "priority" of the viewer in the Italian but not the Flemish mode of perception has been argued by Alpers, "Exclusions."

I use "feudal" cautiously, thinking very much of the inscription of 1365 (n 184), which in turn could be compared with a manuscript of the 9th century: "look down upon me as I lie prostrate before your eyes" (Lane, 1970, 59 n 1).

The reference to N. Frye, Anatomy of Criticism. Four Essays (Princeton, 1957; 1971 pbk ed.), 33-34, 58 was signalled, in part, by Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II,' 115-16. Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi and other works seem particularly apposite. The sitter's awareness of the viewer and a tension between courtly and domestic modes is important to D.R. Smith, "Rembrandt's Early Dutch Portraits and the Dutch Conversation Piece," AB 64 (1982):259-88.

196. To Obedience at Assisi (BB Florentine, I, Pl 67); to purity and virginity in the Baroncelli chapel, S.Croce (Pl 279); to penitence by a flagellant confraternity before a Flagellation (Pl 259). The urgency of a praying donor who has just "arrived" at Lorenzo Monaco's Agony in the Garden suggests an imitative intensity (cf Lane, 1970, 148); M. Eisenberg's brief mention of the donor notes that he "seems to conjure up the image in his act of veneration and prayer": "Some Monastic and Liturgical Allusions in an Early Work of Lorenzo Monaco" in Monasticism and the Arts, ed T. Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 275. See also nn 121, 189 above for other examples and Hazard, "Renaissance

Aesthetic Values."

197. See n 20 for Delfin; Morelli, Ricordi, 182-83 on his sister's tomb (d 1388) and its location: "Holto vedendo la sua sepoltura, pelle sue bontà a tutti noi di lei e del luogo dove sono le sue ossa de venire olore" etc; for Federigo, C.W. Westfall, "Chivalric declaration: the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino as a political statement" in Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics, eds H. Millon and L. Nochlin (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 37 (perhaps in a continuum with the uomini famosi series there, rather like the frescoes in S. Marco's cells). Alberti, Family, often treats ancestral models: 31, 34, 39, 41, 43, 47, 79, 143, 170, 194, 207, 230 and, on female exemplars, 217, 229.

198. Brown, "Pater Patriae," passim incl 194, 207, esp 203-04 on Ficino (see also his Letters, I:34-35). Donato Acciaiuoli's eulogy mentioning "our sons" is quoted from Saxl, "Classical Inscription," 23; earlier he praised Piero as "a most careful imitator" of Cosimo: Ganz (cited in Ch 1 n 49), 50. Cosimo was cited as an example before his death by others: for an instance of 1457 addressed to Pierfrancesco de' Medici see Brown, "Pierfrancesco," 86-87. See also Ch 3 n 89. Landino wrote of Lodovico Sforza as the "vero imitatore delle paterno virtù" and exhorted Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici to follow his father as exemplar (Scritti Critici, 190, 216, 224). For the Botticelli in the Uffizi see esp U. Middeldorf, "On the Dilettante Sculptor," Apollo CVII 194 (April 1978):310-22.

199. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 94 (in an instance from the late 13th century, observed example is a matter of "friendship" not discipline: 89).

200. For Benivieni's interest in the handbook the Imitation of Christ and the directness of his language addressed to a popular following, see L. Polizzotto, "Domenico Benivieni and the Radicalisation of the Savonarolan Movement," Altro Polo (1982):99-117, esp 102-05. Unfortunately M. Petrocchi, Una 'Devotio Moderna' nel Quattrocento italiano? (Florence, 1961) has not been available to me.

201. Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 72 cf Alberti (Spencer), 78, Alberti (Grayson), 83. On the exhortatory nature of glance, gesture and inscriptions see Goffen, "Masaccio," 491-92; Meiss, Black Death, 123; J. Spencer, "Ut Rhetorica Pictura: A Study in Quattrocento Theory of Painting," JWCI (1957):26-44, esp 41f; Trexler, Public Life, 92-93. One of the points of my thesis in 1975 (n 189 above) was to suggest an alternative, Dominican route for much in Fra Angelico which has been associated instead with Alberti, as Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 67 continues to do.

202. Alberti (Grayson), 101 cf Alberti (Spencer), 93-94; now cited by Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 67 in this same context.

203. For the arme see Luchs, Cestello, 40, 159 n 7, 378-79; the "beholding" of St. Jerome is cited by M. Baxandall, "Guarino, Pisanello and Manuel Chrysoloras," JWCI 28 (1965):196; the Pistoian confraternity by Trexler, Public Life, 386.

For Alberti on public sculpture as inspirational see Borsi, Alberti, 130 and J.B. Riess, "The Civic View of Sculpture in Alberti's De re aedificatoria," RenQ 32 (1979):1-17; on architecture, Wittkower

(cited in n 7), esp Pt I:1, and Westfall, Perfect Paradise, esp 62 n 101: "ut ex omni parte ad animi cultum excitemur," who stresses that this is more than didactic and treats the soul, offering also from Alberti: "Painting has contributed considerably toward the piety that binds us to the gods and toward filling our souls with sound religious beliefs" (46 cf Alberti [Grayson], 61 which translates "animos" here as "minds").

On the use of images to comfort and move men about to be executed see Edgerton (cited in n 18); Trexler, Public Life, 203; J.S. Weisz, "Salvation through death: Jacopino del Conte's altarpiece in the Oratory of S.Giovanni Decollato in Rome," AH 6 (1983):395-405.

204. The tradition whereby visual art was the "bible of the illiterate" could entail an inspirational element: statements incl Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 41 (two Dominican texts); Davisson, "Advent of the Magi," 85-86; Gilbert, "Archbishop," 76 (S. Antonino: art should "excite devotion"); Jenkins, State Portrait, 5 and n 26 (Dolce); Origo, Merchant of Prato, 239; Ringbom, Icon to Narrative, 33, 35; M. Roskill (ed) Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento (New York, 1968), 112-13; Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 44; and for Fazio et.al. see n 122 above. See also M. Hazard, "The Anatomy of 'Liveliness' as a Concept in Renaissance Aesthetics," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 33 (1974-75):407-18.

The qualitative difference has been characterised thus by Hatfield, Botticelli, 109, when comparing the Adoration of the Magi by Gentile da Fabriano (1423) and Botticelli (early 1470s): "Intellectual changes in Florence had prepared the way for kinds of 'imitation' and 'figures' that had not been available to Gentile. Botticelli might reconcile, as Gentile might not, the ideal with the actual, the remote with the present, and external reality with internal experience." See also M. Hazard, "The Anatomy of 'Liveliness' as a Concept in Renaissance Aesthetics," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 33 (1974-75):407-18.

205. Alberti (Spencer), 77; Alberti (Grayson), 81. Texts on the visual, art or gesture particularly, accessing the invisible, include Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Part two of the Second Part, Q. 82, reply 2 (the mind "must be led to knowledge and love of divine things through sensible objects") where he was agreeing with a passage in the Dominican Missal ("through knowing God visibly we may be lifted up to the love of things invisible"). See also Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 42 (Salutati); J. Onians, "Abstraction and imagination in Late Antiquity," AH 3 (1980):16 (Quintilian); Summers, "David's Scowl" (cited in n 104), esp 113 (Gauricus); Trexler, Public Life, incl xxvi n 19, 61f, 87 (St. Augustine), 104, 106-08, 110-11, 325, 448 and n 165; also n 122 above.

206. See Ficino, Letters, II:42-48, 79. Comments on Ficino include Brown, "Pater Patriae," n 95; Gilbert, "Subject and not-Subject," 205; idem, "Last Suppers," 373; E.H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae. The visual image in neo-Platonic thought," JWCI 2 (1948):163ff, 177, repr in his Symbolic Images. The passage on architecture is discussed by G. Hersey, "Marsilio Ficino's Cosmic Temple" in Collaboration in Renaissance Art, eds W. Stedman Sheard and J. Paoletti (New Haven, 1978), 91-97, esp 93 and n 9.

207. "A natura ergo suscepta speculi indicio emendentur": Alberti

(Grayson), 88, 89 cf Alberti (Spencer), 83. On the Baroque see the illuminating remarks and citations in Blunt (cited in n 129).

What I see as the self-conscious and active nature of the "mirror" disagrees with Gilbert, "Last Suppers," esp 373 (see also nn 134, 182 above). He cites Alberti on Narcissus as the inventor of painting: "What is painting but the act of embracing (amplecti) by means of art (arte) the surface of the pool?" (cited here from Grayson's trans 63 instead. Gilbert gives "artificioso" for arte but both Grayson's Latin text and Panofsky's citation of the Italian in his Idea [New York, 1968], 209n give "arte"). When speaking of the reception of lights on a surface Alberti later advises the emendation cited here. Skill, correction and active embracing are necessary in arte which is an active, learned activity, no mere reflection. (Alpers and Procaccini, each cited in n 126 above, are useful here, as is W. Zucker, "Reflections on Reflections," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 15 [1962]:239-50). Leonardo's notion of the mirror, including "the mind of the painter should liken itself to a mirror" (Gilbert, loc cit), would bear similar elucidation. "The notion that artists constantly portray themselves became such a cliché" indeed, but again is complex and self-conscious: see Gutkind (cited in n 116), 234 (Cosimo's and later statements), Gilbert, Documents, 159 (Savonarola) and, above all, M. Kemp, "'Ogni Dipintore dipinge se': A Neoplatonic echo in Leonardo's Art Theory?" in Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed C.H. Clough (New York, 1976), 311-23.

Note that the appended "queries" and "intervention" by C. Olds and D. Wilkins to Gilbert's paper raise important points on the visual operation of the particular images he discusses. Similarly I would try to insert a fine sense of conscious, visual ambiguity or tension between "observers and observed" rather than Gilbert's sense of outright "resemblance and even identity" (400). With such reservations, Gilbert is a useful adjunct to the trend in thinking offered by O'Malley and Steinberg.

208. Hatfield, "Magi," 116. Cf Trexler's reading, Public Life, esp 384, 386 which finds generational conflict in such "copying." Zemon Davis, "Popular Religion," 322 voices doubts on Trexler's interpretation (as partly offered in his "Adolescence," 225f) to which the material offered here concerning a certain continuity would add. For the Tornabuoni father and son see Ch 3 esp at n 173.

209. Ficino is cited by F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 46. Seneca and Petrarch are being elaborated here: for these earlier writers see E.H. Gombrich, "The Style all'antica: Imitation and Assimilation" in his Norm and Form, 122-23.

210. Morelli from Trexler's trans in "Search," 250-01 and see n 27 above; Manetti from J.R. Banker, "Mourning a Son: Childhood and Paternal Love in the Consolateria of Giannozzo Manetti," History of Childhood Quarterly 3 (Winter 1976):359.

211. Trexler, "Search," 239 cf Morelli, Ricordi, 475; Giovanni da Ravenna in Price-Zimmermann, "Confession," 136-40 incl the personal advice "give yourself back to yourself." See also n 35 above on other fathers losing their sons.

212. Morelli, Ricordi, 283; Ficino, Letters, I:151, 164. On "remaking" see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 45-47;

Klapisch-Zuber, "Le nom 'refait'"; Kuehn, Emancipation, 58f; Ch 1 n 52; Ch 5 n 83.

213. Hatfield, Botticelli, 33, 41ff, 56, 95; Davisson, "Advent of the Magi;" n 97 above.

214. Rinuccini, Lettere, 187 cf his much more conventional delivery of 1470 on the eucharist, 146-62. A Dominican spoke of Flagellation as a kind of prayer: O'Malley, Praise and Blame, 166 n 9 and see text at n 189 above. In another context Fra Giovanni Caroli spoke of "eternal beatitude": text at n 173 above. For a sermon of 1476 and S. Antonino's earlier letter on purification see Ch 6 at nn 31, 80.

215. Hatfield, Botticelli, 53 cf idem, "Magi," 156.

216. On the Offertory Rite see Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 302 and n 61 above; for the inscription, Ch 6 at nn 41, 110 and Ch 7 at n 49.

217. Trexler, "Sacred Image," 34.

218. Gombrich, Warburg, 113, 115, 116; BB Drawings, 133; also Ch 1 n 5 for his comment that the patron of Ghirlandaio was a "philistine." Similarly, Marchini, "Ghirlandaio, Domenico," col 322 places the patron in an inaccurate category by claiming that most of the artist's portraits "simply record aspects of the life of the middle class."

219. Trexler, "Setting," 127, 133; idem, "Honor Among Thieves. The Trust Function of the Urban Clergy in the Florentine Republic" in Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore, eds S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), 317-34, relevant, I suspect, to Ghirlandaio's Confirmation of the Rule in the Sassetti chapel. For Averardo see D. Kent, Rise, 20-21 (idem, "Florentine reggimento," 580 gives other instances of "a reverence akin to piety" accorded the Priorate); for Caroli n 208 above; see also Brucker, Civic World, 308-09; Ch 7 at n 62.

220. Hatfield, "Magi." For the City of God see also Augustine quoted in the text after n 95 above; Garin quoted in n 174 and his "The Ideal City" in his Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance (New York, 1969), 21-48 ("the ideal city of the fifteenth century ... was a real city"). For the Tornaquinci chapel see esp Ch 6 at n 68; Ch 7 at n 63ff, Sections F and G.

S. Lang (cited in n 47), 288-300 suggests that SS. Annunziata's architectural iconography referred to the Holy Sepulchre, whereas B. Brown, "SS. Annunziata," disagrees. The possible references intended by Giovanni Rucellai's sepulchre may still require investigation if they are taken as a less literal, more idealised reference to the Holy Sepulchre. Ghirlandaio's backgrounds could include monuments from Jerusalem: Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 34 for the Sassetti altarpiece; n 70 above for the Vespucci Deposition. Florence as a New Jerusalem with a mission was not a new view imported by Savonarola: Becker, Florence in Transition, II:20f, 57f; Bruni on "this most holy city" in Kohl and Witt, Earthly Republic, 170; Weinstein, Savonarola, esp 31, Ch IV. See also the rather romanticised view of Laurentian Florence offered by W. Welliver, L'Impero Fiorentino (Florence, 1957), esp Ch X "La Nuova Città." Duccio and Lorenzetti both, it can be argued, made references to Siena

as a Heavenly Jerusalem: in Duccio's Maestà, Siena is ruled by the Queen of Heaven and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, for instance, occurs in Siena (an extrapolation from White, Duccio, 95, 126, 167); for Lorenzetti see n 80 above.

J. Marrow's Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative (n.p., 1979), as the title suggests, offers in quite another context an important reassessment which could be applied to Italian art. His conclusion that "metaphorical reality was historical reality in the realm of sacred history" rightly questions the notion that art functioned as "historical reportage" and anecdote (201, 204).

221. Romby, Descrizioni, 42-73 publishes extracts from Dei's "Cronica," MSS, 119, but not two folios of particularly meticulous measurements, of the Cathedral and of S.Croce (ff 4v, 46v). Rustici's codex of c 1450 illustrating Florentine buildings is a comparable instance: L'Oreficeria, no 75 with bibliography. See Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 86-93 on volumetric measuring by a mercantile class. On Dei see esp Ch 7 n 22.

222. R. Salvini, All the Paintings of Botticelli (London, 1965), Pt 3, 101.

223. Hatfield, "Magi," 141. For a balance between "'ideal' and 'real' perceptions," between "precedent and innovation" in the High Renaissance see Partridge and Starn, Raphael's 'Julius II', 18-24.

224. Dei, "Cronica," MSS, 119, f 33r (Romby, Descrizioni, 50); Hatfield, Botticelli, 101 on Botticelli's Adoration of the Magi: "In its skillful arrangement the picture answers to an urge to orderliness which pervaded not only the artistic notions but indeed the whole genteel culture of Botticelli's day."

225. Ringbom, Icon to Narrative, 45 takes the phrase "perpetualised prayer" from Garrison.

226. Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 173 for the contract; see the text at nn 5-6 above which postulated a union of form and content in Benedetto da Maiano's work.

Gilbert's sense of "empirical realism" with an "ethical" aim ("Last Suppers," 387) does not cater adequately for such rhetoric. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, esp 247 does associate the contract, ekphrasis, Albertian aesthetics and Ghirlandaio's style, in a different context to the one I have chosen, looking at the classical and theoretical tradition.

227. On S. Antonino see Edgerton, "Mensurae temporalia," esp 115-16; Manetti is paraphrased by F. Hartt, "Art and Freedom in Quattrocento Florence" in Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann (New York, 1964), 118; for Ficino see Hersey in n 206 above. On the Beatific Vision and paradise Manetti wrote "the Blessed look upon that splendid Reality, at once a mirror and a spectacle of all things divine and human": Murchland, Two Views of Man, 99.

228. Edgerton, "Mensurae temporalia," 118 on S. Antonino; the contract is cited from its translation in Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 175, with the inclusion of "ville," for which see Ch 4 n 52.

229. See, eg, J. Goldberg, "Quattrocento Dematerialization: Some Paradoxes in a Conceptual Art," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 35 (Winter 1976):153-68; Panofsky, Idea (New York, 1968), Ch 4 on the Renaissance, esp 50-51.

230. For Ghirlandaio and his pupil Michelangelo see esp Fahy, "Michelangelo" and Summers, Michelangelo, 85, 151-52, 501 n 30, 526 n 35. Freedberg, High Renaissance, comments, albeit briefly and disparagingly, on the influence of Ghirlandaio and his school upon 16th century artists, including Andrea del Sarto (217, 218, 230-31), Fra Bartolommeo (32-33, 58) and others (43, 75, 76, 79, 236, 408, 490). For Raphael's Madonna di Foligno and Ghirlandaio see Ibid, 132 and von Einem, "Raffaels Madonna." See also Ch 1 at nn 8-9; Ch 7 n 125 for the influence of Ghirlandaio's Visitation.

231. See n 217; also Trexler, "Setting," 131 and Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 87 for order and framing.

232. Trexler, "Setting," 139.

CHAPTER THREE: NOTES

1. Hatfield, "Review," 630.

2. Standard genealogies and encyclopaedias make brief mention of the consorteria. These include G.B. di Crollanza, Dizionario Storico-Blasonico delle Famiglie Nobili e Notabili Italiane (Pisa, 1890), III:30-31; Litta, Famiglie celebri, sv Tornabuoni, Tav I and II (unreliable and rarely used here without other confirmation); Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:123-33; L.M. Mariani's Priorista of 1718 (MSS, 248, vol I, ff 112v-118v); Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 103, 220, 398. Luigi Passerini was a particularly industrious genealogist but his only published comment on the Tornaquinci is in his edition of Marietta de' Ricci, I:190-99, 212-15, IV:1200-5. His notes contain further details (BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 171², 189⁴¹, 192 no 16, 228²⁸ and 228²⁹), as do the Poligrafo Gargani collection there (nos 2025, 2027, 2028, 2030, 2031) and the Carte Dei collection in the ASF. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci" recognises the need for a monograph.

Research on the consorteria has been riddled with inaccuracies and sentimentality. Pampaloni, 351 n 40, for instance refers to Giovanni Tornabuoni's Decima return as being for 1498 in vol 24, having gone no further than the index of that volume, thereby also falsifying Giovanni's death date. The return is in vol 25, ff 605r-609r and was submitted in 1495. A reliance on secondary sources has compounded problems: eg see Ch 4 n 76.

The most prolific problem has been simply an infernal looseness in the use of names, for both works of art and people's names: eg Fahy, Followers of Ghirlandaio, 40 calls the patron of the frescoes in S. Maria Novella "Lorenzo's father, Francesco Tornabuoni;" see eg n 126, Ch 4 n 138.

3. How much has been lost can never be known, but an "Inventario di Libri appartenenti al Patrimonio Tornabuoni" lists 39 books of ricordi, accounts and so on from 1525 to 1640: Acquisti e Doni, 274, filza V. 14. An inventory of the Tornabuoni estate drawn up in 1498 listed a sizable number of books and "più scritture": Pupilli, 181, esp ff 149v, 142v, 150r. Fortunately we do have Giovansimone Tornabuoni's priorista (n 10 below), with a partial copy in BNF, Cl. II, IV, 344, ff 41r-46r; copied extracts from Benedetto Tornaquinci's "libro antico" (BNF, G. Capponi 266, pp 243-47); and the 14th century Tornaquinci ricordo (n 4 below).

A drawing from 1561 which described the portraits in S. Maria Novella is only known from the publication of its caption in 1791 by Della Valle (Ch 7 n 4). This detailed explanation was requested by Vincenzo di Piero Tornaquinci while in 1619 Matteo Tornaquinci commissioned an "albero di Casa" which he received in 1620 (CS, Ser II, 135, ff 27r-27v, 43): both signs of this family's continuing interest in its own history. Unfortunately Domenico Ghirlandaio's notebooks, used by Vasari, have disappeared: W. Kallab, Vasaristudien (Vienna, 1908), 149-51, 166-70, 206-07, 211.

Research on the Tornaquinci chapel has been hampered by the confiscation and dispersal of Giovanni Tornabuoni's records and possessions after his death in 1497 and then his son's execution in the same year. The later suppression of the Florentine convents led to the scattering of S. Maria Novella's own records, now distributed between the ASF and BNF, although an unknown amount of inaccessible

records remains in that convent today.

4. The ricordo is Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 1-6; quoted from ff 1r and 4v. The date is established from ff 5r-5v by Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 332 n 3. At least 3 copies exist: firstly, a vellum insert in Fra Santi Arrighi's Memorie del Convento di S. Maria Novella of c 1626 (BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, ff 340r-345v); secondly, Del Migliore's copy (BNF, Magl, XXV, 404, ff 101r-105v); lastly the 18th century copiest of Sermartelli's Sepoltuario quoted the relevant passage on S.Maria Novella and gave the provenance as Ricardi's library (MSS, 812, pp 2-3).

For the gate see Ch 4 n 3. Villani's chronicle describing the first circle of the city walls associates this gate with the Tornaquinci: Selections, 63. A "Gio d'altro Gio di Tornaquinci," who lived just outside the city walls, was a witness named in a document of 1080: CS, Ser II, 135, f 48r.

5. According to Crollanza the last Tornabuoni died in 1635 and the last Tornaquinci in 1790 (cited in n 2, 30-31). The number of male members is based on a count from the fullest and most accurate family tree in Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 72v-74r, which is at least post 1649. When not acknowledged, birthdates given here on the whole have been drawn from Tratte, Libri dell'Età. The statute of 1415 defining a consorteria is quoted by F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 6 and n 14.

6. NA, M 237, f 193r.

7. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 4r-4v, differing slightly from Pampaloni's transcription in "Tornaquinci," 334 n 6, who says the Emperor was Otto IV (1198-1218). This donation was known to Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, IV:1200 n 6, and is probably the source for Staley, Women of Florence, 50, who both claim the Emperor was Otto I (962-73). On Otto I see G. Barraclough, The Medieval Papacy (London, 1968), 63; J. Beckwith, Early Medieval Art (London, 1964), 81 and R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Penguin ed., 1970), 99-100. For Ognissanti and S. Maria Novella see Ch 5 n 8f below.

8. On Figliocaro see Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 1v. Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, IV:1200 notes the appointment and one for 1176 is documented in Delizie VII:137, IX:4. Staley, Women of Florence, 50 gives a few more details. Iacopo's position for 1176 is cited by Passerini and a reference of 1201, probably to the same man (who constructed the "chiesetta" on the site of what became S.Maria Novella: fig. 1), is in Delizie VII:174. Early Tornaquinci offices are noted in P. Santini, Documenti dell'Antica Costituzione del Comune di Firenze (Florence, 1895, 1952), 2 vols and B. Stahl, Adel und Volk im Florentine Dugento (Cologne, 1965), as well as Delizie and Passerini's unpublished notes, passim.

9. Ugolino is mentioned in BNF, Cl. XXVI, Cod. 112 Magl., f 60r, with other such early appointments at ff 60r-61r. For Giovanni's ambassadorship in Oct 1484 see n 150 below; for a similar role in 1471 and 1480 nn 112, 142. His father Francesco had been entrusted with foreign missions too: Mariani's Priorista, MSS, 248, vol I, f 118v; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 17; BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, ff 43v, 45r, 45v; Brucker, Civic World, esp 450; Martines, Lawyers, 370-72; Martines, Social World, 168.

The most notable ambassador from the consortereria was Messer Bartolomeo di Tommaso Popoleschi, a lawyer and major political figure, who died in Naples in 1412 during one such mission: the necrologio of S. Maria Novella is in Delizie IX:177 and now Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 139; Iacopo Salviati's chronicle in Delizie XVIII:199, 218, 311; B. Pitti's diary in Brucker, Two Memoirs, 82, 84-86; Mariani's Priorista, MSS, 248, vol I, ff 115v-116r; Martines, Lawyers, 483 and passim; Martines, Social World, esp 48; Brucker, Civic World, 269, 294 and passim; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, IV:1202 takes all his information from Mariani but mistakenly identifies the father as Piero when no such Bartolomeo exists in the family tree.

10. Ruggieri's positions are given in the Tornabuoni priorista: CS, Ser II, 100, ff 4r, 5r, 6r, 8v. Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 398 gives the numbers and dates for the Quattrocento but the particular names of the office holders must be extracted from the Tornabuoni priorista, from which any unacknowledged mention of the office in the forthcoming notes is drawn, under the appropriate date. The figure of 25 includes a priorate in 1431, which Mariani's Priorista lists as a Popoleschi position (MSS, 248, vol I, f 115r), but no other source gives any details.

11. Villani, Selections, 286. Like his father, Gherardo was an ambassador to the Pope (Celestine V in 1294). For further details see Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, IV:1200; Delizie X:92 (1301), XII:265 (1325).

12. Piero di Filippo Tornabuoni (1440-1527) was vicario at Anghiari from 1477 (Protocolli, 19); appointed captain of the strategic Pietra Santa in 1484 (Landucci, Diario, 49; Cambi in Delizie XXI:28; del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, II:135); and from 1486 to 1492 at Sarzana, the other strategic fortress town on the north Tuscan border (G. Aiazzi, "Vita di Piero di Gino Capponi scritta da Vincenzo Acciaiuoli," ASI IV/2 (1853):26; Protocolli, 373, 379, 400, 405, 414, 458, 467; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 474). He was a "convinced partisan" of the Medici (R.D. Jones, Francesco Vettori. Florentine Citizen and Medici Servant [London, 1972], 58-59), active in their support at the time of their fall in 1494 (Landucci, 77), the attempted coup in 1497 (Ibid, 156, 158; Cambi, XXI:114), and the balia just after their return in 1512 (B. Masi, Ricordanze, 104; Weinstein, Savonarola, 346). He was Gonfaloniere in Mar-Apr 1514 (Cambi, XX:105, who notes his death in 1527).

13. Niccolò di Francesco Tornabuoni was podestà at Montepulciano in 1456 (Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav I) and often acted as escort for his sister Lucrezia, wife of Piero de' Medici (Maguire, Medici Women, 80, 86-87, 201-02 n 18). Prior in Sept-Oct 1460, he was the first Tornabuoni to attain the Gonfalonierate in Nov-Dec 1468. He was the only representative of his consortereria in the scrutiny of 1472 and a member of three balie: Rubinstein, Government, 240, 289, 298, 303. Dei listed him, fairly low, in his list of rich men in Florence: MSS, 119, f 34r. When he died in Feb 1481 an oration was delivered at his funeral: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027, 2028.

14. Piero di Niccolò di Piero Popoleschi (1427-1507) was one of the commissars in 1496 at the time of the war against Pisa (Landucci, Diario, 131 n 2); prior in Jan-Feb 1485; presumably the "Petrus Populeschus" from the quarter of S. Maria Novella at a meeting about

the Cathedral facade in 1491 (Vasari-Milanesi IV:305). As Gonfaloniere in Mar-Apr 1498 he was instrumental in the arrest and downfall of Savonarola (B. Masi, Ricordanze, 37; Weinstein, Savonarola, 284-88; Landucci, 178) and he was one of the Ten of Liberty in the same year (Cambi in Delizie XXI:122, who notes his death). On a trip to the east in 1459-60 see n 61 below. This venture was not very lucrative and in early 1495 he was one of several men excused from paying "debito, loro o loro antichi" (B. Masi, 28; de' Rossi in Delizie XXIII:299). For his portrait see Ch 7 n 7.

15. Filippo di Filippo di Messer Simone Tornabuoni (1403-1473) was commissar at Montepulciano in 1435 and sent there again in 1445 to quieten a tumult (Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav I; BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 46). He was later a galley captain (Dei's Memorie, in Bib Ricc, Codex 1853, f 50r; Mallett, Galleys, 68) and excelled in jousts during the late 1420s (Ch 4 n 143 below). Filippo held the first Tornabuoni priorate, in Nov-Dec 1445, and was again prior in Sept-Oct 1464, having also often served on various balie and in other offices: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027; Rubinstein, Government, 273, 289, 298. He died in 1473, possibly because of a duel: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027, 2028.

16. The quote is from a priorista by Signor Francesco Rucellai: BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 10.

Messer Luigi di Filippo di Filippo di Messer Simone Tornabuoni (1443-1519) is the oldest Knight listed in the Bib Ricc, Codex 1859 family tree, where 6 such men are listed in all, while there are 4 knights of St. Stephen and several Senators of Rome. Prior of Pisa from 1480, he was a religious by August 1481 when he was called "Messer," a position probably due to Lorenzo de' Medici's influence, for in May 1481 he wrote "Al Gran Maestro di Rodi, per Luigi Tornabuoni" (Protocolli, 162, 147). Around this time and again due to Lorenzo's influence, he received "la comandaria di S. Iacopo in Campo Corbolini" (Protocolli, 118, a letter of 23 Sept 1480; see also 119, 122, 134, 138, 139, 150, 162, 313, 349, 383). He is still mentioned as holding this benefice in 1488: Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 385-86. S. Iacopo, in Via Faenza, was quite an important church: Busignani and Bencini, Quartiere di S.Maria Novella, 253-58; Landucci, Diario, 37. Luigi and his brother Piero were penalised after the Medicean conspiracy was discovered in 1497: Landucci, 158; Cambi in Delizie XXI:114, who records his death as 1519.

Luigi's tomb slab by Cicilia of Fiesole, at the foot of the high chapel in S. Iacopo, is inscribed 1515 and was commissioned well before his death: Rosselli's Sepoltuario, MSS, 625, p 1026; Richa, Chiese Fiorentine, III:305-06; Vasari-Milanesi, IV:484-85; D. Brunori, "Il Cecilia e il sepolcro di Luigi Tornabuoni," L'Illustratore Fiorentino (1908):69-74. The tomb depicts him in the same headgear and costume, with the cross of Malta, as he wears in the Zacharias fresco and, although older, the facial resemblance further confirms the identification made by B. Landucci in 1561: Ch 7 n 16. He holds a book as well as a large sword in the sculpture, and Brunori refers to him as a doctor of theology and philosophy.

The other knight of note during the Quattrocento was Alessandro di Filippo di Francesco di Messer Simone Tornabuoni (1453-1509). The earliest reference I know to him as a knight is when he appears thus as a witness on 21 July 1488: NA, M 237, f 296v. In Oct 1484 he was imprisoned and tortured in Sicily, denying that he had plotted against

Lorenzo de' Medici, "suo parente," but confessing to certain "scritte diffamatorie:" Landucci, 48; Rinuccini, Ricordi, cxl. His disgrace did not damage his career for long: letters from Lorenzo to Alessandro recommence in Jan 1489 from Sicily and he was instrumental in obtaining the bishopric of Monreale for Lorenzo's candidate (Protocolli, 408, 413, 425, 429, 430; Catalogue of the Medici Archives consisting of rare autograph letters, records and documents 1084-1770 including 166 holograph letters of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Property of the Marquis Cosimo de' Medici and the Marquis Averardo de' Medici [Christies sale, Feb 4-7, 1918], 68 no 226, 69 no 231). Like his brother Francesco he was buried in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, in 1509: n 129 below.

17. Villani's list of "the accursed parties of Guelfs and Ghibellines" which formed in 1215 included the Tornaquinci in the sesto of San Brancazio as Guelfs. After many Tornaquinci died in the Battle of Montaperti in 1260 they joined the Guelf refugee flow, for a second time, to Lucca: see Villani, Selections, 122, 124, 181-82; Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:126; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 335. The Tornaquinci ricordo mentions their Guelf sympathies (Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 1v) and by the Quattrocento the consorteria owned a copy of Villani (Martines, Social World, 46 and n 106).

By 1280 feuding between parties and families was so great that a papal legate, Cardinal Latino, initiated an oath of peace to which many Tornaquinci were signatories: M. Becker, "Florentine Magnates," 246-47; the document is in Delizie IX:81ff. This Cardinal Latino laid the foundation stone of S. Maria Novella in 1279: Ch 5 n 11.

18. Becker, "Florentine Magnates," 248, 262ff. Villani, Selections, 313, writing about 1295, claims that the magnates were "oppressed ... especially by that ordinance which declares that one kinsman is to be held to account for another." Like the divieto (n 47 below) this is an instance of public, legislative recognition, even encouragement, of unity within a consorteria.

19. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 2r. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 335 also refers to destruction in 1178 enacted by the Uberti.

20. Delizie VII:243f; BNF, XXVI, 112, c 60r has extracts in Italian; Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, 4ff discusses the document as a source for architectural historians. For Tornaquinci land holdings, esp in the Quattrocento, see Ch 4 Sections B-D.

21. Compagni, Cronica, 92 on 1301 with other references to the Tornaquinci at 90, 108, 129, 164-65, 196. The consorteria could act violently in the Quattrocento too: for the tumult during the fall of the Medici in 1494 see Landucci, Diario, 74, 76-77 and B. Masi, Ricordanze, 23, 38, with mention of disturbances surrounding Savonarola's fall too.

22. Compagni, Cronica, 131-32; Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 3r.

23. The Tornaquinci are often referred to as a leading magnate house in passing by the secondary sources: Brucker, "Medici," 3; Brucker, Florentine Politics, 22 and n 90; Martines, Social World, 338-39.

24. Becker, "Florentine Magnates," 275 and n 62, 294 and n 102; on the Duke of Athens' rule see 301, 302 and n 120 and J. Pitti's "Istoria,"

9-10.

25. For instance their Guelf loyalties were disadvantageous during the interdict of 1376 when they were attacked as a "well-heeled clan" and "recipient of curial largess": Trexler, Interdict, 112.

26. Becker, Florence in Transition, II:103ff.

27. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 155; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 344.

28. The Rucellai priorista in BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 10. The Cardinali, Giachinotti, Tornaquinci, Tornabuoni, Popoleschi and Marabottini arms are illustrated in Rosselli's Sepoltuario (MSS, 625, p 679) and, with the exception of the Marabottini, in Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, II:837f. The documents on the official separations also contain descriptions of the new arme and are cited in context below, while the descriptions alone are extracted in V. Borghini, Discorso (Florence, 1821, 2nd ed.), 71-72.

29. The Tornaquinci separations are often dated too vaguely. Martines, Social World, 218 for instance simply uses Ammirato, Istoria, I:290 to date wrongly the beginning of all such splits to 1282. As Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 97 says in another general comment, such splinterings began after 1293, the year of the Ordinances of Justice.

30. The document is in Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:126. Their "popular" nature was stressed also by the adoption of a large red popolo cross covering the whole field of their new arme. "Tornabuoni" doubtless was a name later chosen for its connotation that another branch of the consorteria was reformed.

31. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 155, where the Messer Luigi Guicciardini example of 1355 is cited in n 27; the Arrigucci were formed in 1343 (D. Kent, Rise, 148), the Cerchi in 1361 and more so in 1363 (Jones, "Florentine Families," 184 and n 12).

32. Mariani's Priorista (MSS, 248, vol I, f 115r); Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 345; though neither cites a document. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 156 n 33, without a date or document, confirms that Tommaso di Piero did break from the Tornaquinci. A petition in 1487 (n 46 below), dates Tommaso's move to August "MCCCLXX^o."

33. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 156 on the 1371 statute and nn 31, 33 claim that it was the two sons, Gregorio and Niccolò, who were narrowly accepted as popolani, without mentioning a date. Pagnozzo's action is documented in Delizie XIV:263.

34. Delizie XIV:268, XV:135; Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:127.

35. Delizie XIV:270. The petition of 1487 (n 46 below) claims that the date was Feb 1380 and also puts the Tornabuoni split a month earlier, in Oct rather than Nov 1393. This discrepancy is due probably to the slight gap between the original application and its official acceptance (see n 36 below).

36. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 346 dates the actual concession as Dec 1385 with the official surname being taken on 17 Jan 1386. Delizie

XIV:273 and Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:127 publish the document of 1386.

37. The last known reference to Zanobi is c 1381/82 (Delizie XVI:201) and, although Manni, Sigilli XVIII:132-33 claims he died in 1403, a necrologio lists "Zenobius Dom. Marabottini de Tornaquinci cum habitu" under July 1387 (Delizie IX:168). His childless son Cardinale is present in both family trees: Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, f 73v and Codex 1885, f 6r. Manni also mentions a daughter, Alessandra, who married Francesco Spini. Marabottino di Giovanni's son was named Zanobi, a further sign of affection between the nephew and his uncle.

38. Delizie XIV:279, 282, 283; Manni, Sigilli XVIII:127-28. Iacopo di Niccolò's two sons were named Girigoro and Nofri, as were two of Pagnozzo's sons, another indication that Iacopo wished to model himself on Pagnozzo.

39. Brucker, Civic World, 31; Verino is quoted by Manni, Sigilli XVIII:130.

40. Delizie XV:65-66 cf Rinuccini, Ricordi, xl; Delizie XVIII:27; B. Pitti in Brucker, Two Memoirs, 30; with the necrologio in Delizie IX:203 and now Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 186.

41. See for 1404 BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2030 (a letter to him in Dec 1404 from the Signoria simply addressed him as a Tornaquinci: BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, f 42v; his brother Adovardo also went under both surnames: see n 93 below) and for 1437 Delizie IX:129. Similarly, we find "Niccolò di Ghino Popoleschi già degli Tornaquinci" in 1380 (Delizie XVI:29) and "Nicholaus Ghini de Tornaquinci" in 1384 (Delizie IX:189), when this was the man who first became a Popoleschi in 1364. In death these men often returned to their Tornaquinci origins, for the necrologio is the main source for such references: see others in Delizie IX:177, 198, 199; Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 139, 178, 179; Ch 5 nn 99, 111.

42. BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 228²⁸(1502); Acquisti e Doni, 274, Filza 1 no 2, esp f 4r (1524). I am indebted to F.W. Kent for the latter reference.

43. CS, Ser II, 100, esp ff 41v, 53v.

Giovansimone di Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni (1438-1482) was a silk merchant (Dei's Cronica, MSS, 119, f 57r; Cat, 921, f 273v), on which account probably he travelled to Valencia and Sicily in 1473, from whence he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici on business matters and beautiful women (Mallett, Galleys, 11 n 5, 81; Rochon, Laurent de Medicis, 464 n 32). For other contacts with Lorenzo see Rochon, 276 n 98 and Protocolli, 4, 13, 521. Apparently he was a raconteur and member of Lorenzo's brigata, caricatured for his debauchery in an early poem by Lorenzo: Rochon, 437ff, esp 444, 456. A list of sayings compiled in 1472 includes his "Stanno male due g(h)iotti a uno tagliere" ("Two greedies to one plate is a bad thing"): G. Corti, "Una Lista di Personaggi del Tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico, caratterizzati da un motto o da una riflessione morale," Rinascimento 3 (1952):156.

44. The names in his text can be compared with those in the family tree, Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 72v-74r. Although unidentifiable, this Trecento man was probably of the line which became the Popoleschi. The appended tree in his small codex was begun or continued by a later

writer for it includes Quattrocento men, particularly those from the Popoleschi branch and there the only notice made of any split is "si chiama oggi de' Popoleschi": Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 6r.

45. See Ch 4 Sections B-D for their residences in the Quattrocento. Significant joint actions during the second half of the century are documented there at nn 36, 110 and here at n 46. For the act of 1486 see n 7 above.

46. Diplomatico, Strozzi-Ugucione, 20 Dec 1487. My thanks to F.W. Kent for this reference. Mariani refers to the government provision: MSS, 248, vol I, f 115v. For a similar although more vitriolic and complete split occasioned by hunger for political office in 1452 between the Capponi and Vettori, in which the divieto also still applied for the Tre Maggiori, see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 167, 188-91, 203-4, 241, 256-57.

The penultimate chapter in the story of Tornaquinci splinterings was the inclusion of the Tornaquinci amongst those magnati made popolani in Nov 1434: D. Kent, Rise, 346-47, without names, while the petition of 1487 is precise in its reference to the date. Yet no Tornaquinci representative thereafter entered the prioriste, nor was one amongst the petitioners in 1487 although it is mentioned as a fourth "domus." In 1434 "232 individuals from 21 families" were affected (Kent, 346, my emphasis): possibly the ruling applied to only one Tornaquinci branch.

47. G. Dati, L'Istoria di Firenze dal 1380 al 1405, ed L. Pratesi (Norcia, 1902), 143 on the priorate: "non possono essere insieme due consorti, nè parenti per linea masculina, nè de indi a uno anno." See also Becker, "Florentine Magnates," 265f; Brucker, Florentine Politics, 67; D. Kent, "Florentine reggimento," 592; D. Kent, Rise, 190 (here quoted) and n 12; Rubinstein, Government, 4. A divieto also applied to the members of the confraternity of S. Dominic which met at S. Maria Novella: its capitoli of 1477 forbad "consorti o frategli o zio o nipote carnali" from sharing the same office (Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:722).

48. The voting figures were supplied by Rab Hatfield. Perhaps the petition's goal was not a foregone conclusion, for the time seems to have been chosen carefully. Bernardo del Nero was then Gonfaloniere and he was a Medici partisan later executed with Lorenzo Tornabuoni (n 166 below). His brother Piero was one of those who had to examine the petition's case.

49. The list compiled by Benedetto Landucci in 1561 of all men in the fresco includes a "Girolamo Giachinotti" who can only be this man according to the family tree. For this and other identifications see Ch 7 at n 7ff.

50. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 29, 22. On common variations in economic standing and public-spirit amongst such large families see also Jones, "Florentine Families," 186 and n 32; Becker, "Florentine Magnates," 271; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 149-63.

51. See nn 65, 78.

52. For a sharp concern about numbers and survival in the 14th century Medici ricordo see Brucker, "Medici." For other references see Ch 7 n

100 and passim there on the frescoes.

53. On their wealth see Brucker, Florentine Politics, 23 n 90; on Girigoro n 40 above.

54. See n 38; Brucker, Florentine Politics, 23 n 90 on the father; Martines, Social World, 375 on Nofri, who was 137th out of 150 in the tax assessment of 1427 for the quarter of S. Maria Novella.

55. Sandro's low tax assessment in 1378 is noted by Brucker, Florentine Politics, 23 n 90. The family tree in Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 73v-74r only lists one son, Simone, whereas a tree in BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 171² has a later addition, Domenico, who married in 1378. If this were the case, Sandro's hopes for his future lineage may have been optimistic in 1380 when he became a Iacopi. But no further Iacopi are recorded. The surname, being common, makes final judgement on its demise a little unsure, but no family tree associated with the Tornaquinci records any further members. They were defunct by 1487 when they are not named in the petition; nor are their arme or any portraits recorded in the chapel.

56. On the Marabottini see nn 37, 38 and the associated text above. Arrigo Tornaquinci was called "Magnas" in 1390: Delizie XIV:288.

57. For the Popoleschi see nn 9, 14, 61, 62 here and Ch 4 n 2; also Cambi in Delizie XX:31, Mariani's Priorista, MSS, 248, vol I, ff 114v-116r; D. Kent, "Florentine reggimento," 630, 636, 637. More politically successful and renowned than any other branch of the Tornaquinci, the Popoleschi were thereby continuing the example of their founders and astutely using their location in the district of Lion Rosso.

58. Adovardo reached the priorate in 1443. No Giachinotti is named in the Protocolli and few are in the scrutinies, but given their small size, stemming only from Adovardo, they did well, 3 of his 5 sons becoming priors. Girolamo di Adovardo di Cipriano Giachinotti (1426-1497), portrayed in S. Maria Novella (Ch 7 n 8), was their representative in the petition of 1487 (nn 46, 49 above), prior in both 1474 and 1495, commissar at Arezzo in 1496 and particularly active in land dealings: see Ch 4 n 70; Mariani's Priorista, MSS, 248, vol I, ff 116v-117r.

59. According to the catasto of Francesco and Niccolò in 1427: Cat, 46, f 904r. The nephews Simone and Filippo were economically one with these elders but were not listed as bocche.

60. Some idea of the family's wealth and its variations can be gleaned from Martines, Social World, 109 n 69, 359, 360, 372, 374, 375. No Tornaquinci house features in the large investments or shops listed in a tax assessment conducted in 1451: Molho, "Traffichi," 90, 93-94, though smaller instances are cited on 111, 113, 114. On Francesco di Messer Simone's wealth see n 65 and on Giovanni di Francesco's nn 84, 163-64 below. The brief survey offered here is not the work of an economic historian and is reliant on secondary sources.

61. During the 13th and 14th centuries some Tornaquinci engaged in the French wool trade and in the early Quattrocento the Tornabuoni were abroad, in Bruges and London, for the same purpose (Pampaloni,

"Tornaquinci," 347, 349 and n 35; on Francesco Tornabuoni in London conducting business with Datini see Origo, Merchant of Prato, 71-72, 358 n 23). But the Popoleschi specialised most in the wool industry, having consuls in the wool guild across the century and with at least 2 separate wool companies in 1453 (D. Zervas, "Filippo Brunelleschi's Political Career," BM [1979]:634 n 27; Vasari-Milanesi IV:305; Molho, "Traffichi," 111, 114; Catalogue of the Medici Archives [cited in n 16], 174 no 722, 175 no 728, the latter an instance of a Popoleschi dealing with Giovanni Tornabuoni in the 1490s). The Tornabuoni were also active in the Calimala: Martines, Social World, 203.

For Giovansimone's travels see n 43. His father Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni (n 15) was captain of two galleys in 1459-60 going to Constantinople and the Black Sea, the pioneering voyage to the latter area. See Dei's Memoria, Bib Ricc, Codex 1853, f 50r and Mallett, Galleys, 69, 165, 175, which mention two further instances of Tornabuoni men involved in galley trips. Piero di Niccolò Popoleschi (n 14 above) departed for Turkey in August 1459 on a State galley, perhaps that captained by Filippo Tornabuoni, selling wool and returning with raw silk and a female slave: F. de Roover, "Andrea Banchi" (cited in Ch 2 n 35), 271-72 and Dei, f 52r.

Land holdings are discussed in Ch 4 Sections B-D.

62. In 1401 Aghinolfo di Niccolò di Ghino Popoleschi was one of the deputies administering the prestanze levies: Brucker, Civic World, 282; Wesselski, Polizianos Tagebuch, 195 no 376, 196. This man was the first Gonfaloniere of the consorteria, reaching that office in Jul-Aug 1405, after having been prior in 1399.

Francesco di Messer Simone Tornabuoni was of the Ufficiali del Banco from Dec 1430 to Sept 1431, Adovardo Giachinotti in 1432: Molho, Florentine Public Finances, 168 n 31, 216, 218, 220.

Between 1482-1494 the Tornabuoni were regularly officials of the Monte: Marks, "Financial Oligarchy," 140.

In 1495 Piero di Niccolò Popoleschi was one of ten appointed to administer the latest tax, a position he also held in 1480: B. Masi, Ricordanze, 28; de' Rossi in Delizie XXIII:299; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 2, 1006.

In Oct 1512, not long after the Medici return, Giorgio Tornabuoni was one of those deputed to collect a new tax from the S. Maria Novella quarter: B. Masi, 109.

63. Brucker, Civic World, 403-04; n 50 above and n 72 below. The catasto of Giovanni and Tieri di Francesco di Tieri Tornaquinci in 1469/70 declared "uno bancho in merchato nuovo" (Cat, 921, f 333r) and a Tornaquinci bank was still operating in the 1620s (de Maddalena, "Archives Saminati," 739).

64. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 23 n 90; Staley, Women of Florence, 51.

65. Cat, 46, ff 897r-904r; Martines, Social World, 372: after Palla Strozzi and then the Medici brothers Cosimo and Lorenzo, in 1427 Francesco and Niccolò Tornabuoni were virtually equal third with Niccolò da Uzzano. Writers tend to overstress Francesco's role, whereas he was the leading figure in a joint, family operation. As early as 1399 Francesco and Niccolò are recorded in a joint lending venture: a Spinelli ricordo in BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028. Their brother Filippo died in Nov 1402 but judging by his prestanze officially dated 1403 he was the second wealthiest man in his quarter,

after Palla Strozzi: Delizie IX:198; Martines, Social World, 359. In the novina of 1411 Francesco was one of 13 Florentine households with assessments exceeding 100 florins (146 florins: Brucker, Civic World, 270 and n 118). Niccolò had no sons and the nipoti in the catasto of 1427 were Filippo's sons, Simone and Filippo, who would have inherited his share of the family fortune. For Francesco's attitude towards taxes and trade, voiced in government debates, see Brucker, Civic World, 367, 429, 439, 444, 448, 464.

66. In April 1431 Francesco wrote from Venice to Averardo de' Medici complaining about business conditions and the difficulty in collecting debts. In June of that year he and his nephew Filippo di Filippo received an authorisation to sell their Monte shares to foreigners. See Brucker, Civic World, 503 and n 147; Motho, Florentine Public Finances, 16 n 18, 154 and n 3, 161 n 15. On 24 July 1432 Francesco had to sell some property at Le Bracche and his son Giovanni bought this back into the family in 1488: Ch 4 n 84.

67. NA, B 570, ff 1027r-1032v. Francesco died on 1 Feb 1437: Delizie IX:129; Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 46. Niccolò was born in 1381 (Carte Dei, Tornabuoni) and still alive at the time of the catasto in 1427. By 1460 Francesco's sons Niccolò and Filippo had at least 9 male children between them, Leonardo and Giovanni were not yet married and Alfonso ("fratris carnalis") was to die in 1464 without having married.

68. Cat, 922, ff 150r-152r. For the dowry see Ch 4 n 31, Ch 5 nn 121, 129.

69. Marabotto was born on 15 Aug 1403 (Tratte, 443 Bis, f 149r), Antonio c 1408 (Cat, 46, f 904r). Their mother Selvaggia di Maso degli Alessandri married Francesco in 1400 (BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 171²; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028) and died in Apr 1405 (Delizie IX:144; Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 75). Francesco did not marry again until c 1411-17 (n 95 below). As an illegitimate son, a canon and later an employee of the Rome curia, Antonio probably never gained much of the estate and received only a yearly allowance from the property division: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028; Salvini, Canonici, 44; Staley, Women of Florence, 54.

70. Cat, 922, ff 285r-285v (1469); 1013, Parte II, ff 359r-369r or Copia, 73, ff 403r-404r (1480). The returns for 1498 are in Dec Rep, 24, f 522 (Giovanbatista); 25, ff 636v-638r (Girolamo); 276r (Piero); 69r-69v (Luigi, who also rented a house from Giovanni Tornabuoni); 443r (the widow Vaggia). On Marabotto's estate see also Ch 4 nn 19, 33, 141.

71. See n 42 for 1524; Ch 7 at nn 13, 15, 74 for the portraits. From May 1490 Girolamo rented Giovanni Tornabuoni's casa for 20 gold florins per year over a 5 year period, and he still did so in Jan 1495 when Giovanni ceded all his other real estate to his grandsons: NA, B 910, insert 1, f 125r and ff 281r-287v.

72. Dei's Memorie, Bib Ricc, Codex 1853, f 52v. By 1494 Nofri Tornabuoni, Giovanni's nephew and successor as manager of the Medici Bank's Rome office, also had his own bank in Rome. Another bank operating there in both 1494 and 1511 belonged to "Benedecto de' Tornaquinciis," probably the Benedetto di Antonio di Stefano di Piero

Tornaquinci, born in 1450, whose father was head of a Tornaquinci bank in 1453. See M. Bullard, "'Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes' in the early sixteenth century," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 6 (1976):55 nn 18, 19, 58 n 25, 63 n 47 for various references; Molho, "Traffichi," 113 (1453).

73. Jones, "Florentine Families," 198, who includes the Tornaquinci and Tornabuoni but gives no details.

74. Lopez, "Hard Times," 45 spoke of "two trends, depression and stabilization," but economic historians now speak in more complex terms. See Brucker, Renaissance Florence, Ch 2; Goldthwaite, Building, 29ff, 397ff; R. Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things: Consumer Culture in Renaissance Italy" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage; Ch 2 n 176 and n 85f below.

75. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 350. For instance, his n 38 cites Marabotto's sons who, in their catasto of 1480, asked for "misericordia" because their shop was unsuccessful. Yet two of these men sold a house with shops to Filippo Strozzi in 1484 for the substantial sum of 1500 florins: Ch 4 n 33. On the caution needed when using tax documents see U. Procacci, "L'uso dei documenti ..." in Donatello e il suo tempo (Florence, 1968), 11-39.

76. For example, in 1430-31 he was one of the Ufficiali del Banco although his wealth was already suffering (nn 62, 66 above). On the burden of war see Brucker, Civic World, esp 503; Marks, "Financial Oligarchy"; Molho, Florentine Public Finances, esp 157-60, 172-82.

77. See nn 14, 50. Messer Gherardo Ventraia Tornaquinci in 1301 was amongst those who "siano assoluti da certo debito:" Delizie X:92. After the formation of the Monte, Messer Biagio Tornaquinci liquidated certain credits, probably because he needed the money: Brucker, Florentine Politics, 19 n 78.

78. Piero di Giovanni Tornaquinci, who died in 1413, was 53rd for the quarter of S. Maria Novella in the prestanze of 1403: Martines, Social World, 360. But in 1426 a Niccolò Tornaquinci, probably Piero's son, was one of those charged with the death penalty for non-payment of tax: Brucker, Civic World, 502 n 145 (some sentences were remitted, probably including Niccolò's for he is recorded in a necrologio under 1430: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2030). Yet Niccolò di Piero was economically comfortable in 1427, being 116th in his quarter with a net capital of 1938 florins: Martines, 374. At that time he and his brothers owned at least one country property, bordering Michelozzo's villa, which his brother Chirico still owned in 1442 and 1457 after Niccolò's death: Caplow, Michelozzo, 650, 654, 657. Once more, in 1429, Niccolò and his brother Chirico were in trouble with the tax officials, tried for refusing to pay the prestanze and catasti for three continuous years. Chirico was accused of a "diabolical" lack of consideration for his commune and the language alone suggests he was being made a financial and political example: Molho, Florentine Public Finances, 108 and n 70.

79. See nn 63, 72.

80. See nn 65, 67; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 357 and n 56. The nephew Simone had no children but Filippo had 7 sons, as did Francesco

himself and these were all alive when he died in 1437. Cavalcanti noted that "Death ... reduces riches, as it scatters them among many heirs" and "the wealth of citizens fluctuates": Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," 15.

81. Marks, "Financial Oligarchy," 142, see also 146 for the oligarchy's ability to accumulate wealth quickly; Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," outlines a cycle of accumulation, death and division, then reduction and accumulation.

82. Translation adapted slightly from Gombrich, Warburg, 117.

83. Lopez, "Hard Times," 45.

84. Dei's Cronica, MSS, 119, f 34r, with Niccolò Tornabuoni near the bottom of his list; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 352 without supporting evidence claims Giovanni was one of the city's richest men c 1490. A sample of Giovanni's titles can be obtained from NA, M 237, ff 4v, 14r, 76v, 86v, 159r, 193r; see also Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):50 and Cambi in Delizie XXI:25. For his device and motto see Ch 6 n 94. Already according to the catasto return of 1469 Giovanni owned 10060 (sic) florins worth of Monte shares (n 68 above). In the 1470s he invested 7,000 ducats in the Naples extension of the Medici Bank in Rome and an early 1480s plan for the Medici Bank's general re-organisation, never realised, had envisaged his contribution as 15,000 ducats: de Roover, Medici Bank, 259, 367. For a partial assessment of his wealth c 1497 see n 163 below.

85. The first quotation is from L. Belle, "A Renaissance Patrician: Palla di Nofri Strozzi, 1372-1462" (Ph.D. diss., Univ of Rochester, 1975), 100; Cavalcanti from Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," 10; Ficino, Letters, II:65-66; see also Alberti, Family, 144, 147; F.W. Kent's review of Trexler, Public Life, in Journal of Modern History 54 (1982):386, and Ch 2 n 176 above. Such material disagrees with Trexler's claims that the Florentine "Good Citizen was not a merchant" and civic humanism "failed to dignify government" (Public Life, 19). Both his Public Life and his introduction to the Libro Cerimoniale propose that shame led the Florentine merchant to hold aristocratic pretensions. But in families like the Tornaquinci, ancient and feudal origins were idealised and these added to their sense of legitimacy, without any perceived sense of a break from the past or of shame. Thus Niccolò Valori wrote of the "antiquissima Tornabonum Familia" (in Galletti, [cited in n 112], 165); see Ch 4 Section G. Whether civic humanism could dignify government, later writers like Ficino and artists like Ghirlandaio certainly did, at a time when access to office and power was perhaps more restricted.

86. Lopez, "Hard Times."

87. Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," 15 is quoted here and he argues that "magnificence" was virtually an economic necessity. For the tax relief in 1489 see Landucci, Diario, 59 n 2; Elam, "Urban Development," n 13; G. C. Romby, Per Costruire ai tempi del Brunelleschi (Florence, 1979), 24-25, 41-47.

88. Goldthwaite, "Palace," esp 977-78 and his Building, passim; Elam, "Urban Development;" Landucci, Diario, 58-59.

89. A letter by the Milanese ambassador in 1470, commenting on Lorenzo's intended political methods: N. Rubinstein, "Lorenzo de' Medici: the formation of his statecraft," British Academy Proceedings 63 (1977):76. Humanists often exhorted Lorenzo to follow his grandfather's example in patronage and Guicciardini's famous "portrait" of Lorenzo includes a lengthy comparison between the two: History of Florence, 77. See also Ch 2 Section D iii on exemplars.

90. Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," 14. See also Brucker, Civic World, 38 and references in Ch 2 n 144 above.

91. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 350 n 37.

92. Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," 16; n 81 above.

93. The consorteria's association with the Medici Bank dates back to at least 1396, when Adoardo di Cipriano Tornaquinci served in its Rome office. By 1402 he was their assistant in Naples (de Roover, Medici Bank, 44, 254, 456 n 2). But this man, due to his name and age, can only be a son of the Cipriano who in 1380 became a Giachinotti. In 1438 he appears with his new surname as a collecting agent for the Medici with his own and prosperous company: de Roover, 139 who does not realise the connection. His brother Neri, after initial prosperity and recognition within the Medici Bank, was not so successful: de Roover, 41, 44, 52, 240-41, 420 n 84, 454 n 68.

Nearly all other members of the consorteria named in de Roover's study or in other documents are from the Tornabuoni branch: eg for Antonio see n 113 below. Giovanni's nephew Donato di Filippo di Francesco (1468?-1502) is little known but must have been a trusted agent because in 1492 correspondents were expected to honour bills of exchange made out by four men in the Rome branch: Donato, Giovanni or his proxy as manager Nofri Tornabuoni, and Leonardo Bartolini (de Roover, 223).

An agent not known to de Roover was Giovanni Francesco Tornaquinci who in 1494 was named with Giovambattista Bracci (the last general manager of the Bank: de Roover, 86) as bank officials empowered to pick up Landino's salary: Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:158, 177.

94. Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139r (Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 351 n 41 gives another reference). The birthdate was commemorated by the chapel's unveiling on 22 Dec 1490: n 156 below; see also Ch 6 at n 95f.

95. Francesco's first wife is usually the only one referred to: see n 69. By 1417 he had married Nanna Guicciardini: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028 has "nel 1411-1417" and 2027 confirms her name at the date 1439. She appears as Nanna in 1427 and at her death on 5 Nov 1446: Cat, 46, f 904r and Delizie IX:194. Her brothers Battista and Giovanni both had estates worth more than 10,000 florins in 1427: Martines, Social World, 376. In 1422 this Giovanni married Francesco's niece Sandra di Niccolò di Messer Simone Tornabuoni: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027.

96. According to S. Ammirato, Della Famiglie nobili fiorentine (Florence, 1615), 42 Luigi Guicciardini was one of two knights who accompanied the bride on horseback. This is probably Luigi di Piero di Luigi (1407-1487), Nanna's aged cousin who was a fellow ambassador

in 1480 to Sixtus IV with Giovanni Tornabuoni: Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, 108 and n 142 below.

97. For Selvaggia see n 69; the Alessandri formation in Sinding-Larsen, "Two Cities," 181; for Lorenzo's aunt and other ties, n 203 below; for her death n 195. In 1480 Ginevra di Filippo di Francesco Tornabuoni married Alessandro di Jacopo di Messer Alessandro Alessandri (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027; confirmed by mention of her forthcoming marriage in her father's catasto of that year: Copia, 73, f 305v).

98. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 352 on Giovanni's education: "della quale non sappiamo nulla o quasi." On arithmetical education in the Quattrocento see Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 86f; C. Bec, Les marchands écrivains à Florence 1375-1434 (Paris, 1967), 383ff; D. Zervas, "The 'Trattato dell' Abbaco' and Andrea Pisano's Design for the Florentine Baptistery Door," RenQ 28 (1975):483-503. By 1455 Giovanni was bookkeeper in the Medici Bank's Rome office: de Roover, Medici Bank, 217. For Dominici's Regola see Ch 1 at n 35, Ch 2 n 187, Ch 4 at n 119.

99. For Antonio see n 69; for Selvaggia, Staley, Women of Florence, 54, although Carte Dei, Tornabuoni suggests that she was married in 1434. On S. Antonino's Opera a ben vivere (Florence, 1923) see also A. D'Addario, "Antonino Pierozzi, santo" in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome, 1961), III:531.

100. The date of 3 June 1444 given by Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 13 is in fact the day when Piero de' Medici acknowledged receipt of the dowry of 1200 florins (Kirshner, Monte delle Doti, 20). de Roover, Medici Bank, 219 without source dates the marriage to 1443. See also nn 106, 176 below for bibliography on Lucrezia.

101. de Roover, Medici Bank, 219; 451 n 86 cites a letter of 5 Oct 1443 from Giovanni in Rome to Piero de' Medici; n 87, one of 24 Aug 1449. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 353 n 43 incorrectly claims Giovanni went to Rome in 1458.

102. de Roover, Medici Bank, 346, 220; see also 127, 129, 217-20. The contract of 1465 is quoted from Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 353.

103. Piero's letters of 15 and 22 March 1466 are translated by J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 102-04; Rubinstein (cited in n 89), 74; de Roover, Medici Bank, 162, 365, 440 n 116. Bruges was the chief selling point for alum, but the inevitable difficulties and delays in making remittances from there to Rome troubled Giovanni because the Apostolic Chamber required prompt payment from the coffers of his own branch. De Roover rather too obviously dislikes Giovanni Tornabuoni and, while admitting that "this complaint was undoubtedly justified," stresses that he "continued to indulge in wishful thinking, saw only his own interests and continued to ignore all other aspects of the problem": 161, 163. Lorenzo de' Medici on several occasions stressed the priority of the Rome branch: Lettere, I:184, 194, 284, 455-60.

104. de Roover, Medici Bank, 164, 333, 345, 365 and on Lyons 223, 301ff. On at least one occasion Nofri Tornabuoni and the Florentine ambassador in Rome complained about the Lyons branch for it had been slow in informing them about a French benefice for Giovanni de'

Medici: Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 127 n 31. Giovanni Tornabuoni was "one of Sassetti's severest critics": Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 14-15; see also nn 103, 140, 149, 152, 153, 217.

105. Landucci, Diario, 9; Lapini, Diario, 24; J. Pitti, "Istoria," 20-24; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028 for the date; with the most detail in Parenti's chronicle (M. Phillips, "A Newly Discovered Chronicle by Marco Parenti," RenQ 31[1978]:156-57).

It has not been noticed that Giovanni was for a time considered as the prospective husband of Marietta di Lorenzo Strozzi. By April 1464 nothing more was being said of such a match because her "madre non è di quel volere": A. Strozzi, Lettere, 281, 295, 297-98 n B. Without citing this particular information, Trexler, Public Life, 230-31 has given an explanation for Marietta's importance and her mother's refusal. At a time of weakness in the Medici regime, precisely Feb 1464, several Mediceans wooed Marietta, hoping to forge an alliance with the potentially disruptive Strozzi. The suggestion of a marriage with Giovanni, apparently made in his absence, was a less public but equally political ploy in the guise of romance. He was to be used in just the same way only two years later.

Despite the political convenience of his marriage to a Pitti, Giovanni developed a genuine fondness for his wife: nn 125, 126, 167, 191 below. Her father too was fond of his parenti tied to him by marriage: F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 29.

106. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 107; Rochon, Laurent de Médicis, 98. His sister Lucrezia travelled to Rome in Mar 1467 to personally and quite coolly inspect the candidate Clarice Orsini: C. Guasti, Tre Lettere di Lucrezia Tornabuoni a Piero de' Medici ed altre lettere di vari concerneti al matrimonio di Lorenzo il Magnifico con Clarice Orsini (Florence, 1859); J. Ross, 108; see also Maguire, Medici Women, 76. In Oct 1467 Giovanni was in Florence, probably to discuss the affair: Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, I:25; J. Ross, 116.

107. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 120, 123-24, 126, 134-35; Guasti (cited in n 106), 12-14; Maguire, Medici Women, 134-36.

108. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 122-24, who wrongly claims that this Francesco was Lorenzo's uncle.

109. Tratte, 443 Bis, f 146r. Horne, Botticelli, 143 also gives the correct date, whereas Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1068 gives 1465 when Giovanni was not yet married and Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt I:575 gives 27 June 1457.

110. Cat, 922, ff 150r, 151r; see Ch 4 nn 40, 71.

111. de Roover, Medici Bank, 198-99, 448 n 19. Giovanni held the office until 1476. On the position see G. Holmes, "How the Medici became the Pope's Bankers" in N. Rubinstein (ed) Florentine Studies (London, 1968), esp 364, 378.

112. Lorenzo's ricordo from J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 155; Valori from G.C. Galletti (ed) Philippi Villani Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus (Florence, 1847), 169. See also Dacos, Le gemme, esp 4, 119-20, 153 n 15; Landucci, Diario, 11 for the names of the men who left Florence on 23 Sept 1471. The close link made by Valori between the Bank's affairs and the gems supports Dacos' suggestion that the

gems were obtained easily because of the Pope's financial difficulties with the Bank.

113. Antonio di Filippo di Filippo (born 1444) was a garzone at the Bruges branch in the late 1460s (de Roover, Medici Bank, 93-94, with no other mention) but from 1478 he was in Rome, receiving numerous letters from Lorenzo de' Medici. These particularly concerned the search for benefices, especially for young Giovanni de' Medici (Protocolli, 257, 260-62, 266, 268, 274-79, 310, 324; Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, esp 74, 125 n 17, 126 n 24), arrangements about various payments, courtesies to ambassadors, soldiers, and the personal delivery of important dispatches. His role in Rome was certainly more than a financial one and he seems rather to have been a confidential courier, informant and military agent. See Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, II:236, 241 n 7, 267 and III:31, 44-45; Protocolli, 55, 259, 285, 305, 310, 316; R. Palmarocchi, La Politica Italiana di Lorenzo de' Medici. Firenze nella guerra contro Innocenzo VIII (Florence, 1933), 29 n 9; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 258, 265; two letters of the 1480s from Antonio in Rome to Lorenzo: CS, Ser I, III, ff 114r-114v, 187r-187v.

Five letters from 1484 refer to various "corniuole," or precious objects in chalcedony, telling him to buy one such "corniuola" for 100 ducats, while another letter was written in part "che avisi quello segue de' camei, furon di Mantova; et mandi come scrive la corniuola trovata di nuovo." Another enquired "che se li manda le corniuole numero 144." See Protocolli, 274-76, 277, 314. Luigi Lotti, one of Lorenzo's agents concerned with his collecting (Gaye, Carteggio, I:285), wrote a joint letter with Antonio to Lorenzo in Dec of this year (Palmarocchi, 29 n 9).

114. Foster, Poggio, 214-15; F.W. Kent, "Poggio," 256 and n 47.

115. Cagni, Vespasiano, 134-35 publishes Manetti's letter of 1456. Earlier Manetti studied under Traversari with other learned men such as Fra Iacopo di Tieri Tornaquinci (Vespasiano, Le Vite, I:452) and his granddaughter Alessandra de Angelo married Giovanni's nephew Giovanfrancesco di Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni in 1478 (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027). Giannozzo and Francesco Tornabuoni, Giovanni's father, had both been Ufficiali del Banco in 1430-31 (Molho, Florentine Public Finances, 218). Such were the peripheral but frequent contacts between the Tornaquinci and the humanist culture, on which see Ch 4 nn 99ff.

116. Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 314f and Protocolli, 504, 506, the latter a letter to both of them "per Baccio Ugholini per uno beneficio." Possibly the contacts began in 1466 and 1468 when Giovanni was Rome manager and Palmieri was ambassador to Rome: Messeri, 301f, 309f, 335-37.

117. Protocolli, 5, 8, 230, 244; Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 70. I thank Eve Borsook for her verbal information on the Codex's ownership. For these codices and the Tornaquinci chapel see Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique;" Egger, Codex Escorialensis; Huelsen, Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo; Rushton, "Italian Renaissance Sketchbooks," esp 189, 221-23; Thomas, "Classical reliefs," incl 85 n 1, 121ff. Luigi Lotto (n 113 above) presumed a connection between Francesco Gaddi and Giovanni Tornabuoni in 1480, when he wrote to Gaddi several times whilst Florentines were expelled from Rome and he specifically

recommended himself to Giovanni through Francesco three times: Marinis and Perosa, Nuovi documenti, 27-28.

118. Warburg, Rinascita, 306 cites Gaye, Carteggio, I:285, but see 286 for "Giovanni Antonio." Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 454-55; de Roover, Medici Bank, 224; Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 241 n 53 all stress Giovanni's lack of innovation; nor does the inventory of 1498 (n 167 below) suggest that he was a collector of antiquities.

119. Protocolli, 317 quoted at n 152 below. The Protocolli however are not an exhaustive list, even for the years it does cover.

120. M. Mansfield, A Family of Decent Folk, 1200-1741 (Florence, 1922), 199: an Oct 1488 letter from Lorenzo to his ambassador in Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, says that "some days since, Giovanni Tornabuoni has forwarded thither ... all the intaglios belonging to Monsignor of Mantua ... Nofri Tornabuoni has full instructions as to what is needed to be done." Here again the Tornabuoni are acting as financial intermediaries and dispatching agents. For Nofri's role in acquiring items for Lorenzo's collection, incl books and vases, see Protocolli, 356, 357, 360, 392, 428, 467.

121. Protocolli, 126, 241, 245, 512, 516. Platina's book is not named there, but it must be the Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum, presented to the Pope in 1474 (Garin, Prosatori latini, 692). The only Platina text in the inventory of the Medici Library was "Vita pontificum Platine": E. Piccolomini, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508," ASI, ser 3, 20 (1874):87. Similarly all titles there by Argyropoulos are translations of Aristotle, on which see also Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:319-20 and for Poliziano's use of them, Protocolli, 226, 228, 449.

122. Protocolli, 15, 19, 174 on Poliziano; 505-06 and J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 170 on Becchi. During Giovanni's Florentine residence as Gonfaloniere in late 1482 Bartolomeo Scala asked him to use his influence with the protonotary in Rome on the matter of a benefice for him: A. Brown, Scala, 105. For another example see n 116 above.

123. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, I:398-401, 409-10; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 163-64, 168-71; R. Palmarocchi, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la nomina cardinalizia di Giovanni," ASI 110 (1952):40.

124. de Roover, Medici Bank, 198, 258, 365f; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 186-87; Piero Parenti's Storia explicitly notes the presence of Giovanni Tornabuoni, one of the "principali governatori delle loro ragioni," in the Cathedral close to Giuliano de' Medici: A. Poliziano, Della Congiura dei Pazzi (Coniurationis Commentarium), ed A. Perosa (Padua, 1958), 74, 76.

125. Giovanni's letter of Sept 1477 is published by E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 432 n 2; Protocolli, 24. Francesca's death is noted in S. Maria Novella's necrologio under 23 Sept 1477: Delizie IX:186 and Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 155.

126. Confusion has surrounded the Tornabuoni tombs in Rome, Vasari having begun the muddle with the following description: "Onde essendo morta sopra parto in que' giorni la moglie di Francesco Tornabuoni, il marito, che molto amata l'aveva, e morta voleva quanto poteva il più

onorarla, diede a fare la sepoltura ad Andrea [Verrocchio]; il quale sopra una cassa di marmo intaglio in una lapida la donna, il partorire, ed il passare all' altra vita; ed appresso in tre figure, fece tre Virtu, che furono tenute molto belle": Vasari-Milanesi III:359-60, also 259-60. The circumstances obviously refer to Francesca Pitti, wife of Giovanni Tornabuoni. Vasari and later writers thought the husband was Francesco because, judging by the Heemskerck drawing of her tomb done in the 1530s (Egger, Francesca Tornabuoni, Taf 1.2; Passavant, Verrocchio, fig 17), it was quite similar in outline and style to Mino da Fiesole's Roman tombs, particularly that of Francesco di Filippo Tornabuoni which lay nearby in S.Maria sopra Minerva (n 129 below).

Francesca's tomb no longer exists and Verrocchio's relief, now in the Bargello, had entered the Medici collection by 1666. See V. Chiaroni, "Il Vasari e il monumento sepolcrale del Verrocchio per Francesca Tornabuoni" in Studi Vasariani. Atti del convegno internazionale per il centenario della prima edizione delle 'Vite' del Vasari (Florence, 1952), 144-45; Egger; E. Muntz, "Andrea Verrocchio et le tombeau de Francesca Tornabuoni," GazBA 3^e per, VI (1891):277-87; Passavant, 8, 23-24, 181-83, figs 17, 20, Pls 50-52; A. Reumont, "Il monumento Tornabuoni del Verrocchio," Giornale di Erudizione Artistica II (1873):167-68; E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 429f; Seymour, Verrocchio, 16, 25, 125, 168-69, figs 165-66. It may have been similar to the intact Tartagni tomb in S.Domenico, Bologna, executed by a student of Verrocchio's for a man who also died in 1477 (Vasari-Milanesi III:371 and n 2 and Seymour, 128, 180, fig 177, which do not mention the Tornabuoni work). For fragments which have been associated with the Tornabuoni tomb and could be related to the Tartagni arrangement see F. de la Moureyre-Gavoty, Musée Jacquemart-Andre. Sculpture Italienne (Paris, 1975), nos 49-53; Passavant, 181, 184-85, figs 18-19, Pls 58-59; Pope-Hennessy, Victoria and Albert Museum, I:176, III:fig 170; Seymour, 169, figs 167-68.

For classical sources see F. Antal, "The Maenad under the Cross," JWCI 1 (1937):72; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 25 with references; F. Schottmüller, "Zwei Grabmäler der Renaissance und ihre antiken Vorbilder," Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 25 (1902):401-08; Ch 2 n 36.

Egger, 12 notes one other example, in Aquila, where mother and dead child are both portrayed and he suggests that Heemskerck's drawing was executed as a record of a novelty; see also J. Hurtig, "Death in Childbirth: Seventeenth-Century English Tombs and Their Place in Contemporary Thought," AB 65 (1983):603-15.

127. Giovanni's continual widowhood was contrary to an "almost universal practice for widowers in Florence to remarry" (Kirshner and Molho, "Marriage Market," 433). Perhaps in part this was because of his affection for Francesca; in part because of his own experience with a divided patrimony.

128. Francesco Albertini, Opusculum de Mirabilibus novae et Vetris urbis Romae (Rome, 1510), Bk III:np (repr in Murray, Five Early Guides); Vasari-Milanesi III:260; both of which attribute the decoration to Ghirlandaio, whereas Billi gave the "cappella a' stantia di Giovanni Tornabuoni" to Filippino Lippi, doubtless a confusion with the Carafa chapel there (C. Frey, Libro di Antonio Billi, 50). Only Vasari mentions the subject and it should be noted that a will of 1540 only refers to St. John the Baptist in relation to the chapel (n 190

below). The work no longer exists and the tombs have been much altered (nn 126, 129 with further bibliography).

129. Egger, Francesca Tornabuoni, 19 publishes the document on anniversary masses. For the tombs, which according to the ages of the deceased can only be these two brothers, see Rosselli's Sepoltuario, MSS, 625, p 1494; Vasari-Milanesi III:118; G.S. Davies, Renascence: the sculpted tombs of the fifteenth century in Rome (London, 1910), 95-96, 110-11, 275-77; and the citations in n 126 above, incl Passavant, 181 and Reumont, 280.

130. See Ch 7 Section E b and Gombrich, Warburg, 120, 180.

131. de Roover, Medici Bank, 221, 365ff; Maguire, Medici Women, 156, 159; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 211 (she delicately deletes the sentences on miscarriage), 220.

132. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 224-25; the Italian text is in Poliziano (Del Lungo), 72-74.

133. Ficino's letter is in Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 79-80. For Poliziano see esp Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, passim, n 199 below and Ch 4 n 90. The Tornabuoni tutor was Martino della Comedia: J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 218 and n 1, 220; also M. Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists (Boston, 1962-), 3:2210; Poliziano (del Lungo), 72 n 3; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 474; at n 136 below.

134. Lodovica is not listed in Litta, Famiglie celebri. E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 452 n 2 and Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 359 claim she was born at the time of her mother's death in Sept 1477 but Giovanni's letter clearly states that that child was stillborn (n 125 above). At the latest she would have been born ten months earlier, in Dec 1476. She is simply listed as 4 years old in her father's catasto of 1480: Copia, 73, f 431r.

135. Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav II, whose only information is that Antonio was Captain of Volterra in 1522 but this is probably a confusion with Antonio di Filippo di Filippo (n 113 above) who held that office in 1515 according to Litta. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 359 does not acknowledge his existence.

136. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 218. There are only two other Antonio Tornabuoni names in the family tree, neither of whom had a brother named Lorenzo. Giovanni's nephew (nn 113, 135 above), born in 1444, would seem too old to be the "patron" of a tutor, although he was probably in Florence during the Pazzi war since the Protocolli, 63, 138 have no mention of him between 20 Jul 1478 and 19 Mar 1481. The other Antonio was Giovanni's brother who had died in Rome in 1468: n 69 above.

137. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r for the will. The paternal care evinced there differs from Francesco Sasseti's instructions about his illegitimate son, addressed to his other children in 1488: "Credo sappiate che havete un' altro fratello ma d'un altra donna che vostra madre, portandosi bene tractatelo bene secondo che merita un suo pari, se non fatene come se fussi figliuolo d'un vostro lavoratore. Sogliono i simili nelle case et nelle famiglie grande alle volte esser

buoni a qualche cosa, a voi la rimetto" (Warburg, Rinascita, 229).

An illegitimate child born in Rome is very likely, for Giovanni had lived in Rome since he was 15 and only married in 1467 when he was 39. That such an Antonio is not in the Florentine birth records is not conclusive, since it may result from his illegitimacy, but it may suggest a Roman birth (see text at n 207 too). Antonio is named before Lorenzo in Piero's letter, which could suggest that he is older, but not too much so since they shared their education. The presence of two young boys displaying portrait characteristics on the far left of Francesca's tomb relief (Pl. 61), somewhat incongruous and removed from the action, would only seem explicable if they are Giovanni's sons. The round-faced, smaller boy is probably the 9 year old Lorenzo.

Near silence on this son may be due to his illegitimacy (on the lower status of illegitimate children and their ineligibility for office see, eg: Borsi, Alberti, 9; D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 18; Krautheimer, Ghiberti, 3; Morelli, Ricordi, 208) and to his probable residence in Rome, factors which would also explain the absence of a medal or portrait in the chapel. His father's catasto of 1480 does not report him and perhaps he had recently moved to Rome. No details of his death, which must have occurred after his father's will of 1490, or of any children, are recorded in Florence.

138.The phrase, oft-used by Florentines, is discussed by F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 125 n 14, 173 n 27; D.V. Kent and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, esp Introduction; Klapisch, "'Parenti, amici e vicini.'

139.For the masses see nn 183, 191, 194, 206. The sacristy books transcribed by Rab Hatfield only begin in 1479.

140.de Roover, Medici Bank, 200-01, 224 cf his address to Lorenzo in 1477 as "Carissimo mio Lorenzo" (n 125 above). The sentiment and imagery of 1487 are similar to Ficino's when he addressed Bernardo del Nero (quoted in Ch 7 at n 64). Trexler, Public Life, 436 notes a shift to a more formal address used towards Lorenzo after 1470, in which case Giovanni's absence from Florence and his parentado with Lorenzo might explain his verbal familiarity continuing for some time. But F.W. Kent believes that Trexler's brief comments need nuancing, to take more account of individual personalities and ties: see his Household and Lineage, 211ff, D. Kent, Rise, 83ff and their Neighbourhood, 93. Francesco Sasseti used a generously obsequious tone to Piero de' Medici as early as 1456 (de la Mare, "Library of Francesco Sasseti," 192 n 21) as well as to Lorenzo in 1486 (Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e leggende," 300). On this man's status as less secure than Giovanni's see Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 50-51; n 104 above and Ch 5 n 90.

141.MAP, XLI, 103 (see n 161 below). F.W. Kent pointed out the significance of this strangely deprecating word, which nevertheless suggests more the godliness of Lorenzo than the lowliness of Giovanni's self-image. The advisory nature of the letter indicates his stature and confidence.

142.On the day the ambassadors departed, 15 Nov 1480, Lorenzo sent Giovanni's credentials to various cardinals: Landucci, Diario, 37; Protocolli, 123. The twelve ambassadors are named by Rinuccini, Ricordi, cxxxiv and E. Frantz, Sixtus IV und die Republik Florenz (Regensburg, 1880), 360. They included Antonio Medici; Luigi

Guicciardini, the cousin of Giovanni's mother (n 96 above); Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, the son of Tommaso Soderini and Dianora Tornabuoni and therefore Giovanni's nephew (Ficino, Letters, I:232); Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, father of Lorenzo Tornabuoni's second wife from 1491 (Luchs, Cestello, 45, 160 n 16); and Maso Albizzi, father of Lorenzo's first wife and of Albiera who later married Piero Tornabuoni (n 203 below; S. Ammirato [cited in n 96 above], 42 claims that another Albiera Albizzi married a Gismondo Giachinotti, but no such name occurs in the family tree).

143. Landucci, Diario, 37; Trexler, Interdict, 173; Machiavelli, Florentine History, 251-54; n 121 above on the books.

144. On the chapel and its dating see L.D. Ettlinger, The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo (Oxford, 1965), esp 17ff, 120-23, 127-28 (43, 90, Pl 10 for the Calling) and G. Kury, The Early Work of Luca Signorelli (New York, 1978), 90ff. D.A. Covi, "Botticelli and Pope Sixtus IV," BM 111 (1969):616 claims Ghirlandaio was back in Florence by May 1482 to be married, but his father's catasto of 1480 already reports a 19 year old wife (Gaye, Carteggio, I:267; Mesnil, "Portate," 69; Mather, "Documents Mostly New," 47f; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 237 all reproduce the appropriate passage).

Discussion on portraiture and reasons for its inclusion is minimal. Giovanni Tornabuoni stands seventh from the extreme right in the foreground rank, behind a young boy whose lavish dress, confident posture, age and face all accord with the later portrayal of Lorenzo at S. Maria Novella (see Ch 4 nn 80-81). Giovanni's identification has been universally accepted and it easily agrees with the evidence from his medal and portraits in S. Maria Novella.

He stands next to a bearded man whom E. Steinmann identified as Argyropoulos (Ghirlandajo, 20-21; Die Sixtinische Kapelle [Munich, 1901], I:385f), a proposal supported by the connection between these men in Rome at the time (n 121 above). Hatfield, Botticelli, 90 n 78 sees this face as "clearly identical" to the bearded elderly Magus in Ghirlandaio's Adoration of the Magi tondo of 1487 now in the Uffizi, but originally owned by the Tornabuoni (Ch 4 n 134; Pl. 54 here). However the later face is younger, more generalised and lacks the distinctive rings under the eyes: Ghirlandaio seems to be resorting to an appropriate memory to depict a venerable wise man from the East, rather than presenting an accurate portrait of someone who was not, after all, a close family associate. Fanciful discussion of portraiture in the Calling is offered by G. Davies (cited in n 129), 276-77, his Ghirlandaio, 45, 51, 53-56, and J. Weiser-von Inffeld, Das Buch um Ghirlandaio (Zurich, 1957), 129f.

145. Protocolli, 168, 172, 173; de Roover, Medici Bank, 221; also Marinis and Perosa, Nuovi documenti, 26.

146. J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 244; see Ch 2 n 35.

147. Landucci, Diario, 41, who refers to it as a "casa," but a legal document of Dec 1481 was enacted in this "palatio": NA, M 237, f 4v. For the inventory and other foreign visitors see esp Ch 4 nn 47, 48, and n 182 here.

148. For the office see the Prioriste of Giovansimone Tornabuoni (CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum) and Mariani (MSS, 248, vol I, f 117v); for the costume, Ch 7 n 6.

149. The Protocolli, 301, 315 have a gap between 16 July and 20 Nov 1484. For the sale of 17 Sept see Ch 4 n 33. On the same day Giovanni replaced Francesco Sasseti as a partner in the Florentine tavola of the Medici Bank: Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 51.

150. Cambi in Delizie XXI:25; BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 47; Protocolli, 315; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 264; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 51 n 193. For 1466 see n 103 above; and nn 140, 141 on language.

151. Protocolli, 244, 246, 247, 317 (quoted at n 152 below), 321, 325, 364, 367, 504, 505; Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 70, 124 nn 11, 12, 138 n 100 for Giovanni and *passim* for Nofri.

152. Protocolli, 317. de Roover, Medici Bank, 223, 300ff and on Carlo Martelli, 163, 222, 356. In June 1483 Lorenzo had written to Giovanni about financial arrangements, "circa le cose del bancho, maxime di Lione": Protocolli, 247.

153. Protocolli, 318. The needs of the Bank were many. The Rome branch encountered increasing difficulties, especially with Papal debts, after the Pazzi war and many years now saw the branch record a loss. By 1487 it was "virtually bankrupt" and although the prudent Giovanni renewed his partnership with Lorenzo in that year, special clauses enabled Giovanni's investment in the Florence and Lyons branches to be withdrawn at any time without loss. As with Bruges, Giovanni's dissatisfaction over Lyons was caused by its heavy drain on the resources of his own branch and by a personal distrust of the manager. Nor had Giovanni ever approved of the policy of the Bank's general manager, Francesco Sasseti, concerning Lyons, seemingly justified by its near closure and re-organisation in 1485. See de Roover, Medici Bank, 221-23, 259, 302-05. The renewal of Lorenzo's partnership with Giovanni in July 1487 is published in M. del Piazzo, "Gli autografi di Lorenzo de' Medici nel'Archivo di Stato di Firenze," Rinascimento 8(1957):236.

154. The Protocolli, 326, 364 have a gap between 10 Mar 1485 ("A Giovanni Tornabuoni, a Roma, che ci venga") and 22 July 1487. A mention of him on 16 July 1485 implies verbal contact with Lorenzo: Protocolli, 332. On Nofri di Niccolò di Francesco Tornabuoni (1451-post 1497) see esp Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X and the Protocolli, *passim*; de Roover, Medici Bank, esp 223; nn 72, 93, 104, 120, 151 here; Ch 4 at n 141; Ch 7 n 18.

155. de Roover, Medici Bank, 223 dates the Florentine period "after 1487" but 1485 would be more accurate. Giovanni's last major commission in Rome was again to aid Medici marriage alliances, Maddalena di Lorenzo marrying the Pope's son Francesco Cibo and Piero di Lorenzo marrying Alfonsina Orsini: Maguire, Medici Women, 178-86; Giovanni's letter of Feb 1487 to Lorenzo in Palmarocchi (cited in n 113), 227 n 27. The last letter to Giovanni recorded in the Protocolli, 372, under 25 Mar 1488, was "per Giannes cantore," perhaps the "Giovanni Pintelli francioso" who had begun at S.Spirito as the singing master in Feb 1488 (F.A. D'Accone, "Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine Chapels, ca. 1475-1525," Viator 1 [1970]:276).

156.Landucci, Diario, 60; probably the source for both Lapini, Diario, 27 and BNF, Conv Soppr, C.3.896, f 287v, a 16th century priorista from the convent, which mainly uses Vasari's first edition.

157.de Roover, Medici Bank, 86, 369. Giovanni is rather hunched and stooped in the Zacharias fresco and he probably suffered from the same gout and rheumatism that affected his sister Lucrezia and her son Lorenzo de' Medici, for which they went frequently to the baths. At the same time as the fresco's execution, in Aug 1489 Lorenzo wrote to the Signoria of Siena: "Essendo consigliato dalli Medici Giovanni Tornabuoni mio Zio a pigliare l'acqua del Bagno a San Filippo, et trovandosi al presente indisposto della persona in modo che al chavaliare e' inhabile": BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028.

158.de Roover, Medici Bank, 224, 260-01, 370.

159.Confusion has surrounded Giovanni's death date. Vasari's first edition claimed he was dead by the time the Ricci took the Tornabuoni to court after the chapel's unveiling: Vasari-Ricci II:189. Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1025 confuses him with his grandson to claim he was still alive in 1523. For Pampaloni see n 2 above. Warburg thought he died in 1488 (Gombrich, Warburg, 120). Rab Hatfield's search through S. Maria Novella's sacristy books now settles the matter. His morturio was conducted on 7 Apr 1497 and his onoranza on 19 Apr: Ch 5 n 126. For Lorenzo's execution see n 166.

160.On the "boom" see n 88; cf Gombrich, "Early Medici as Patrons" and de Roover, Medici Bank, where financial failure is the inevitable denouement.

161.MAP, XLI, 103; part transcribed and translated by de Roover, Medici Bank, 222, 451 n 109; briefly discussed by Picotti, Giovinetta di Leone X, 210 n 15. For the letter see also n 141 above.

162.Recent studies include those cited in Ch 1 n 2; see also 171 below. For possible extensions to the palace and renovations at the Le Bracche villa see Ch 4 nn 45, 86.

163.CS, Ser II, 124, ff 76v-77v. The summary reflects actuality rather than the legal situation, for in Jan 1495 most of his real estate had been ceded to his grandsons (n 165) and at least some of the jewellery formed part of his daughter's dowry which was not to return to his estate until her death. His will in 1490 included "uno fermaglio con uno balascio et con una perla grossa di valuta di fiorini 50 larghi," surely a mistake for 500 florins since it is described as "uno pendente d'oro chon uno balascio..." valued at 300 florins when receipt of Lodovica's dowry was acknowledged in 1493, and valued at 400 florins in this summary: NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r and M 237, ff 124v-126r. Other jewels, including a second pendant valued at 120 (1490) or 100 (1493) florins are not itemised in the summary, being simply listed as "Gioie e altre frasche" worth 1000 florins. Lodovica's dowry totalled 4000 gold florins, a most sumptuous amount. The Ghirlandaio brothers contracted to fresco the Tornaquinci chapel for 1100 gold florins: NA, M 237, f 160r. The inventory of the Tornabuoni estate conducted in 1498 reveals a considerable capital investment.

164.See nn 65 (1427), 67, 68 (1460 and 1469). Giovanni's separate

catasto in 1481 listed sustanze totalling just over 4700 florins, including a wool shop at S.Martino, Florence, valued at 400 florins, which was to form the chapel's dowry in 1487 (Ch 4 n 31), but no Monte credits or business details are given: Copia, 73, ff 430r-431v, much more legible than the flood-damaged original in Cat, 1013, Parte II, ff 380r-381v. The return of 1495 shows a substantial increase in land holdings: Dec Rep, 25, ff 605r-609r and Ch 4 n 44.

165.NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 281r-287v (Jan 1495), itemising nearly 50 pieces of rural property alone, cedes Giovanni's estate to his two grandsons. One week later his son Lorenzo renounced the mother's estate and on the next day Lodovica first formally accepted her mother's estate and then gave it to her nephews, the two young grandsons Giovanni (b 1487) and Leonardo (b 1492): NA, B 910, f 280v and insert 1, ff 293r-293v. On 20 Mar Giovanni senior emancipated the 7 year old Giovanni, who was then able to accept his mother's estate. This was the inheritance from Giovanna Albizzi, which did not concern Leonardo who was born of Lorenzo's second wife, Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi. (A similar distinction was drawn in the property division of 1460: n 69). Finally, in the same notarial act, Giovanni senior emancipated his 26 year old son Lorenzo, maintaining legal control over the son until last, presumably not only for emotional reasons, but also to ensure that Lorenzo never legally had any rights or obligations over the properties, virtually all of which were now in the hands of two young children: NA, B 911, ff 37v-38r and B 910, insert 2, no 9. Rab Hatfield has transcribed this sequence of documents. Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt I:577, referring to the official records of emancipation, claims that Lorenzo is entered there under 29 Mar 1496, as does Kuehn, Emancipation, 225 n 54, see also 11, 23, 46, 142-43.

166.The deaths of five Medicean conspirators aroused great interest amongst contemporaries, some of whom mention the confiscation: Cambi in Delizie XXI:109-10; Marco Foscarelli, a Venetian ambassador to Florence in 1527, in Delizie XXIII:206; Tommaso Ginori in J. Schnitzer, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas (Munich, 1902), I:100; Guicciardini, History of Florence, 102, 129, 131ff, 294; Landucci, Diario, 155f; B. Masi, Ricordanze, 34-35; J. Pitti, "Istoria," 43; Rinuccini, Ricordi, c1xi. It is also noted, without comment, in the Tornabuoni-Buonaccorsi Priorista: CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum.

The trial is discussed by Martines, Lawyers, 442f and its political implications briefly treated by N. Rubinstein, "Politics and Constitution in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century" in Italian Renaissance Studies, ed E. Jacob (London, 1960), 167. Further details are available in several previously unknown papers in CS, Ser I, 360, ff 10r-18v (copy of the Signoria's deliberations on 17 Aug 1497); Ser III, 41, no XIII, ff 1r-3r (similarly, on Lorenzo's creditors, 17 Feb 1498), and ff 7r-9v ("Atti nel processo di Lorenzo Tornabuoni").

He was buried in S.Maria Novella the next day: Luchs, Cestello, 160 n 16. Messer Luigi di Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni, his second cousin and portrayed in the chapel (n 16 above), paid for 18 lbs of "torchi, falchole e chandele per lle messe di detto Lorenzo e pel mortorio" on behalf of Lorenzo's "eredi" on 30 Aug 1497. One year later Lorenzo's widow paid for an anniversary office and a St. Gregory mass sung by 40 friars. See Conv Sopr, 102, App 21, ff 5v, 13r, 105v.

Bernardo Accolti, who attended the Studio at Pisa at the same time as Lorenzo, wrote an epigram on his friend's death ("fui tesoro della

natura"): Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt I:180 and Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, col 144.

167.Pupilli, 181, ff 141r-150r. Only three of Lorenzo's children are known from other sources: Giovanni (b 11 Oct 1487), Leonardo (b 29 Sept 1492), in Tratte, 444 Bis, f 162r and 443 Bis, f 146v, and Giovanna (aged c 1 at the time of the inventory in Jan 1498, she married Alessandro di Niccolò Antinori in 1512: Carte Dei, Tornabuoni). Francesca, listed in the inventory (f 141r) as one of Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi's three children, aged 3, was named surely after her paternal grandmother, while the other girl may have been named after the dead Albizzi woman or, like the eldest boy, after her grandfather.

Lorenzo's cousin, Messer Giuliano di Filippo di Francesco Tornabuoni (Ch 4 n 88), was present at the inventory's inception at the Villa Lemmi in 1498, in his capacity as "Attore di detta redita": f 141r. As with Messer Luigi paying for Lorenzo's funeral wax (n 166 above), other relatives were rallying to the aid of this rapidly depleted line. Both Luigi and Giuliano are in the Zacharias fresco and in its preparatory drawing: Ch 7 at n 5.

168.Guicciardini, History of Florence, 134.

169.de Roover, Medici Bank, 260-61; the eredità summary listed private assets and business ragione separately (n 163 above).

170.For their education see nn 132, 136. A contemporary noted that they shared not only "marital kinship but also .. a tie of great friendship" (Kuehn, Emancipation, 142).

Lorenzo and his new brother-in-law Jacopo di Messer Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi were godparents of Piero's son in Sept 1492: NA, B 910, insert 1, f 211r. Parenti's list of Piero's "stato intrinseco" (A. Brown, Scala, 116 n 5; Rubinstein, Government, 231 n 2) began with Lorenzo and all the others specifically named were notaries and government officials, so Lorenzo's more aristocratic and independent status surely contributed to what Guicciardini called his "great power." Young, but not as unknown and as lacking in "quality" as Piero's other advisors, Lorenzo was "more beloved by the entire people than anyone his age" (Guicciardini, History of Florence, 134; for discussion on Piero's followers see Guicciardini, 80ff, Rubinstein, 230-31 and Weinstein, Savonarola, 121 and n 33). In 1494 he accompanied Piero on the famous visit to the King of France and it was he who returned unsuccessfully to the Signoria, trying to obtain their approval of Piero's deal with Charles VIII (Landucci, Diario, 71; Parenti paraphrased in Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 603 n 77; Guicciardini, 91 only mentions Piero di Leonardo Tornabuoni). When the Medici regime collapsed soon thereafter, Lorenzo was harassed for a while and several other Tornabuoni were violently active in the streets on the Medici's behalf (Landucci, 76-77 and Parenti in A. Brown, 117 and n 11).

Finally, leading up to a fatal conclusion, Lorenzo was a key member of a network seeking to re-instate the Medici and to aid them by smuggling their jewellery and precious objects, as well as letters, out to the exiles: Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia" (a valuable source, as yet not used by art historians).

171.C von Fabriczy, "Memorie sulla chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi a Firenze ...," L'Arte 9 (1906):258, 261; Luchs, Cestello, esp

42, 44-45, 67-68, 86-88, 116, 283f, 348. On the possible instigation of the project by Lorenzo de' Medici see Luchs, 11-13, 58-59 and Elam's investigation of Lorenzo's project for a palace nearby in her "Urban Development."

172. Part of Lorenzo's expenditure is also documented: 64 ducats for the chapel's construction, 80 ducats for the altarpiece and 400 ducats for the cloister (Luchs, Cestello, 284-85). The sculpture, still visible today, is not mentioned in the documents. Only an altar frontal for Cestello is not specifically paralleled in the documents for S. Maria Novella.

173. Horne, Botticelli, 144 for the quotation; Luchs, Cestello, 284, 286. For the Cistercians' recognition of him in a Purification festa in 1492 see Ch 6 n 9 below. For the language used of Giovanni see n 84 and on the "mirror" notion Ch 2 esp n 208f. In a land deed of 1494 between Girolamo Giachinotti and these two Tornabuoni, we find the first man being called "Nobilis vir" while both Lorenzo and his father merit "Magnifico": NA, B 910, insert 1, f 254r.

174. BNF, Magl, XI, 115, f 1r; mentioned in passing by Zervas (cited in n 98), 499, who dates it c 1495, but a date before the Medici exile would be more likely.

175. NA, A 300, ff 437r-437v (see Ch 5 at n 174f). Lorenzo was called a "patron" when he was 11 years old (n 136 above).

176. For Lorenzo de' Medici see his record on "limosine, muraglie e gravezze" (Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 26; trans J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 155) and Savonarola's attack (Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia," 222). Lucrezia was renowned for her charity: see Arlotto, Facezie, 103-04; C. Carnesecchi, "Le Camaldolensi del Convento di S. Pietro e Lucrezia Tornabuoni," Bollettino storico letterario del Mugello I (9 Feb 1939):129-30; Francesco Castiglione's biography of her, Bib Laur, Plut. 53, cod XI, ff 17r-18r; B. Felice, "Donne medicee avanti il Principato, II: Lucrezia Tornabuoni," Rassegna Nazionale 146 (1905):654; Levantini-Pieroni, Lucrezia, 13-16, 79-83; Maguire, Medici Women, esp 93, 122, 124-25, 251-55; Pezzarossa, 26f; J. Ross, passim; Valori (cited in n 112), 165.

177. Voragine, Golden Legend, 437-45 and Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 112 on S. Lorenzo and alms. For the saint in Tornabuoni domains see esp Ch 5 at n 174, Ch 6 at nn 57, 104.

178. On their University education see Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 554-55, 575-77.

179. Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 29r (Dec 1483). A few earlier masses for Francesca are in n 191 below. Lorenzo made a payment for the family's morti in 1487 (n 206).

180. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r.

181. See Ch 6 Section C and Ch 7 Section C for the scenes; Ch 5 esp Section B on patronage rights. My "The Process and Iconography of Patronage in the Tornquinci Chapel, S. Maria Novella, Florence" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage, discusses the ideas of this paragraph.

182. See n 134 above for her birth-date and n 17 for the family's Guelf loyalty. On St. Louis as a Guelf patron see Janson, Donatello, 48. In 1388 his festival was established in Florence in homage to the French alliance: Trexler, Public Life, 285.

Lorenzo's room in the Tornabuoni palace contained a "schudo chon l'arme del re di francia," a map of France was in his ante-room and other French items including a book called "uno reale di francia" were in the palace: Pupilli, 181, ff 147v, 148r, 149r-149v. French ambassadors were often guests in this house, incl Philippe de Commines when he was on a delicate mission in 1478 to assure the Medici of French support. His own Memoirs (ed S. Kinser, [Columbia, 1973], II:391-94) do not mention his residence, but Landucci, Diario, 23 does and a later letter to him from Lorenzo de' Medici confirms it (Lettere, III:264-65). He mentioned Tornabuoni in a letter of 1480: L. Sozzi, "Lettere inedite di Philippe de Commines a Francesco Gaddi" in Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis (Verona, 1964), IV:243. For later French visitors see Landucci, 85, 260, 263, 277. In the later 16th century some Tornabuoni moved to the French court of Caterina de' Medici.

Of course Lodovica may have been born on the August feast day of St. Louis, after whom she is named, but if so other family associations gave that choice of name more point.

183. Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, ff 4r (1480), 17r (1483), 21v (1484), 30r (1486), 35v (1487), passim for 1485; App 86, passim for 1490 and 1491. Francesconi, Firenze sacra, 95 gives 19 August as the Franciscan feast day, the most usual day for Giovanni's payments, and 25 August as the universal feast day. In 1301 St. Louis was added to the Dominican calendar: MOPH III:177, 289, 296, 302 and for its celebration at S. Maria Novella, Orlandi, Necrologio, II:413. The Office was composed by a Dominican: King, Liturgies of the Orders, 328.

184. See n 163. Her companion Caterina was probably the slave so named who was set free in 1483 (n 193 below).

185. First identified by E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 451f and accepted since, on the basis of the medal (n 186 below), where there is a resemblance especially in the hair styling and length, the markedly indented chin, prominent nose, straight jaw line and smooth, relatively high forehead. For the jewellery see L'Oreficeria, nos 187, 219, where mistakes are made as to her name and date of death.

186. For Nasi and the other portraits see Ch 7 Section C a; for Lodovica's medal, Armand, Médailleurs italiens, I:88 no 18; Heiss, Médailleurs, VIII:71, Pl VII no 6; Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1069. One version includes the inscription AN.VIIII, which presumably indicates her age as 9 (ie 1485). She is certainly younger there, with less refined features, than she is in the fresco.

187. Cardini, Ville, 36; Ephrussi, "Les deux fresques," 477; Horne, Botticelli, 143; Lightbown, Botticelli, I:95, II:62; E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 439f. The lost work is attributed to Botticelli, but Horne's eye-witness description, in mood and detail, recalls several works by Ghirlandaio, esp his Old Man with a Young Boy in the Louvre (Lauts, Ghirlandaio, Pl 104) and the "Francesco Sassetti and his Son Theodoro?" in the New York Metropolitan (Lauts, Pl 105; Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 133-37).

188. See n 165. The emancipation of sons aged 25 or above is not rare in Florence: see the examples in Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 7, 15, 106, 191, 416, 482 and pt 2, 652 and the statistics in Kuehn, Emancipation, 87f.

189. NA, B 910, insert 1, f 147r; Luchs, Cestello, 160 n 16 for the receipt of the Gianfigliuzzi dowry; Ch 4 n 106 for Tieri.

190. Conv Soppr, 102, 106, I, no 11, ff 68r-72r. V. Chiaroni (cited in n 126) gives only a vague archival reference for the Italian extract he published under the date 18 July 1540, whereas Rab Hatfield's transcription of the Latin describes it as a 6 Nov copy of the 6 Sept original. See n 126 for the tomb; Ch 5 n 93 for his plans for his grandfather's tomb at S. Maria Novella.

191. For the dowry see esp Ch 5 nn 121, 129. Francesca's masses are at Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, ff 5r (23 Sept 1480) and 61v (Apr 1480); 10r and unnumbered (25 Sept 1481); App 16, f 29r (22 Dec 1483, a sung mass, but on her husband's birthday) and App 18, f 18r (Sept 1483); App 16, ff 32r (23 Sept 1484, a sung mass); 36v (26 Sept 1485); 39v (23 Sept 1486, including a St. Gregory mass). Rab Hatfield is thanked for the above and for the verbal information that App 84 records Sept offices for Francesca from 1484 to 1488 inclusive. Similarly, App 86 records them from 1489 to 1496, the one in 1494 being in Oct.

The Cinquecento record is an unnumbered insert about two-thirds into Conv Soppr, 102, 81.

192. For the will see n 180. This actually amounts to 5 anniversaries: for his father (1 Feb, but often enacted in late Jan), mother (Nov: n 194), wife (Sept: n 191), daughter-in-law (Oct, but taken over by the Cestello chapel soon thereafter: n 196) and self (he died in Apr 1497, but the 16th century record notes "una messa solenne de san Tommaso con messe pranzo per Giovanni Tornabuoni" under his Dec birth day, as he had provided in the chapel's dowry: Ch 5 n 121; see also Ch 6 n 98).

193. Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):241; NA, M 238, ff 5r-5v (7 Oct 1483). In this year Giovanni gave her both an office, in Sept, and a sung mass in Dec, on his birthday (n 191 above).

194. Nanna was recorded in the necrologio of S. Maria Novella under 5/6 Nov 1446 (Delizie IX:194; Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 170). Her offices are recorded under 10 Jan 1481, 27 Nov 1481 and 29 Nov 1482 in Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, all unnumbered folios (and probably 24 Nov 1485: App 16, f 37v). According to verbal information from Rab Hatfield she is also listed here for 1483-1488 inclusive, and in App 86 for 1489-1494, 1496-1497 inclusive. See also text at nn 95, 96 above for Giovanni's remembrance of her.

Francesco entered the necrologio under 1 Feb 1437: Delizie IX:129 or Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 46. On 30 Jan 1484 Giovanni bought 18 lbs of wax for an unspecified purpose which may have been connected with an anniversary mass for his father (Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, f 19r). On 29 Jan 1485 he provided "Una messa de' morti fecie chantare" for his father (App 16, f 35r, also recorded in App 84 according to Rab Hatfield). In 1486 the office was recorded under 17 Feb (App 16, f 37v). All the following dates are due to Rab Hatfield's generous discussion with me, and derive from App 84 or 86: Jan 1487, 31 Jan

1489 (for "morti"), Feb 1490, Feb 1492, 31 Jan 1493, Feb 1494-1497 inclusive and, lastly, Jan 1498 when Giovanni was now dead.

The dowry established by Giovanni in 1487 also provided annual anniversary masses for Nanna and Francesco: Ch 5 n 121.

195. The Grascia record was undergoing restoration and unavailable to me but Luchs, Cestello, 160 n 16 quotes its 7 Oct 1488 report of Giovanna's death. Her funeral and sung mass used a generous 52 lbs of wax: Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, f 40r.

196. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 5r, 18r. The 15 Oct 1491 payment occurred two days after he had picked up the dowry for his marriage to Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi (Luchs, Cestello, 160 n 16; this action suggests that the marriage had been consummated recently: Kirshner and Molho, "Marriage Market," 418-19; Leonardo's birth in Sept 1492 [n 167 above] confirms this. Another instance of such a delay is Leonardo Tornabuoni's wife Bartolomea, whose dowry was received on 13 May 1468 [Luchs, 160 n 16] although she was pregnant in Sept 1467 [Maguire, Medici Women, 81]). This would further account for Giovanna's subsequent absence from the records at S. Maria Novella, along with the instigation of masses for her at the Cestello chapel (n 197 below). For other rare mentions of location in the sacristy books see n 206 and Ch 5 n 125.

197. Luchs, Cestello, 284-85, who does not comment on the puzzling fact that the Cestello chapel "fu finito," or at least "fu consecrata" on 28 June 1491 while masses for Giovanna supposedly "si comincio adì 25 di dicembre 1490." Perhaps the masses began in another chapel at Cestello, or probably one of these dates was a mistake. Given the occurrence of a final anniversary mass for her at S. Maria Novella in Oct 1491, it is probable that masses for Giovanna began at Cestello in Dec 1491.

198. The Chiasso Macerelli villa contained "2 bacini d'ottone con più lavorj chon smalto e con l'arme di chasa Albizzi e Gianfigliazzj." Giovanni's ante-room in the palace contained "uno misciroba chon l'arme di chasa e dagli Albizj." For these and the portrait see Pupilli, 181, ff 141v, 149v and 148r respectively. Secondary literature on the portrait panel includes Covi, "Inscription," 368-69; P. Hendy, Some Italian Renaissance pictures in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Lugano, 1964), 43-45; Horne, Botticelli, 144; Küppers, Tafelbilder, 45-47; Lauts, Ghirlandaio, 55-56, Pl 103; L'Oreficeria, no 211 (the coral there signifies her virtue and integrity); M. Paléologue, "Le Portrait de Giovanna Tornabuoni par Domenico Ghirlandaio," GazBA 18/2 (1897):493-97; E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 444f; U. Thieme, "Ein Porträt der Giovanna Tornabuoni von Domenico Ghirlandaio," Zeitschrift für bildende kunst n.s IX (1897-98):192-200.

199. Hendy (cited in n 198 above), 45 cites Martial, but not Poliziano, who used a now lost "M. Valerius Martialis," at that time in the Medici collection (B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco [Padua, 1972], 236 no 947). The tomb's epigram is in Poliziano (Del Lungo), 154-55; see also I. Mafer, Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien (Geneva, 1965), 194 n 2, 244, 292.

Poliziano grieves over a child "nondum nata," but many writers (eg Dumon, Les Albizzi, 188; Hendy, [cited in n 198], 45; Horne,

Botticelli, 144) say Giovanna died giving birth to her second child. Even more influential has been Litta's claim (Famiglie celebri, Tav II) that she had 3 children, but the inventory and birthdates of the children (n 167) make it clear that she bore only one child, the welcome son Giovanni.

200. Armand, Médailleurs italiens, I:88-89 nos 20-21; Heiss, Médailleurs, VII:7, Pl VII.4 and 5; Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, nos 1021-22; Hill/Pollard, Medals, 78 and Pl 14.3; Supino, Medagliere Mediceo, 50 no 106; Wind, Pagan Mysteries, 73-78, Pls 12-14. The line from the Aeneid I, 315 reads "Guised as a maiden in face and dress, with a girl's weapons" (C.S. Lewis' translation).

201. See S. Ammirato (cited in n 96) for the wedding of 1486; Ch 4 n 76, 128 for works commemorating Tornabuoni marriages.

202. Hendy (cited in n 198), 45, a claim made incidentally by many writers. Yet no hard evidence has been offered and n 203 below cites several earlier instances of marriage between the Albizzi and the Medici or Medicean families. D. Kent, Rise, passim discusses the earlier factional conflict. For Giovanni's own involvement in political marriage plans see nn 105f, 155 above.

203. See n 97 too. Around 1440 Giovanni's sister Dianora married Messer Tommaso Soderini (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027 and Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav I), one of the leading men in the Medici circle (Rubinstein, cited in n 89 above, esp 72, 78-80).

One of Dianora's daughters, Caterina Soderini (c 1440-1511), married Maso di Luca di Messer Maso Albizzi in the 1450s (c 1455 according to G. Dumon, Les Albizzi, 184, but probably 1457/58 at the earliest, due to the birthdate of the first Albiera mentioned below). Maso was allied to the Medici through several marriages, being born himself of a Medici mother in 1427 (Wallett, Galleys, 199). His first wife was Albiera de' Medici, by whom he had one son, Luca (b 1454) and one daughter, Albiera (1457-1473): Dumon, 184, with a wrong birthdate for Albiera, since she was born on 17 Dec 1457 according to a manuscript cited by Poliziano (Del Lungo), 145n. So Giovanna Albizzi's wedding in 1486 was only one of many previous attempts to ally this family with the Medici.

Maso's second wife Caterina Soderini bore him at least 8 or 10 daughters, 8 of whom are named in her will of Apr 1497 (Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:411). These daughters, all great-nieces of Giovanni Tornabuoni, included Francesca, "nubile" in 1497 but married in 1495 to Birighano d'Averardo de' Medici according to Dumon, 185. Another daughter was a second Albiera Albizzi (probably born after 1473), who married Piero di Leonardo di Francesco Tornabuoni, Giovanni's nephew, by 1499 if not by 1497 (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028 cf Verde). This marriage between Giovanna's full sister and a Tornabuoni was a second attempt at an alliance between these already related families.

For the death of the first Albiera, Giovanna's half-sister, in 1473 see Ch 2 n 32.

204. See Ch 7 Section D c for the Birth portrait. No-one has noticed either this triangular emblem (for which see Ch 6 n 94) or the "L" which surely stands for "Lorenzo": visual signs indicated her total and eternal possession by the Tornabuoni. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 24, 28, Pls 24, 25 goes against consensus by offering a specious argument for the panel's derivation from the fresco.

Other than the panel and her medals (n 200), works usually of low quality have been claimed as portraits of Giovanna, without much plausible resemblance to her medal. See L. Berti, Il Museo di Palazzo Davanzati a Firenze (Florence, 1972), 44; Dumon, Les Albizzi, 186-87; G. de Francovich, "Sebastiano Mainardi," Cronache d'arte 4 (1927):256-58, figs 45-47 (identifications emphatically rejected by van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:210-14); Paléologue, 495 and Thieme, 198 (both cited in n 198); Schuyler, Busts, 216-17, 234-25, figs 108, 113-14 now gives unassailable evidence that busts once in the Dreyfus Collection are forgeries. Verrocchio's marble bust, Lady with the Flowers, has been associated with Giovanna too: Schuyler, 193f.

205. Francesco Sasseti also honoured his wife: Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 21, 26. Giovanni Rucellai took pains to celebrate his marriage connections on the female side, having the Quaracchi villa hedges shaped "cum molte arme della chasa, e arma de' chasati, dove à maritate le sue figliuole, e de' chasati delle nuore sue, e maximamente quelle della chasa delli Strozzi [his wife], del quale è la mia honorevole compagnia": Zibaldone, 21. The interior decoration of the Palazzo Davanzati may contain a similar combination of arme. For grief when females died see Ch 2 nn 32-35.

206. Nov 2 is the "Commemorazione de' i Defunti universalmente in tutte le Chiese" (Francesconi, Firenze sacra, 128, 130; see also Voragine, Golden Legend, 648-57).

Giovanni Tornabuoni paying for or receiving wax on behalf of his morti is recorded in the sacristy books of S. Maria Novella: Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, ff 5v (1480), 10v (1481), the records lapse for 1482, 22v (1484: "libbre quattro di chandele per l'altare e per la sepultura de' mor' loro la matina de' morti"), 26v (1485), 31r (1486), 36v (1487: "le quale mando Lorenzo Tornabuoni"), 40r (1488). From 1489 to 1491 the appropriate and consistent records are in App 86, including "from the high altar and sepulchre of Giovanni Tornabuoni" in 1491.

In 1502 and 1504 "Da Giovanni di Lorenzo Tornabuoni [aged 15, then 17] ... falchole per la sepultura el dì de' morti" were recorded: App 21, ff 42r, 52v. I thank Rab Hatfield for sharing all these references.

The 16th century summation of S. Maria Novella's obligations noted "Per li morti di Giovanni Tornabuoni ogni dì due messe" as well as the more specific anniversaries: Conv Soppr, 102, 81. Listed under "compagnie," this indicates that the confraternity of St. Peter Martyr was administering his dowry's provisions: Ch 5 n 121.

Furthermore in Nov 1481 he contributed to masses for the dead friars at S. Maria Novella: "ssei chandellieri, cioè e' quattro di legno all'altar maggiore e dua' alla sipoltura di Giovanni Tornabuoni": Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, unnumbered folio. A similar total of wax, 20 lbs, was placed on the high altar in Nov 1493 (App 86, verbal information from Rab Hatfield) although no provider is named then. Hence in 1481, 1484, 1491 and 1493 the high altar was being used and twice the reference connects Giovanni with that location (1481 and 1491; for his funeral there in 1497 see Ch 5 n 126). Offices for Giovanna Albizzi provided by Lorenzo Tornabuoni in 1489 and 1491 were made "nella cappella" (n 196 above; see Ch 5 n 125).

207. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 30r and App 86 (verbal information from Rab Hatfield). See nn 135f above for Antonio.

208.Conv Soppr, 102, App 86 (verbal information from Rab Hatfield): including another mass for Giuliano in Jan 1498. Perhaps Giovanfrancesco Tornabuoni paid for these (Ch 4 n 32). Lucrezia died in Mar 1482, Giuliano was assassinated on 26 Apr 1478. Why June 1497 and Jan 1498 saw these two commemorated at S.Maria Novella is not clear. In 1482 Lorenzo de' Medici had instituted a mass for his family dead, esp Lucrezia, on 22 June, the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, at the Carmine: Trexler, "Martyrs," 299. See Ch 2 nn 51, 53 for a Medici martyr cult.

209.Pupilli, 181, f 147v. G. Pieraccini, "L'effigie di Lucrezia Tornabuoni madre di Lorenzo de' Medici," Rivista d'Arte, ser III, 27 (1951-52):177-84, at 181 is the only source to give such a full inscription. Catalogues of the Gallery only give "...Tornabuoni..." and date it c 1475. See M. Cinotti, The National Gallery of Art of Washington and Its Paintings (Edinburgh, 1975), 24 with colour illustration; F. R. Shapley, Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: XIII-XV Centuries (London, 1966), 125; Shapley, Catalogue, 203-04. These last two works note that the painting's current condition allows the observation by Pieraccini, first made in 1940, to be neither confirmed nor denied.

Existing works by Verrocchio, Botticelli and others have been associated with several portraits of Lucrezia once seen in the Medici collection, but no secure identification suitable to the woman's stature or age has been made. See Dacos, Le gemme, 136, 139, 145, 159; Horne, Botticelli, 318-19, 365; K. Langedijk, De Portretten van der Medici tot Omstreeks 1600 (Amsterdam, 1968), 8; Lightbown, Botticelli, II:116-18, 211, 216; Passavant, Verrocchio, 180; Schuyler, Busts, 165-68, figs 91-93; Staley, Medici Women, xv; Vasari-Milanesi III:123, 322. The woman in Donatello's Judith and Holofernes bears a "striking resemblance" to Lucrezia according to S. Levine, "The Location of Michelangelo's 'David,'" AB 56 (1974):38 n 29, but no visual comparison is offered. (Lucrezia's poem on Judith is in BNF, Magl, VII, 388, ff 26 bis r - 50v). The only medal of Lucrezia is a later restitution: Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1110 (27).

210.Confusions and variations as to the identification of Lucrezia in the chapel are not worth detailing at length since little if any comparative evidence is used or available. See Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits"; P. Bargellini, Il Bel Mondo Fiorentino (Florence, 1948), 181-82, 187; Marchini, "Frescoes in the choir of S.Maria Novella," 320 (confusing the Birth of Mary for the Birth of John); Orlandi, S.Maria Novella, 21; Schuyler, Busts, 167; Staley, Women of Florence, xiv.

On the other hand, the likelihood of her commemoration in the chapel is very high. Her portrait resided in the Tornabuoni palace, affectionate bonds between brother and sister existed, and her marriage forged a renowned link between her family and the Medici. Her presence somewhere in the female group(s) within the Birth scenes and/or the Visitation is to be expected and she is usually identified as the eldest, outermost female in one or more of those narratives, with the occasional claim that her sister Dianora might be in one of those positions instead. It needs to be stressed that both women would be portrayed posthumously, necessitating reliance on another visual model and an idealising approach. So too Giovanni's wife and mother, both commemorated by masses and planned re-burials in the chapel, might also be referred to in the physiognomical type used for all older exemplary women in the chapel's "portraits." This type has

been described by Pieraccini, who first proposed it on the basis of Lorenzo de' Medici's appearance, describing his mother Lucrezia as likely to share "gli occhi grossi sporgenti e il naso schiacciato alla radice": Stirpe de' Medici, 68ff. This "metodo morfologico-iconografico" was then confirmed by the discovery of the inscribed portrait of Lucrezia (Pieraccini [cited in n 209], 184; see also his "Lucrezia Tornabuoni," ASI 107 [1949]:212-15), and Pieraccini consistently placed Lucrezia on the outer edge of the three visitors in the Birth of John.

Yet the oldest face appearing at the edge of the three women in the Visitation, closer to the viewer, also strikes me as sufficiently or even more similar to the panel, to be taken as a (second?) frescoed portrayal of Lucrezia. A woman who dedicated one of her chapels to the Visitation (Ch 7 n 122), she accompanies a prominent portrait twice in S. Maria Novella, and in both cases that younger woman may well be Giovanna Albizzi, the later and lower fresco being produced after Giovanna's death (Ch 7 Section D c). That tragic death in childbirth could have occasioned the repeated portrayal of both women. For the Visitation, the faces of all 3 women could then have been drawn from previous models, Giovanna's recently completed commemorative panel (n 198 above), Ginevra's portrayal in the Villa Lemmi (Ch 4 at n 75f) and Lucrezia's panel (n 209 here).

In the Birth of Mary, the visitors from left to right might be Lodovica (n 185), then perhaps her two servants (n 184), then an aged woman who may be Giovanni's oldest surviving sister Selvaggia who was perhaps a nun (n 99) and lastly a woman taller and heavier than the Lucrezia figure in the Baptist's cycle but who shares typological features which suggest another sister, Dianora (see esp Pieraccini, Stirpe, 72-73). Usually neglected, this last figure in Lodovica's retinue derives from a fine black chalk preparatory drawing at Chatsworth (Pl. 28; Ch 7 n 105). Shapley, Catalogue, 203 is the only writer at all interested in portrait identifications who has noted the drawing, implicitly regarding it as closest to Lucrezia's panel portrait: "except that they fall in opposite directions, the pose of the two heads are almost exactly the same." However the face in the pricked drawing appears younger, fleshier, with a more rounded jawline, fuller flesh under the chin and at the sides of the mouth with more curved and less drawn cheeks. Her neck is longer and without protruding bones, the eye socket less recessed and the eye has not the same sense of wide-eyed bulge, while the nose protrudes further beyond the cheek line. The more plastic feel of the drawing, let alone its survival and the necessity of its existence when a model of Lucrezia was already available to the artist in both the Tornabuoni palace and probably Ghirlandaio's own memory, suggest that the Chatsworth woman is of a (still living?) relative of Lucrezia's.

211. Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 302; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 38-41; Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes," 230f. Ghirlandaio had established himself early as a family portraitist: for the Ognissanti frescoes, around 1475, see Ch 2 n 70.

212.NA, M 237, ff 159r-160r for the contract; Ch 7 passim for alterations.

213.NA, C 186, insert 5, no 8. Alessandro Nasi, Lodovica's future husband, was one of the witnesses. The contract stipulated completion by May 1490 but in this extension of Apr 1489 a deadline of Mar 1491 was envisaged. In the end, the workshop finished ahead of the altered

schedule, seeing the chapel unveiled in Dec 1490 (n 156 above). As in the contract, the patron's expectations and demands were still high, the extension speaking of "omni meliori modo quo potuit." For the Strozzi litigation see Borsook, "S. Maria Novella," and Glasser, Artists' Contracts, esp 187-201 with others. To a contemporary Ghirlandaio had a reputation as a "homo expeditivo, et che conduce assai lavaro" (Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 26).

214.de Roover, Medici Bank, 224.

215.NA, M 237, f 159r.

216.de Roover, Medici Bank, 159, 163, 219-20, 224, 333, 337, 346, 368-70, 374.

217.de Roover, Medici Bank, 220-24, 365. See nn 103, 104, 152, 153 for justifiable complaints and de Roover, 363 for Sasseti in 1488 also turning against Lionetto de' Rossi.

218.Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, II:413, 430.

219.de Roover, Medici Bank, 220.

220.de Roover, Medici Bank, 223, 370; for examples of Giovanni's extremes see 162, 221-23, 333. The character summation can be compared with F. de Roover's assessment of another successful Florentine, the silk merchant Andrea Banchi: he was "not an innovating entrepreneur" and his success was "due more to conservative policies, hard work, and caution than to daring, novelty and experimentation" (cited in Ch 2 n 35), 282.

CHAPTER FOUR: NOTES

1. Brucker, Florentine Politics, 22; Villani, Selections, 124, 182; see also Ch 3 Section B above.
2. See D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 86, 98 n 18, 102 nn 46, 50, 104 n 92, 121, 126 n 60. They clustered along Via Vigna Nuova and played a steady but not prominent role in the district's administration, having 7 representatives attend the gonfalone meetings between 1417 and 1463. Salvestro di Tommaso Popoleschi was one of its syndics, his son Giovanni amongst its sgravatori in 1427 and syndic in 1439. Each of these men reached the priorate (Salvestro in 1410 and 1416, Giovanni in 1441) and then the city's Gonfalonierate was theirs, after training at the local level (Salvestro in 1426, his son in 1450). For the offices see Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 398 and the Tornabuoni Priorista in CS, Ser II, 100, ff 96v, 101r, 108v, 121v, 130r.
3. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 1r. Two seventeenth century comments on the gate are in Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 706 no 25, 707 no 30. For the gate's position in the north-west between S. Maria Novella and Ognissanti see the foldout map in Compagni, Cronica or Fanelli, Firenze (1980), fig 6. A similar position near a city gate with the tower still surviving in part is in Tasso, "Canto degli Alberti," 20f.
4. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 4r. The Signoria's decision of 20 Dec 1356 to destroy the "gran torre che era in sul canto di mercato vecchio in sul corso del palio" is noted by the Tornabuoni Priorista: CS, Ser II, 100, f 53v. A briefer note is made in BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2031; Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 39; XXVI, 112, c 61r; G. Carrocci, "Torri Fiorentine," L'Illustratore Fiorentino (1910):32; Heers, Family Clans, 196. The official document of 21 Nov 1356 gives one of the boundaries as another Tornaquinci property: Gaye, Carteggio, I:509; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 704 no 12a. For its site later see text at n 28 below. The destruction of this tower has been taken, incorrectly, to signal the demise of the gateway tower: Leinz 704 no 9 quotes a Del Migliore manuscript, omitting the intervening passage, and that version also misreads the original chronicle of the Trecento so that it appears as though the Porta S. Pancrazio tower was the one destroyed in 1366 (sic).
There were yet more Tornaquinci towers. The "Torre dei Tornaquinci" in Brozzi still survives: n 66 below. A list compiled in the 1260s noted the "Torre nel Popolo di S. Lorenzo fuori della Città in Campo Corbolini a Comune con Berto Cipriano de' Tornaquinci": BNF, XXVI, 112, c 60r. The Trecento chronicle mentioned "anche una torre chon un palagietto ... posto drento alle sechonde mura della città": f 4r; Leinz, 704 no 9 quotes the slightly different copy by Del Migliore.
5. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 2r; Delizie VII:247. The Alberti tower remained in communal hands until a protracted dispute in 1561-1691: Tasso, "Canto degli Alberti," 25.
6. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 3r-3v. Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, 24 defines the androne as a vestibule or corridor linking two

external elements; see also Preyer, "Rucellai Palace," 166. Two rooms in the Tornabuoni palace were located in relation to it by the inventory of 1498: Pupilli, 181, f 147v.

7. The situation in 1427 (Pl. 65) can be compared with the property division of 1460, when Francesco's five sons owned no land in Lion Rosso: NA, B 570, ff 1027r-1032v. For concentration around their traditional sites see also n 34 below.

8. NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 281r-287v. The boundaries were (1) Via dei Belli Sporti, (2) two-thirds of the block down Via dei Ferravecchi until Girolamo Giachinotti's house, (3) Via di Salicciuola, (4) the chiasso or alley leading from the courtyard toward S. Michele Berteldi, (5) Papi Giacomini, the neighbour at the far end of the block next to the church.

9. Cat, 922, f 150r (1470); Copia, 73, f 430r (1481); Dec Rep, 25, f 605r (1495); Pupilli, 181, f 146v. In the property division of 1460 (n 7 above) Alfonso received "la casa della loggia," valued at 300 florins. By 1481 it was declared as Giovanni's property, as was a podere at San Moro, Signa, originally inherited by Alfonso in 1460.

10. Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 706 no 27. In 1746 Manni reported that the Tornaquinci tower had been "sbassate a' nostri giorni" to make way for palace extensions: Sigilli, XVIII:129-30.

11. The fresco in the Bargello from the Trecento depicting Florence shows her ring of walls and defensive towers, such as the Tornaquinci gate may have been: Fanelli, Firenze (1980), fig 20. For a nineteenth century reconstruction and standing remnants of such towers see Bargellini, Firenze delle Torri, Pls 3, 198, 209, 235, 259-60. For a loggia or tower as a sign of nobility and pride see Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 240-41 n 34.

12. Delizie VII:243. The claim regarding c 1200 is in Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 702 no 4 with no 7 being a notarial document of 1294 enacted "apud plateam tornaquinciorum."

13. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 3r; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 704 no 13 for 1376; Arlotto, Facezie, 241; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2031 for Sacchetti. The inventory of the Tornabuoni estate did however refer to a boundary as "rede di detto Giovanni Tornabuoni con loggia de' Tornabuoni" (Pupilli, 181, f 146v), as did two 16th century historians (Leinz, 706 nos 22, 23). The family itself, and all other sources, refer to it by the name of the consorteria. For loggie as sites for family gatherings and rituals see esp F.W. Kent, "The Rucellai Family and its Loggia," JWCI 35 (1972):397-401 and his Household and Lineage, esp 244.

14. Lists include Dei in Romby, Descrizioni, 58; Mini, Discorso, 145; BNF, Conv Soppr, D. 8. 96, f 172v. A Sassetti property is described as "versus lodiam de' Tornaquincis" in 1479 and 1485: NA, A 380, f 230r and Diplomatico, Strozzi Uguccione, 17 Oct 1485. It was one of the "loggie pubbliche" in 1560: Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 706 no 24.

15. Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 181. The argument on function advanced in this thesis has not been noted before, although Burroughs in passing (cited here and in n 17) now suggests something

similar, for porticoes at least. Pisa may have had a similar structure, for in 1426 a payment to Masaccio was notarised "sotto la loggia coperta in capo alla piazza" (Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 19, 35). During the Renaissance it was common in Rome for business to be conducted under a portico or in the street (C. Burroughs, "Below the Angel: An Urbanistic Project in the Rome of Pope Nicholas V," JWCI 45 [1982]:112 n 108). Goldthwaite, Building, 109 n 52 notes the "propensity of the Genoese to include shops on the ground floor of new sixteenth-century palaces." In Florence, the shops on the ground floor of the Palazzo Davanzati occupied a space rather like a triple arched loggia, while the new Medici Palace had on its ground floor a loggia and the Bank's offices: Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, 180-81. A view of the Frescobaldi loggia around 1561 shows it operating as a series of shops: Fanelli, Firenze (1973), II:fig 625. Commercial activity was not alien to the Loggia, on which see also n 17 below.

Hyman, 168f can find no antique source for the loggia and prefers to discuss Christian precedents such as the ciborium and the church portico. However these in turn had classical antecedents like the atrium. In this connection, one could consider the selling stalls in the antique basilica and "all who sold and bought in the temple" driven out by the Lord (Matthew, 21:12).

Vitruvius is linked with Alberti by W. Lotz, "Sixteenth-Century Italian Squares" (1968), repr in his Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 79. His discussion is replete with references to mercantile loggie in squares (eg Verona, Fermo), but he does not associate these with palaces and streets. To combine the ideas of Lotz with Hyman and to extend the investigation, including a consideration of medieval practices, would be a fruitful area of research.

16. Specific mention of houses and shops in relation to the loggia are made in many of the consorteria's tax returns: Cat, 46, f 358r; 921, ff 14r, 199r, 200v, 261r, 403v; 922, f 134r; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 705 no 15c; Copia, 73, ff 105v, 249r, 415r; 74, f 211r; Dec Rep, 24, f 495r; 25, f 605r. A property soon purchased by Giovanni Tornabuoni was reported in 1480 by its tenant on the ground floor as "Una chasa da Duccio e Chirico Tornaquinci appresso alla Loggia" (Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 492).

Other shops in the immediate area are mentioned in Cat, 921, f 15r; Copia, 73, ff 105v, 415v; Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 74-75; Haines, "Sacristy of S. Maria Novella," 615, 620; D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 115. The anonymous Tornaquinci chronicler himself, perhaps a notary, spoke of "mia bottega posta ne' luogho dove sichiama la porta tornaquinci": Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 1r.

For a barber's shop owned by the Popoleschi see Cat, 921, f 14r; Copia, 73, f 105v; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2030; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 705 no 15d. For the stone-cutter noted by Dei "a Tornaquinci alla piazza" see Romby, Descrizioni, 72; Cat, 921, f 15r; Copia, 73, f 105v; del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, I:122; Brucker, Documentary Study, 57; A. Parronchi, "Tabernacolo brunelleschiano," Prospettiva 11 (1977):55; Goldthwaite, Building, 235. The adjacent carpenter's shop had been sold by the Popoleschi to the Monte in 1440 but by 1470 seems to have been in Giachinotti hands and by Nov 1487 had become a bakery, probably replacing one sold to Filippo Strozzi in 1484: Cat, 921, ff 15r, 403r; Copia, 73, f 415r; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 2, 1028; for the sale see n 33. The bakers' guild declared the Tornaquinci piazza one of their approved selling points

in 1499: G. Carocci, "Fornai e Forni antichi a Firenze," L'Illustratore Fiorentino (1911):99.

The purchase of an "Apotheca alla Piazza de' Tornaquincis" in 1474 by Filippo Strozzi is reported by Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 705 no 17a, but Filippo did not include it in his retrospective summary (Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 74-75). Giovanni Tornabuoni's "domum magnam" included an "apotecis" as late as Jan 1495: NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 281r-287v. The occupant of this or a similar shop was Luca Landucci, whose diary is a valuable source on the consortereria and the opening of its chapel. Since his son in 1561 identified the portraits in the Zacharias fresco (Vasari-Milanesi III:266-67 n 1), the location and history of the shop which brought the Landucci into friendly and commercial contact with the consortereria is of special interest. The "Entratura di una Bottega a uso di spesiera posta vicino alla piazza de' Tornaquinci" was recorded in Oct 1395 and its same location was given in 1459: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2031. Then in Sept 1466 Luca Landucci "conperai la bottega dello speciale di sul Canto de' Tornaquinci." Due to the noise and dust generated by the construction of the Strozzi palace he moved in June 1490: "io ... apri la bottega nuova qui dirinpetto al detto palagio degli Strozzi; e feci la 'nsegna delle Stelle [the volte nearby went under this appellation]. E lasciai quella bottega vecchia di sul canto, ch'è de' Rucellai. E questa nuova è de' Popoleschi." This Rucellai "bottega di in sul Canto de' Tornaquinci" burnt down in 1510, so neither it nor the canto were actually on the Strozzi site: Diario, 4, 9, 59, 304. Luca's descendants continued to conduct their business in this area, their "aromathariorum" forming one of the boundaries to the Tornabuoni palace when it was sold in 1517 (Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, I:231 n 5) and in 1575 his grandson suffered a robbery at the shop of "Luca Landucci speciale alla loggia de' Tornaquinci" (G. Ricci, Cronaca, 146). At this late date the area further down the street is still seen as located in the immediate vicinity of the loggia.

17. See n 15. Given the controversy over whether ground floor shops were planned originally for the Palazzo Strozzi, built opposite the Tornaquinci enclave at the end of the 15th century, it is worthwhile pointing out that the Duke of Ferrara may have had these in mind when Filippo Strozzi was asked "E si li va logi, di che grandeza": F.W. Kent, "Più superba," 316-17 and n 26.

Preyer, "'Chasa overo palagio,'" 393 n 26 promises an "extensive analysis" of arrangements on the ground floor of palaces. Meanwhile she suggests that in older palaces the arches "opened to shops that were rented out" but that new palaces increasingly did not include shops, although spaces for them were provided, until the Da Uzzano (begun by 1411) and then the Medici Palaces devised a new facade type. However, without noting the commercial implications, she mentions the closure of "the loggia on the corner of the Medici Palace ... around 1517" which C. Burroughs has cited as a "telling example ... that, for a time at least, commercial and residential functions continued to co-exist in some areas, whatever may have been the case with most major palaces" ("Florentine Palaces: Cubes and Context," AH 6 [1983]:361). Such co-existence is documented at the site of the Tornaquinci enclave, where the facade along the Via dei Ferravecchi contained several shops rented out whilst the facade on the Via dei Belli Sporti did not. The former was continually remodelled, according to the visual evidence, but not bricked up, and the latter was permanently altered by Giovanni Tornabuoni.

18. On Vigevano see Lotz (cited in n 15), 80 and M. Kemp, Leonardo da Vinci (London, 1981), 170-74. Fanelli, Firenze (1973), II:fig 1268 is a much later photograph of the entrance into the Volte delle Stelle before its demolition.

19. Unfortunately the form of a loggia in the area "decto il frascato" owned by Giovanni's half-brother Marabotto can not be determined, although it contained gaming tables which were rented out in 1464: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 760 no 16. For its declaration in the tax records from 1469 to 1498 see Cat, 922, f 285r; Copia, 73, f 403r; Dec Rep, 25, ff 276r, 443r. Girolamo di Marabotto's will of 1524 left his 17/20 parts "della loggia del frascata ... posta in chiasso" to two heirs, a son and a nephew: Acquisti e Doni, 274, filza I. 2, ff 2r-2v. The "frascato" area is marked XVII, near the Piazza dei figliuoli della Tosa, in Carocci's map (Pl. 65 here).

20. Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, 167. A withdrawal during the 15th century to an interior arena behind thick palace facades is a fundamental thesis in Goldthwaite, "Palace," supported by Sinding-Larsen, "Two Cities." Falletti, "Dimora Fiorentina," 48f and Tasso, "Canto degli Alberti," 27 claim that the roof-top loggia in the first article and the piano nobile in the second replaced the loggia. See Rucellai, Zibaldone, 20, 28-29 and J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 129ff.

21. Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 105, 173; Filarete, Treatise, 273-77; Palmieri, Della vita civile, esp 123, 164; Anton Doni quoted by J. Ackerman, "Sources of the Renaissance Villa" in Studies in Western Art (Princeton, 1963), 11 n 20; Varchi claimed that the best palaces contained "logge" in Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, II:803. On villas and loggie see also D. Coffin, "Pope Innocent VIII and the Villa Belvedere" in Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss (New York, 1977), I:esp 90; Foster, Poggio, 10-11, 29-30, 88-90, 112, 145, 209, 333 n 89, 600-01 nn 953-54, 609 n 974; F.W. Kent, "Poggio," 250-57. Even in the city, loggie were often associated with gardens: B. Masi, Ricordanze, 16; Hatfield, "Magi," 137 n 144; Hatfield (cited in Ch 2 n 24), 232 n 2, 233-34.

22. Pupilli, 181, ff 142r, 144r, 146r. For the loggia in the courtyard of Le Bracche see Thiem, Sgraffito, fig 73; for the other villa, n 73 below.

23. S. Ammirato, Della Famiglie Nobili Fiorentine (Florence, 1615), 42; supposedly taking place in the Piazza of S. Michele Albertelli, no such church existed, so this is a confusion with the piazza next to S. Michele Berteldi, called the "Piazza da Tornabuoni e Boni" by Dei (Romby, Descrizioni, 45, 56).

24. E. Bacciotti, Firenze illustrata nella sua storia, famiglie, monumenti, arti e scienze (Florence, 1886), vol 3-4, 543; Baldinucci, Notizie, VII:52; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2025; Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, I:229-30; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 706; Catalogo Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente (San Miniato, 1959). The loggia was moved to the other corner further down Via Tornabuoni in the 19th century, where it still stands, but it can be seen in its original location in Pls 66, 67 and 69 here and a photograph in Fanelli, Firenze (1973), fig 1266.

25. Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, I:224, 229, 231 n 11.

26. The arme on the loggia are noted by BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 10 and Manni, Sigilli XVIII:129. As it stands today, those on the Via Tornabuoni are, from right to left, Giachinotti, Popoleschi, added arme of a later owner (Salviati?), Tornaquinci and then Tornabuoni. On the other side they are of the Cardinali and then two which are hard to decipher now but must be the uncomplicated arme of the Iacopi and Marabottini.

Those in S.Maria Novella are recorded by Vasari-Milanesi III:261f; Delizie IX:217; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 24r-24v; MSS, 625, p 679; MSS, 812, ff 42r-42v. Only the long extinct and brief line of the Iacopi was omitted. The pilaster to the left of the chapel's entrance again showed the Tornaquinci arme and on the other side one saw the impaled arme of the Tornaquinci and Tornabuoni.

27. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 3v (quoted after n 6 above); for other examples see Cat, 921, ff 199r, 200v, 410r; 922, f 285v; Dec Rep, 25, f 276r.

28. Delizie VII:243, cited in a garbled way by Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 702 no 6. See n 4 above. A view of the market around 1561 looks towards this corner, by then long bereft of the tower: Fanelli, Firenze (1980), fig 54.

29. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 4r; area XII in Pl. 65 here for the situation in 1427. For the tax reports see Cat, 921, f 273r; 922, ff 134v, 285r; Copia, 73, ff 403v, 441v; Dec Rep, 24, ff 74r, 455r; 25, ff 107r, 254v, 455r-455v. See Ch 5 n 116 no 5 for several masses probably instituted by this bequest.

30. Copia, 73, f 105r (Bartolomeo di Simone Popoleschi, 1480). A similar statement had been made by Bartolomeo's great uncle, Agnolo d'Arnolfo, in 1469-70: Cat, 921, f 14v. On the Popoleschi chapel at S. Maria Novella see Ch 5 n 110f.

31. Leonardo's bequest is in NA, A 300, ff 336r-337v. Giovanni reports his in the decima of 1495: 25, f 607v. The shop had been his by 1470: Cat, 922, ff 150r, 151r; Copia, 73, f 430v (1481). Several other Tornabuoni conducted business at that place: Cat, 921, f 273v; 922, f 152r. For the masses arising from his gift see Ch 5 n 121.

32. Copia, 73, f 441r. For Vasari's description of many votive images of Giuliano "ordinato dagli amici e parenti di Lorenzo" see Ch 2 n 51. For two masses at S. Maria Novella in 1497-98 dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici see Ch 3 n 208.

33. Giovanni sold 13/22 of "una Bottega a uso di forno posta sul canto de' tornaquinci e via de' ferravecchi con ca' da abitare ... per fior. 328 larghi": CS, Ser V, 41, f 179 right; pub by Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 74, with the incorrect year, 1574; Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, 44 n 54 gives 1474. Filippo Strozzi further records the sale and 1484 date on f 27 right. Part had once been owned by the Popoleschi (Cat, 921, f 15r), but in 1469-70 and 1480-81 the 13 parts of the bakery had been declared by Maddalena, widow of Chirico Tornaquinci, and one of her neighbours was Marabotto Tornabuoni's heirs (Cat, 922, f 134r; Copia, 73, f 249r). On 25 Aug 1483 Giovanni Tornabuoni bought the bakery and several other

properties from Pippa, wife of Duccio di Chirico Tornaquinci and it was listed in his beni alienati of 1495 (NA, M 237, ff 55v-56r; Dec Rep, 25, ff 605v, 607v).

Marabotto's sons sold "una casa grande con tre botteghe di sotto posta nella via de' ferravecchi e confinata con la sopradetta del forno" for 1500 florins: CS, Ser V, 41, f 179 right, with other mentions at ff 27 right, 33 right, 152 right; Bini and Bigazzi, 74; Pampaloni, 44 n 54. On f 152 right Filippo states that several nearby properties, now owned by the nuns of S. Marta, had been "chonciesso a detto monache per Marabotto loro padre." His payment further notes the interweaving of these events: "per me li pagho loro la compagnia per lo banco di Lorenzo de' Medici e compagnia e per loro a Govani di Francesco Tornabuonj." Once owned by Degho Popoleschi, it was sold to Francesco Tornabuoni and in 1469-70 and 1480-81 the heirs of Marabotto di Francesco used the house above the three shops "per nostra abitazione," whilst it was reported "disfatta" in 1498: Cat, 921, f 261r; 922, f 285r; Copia, 73, f 403r; Dec Rep, 24, f 522r; 25, f 276r.

34. In Jan 1486 Piera, wife of Cipriano Giachinotti, sold a house to Filippo for 400 florins: CS, Ser V, 41, f 180 left (published in Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 74-75 and Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, 44 n 54) and f 45 right. Acquired in 1458, it was declared in Cipriano's report of 1469-70 and his widow's of 1480-81: Cat, 921, f 199r; Copia, 74, f 211r.

Niccolò Popoleschi's property in the Strozzi area, as recorded in 1427 (Pl. 65 here), is not listed in Filippo's purchases, so the only buildings he bought from the Tornaquinci later and which remained in the area were along Via de' Ferravecchi.

35. The licence from the Officials of the Towers was given on 20 Mar 1488/89: CS, Ser V, 41, f 172 right; pub by Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 72-73. Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, 47-48 n 60 publishes a slightly different version, thereby unfairly criticising Bini and Bigazzi for errors of transcription. The Signoria approved the licence on the following day: Pampaloni, 48.

36. CS, Ser V, 41, f 172 left; with minor errors in Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 75-76. Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, 48 gives two other references instead.

37. Delizie VII:243; Compagni, Cronica, 131-32; Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 1v-3v, with a "palagietto" on 4r (quoted in n 4 above).

38. MSS, 119, f 34v. In another codex his simple list of "muraglie" included "de Tornabuoni in più luoghi": Romby, Descrizioni, 66. Varchi's later list, derived from Dei, included the Tornabuoni palace: Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, II:803.

39. NA, B 570, ff 1027r-1032v. The enlarged "chasa di Firenze" was valued at 5000 florins on Giovanni's death (CS, Ser II, 124, f 76v) and was sold for 16,000 florins in 1571 (Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, I:231 n 5). For its position in 1427 between a Giacomini and a Tornaquinci property see Pl. 65. Niccolò di Francesco Tornabuoni received the camera and ante-camera above in 1460.

40. Cat, 922, f 150r.

41. NA, B 735, ff 50r-50v, 96r. The Tornaquinci property was

declared in 1469-70: Cat, 921, f 332r.

42. Copia, 73, f 430r.

43. For the "palatio" see NA, M 237, f 4v (Preyer, "Rucellai Palace," 183 n 4 notes the significance of this word). Girolamo Giachinotti's return in 1480-81 states that Giovanni purchased the property, "in scritta privata," on 10 Dec 1478: Copia, 73, f 415v. In Jan 1494 final deed was made concerning Girolamo's sale of "unam domum ... ad usum fundachettj" in Via di Salicciuola to Giovanni and payments in 1482-83 are detailed in that document: NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 254r-254v; confirmed in each man's decima, 24, f 495v and 25, f 605r. For the guests see n 47.

44. Dec Rep, 25, f 605r (1495); NA, B 910, insert 1, f 125r (1490); Pupilli, 181, f 146v (1498).

45. Giovanni's decima of 1495 listed 23 items as beni alienati and over 30 country properties: ff 605r-608v. Earlier that year he ceded nearly 50 country properties to his grandsons: NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 281r-87v, with the rental of 1490 at f 125r.

The orto at the back of the palace was also specified in the inventory (Pupilli, 181, f 146v) and called a "viridarium" in 1571 (Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, I:231 n 5). Filippo Strozzi also "farvi un bellissimo giardino" (Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 28), as did Scala in his new palace (A. Brown, Scala, 228-31). Filarete planned gardens and stables for his townhouses (Treatise, 146-47, 149), both of which Giovanni owned at the back of his property.

46. Rucellai is quoted by F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 84. Lorenzo Strozzi claimed his family's palace was "sempre aperta ... [to] ogni qualificato forestiere, ricevendogli cortesemente": Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 65 n 77. Both Alberti, Family, 184 and Ten Books on Architecture, 84-85, 109, and Filarete, Treatise, 149 thought of their ideal townhouses as receiving guests. The quote on ritual is from Trexler, Public Life, 319, who loosely claims that the Medici Palace superceded the Tornabuoni Palace in this function. On the contrary, the Medici Palace housed a foreign visitor in 1473, but not again until 1492, and that was the newly-appointed Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, whilst the Tornabuoni Palace was used for that purpose in 1478, 1482-83 and 1494: Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 89-97 passim. During a period of anxiety after the Pazzi conspiracy the Tornabuoni residence may have acted as proxy for the low-lying Medici.

47. The earliest visitor known to me was Philippe de Comynes in July 1478, on a crucial visit to the Pope as an ambassador of the French king (Ch 3 n 182). Given the delicacy of his mission at the time of the Pazzi conspiracy, it is not surprising that he stayed at neither the civic reception rooms in S.Maria Novella nor at the Medici Palace. The visit occurred not long after Giovanni had extended his palace by his 2 purchases of 1477 and not long before his purchase of a stable.

Federigo, Duke of Urbino, the next guest, stayed overnight on 28 Apr 1482; the Cardinal of Mantua arrived on 22 Oct 1482; Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, in Jan 1483: Landucci, Diario, 41; Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 95 (here quoted); J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 254. According to Morelli "Alloggiò in casa e' Signori Tornabuoni el Duca di Calavria, e avea seco piu di CCC Turchi": Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 705 no 18. The necessity of housing at least part of such a large

retinue explains Giovanni's purchase of the stable.

French visitors occupied the house in 1494, 1503 and 1506; then in Oct 1512 ambassadors to the Pope from Germany, Venice, Spain and Hungary "alloggiarono in casa Giovanni Tornabuoni" (Landucci, Diario, 331; B. Masi, Ricordanze, 111). Happening only a month after the return of the Medici, this usage of the Tornabuoni palace may indicate again that it was being used as a smoke-screen. One of the Cardinals in Leo X's train stayed there in Dec 1515, an imperial visitor in 1536 (B. Masi, 183; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 358 n 59).

48. Pupilli, 181, ff 146v and following.

49. On magnificence and architecture see the references in Ch 2 n 144; Goldthwaite, "Palace," 990-95; F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 40ff. For contemporary judgements of Giovanni Tornabuoni as magnificent see n 59 below.

50. A. Strozzi, Lettere, 39. Her grandson wrote of the new Strozzi palace built by his father: "se la magnificenza si cognosce e dimostra nell' onorate e gloriose imprese, e specialmente nelle fabbriche de' pubblici e privati edifizj, si può dire che Filippo non solo magnificamente operasse, ma superasse la magnificenza d' ogni altro fiorentino" (Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 26).

The Boni palace, better known by its later owners the Antinori, is discussed by Preyer, "'Chasa overo palagio,'" 399-400 cf M Bucci and R. Bencini, Palazzi di Firenze. Quartiere di S. Maria Novella (Florence, 1973), 58 claiming it was inspired by the [later] Tornabuoni palace!

51. For S. Tommaso see Ch 6 at n 95f and Voragine, Golden Legend, 40; Alberti, n 102 here.

Lucrezia's entrepreneurial skills necessitated much architectural activity such as repairs and rebuilding as well as new construction. It may well be that her energy and interests served as an exemplar to her brother and her son; certainly her administration and patronage deserve study. For her activity at Pisa for instance see n 69.

52. Pupilli, 181, ff 142v, 148r-148v, 149v for the inventory; Ch 7 esp at nn 96f, 111, 118 for the architectural backgrounds; NA, M 237, f 160r for the contract. Publications of the contract have not noted the marginal placement of the phrase and have omitted "villes."

53. With his wife in the donor portraits at S. Maria Novella and her tomb relief (Pls 24, 25, 61); with his consorteria in the Zacharias fresco (Pl. 2); probably with his daughter in the villa at Chiasso Macerelli (Ch 3 n 187, fig. 4).

54. A document refers to "Cortili de' Tornaquincis" in 1344 (BNF, Magl. XXV, 401, nr. 77) as does the Trecento chronicler (quoted at n 6). The survival receives brief mention in Touring Club Italiano, Firenze e Dintorni (Milan, 1974), 283 [hereafter cited as TCI] and G. Kauffmann, Florence. Art treasures and buildings (London, 1971), 388.

55. The increase in numbers is deduced by reference to the family tree and all sources on birth dates. At a rough estimation, the males increased from 39 to 54. For the concomitant evidence from death notices see Ch 5 n 101. For 1470 see Cat, 922, ff 150r, 151v (Niccolò's wife had died since the list's initial compilation).

56. On Filippo Strozzi see esp Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 70-71; F.W. Kent, "Più superba," Landucci, Diario, 62 and Sale, Strozzi Chapel, esp 17, 46-51; for Alberto, Preyer, "'Chasa overo palagio,'" esp 390, 393, 395, 397; Goldthwaite, Building, esp 110.

57. Vasari-Milanesi III:444. Discussion can be found in Caplow, Michelozzo, 2, 539, 557, 569, 641; Carocci, "Il Centro," 29; C von Fabriczy, "Michelozzo di Bartolommeo," Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 25 (1904), esp 7; Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, I:36, 223-31; Mini, Discorso, 119; H. Saalman, "Tommaso Spinelli, Michelozzo, Manetti and Rossellino," JSAH 25 (1966):161 and n 42. Minor reference is made by Bacciotti (cited in n 24), 543-44; Fantozzi, Pianta, 50-51; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 358 and n 57; E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 437 n 2. No mention is made by O. Morisani, Michelozzo architetto (Turin, 1951).

58. For the Tornaquinci neighbours at S. Donnino, Brozzi see Fabriczy (cited in n 57), 28, 30-34 and Caplow, Michelozzo, 646, 650-51, 654, 657. Fabriczy's date of c 1450 has been accepted uncritically, although Saalman noted that it "may be subject to modification." As early as 1889 Carocci cited the catasto, as did Pampaloni in 1968, but both date it at 1469 whereas the later returns of Filippo and Niccolò specify that their previous submissions were in 1470. The palace may be one of Michelozzo's late works, designed after his return from Ragusa: he was away from May 1461 to 1464 but perhaps even to 1469 (Caplow, Michelozzo, 67, 628, 634). Preyer, "Rucellai Palace," 202 n 2 reports verbal information from C. Elam that the Tornabuoni Palace was not begun before 1465.

59. Mini's Discorso (1593), 119. For other assessments of Giovanni as magnificent see Ch 3 nn 84, 173 and text here at n 43.

60. Caplow, Michelozzo, 539. For the influence of the Medici Palace see Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, passim; C. Mack, "The Rucellai Palace: some new proposals," AB 56 (1974):517; Preyer, "Rucellai Palace," 202. Sinding-Larsen, "Two Cities," 188 finds that rustication was quite popular from the mid-century.

61. For the first two views, see L.D. Ettlinger, "A Fifteenth Century View of Florence," BM 94 (1952):160-67 (the earlier is before 1482, the latter c 1495).

Since only a single, older house appears in two of the views cited here, it seems that one of the houses purchased in 1477 was incorporated behind the palace facade. The facade of the Rucellai Palace had been affected too by late adaptations to the amount of land available to the patron. The largest portal in the Tornabuoni Palace probably framed the androne, with the smaller entrance on its left marking the house inherited in 1460, the other a house purchased in 1477. Such an interpretation would also explain the presence of a courtyard which sat behind the facade in an unsymmetrical manner in 1584. So too the facade's growth from around 7 to 9 bays may be explicated by the additions made in 1477. In 1481 Giovanni reported that "tutte chase sono apichate cholla prima": Copia, 73, f 430r.

62. C. Ricci, Cento Vedute di Firenze Antica (Florence, 1906), no 89; reproduced in Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, I:fig 184; referred to by Caplow, Michelozzo, 558 n 39 and Saalman (cited in n 57 above), n 42.

Fanelli's reconstruction even includes the loggia of the 17th century: Firenze (1973), vol 2, fig 294.

63. Fanelli, Firenze (1980), fig 6; Trexler, Public Life, 250 and flyleaf map. Mentions of the area in relation to ceremonies and festivals include Cambi in Delizie XX:142; Corazza, "Diario," 240; Fineschi, Cimiterio, 35 n (Petribuoni); Ginori Lisci, Palazzi, I:229, 231 n 17; Landucci, Diario, 51; Leinz, Loggia Rucellai, 704f nos 14, 20, 21, 27, 710 n 21; Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 284; G. Ricci, Cronaca, 96; Rossi in Delizie XXIII:249; Rucellai, Zibaldone, 29; Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 75, 79, 90, 94, 119, 125; Trexler, Public Life, 356 n 136.

64. Corazza, "Diario," 246 (1408); n 23 above for the wedding. For a thematic link between the Zacharias fresco and the Corpus Christi see Ch 2 Section D i.

65. Concluded from Carocci, "Il Centro," 28; Cardini, Ville, 3-4; catasto reports and the maps in TCI, 373, 380 and after 432.

66. Delizie VII:253; Ch 5 n 9 for earlier; TCI, 376 (between S. Andrea and S.Donnino); n 138 below for its ownership in the Quattrocento.

Holdings in the area, evident from the catasti, esp by the Tornaquinci (eg n 58 above) and Giachinotti, are too numerous to list here. Giovanni Tornabuoni seems to have paid little attention to this area, listing two holdings with houses there only in his 1495 decima, but both had been acquired from his consorteria, a Tornabuoni and a Tornaquinci, and one farm had been sold to a Giachinotti woman in 1489: Dec Rep, 25, f 607r-607v. Lucrezia Tornabuoni was interested in this area, for she rented a villa from Filippo Strozzi in the area "Santuccio posto a S.Donnino" for 5 years from 1477: Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 63; Goldthwaite, "Strozzi Palace," 108.

Given the preference by Giovanni Tornabuoni for Ghirlandaio, it is interesting to note that a work often attributed to his assistant Mainardi exists in S.Andrea, Brozzi: Fahy, Followers, 216; TCI, 375-76. However Cadogan, "Aspects of Ghirlandaio's Drawings," 275 and van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:10 both see it as an early work of around 1470 wholly or in large part by Ghirlandaio himself.

67. Carocci, Dintorni, 257-58; E. Hutton, Country Walks about Florence (London, 1908), 215-17; TCI, 381. The main decoration remaining today is a "Giottesque" Virgin and Child panel surrounded by polychrome figures of SS.Jacopo and Filippo from Giovanni della Robbia's shop. The Popoleschi chapel at S.Maria Novella was dedicated to these two saints: n 30.

68. Carocci, Dintorni, 257 simply says the Tornabuoni were patrons of the parish, but this seems true mainly for 1490 and later. We know that at least one Tornaquinci ancestor was prior at S.Stefano in Pane (Manni, Sigilli XVIII:133) and, according to the family tree, this Iacopo di Ringieri di Ugolino lived in the first half of the Trecento. When S.Antonino visited the church in 1446 a della Casa man held the office: Orlandi, Antonino, I:132, 151. Lorenzo de' Medici acquired its benefice for Bernardo Michelozzi in 1484, but had plans to invest his son Giovanni with it: Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 133 n 70; Protocolli, 308, 310, 312. Giuliano Tornabuoni's appointment, in which he is called "familiaris noster" by the Pope (NA, M 237, ff

18v-20r), is confirmed by a mention of him as plebanus in 1491 (Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 555). His successors were Filippo and then Alfonso, sons of Simone di Filippo Tornabuoni: Salvini, Canonici, 54, 73, 82.

Family holdings in the area include Cat, 921, f 333r (Tornaquinci) and 922, f 150v (Tornabuoni), as well as Giovanni's Chiasso Macerelli villa.

69. For instance, their properties were also near Prato, Empoli, Carmignano and S. Miniato al Tedesco: Cat, 922, ff 150v, 151v, 152r; Copia, 73, ff 430v, 431r; 74, ff 165r-165v; Dec Rep, 25, ff 222r, 605r-606v, 607v, 608v. The 1531 inventory of Francesco di Nofri di Niccolò Tornabuoni listed several properties at S. Miniato al Tedesco incl a "casamento da hoste tutto rovinato": Acquisti e Doni, 274, filza I, unnumbered insert, f 5r. Bartolomeo Popoleschi owned land at Pisa (Copia, 73, f 105r), Giovanni Tornabuoni a house there "per mio abitare" (f 430v). Lucrezia Tornabuoni's activities there incl her renovation in 1473 of a chapel adjacent to the Medici Palace: BNF, Fondo Ginori Conti, 29. 36, no 1; Foster, Poggio, 579-80 n 894.

70. Many Tornaquinci owned a "casa da signore" on their country properties or specified that a property was for "mio abitare." In 1469 for instance Cipriano Giachinotti declared a house "per nostro uso e abitazione di villa": Cat, 921, f 199r.

His brother Girolamo (Ch 3 n 58), portrayed in the Zacharias fresco, was a more extensive property owner and by the late 1480s was Giovanni Tornabuoni's chief neighbour. A special friend of his other neighbours the Strozzi, Girolamo purchased from them a house "per mio abitare di villa" in 1460: Cat, 921, f 403r; Copia, 73, f 415r. That villa, at S. Maria a Nuovoli, was in an area of interest to the Giachinotti and Tornabuoni (n 110 below) and Girolamo increased his holdings there (Cat, 921, f 403r; Copia, 73, ff 415r, 416r). As late as 1493 he was still in contact with the Ferrara branch of the Strozzi from whom he purchased the villa: CS, Ser II, 185, ff 14r-14v, 127r-128r. His business and legal dealings with Francesco Sassetti, that other major private patron of Ghirlandaio in the 1480s, extended from at least 1466 to 1490: NA, A 382, f 25v; G 617, ff 361r-361v, 437r-437v; Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccioni, 11 Jan 1471; CS, Ser II, 20, ff 70v-71r; Carte Peruzzi de' Medici, Pergamene, 5 Oct 1485.

71. Cat, 922, f 151r (Horne, Botticelli, 142 makes only a passing and indirect reference to "purchase" in 1469). Tornabuoni ownership is proven further by the presence of their arme at the villa (E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 442 n 1). For further documentation see n 72 below.

Carocci, Dintorni, 224 claims the property was declared in the catasto of 1427 as owned by Niccolò di Filippo Tornabuoni, but no such person existed. He may mean that Niccolò di Simone and his brother Francesco owned a property in the area, for in the property division of these men's heirs in 1460 Leonardo di Francesco received "El podere dal Chiasso colla chasa da habitare" worth 700 florins: NA, B 570, ff 1027r-1032v. Obviously this was not the property which Giovanni declared as having been owned in 1427 by the Ginori.

Horne, 142, Ridolfi, 442 n 1 and, implicitly, Cardini, Ville, 35, were all aware of the 1470 information and the Gagliani provenance. Each believed Giovanni purchased the property in 1469, needing adjustment to 1470 (see n 58 above), but the date is not established in the catasto: he had bought the property by 1470.

Giovanni's ownership of Villa Lemmi and hence his patronage of Botticelli were doubted by Gombrich in 1945, an unhelpful and influential remark repeated in 1972 (*Symbolic Images*, 218 n 163). Basing his objection solely on Vasari's brief mention of Giovanni's villa "al Casso Maccherelli" and of Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the adjoining chapel (Vasari-Milanesi III:269), Gombrich was not aware, apparently, of the irrefutable evidence from the catasti cited by Horne, who did not publish them in sufficient detail. Nor is Lightbown aware of the 1470 catasto, claiming that Giovanni either bought the villa in 1469 or inherited it (Botticelli, II:62). H. Ettliger also claimed in 1976 that there is "no conclusive proof" for Tornabuoni ownership ("Botticelli's Villa Lemmi frescoes," 404).

72. Giovanni's catasto of 1480-81 (Copia, 73, f 430r) was published in part by Horne, Botticelli, 353. His will of 1490 mentioned the "domo ... 'al Chiasso Maccherelli'" in relation to a room there laid aside for his daughter: NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r. It was specified in the donation of his estate to his grandsons in Jan 1495 (NA, B 910, insert 1, ff 281r-287v) and in his decima return submitted later that year (25, f 605r). Upon his death it was inventoried (Pupilli, 181, f 144r) and its value estimated at 4000 florins (CS, Ser II, 124, f 76v). Lionello's sale is documented in Carte Dei, Tornabuoni; for which see also Carocci, Dintorni, 224, Cardini, Ville, 36 and Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 362 n 68.

73. Pupilli, 181, esp ff 142r-142v. Cardini, Ville, 35f also mentions murals which depict a painted loggiata framing a tree in each arch. Loggie there are mentioned by the inventory at ff 142-142v, 144r; Carocci, Dintorni, 224. Horne, Botticelli, 142-43 described the villa as "a quadrangular building of two stories surrounding a courtyard, with a projecting wing, containing an open loggia at the south-west angle," while the surviving frescoes were set in fictive loggie. Ephrussi, "Les deux fresques," 477 claimed, without evidence, that Michelozzo embellished the villa and it may be that the "projecting wing" was a new addition in the style of the Michelozzo school. A similar wing with a portico was built by Filippo Strozzi at his Santuccio villa: Goldthwaite, "Strozzi Palace," 108.

74. Pupilli, 181, ff 141v, 143r, 144r; Vasari-Milanesi III:269.

75. Horne, Botticelli, 142-43. Each of the shorter sides contained entrances, the two longer sides windows, one looking north-east, the other south-east into the courtyard. The following reconstruction can be made from his clear description:

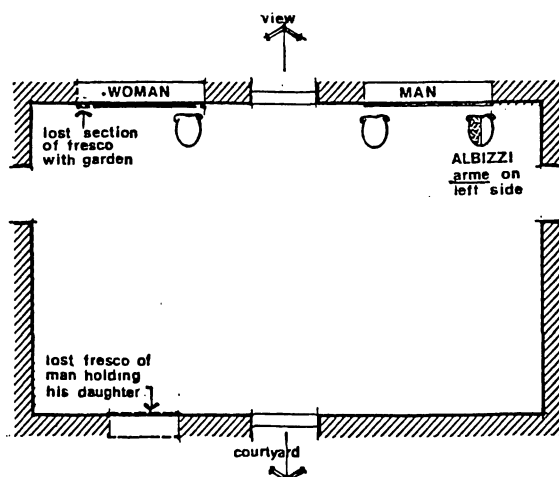


FIG. 4 GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF FRESCOED ROOM.
IN 'VILLA LEMMI' (not to scale)

76. Pupilli, 181, ff 144r, 143v; Ch 3 n 196 for the Gianfigliuzzi marriage.

Due to the great confusion rampant in previous literature, a summary of the main points, especially those relevant to the solution offered here, will be presented chronologically.

Ephrussi, "Les deux fresques," (1882) identified the Lemmi woman as Giovanna Albizzi, but his reproduction of a detail from the Visitation fresco in fact shows the second woman.

Paléologue (cited in Ch 3 n 198) (1897) insisted that the panel portrait of Giovanna and the Lemmi woman show the same lady!

Thieme (cited in Ch 3 n 198) (1897-98), esp 199, was the first to state specifically that the Lemmi girl did not resemble either the Ghirlandaio panel or the leading lady in the Visitation, but was instead the second woman in the chapel.

Horne, Botticelli, 142f, 148 said that Giovanna's medal, her portrait on panel by Ghirlandaio and the portrait in S. Maria Novella (implicitly of the second woman; "Giovanna is represented almost as in Ghirlandaio's fresco" by which he means costume mainly) were all identical. He stated the usual case, that the villa frescoes were associated with the marriage of Lorenzo and Giovanna in 1486. Yet he later showed confusion, rare for him, in calling the Lemmi girl "Lucrezia Tornabuoni." (The caption to the Alinari photographs of the male fresco, nos 23108 and 23113, makes a similar slip by calling him "Lorenzo Albizzi").

G. Davies, Ghirlandaio (1909), 117-18 also saw Giovanna as the leading lady in the Visitation, calling on the medal as chief evidence, and he linked these portraits with the panel. The Lemmi fresco puzzled him: "Giovanna's portrait there hardly seems to agree fully with Ghirlandaio's ... The younger lady [in the Visitation] bears a near resemblance to Botticelli's portrait of Giovanna."

J. Mesnil, Botticelli (Paris, 1938), 100f claimed the frescoes were from Lorenzo de' Medici's villa near Volterra, but his visual comparison (Pl XLIX) made it clear that his eye recognised the Lemmi lady as the second one depicted in S. Maria Novella.

Gombrich (Symbolic Images, 75-76) (originally 1945) recognised the visual confusion but only added to the problem by saying that the Tornabuoni-Albizzi identifications were "most unlikely." He further fuelled the debate by stating that Lorenzo Tornabuoni's medal was not "close enough" to the villa fresco, suggesting that it looked "at least as much like" Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, but that in fact "both are types of elegant young men rather than closely observed portraits." For his unwarranted scepticism about the villa's ownership see n 71 above.

H. Ettliger, "Botticelli's Villa Lemmi frescoes" (1976) requires detailed refutation since it will otherwise be taken as the final answer to the problem. She used Litta's genealogical charts as the sole source of her "scholarly research," yet they are unreliable, omitting for instance the daughter Lodovica Tornabuoni. Hence she is led quickly to the conclusion that the "only other" possible Albizzi-Tornabuoni conjunction was the one claimed by Litta to have occurred in 1459 between Matteo d' Andrea Albizzi and Nanna di Niccolò Tornabuoni. No other documentation for such an alliance is known to me or Ettliger. In fact, Niccolò Tornabuoni's catasto of 1470 (922, f 151v) lists five daughters, the eldest aged 12, the youngest, Nanna, aged 5. This Nanna, born c 1464-65, cannot have married in 1459 and she reappears in her father's declaration of 1480-81, still unmarried and unlikely to be for she had no dowry (Copia, 74, f 165v). Litta

and Ettliger to the contrary, Niccolò had no other daughters whose names could have been abbreviated to "Nanna" either.

Ettliger's hypothesis is built on what she admits is an assumption, namely "that there might be some reference to a marriage" in the villa frescoes since one coat of arms there was an impaled one. The half which is still discernible shows the Albizzi arms on the rightmost edge of the fresco portraying the male (see n 75 above). Yet, as Ettliger admits, this need not imply that the male was an Albizzi, since Renaissance rules for heraldic protocol were not fixed.

A more fundamental objection is that these arms need not necessitate a marriage either. They could just as likely be a commemoration of a previous marriage. Lorenzo Tornabuoni's stained glass in the Cestello chapel contains a shield impaled with the Tornabuoni and Albizzi arme (Pl. 56), although Giovanna was dead and negotiations for his second marriage were well under way. Another instance of the Albizzi arme being used as a memorial occurs in two bronze plates found at this very villa in 1498 (Ch 3 n 198), which contained the arms of both of Lorenzo's wives. Horne's suggestion that the frescoed Albizzi shield "seems to form the first sketch for a part of the design which was afterwards altered" (or damaged on removal?) injures Ettliger's hypothesis more than it does the alternative proposed here.

Other deficiencies in Ettliger's argument can be noted. She offers no evidence for Niccolò's ownership of the villa and nor would his catasto of 1480-81. Nor does she attempt to explain why "Nanna di Niccolò" is portrayed in S. Maria Novella or why she is directly behind Giovanna Albizzi.

Horne's eye-witness description of the frescoes *in situ* also offers valuable and neglected evidence (Botticelli, 145-47 and our fig in n 75 above). Contrary perhaps to our expectation, the fresco with the male was to our right of the window, the female on our left, so that both have their backs to the window but are thereby closer to each other. Hence, the shield showing the Albizzi arme was on the furthest side away from the female portrait. Her arme were held by the putto between her portrait and the window. It was flanked on the other side of the window by a small boy standing underneath Lorenzo and once holding a shield "probably blazoned with the arms of the Tornabuoni." In other words, the Albizzi arme were not visually associated with the woman portrayed in the fresco, nor were they necessarily the chief arme of the male.

Lightbown, Botticelli, I:93-97, II:60-63 (1977) rightly criticises Gombrich (n 71 above) but goes on to reverse the usual difficulty only to create a new one. He claims that the identification of the leading woman in S. Maria Novella as Giovanna Albizzi is too weak so, without offering new evidence, he proposes that Giovanna is in the villa fresco. Who then the woman in the chapel and in Ghirlandaio's panel might be is not considered.

77. See Ch 3 esp n 198. Unfortunately no medal of Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi is listed in Hill's Corpus of Italian Medals.

78. For the portrayal of Lucrezia as a role model in the chapel see Ch 3 text at n 210; Ch 7 Section D and 2 Section D iii on exemplars.

It is interesting to note that when Vasari identified a woman in the Visitation as "Ginevra de' Benci" he was accurate in the first name (Vasari-Milanesi III:266). A Ginevra de' Benci (b 1478) younger than the famous one (b 1457) portrayed by Leonardo was the daughter of Lisabetta Tornabuoni: J. Walker, "'Ginevra de' Benci' by Leonardo da

Vinci," National Gallery of Art. Report and Studies in the History of Art 1967 (Washington, 1968), 23.

The presence of laurel behind Botticelli's male portrait need not suggest "the prospect of earthly fame" (Hazard, "Renaissance Aesthetic Values," 14, agreeing with de Mirimonde's conclusion) but instead could be a visual reference to Lorenzo's name.

79. The dowry was paid in Oct 1491 and her first child born in Sept 1492: Ch 3 n 196. The forthcoming alliance however may have been known since at least Oct 1490: Ch 3 at n 189. A bridal chamber was often decorated before the actual marriage: E. Callmann, "Botticelli's Life of Saint Zenobius," AB 66 (1984):495.

Fiancés probably mingled with prospective in-laws in the Sassetti chapel too (Ch 3 n 211) and Lodovica's future husband Alessandro Nasi may be in the Tornaquinci chapel (Ch 7 n 72). Similarly Ghirlandaio may have portrayed successive wives within the one family portrait before: Brockhaus (cited in Ch 2 n 70), esp 103f.

For Botticelli's other work for Giovanni Tornabuoni see n 135.

80. Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1068, which would seem no later than 1480-85 judging by his youthfulness (b 1468) and the probable date of Lodovica's medal (Ch 3 n 186). For Gombrich's disclaimer see n 76 above.

Two earlier portraits of Lorenzo may exist, one in the Sistine Chapel (Ch 3 n 144) according to Steinmann, Ghirlandajo, 20 and thence G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 54, who did not seek confirmation from the medal which has something of the same chubby ingenuous appeal and similar features. A second and younger portrait may be present on the relief for his mother's tomb (Ch 3 at n 127).

81. In 1746 Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:131 was the first to place Lorenzo somewhere in the chapel, followed in 1795 by Follini, Firenze, 323, who used the same now lost source but in more detail and placed Lorenzo in the Joachim fresco. General consensus since has agreed, if specifying his position seeing him as the innermost figure on the left: Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits," 282, 290; G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 109; Fineschi, Forestiero, 25; Lauts, Ghirlandaio, 31, 53; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:68; Orlandi, S. Maria Novella, 20; Pieraccini, Stirpe de' Medici, 75; E. Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 428; Steinmann, Ghirlandajo, 55 and Abb 38. Some similarity also exists between the profile in the Villa Lemmi and the figure in profile, second from the edge, in the Joachim group behind Lorenzo. However pose, costume, age, less prominent position, thicker eyebrows, more wispy hair, more evident nostril and a generally tired and staid air do not agree with Lorenzo's personality (Guicciardini called him "a noble and gracious youth": History of Florence, 134) or medal and suggest a less content or frank character.

A sixth portrait of Lorenzo may reside in Ghirlandaio's Adoration of the Magi of 1487 (n 134 below) which once hung in his room together with Giovanna Albizzi's portrait. The kneeling donor on the right in a white cloak has the large hands of the Sistine boy and the facial features of the young adult in the Joachim scene, including smooth dark skin, fine eyebrows, flared nose, chin cleft and bushy hair. Perhaps he commissioned the tondo as a thanksgiving for the birth of his son in 1487 and chose to have himself depicted in eternal adoration of another newly born babe.

82. The moralising intention of cassoni has been treated by Callmann,

Apollonio; P. Watson, The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance (Philadelphia, 1979) and his "Virtu and Voluptas." The frescoes, originally in a room more fully decorated with "arabesques" and so on (Horne, Botticelli, 142-43), also strike one as a development of Trecento decoration surviving in the bedrooms of the Palazzo Davanzati, Florence and the Papal Palace, Avignon.

83. The moral virtues of the Three Graces were associated with Giovanna Albizzi too since they appear on the reverse of her medal (Ch 3 n 200). Horne, Botticelli, 142ff is the most complete discussion of the frescoes' imagery, but much could still be undertaken. For the Liberal Arts see P. D' Ancona, "Le rappresentazioni allegoriche delle arti liberali nel medioevo e nel Rinascimento," L' Arte 5 (1902): 377-80. Lightbown, Botticelli, II:60-63 makes a passing connection with Boccaccio. M. Capella's de Nuptiis Mercurii et Philogiae may be worth pursuing for its explicit connection between the Liberal Arts and marriage (Caplow, Michelozzo, 300; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 151 and n 102). P. Holberton's study of another work by Botticelli, esp in its citation of Poliziano, might also prove relevant: "Botticelli's 'Primavera': che volea s'intendesse," JWCI 45 (1982):202-10.

84. Carocci, Dintorni, 288-89; see also Cardini, Ville, 25 and Thiem, Sgraffito, 82-83. Lionello Tornabuoni was forced to sell this villa in 1546 (n 72 above). As the villa was destroyed in World War II, we have only a few photographs recording its appearance: Cardini, Pl 40 and Thiem Pls 70-73.

85. Cat, 922, f 152r; Copia, 74, f 165r; Dec Rep, 25, ff 605v, 222v; Pupilli, 181, f 146r. There seems to be no mention of it in the brothers' property division of 1460 and the only other documentation I know from these earlier years is a letter written by Niccolo "alle Brache" to a Strozzi man in 1467 (CS, Ser III, 150, c 43a).

86. NA, B 910, insert i, ff 281r-287v (1495); Pupilli, 181, esp ff 144v, 146r; Thiem, Sgraffito, 82-83.

When Giovanni recombined the two Le Bracche properties in the 1480s he did so at a cost of 2120 florins. But the brief estimation of his estate values "Le Brache" at 3000 florins (CS, Ser II, 124, f 76v), which may also suggest that improvements were underway there after 1488.

87. Dei's Cronaca in MSS, 119, f 33r; Ficino in Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 79-80.

88. For the friars see n 106 below; for Luigi, Ch 3 n 16. Messer Giuliano di Filippo di Francesco Tornabuoni's offices are best summarised in Salvini, Canonici, 54. They include a canonship at the Florentine Cathedral from 1468, a position he inherited from his cousin Antonio and which brought him into contact with Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (Bandini, Catologus Latinorum, III:col 140). He held a benefice at S. Stefano in Pane and other places (nn 68, 109) before becoming Bishop of Saluzzo in 1516. For his studies of canon law at Pisa in the 1470s see Verde, Studio Fiorentino, I:196; II:590-91, 657, 665, 667, 669, 671; III pt 1, 554-55; III pt 2, 844, 959, 961, 963, 965, 966. He was described as "Venerabili religioso" in 1487: NA, M 237, f 219v.

89. Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, col 147 and Flamini (cited in Ch 7 n 22), 251 on the Pulci-Popoleschi exchange. In 1474 Giovanni Tornabuoni was written to "per Bernardo Pulci" (Protocolli, 513). The Tornabuoni estate owned "uno morgante," surely Luigi Pulci's poem written for Lucrezia Tornabuoni (Pupilli, 181, f 141v).

Latin letters or orations were written to four different Tornabuoni by Francesco della Torre (Bandini, Catalogus Latinorum, III:cols 432-33) and Bernardo Accolti, a fellow student with Lorenzo Tornabuoni, wrote an epigram on that man's death (Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, col 144). Giachinotto Giachinotti at one time owned a Seneca collection: L. Panizza, "Textual Interpretation in Italy, 1350-1450 ...," JWCI 46 (1983):56 n 106. In the Cinquecento the death of Bartolomeo Tornaquinci spurred poetic comment (BNF, Cl. II, VIII, 20). Further minor literature of the 16th and 17th centuries by members of the consorteria is now collected in the BNF: G. Mazzatinti, Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d' Italia (Forli, 1905-06), VIII:118, XII:69-70, XIII:140, XIII:183-84, this last collection including works by Bronzino, G.A. Popoleschi, Lionetto Tornabuoni and Pietro Bembo.

90. Ambra was a poem dedicated to Lorenzo in Nov 1485, praising and encouraging his study of Greek, esp Homer: Poliziano (del Lungo), 333-68; see also Foster, Poggio, 63-65 and I. Mafer, Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien (Geneva, 1965), 239. For his inscriptions in the chapel see Fineschi, Forestiero, 27 (an idea credited by Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 55 n 215a to a later study [1902] of Müntz); for his writings at Giovanna Albizzi's death, Ch 3 n 199; for his possible part in the design of medals for her and her husband Lorenzo, Poliziano (del Lungo), 155 and Wind, Pagan Mysteries, 73f. For other contacts between the Tornabuoni and Poliziano see Ch 3 nn 122, 131, 132, 150; nn 141, 143 here; discussion in Horne, Botticelli, 143ff; Mafer, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75 (all with Lucrezia); Innocent VIII's payment to Poliziano "by our beloved son Joannes Tornabonus" in 1487 (Greswell, Memoirs of Politianus, 101).

For his portrait in the Zacharias fresco see Ch 7 n 25.

91. Niccolò Tornabuoni was one of the officials of the earlier Studio in 1421 and 1423: Belle (cited in Ch 3 n 85), 180 n 45. Procurators, incl Giovanni di Francesco Tornaquinci acting for Landino, are mentioned in Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:158, 177, 769. On Lorenzo Tornabuoni as a student see esp Verde, III pt 1, 575-77; Giuliano n 88 above; Pieradovardo Giachinotti, Verde, III pt 1, 6-7.

92. Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, I:464; Protocolli, 516; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:419, 590-91.

93. Protocolli, 126, 241, 245, 392, 467, 512, 516; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 474; Ch 3 nn 115, 120, 121.

94. In March 1447 a "Gualberto ... Popoleschi?" (sic) owned Dante's Convivio (S. Morpurgo, I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze. Manoscritti Italiani [Rome, 1900], I:36), although no such name occurs in the family's genealogy. The Trecento chronicler made reference to Dante: Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 5v. See Ch 3 nn 3, 17 for Villani, business papers and family records.

95. Pupilli, 181, ff 141v, 142v, 145v; Cardini, Ville, 36 on the villa's location.

96. Pupilli, 181, ff 149r-150r.

97. Her own books, as distinct from those owned by the Medici, included a "Ptolomeo di maestro Niccolo tedesco, dipinto, bello," a "Salusto, antico" and "La Loyca d' Aristotile, greca, in papiro": Protocolli, 245, 226, 228. See also n 126.

98. Ch 3 text at n 132 (1479); Protocolli, 229 (1482), in the same year that Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici also began to learn Greek from Poliziano (Marinis and Perosa, Nuovi Documenti, 74); n 90 (1485).

Harley 5600 and 6325 is a two volume copy in Greek of the Iliad and the Odyssey, written in Florence in 1466, having the Tornabuoni arme on the opening folio of the second volume: C.E. Wright, "Manuscripts of Italian Provenance in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum..." in Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed C.H. Clough (New York, 1976), 465-66. I thank J.P. Hudson, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, who informed me by letter in Nov 1977 that "the Tornabuoni arms are contemporary with the decoration of Harley Ms 6325." Its date, language and decoration might suggest Lucrezia's patronage of a volume similar to the Ptolomy (n 97).

99. Lucrezia's marriage to Piero de' Medici would have enabled fruitful contacts for her consorteria. Her sister Dianora married Tommaso Soderini and most of their offspring were scholars and writers. Filippo di Francesco Tornabuoni married a grand-daughter of Leonardo Bruni: Callmann, Apollonio, 77 no 21. Bartolomeo Popoleschi, an influential lawyer, married an aunt of Gianozzo Manetti's wife: Martines, Social World, 218. Giovanfrancesco Tornabuoni married one of Andrea Alamanni's daughters around 1470 and then in 1478 one of Gianozzo Manetti's grand-daughters: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027 and see Ch 3 n 115, with further contacts.

100. See Ch 3 nn 112ff. Further references include Mansfield (cited in Ch 3 n 120), 202-03 and n 1; Protocolli, 3, 5, 417, 504. Philippe de Comynes met Baccio Ugolini at Giovanni's palace in 1478: Ch 3 n 182. For Ficino see n 110 below.

At times their business associates or notaries were on the periphery of the learned world. Three children of Andrea Alamanni, a collector and enthusiast (Martines, Social World, 345-46), were allied to the Tornabuoni: Domenico through business and friendship (eg he often acted as a witness for them: NA, M 237, ff 4v, 14r, 55v, 76v, 86v, 159r, incl of the contract with the Ghirlandaio; see also Pupilli, 181, f 149v and Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia," 205, 206, 212, 216); Lisabetta by marriage (n 99 above); and Tommaso witnessed their notarised deeds at least once (NA, M 237, f 76v). Ser Antonio di Ser Nastagio Vespucci notarised one of Giovanni's land sales in 1482: Dec Rep, 25, f 607v; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 108-11.

101. Francesco di Messer Simone Tornabuoni was an ambassador to Martin V with Bruni in 1426: Martines, Social World, 168. Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni was a prior with Matteo Palmieri in 1445; Niccolò di Francesco Tornabuoni was Gonfaloniere in Nov-Dec 1468 with Palmieri as one of the priors, while both men were in the 1472 scrutiny: Cambi in Delizie XX:253, 401; Rubinstein, Government, 240. For other contacts with Palmieri, Manetti and others see Ch 3 nn 115f.

Other forms of contact include Paolo Toscanelli's medical

treatment of Niccolò Popoleschi: E. Garin, Portraits from the Quattrocento (New York, 1972), 138 n 3.

102. On the Greek scholar Argyropoulos see Ch 3 n 144. For other instances such as Giovanni's possible contact with Alberti see Ch 3 n 114. His brother Antonio was "cappellano di Paolo II. Scrittore delle Lettere Apostoliche di Niccolò V; e Cherico di Camera" in Rome until he died in 1468 (Salvini, Canonici, 44) and through this family avenue Giovanni may not only have received business advantages but also contacts with men like Alberti, who was attached also to Nicholas V's curia.

103. NA, M 237, f 160r for the contract. For the Albertina drawing see Ch 7 n 5; for Luigi Ch 3 n 16; Giuliano n 88 above; Giovanfrancesco nn 99, 138 here. Given the apparent criteria of learning which links the selection of these three in the drawing, it is all the more likely that the fourth man is Lorenzo di Giovanni Tornabuoni.

104. Marabotto Tornabuoni witnessed S. Antonino's appointment of a Dominican teacher from S. Maria Novella in 1458 (Orlandi, Antonino, II:323-24); for his half-sisters' relationship to S. Antonino see Ch 3 n 99. For Traversari see n 106 here.

105. Bishop Piero Tornaquinci was created Cardinal of S. Marcello by Urban V in 1365/66 (or 1354) and died in Avignon in 1404 (or 1393). Virtually no further information is offered by the following: CS, Ser II, 135, f 29r; BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, f 50v; Magl., XXV, 404 (Del Migliore's notes on Florentine cardinals); Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 73v-74r (the family tree which is the source for the 1354 date); Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:126; Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 103; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, IV:1201.

106. The Dominican "Iohannem de Tornaquintis Florentinum" was one of three students sent to the Paris University in 1301 (MOPH, XX:141), prior of S. Maria Novella in 1295 and perhaps 1303 (Orlandi, Necrologio, I:30-31, 265, 276, II:532, 601, 602 and n 14). When he died in 1313 he was buried in the chapel dedicated to St. Benedict, built at S. Maria Novella by his father Messer Ruggieri. Later another tomb slab of an anonymous Tornaquinci friar was also observed in that chapel (Ch 5 n 102).

Simone di Sandro di Simone di Messer Ruggieri di Iacopo Tornaquinci, whose father took the surname of Iacopi in 1380, was a master of theology and Augustinian friar. He was buried in the capitolo of S. Spirito, with an inscription, in Apr 1429 (BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 228²⁹; Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 73v-74r; CS, Ser II, 135, ff 20r, 63v). Simone was doubtless a disciple of Luigi Marsigli, along with men like Niccolò Niccoli, and a member of the learned circle which met for discussion at S. Spirito in these years.

Fra Iacopo di Tieri Tornaquinci was a Camaldolese friar who studied Greek and Latin under Ambrogio Traversari at S. Maria degli Angeli. As Traversari's most renowned pupil he would have mixed with men like Cosimo de' Medici, Niccolò Niccoli and Gianozzo Manetti. See Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 218; Holmes, Florentine Enlightenment, 92-98; della Torre, Accademia Platonica, 226ff; Vespasiano, Le Vite, I:452. Martines, Social World, 338-39 claims "we know virtually nothing" else about him, but we can now add his witnessing of Niccolò Niccoli's will in 1430 where he is called "domino Iacobo Tierii"

(Ullman and Stadter [cited in Ch 3 n 199], 292) and his position as an abbot at Val d'Ambra in 1454 (BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 228²⁹). Marchione di Tieri Tornaquinci was a friar at S. Maria degli Angeli according to Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav I, which may be a confusion with Fra Iacopo.

The famous Dominican Fra Giovanni di Giachinotto Giachinotti was not from the Tornaquinci consorteria. This friar, always referred to by the Giachinotti surname, died in 1381 whereas the Tornaquinci branch of this name was formed only in 1380. See Bandini, Catologus Latinorum, III:col 566; Delizie IX:116; Orlandi, Necrologio, 127-28, 399, 601, 602.

A "Signor Gio. Simone Tornabuoni Prete fiorentino" was an illustrious Vallombrosan (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027). Antonio Popoleschi became a Vallombrosan at his parish church, S. Pancrazio, in May 1469 (D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 131).

Tieri di Francesco di Tieri Tornaquinci was a "frate di San' Domenico" according to the family tree in Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 73v-74r, but no contemporary documents refer to him thus and this unmarried man who lived with his aged mother may have been a secular member of a religious institution (Cat, 921, ff 332r-334r; Copia, 74, f 350r). Around 1467 he was a member and patron of the confraternity of S. Domenico at S. Maria Novella: Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:712 no 236. In 1469 he and his brother Giovanni (both portrayed in the chapel) owned property adjacent to Francesco Tornabuoni's sons but in 1495 and 1498 they rented Giovanni Tornabuoni's properties: Cat, 921, f 332r; Dec Rep, 25, f 605r; Pupilli, 181, f 146v. In 1490 he acted as Giovanni Tornabuoni's procurator and was described as a secular ("civem Florentinum": Ch 3 n 189). Tieri is recorded as present in the Zacharias fresco, to the left, "in capelli": Ch 7 at n 17. The only bareheaded figure of the appropriate age there is a white-haired man in simple dress and black overcloak whose age and dress suits the information we have on this Tieri, who was born on 12 May 1439 (Tratte, 443 Bis, f 164v). Ghirlandaio portrays him as an unworldly person but not as a Dominican.

Alfonso di Filippo di Francesco Tornabuoni (1465-1527) may have been a Dominican at S. Marco (Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav II), under the name Fra Cosimo (Bib Ricc, Codex 1859, ff 73v-74r; Carte Dei, Tornabuoni). But this is probably a confusion with his brother who, even in secular life, was named Cosimo. Litta does not record him, but he was born on 19 Nov 1466 and his brother Alfonso on 28 Aug 1465: Tratte, 443 Bis, ff 125v, 118v. BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028 claims Cosimo was a Dominican at S. Marco and played a role in Savonarola's examination. Not (yet) called a friar in 1484, Cosimo paid, on behalf of his uncle Leonardo, the monks at S. Maria Novella for his aunt's mortorio: Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 32r.

107. Salvini, Canonici, 44, 54, 73, 82-83, 89-90, 135, 138, 140, 159. The prestigious nature of a canonship is mentioned by Trexler, Public Life, 34.

108. See Ch 3 n 16 for the Knights. The bishops all held Borgo S. Sepolcro and some Salluzzo as well: BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, f 81r; Bacciotti (cited in n 24), 543-44 n 2; Lapini, Diario, 276-77; Salvini, Canonici, 54, 83, 89-90; n 111 below.

109. Protocolli, 138; Salvini, Canonici, 54; Verde Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 553-55 on Giuliano, who did at some stage acquire the benefice of S. Paolo (which parish was partly within his family's

district of Lion Bianco) and he received S.Stefano in Pane after several Medicean appointments there (n 68 above). For Luigi see Ch 3 n 16.

110. Antonio held the benefice until his death in 1468, although his Roman position (n 102 above) and consequent absenteeism seems to have led to troubles for the local populace. In 1473 Ficino obtained this benefice, officially donated by the Rinieri and Giachinotti, although "a preghiera e stanza di Lorenzo" de' Medici. My thanks to F.W. Kent for his transcription of Bernardo Rinieri's ricordi: Conv Soppr, 95, 212, ff clxiii^r (1468) and clxvi^r (1473). A. Brown, "Pierfrancesco," 98 only dates the event to 27 Oct 1475 and does not note the role of the Giachinotti; nor does della Torre, Accademia Platonica, 594-95. Luca Rinieri was married to Giovanna di Filippo Tornabuoni: Carte Dei, Tornabuoni and Callmann, Apollonio, 80 no 128.

111. The quotation is from an intriguing "Memoria della Madre di Lionetto Tornabuoni": BNF, Cl.II, IV, 321, ff 174r-176v. Apparently Maddalena Morelli became married to Leonardo through the causal expedient of receiving her betrothal ring in a snowball thrown up to her window by the previously unknown Tornabuoni! Presumably by less contrived means, she fell pregnant and was spirited off to a convent hide-away, under the care of Lodovica di Giovanni Tornabuoni, before her family rescued her. Leonardo's ambition led him to Rome, where he later legitimised his son Lionetto, according to his will of 1540: Conv Soppr, 102, 106¹, no 11, ff 68r-72r. His bishopric is mentioned by BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027; Manoscritti Passerini, 171²; Crollalanza (cited in Ch 3 n 2), 30; Litta, Famiglie celebri, Tav II; M. Lavin, Baptism, 134; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 361 and n 67.

112. Examples other than those cited below include: S. Bertelli, "La politica estera fiorentina e quella veneziana nella crisi rinascimentale" in Florence and Venice. Comparisons and Relations (Florence, 1979), I:146-47 n 107; E. Strainchamps, "...The 'Compagnia dell' Arcangelo Raffaello' in Florence..." in Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore, eds S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), II:475; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 554. The Confraternity of the Visitation at Or San Michele received payments concerning a Tornabuoni and a Popoleschi woman in 1491 and 1495 respectively: Comp Soppr, 2120, ff 30r-30v; 2132, f 12v.

113. Capitoli, Comp Soppr, 719, ff 3r-3v; Fineschi, Cimitero, xxiv.

114. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II publishes a c 1467 list of 240 members of the S.Domenico confraternity. It includes 3 Popoleschi (705, 707 no 6, 709 no 82, 711 no 158), 2 of whom were dead by 1490, but their politically active brother Piero di Niccolò was portrayed in the Tornaquinci chapel (Ch 3 n 14). Tieri Tornaquinci was a member as was his nephew by 1504: 712 no 236, 744. For Giovanfrancesco Tornabuoni's positions see 704, 709 no 109, 713, 740. The 4 confraternity members portrayed in the Zacharias scene are Tieri and Giovanfrancesco and the 2 brothers documented in n 115.

115. See n 31 here and Ch 5 at n 127f.

116. Bandini, Catalogus Italicorum, cols 11, 112-13. Gherucci's recipients also included Gianozzo Manetti. The sermon sent to Antonio Tornaquinci was on the "vile dimostrazione che fa l'anima al mondo,"

while Sandra Tornabuoni's treated the "proprietà" of Christ's nativity. della Torre's writings to the Tornabuoni, although more antiquarian and written in Latin, were also of a moral tone: Bandini, Catologus Latinorum, III:cols 432-33.

117. Acquisti e Doni, 274, unnumbered insert, ff 2v-6r passim.

118. Pupilli, 181, ff 141v, 145v, 147r-147v, 148v, 149r. Lorenzo's Book of Hours ("uno libriccino di donna choverta di brochato chon serami d' ariento:" f 148v) may be the same as one later owned by a relative (text at n 117). On the villa chapels see text at nn 74, 86. For the Pax see Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 292, 306 n 23; also Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 91. Ser Giuliano's chapel in Pisa also contained a "pietra sagratta dell' altare": Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 32 no 10, 49. For a later Tornabuoni example see text at n 117 above.

119. For the chaplain Fra Cristoforo Masi, a professor of theology, see Maguire, Medici Women, 93-94, 207 n 40; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 172-73, 218 and n 1; also Orlandi, Necrologio, I:185-86, II:301-02 and Zafarana, "Una raccolta privata di prediche," 1067-68. For Dominici see esp Cote's translation (cited in Ch 2 n 187), 34, 42. Trexler, Public Life, 69, 160 gives later comments by S. Bernardino and Savonarola on the domestic venue for religious practice. Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 109 recommended that palaces "fully provided for all the Occasions of your Family" such that they include both store-rooms and "Places for divine Worship"; he mentioned "the altar" in a home in Family, 214; see also Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 148.

On the other hand Goldthwaite, "Palace," 1006 knew of only two instances of chapels in private palaces, both of them Medicean. At least two more examples have been documented: Ficino praised Francesco Sassetti for having two chapels in his palace (Warburg, Rinascita, 224) and in 1475 Bartolomeo Scala received permission to build an "oratorio con altare" in his recently completed palace (A. Brown, Scala, 228, 232-33, 320; A. Parronchi, "The Language of Humanism and the Language of Sculpture: Bertoldo as Illustrator of the Apologi of Bartolomeo Scala," JWCI 27 [1964]:129).

Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 105 was more specific when he discussed villas: "Let the first Room that offers itself be a Chapel dedicated to God, with its Altar, where Strangers and Guests may offer their Devotions, beginning their Friendship by Religion." Chapels were in or near most villas owned by the Medici or Filippo Strozzi (on the latter see Bini and Bigazzi, Filippo Strozzi, 27; Borsook, "Lecceto," 7; Goldthwaite, "Strozzi Palace," 106f). Giovanni Tornabuoni, in having a chapel near Chiasso Macerelli and one in Le Bracche, was following the patronage habits of his peers.

120. See Ch 3 nn 128, 171 for Cestello and S. Maria sopra Minerva; Ch 5 for S. Maria Novella; n 67 above for S. Stefano in Pane.

For Lucrezia's chapel at the Badia, Fiesole see BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028 and Rosselli's Sepultuario, MSS, 625, p 1435; for the one at Pisa n 69 above; and that at S. Lorenzo, Ch 7 n 122.

Girolamo Tornabuoni wished to establish a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity "presso alla casa mia" in 1524: Acquisti e Doni, 274, filza I, no 2, ff 2v-3r.

121. NA, M 237, f 159r.

Other aspects of religious patronage by the Tornaquinci not treated in the body of this thesis deserve mention, especially for the theme of piety which they display. Girolamo Tornabuoni's will also desired the foundation of a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Jerome at his villa "sul colle" (n 120 above, ff 4r-4v). That saint attracted frequent devotion from the consorteria. The old Popoleschi chapel at S. Maria Novella contained an altarpiece with the titular saints Filippo and Iacopo, the expected Dominic and the more unusual Jerome: Fineschi, Cimitero, 101; see n 30 here. In the Tornabuoni inventory of 1498 only St. Jerome rivals the Virgin's popularity, such that the Chiasso Macerelli villa contained a "chamera del signiore Girolamo" next to a "chamera delle Vergine" (Pupilli, 181, f 143r). Both appear to have been simple bedrooms, perhaps areas set aside for contemplation. At Le Bracche the "chamera di Giovanni" contained "uno Santo Girolamo dipinto" (f 145v) and in the town palace Lorenzo's ante-camera held a wooden sculpture which included the figure of St. Jerome (f 148v). Both the Medici villa at Fiesole and the Hieronymite chapel nearby rebuilt by Cosimo are depicted carefully by Ghirlandaio in the background of his Dormition in the Tornaquinci chapel: C. Bargellini and P. de la Ruffiniere du Prey, "Sources for a reconstruction of the Villa Medici, Fiesole," BM 111 (1969):597-605. Here again we find a villa setting associated with St. Jerome, perhaps because it enabled greater eremitical contemplation and reflected his own exemplary withdrawal. The cult of St. Jerome in the mid and later fifteenth century has been discussed by M. Davies, London, 119-22; M. Meiss, "Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome," repr in his Painter's Choice, 189-202; R. Wittkower, "Desiderio da Settignano's St. Jerome in the Desert" repr in his Idea and Image (London, 1978), 137-49.

An interest in eremitical and penitential saints also characterised several works associated with Lucrezia Tornabuoni. She commissioned from Fra Filippo Lippi a panel for her husband's cell in a Camaldolese monastery: P. Leopoldo, Notizie storiche di Camaldoli... (Florence, 1795, 2nd ed), 106 (the paliotto had "sua arme, unita a quella della Famiglia Medicea"); Marchini, Filippo Lippi, 213, 236, Pl 157; G. Pudelko, "Per la datazione delle opere di Fra Filippo Lippi," Rivista d'Arte 17 (1936):47f; Ruda, Filippo Lippi, 117f; Vasari-Milanesi II:616. Its imagery, esp the young St. John the Baptist, has been thematically associated with Lucrezia's poetry, as has Lippi's altarpiece for the Medici palace's chapel: M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 92f and "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement," 323f. Given the consorteria's interest in the Baptist (n 124), it is interesting to note a Dominican text's connection of this saint with Jerome because of their eremitical activities in a desert: M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," n 81.

Not one image of the Baptist or of St. Dominic is specified by name in the Tornabuoni inventory of 1498 however. Instead the Virgin Mary is ubiquitous, with not only many tabernacles of the Virgin and Child, but also four narratives of her life, an Annunciation, a Nativity, Ghirlandaio's tondo of the Magi and a Coronation, as well as a Flemish tapestry of the Pieta: ff 143v, 145v, 148r-148v, 149r. We also find "el salvatore" or "teste nostro signiore" four times, St. Francis twice, Mary Magdalen and St. Anthony of Padua once each (ff 148r-149v passim).

122. Baldinucci, Notizie, II:542-43.

123. L. Berti, L' opera completa del Pontormo (Milan, nd), Tav IX, no

36; Ch 6 n 94 for the device.

124. Lucrezia's poem is published by Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 151-200 and associated with three paintings she commissioned by M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 95 and n 56. For the chapel in Rome see Ch 3 n 128. The Baptist featured not only in the fresco cycle and window of the Tornaquinci chapel, but also in the altarpiece and the intarsia stalls, being the only figure besides S.Lorenzo to be so honoured.

The series by Granacci is discussed by M. Compton, Foreign Schools Catalogue, Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool, 1963), 83-84 and Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 180-86; for Pontormo, see n 128 below.

By the time of the chapel's completion, 7 Tornabuoni men had taken the name of Giovanni or a derivative such as Giovansimone; its patron actually was named Giovanbattista (Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139r). One of his very earliest ancestors, named in a document of 1080, was Giovanni di Giovanni Tornaquinci (CS, Ser II, 135, f 48r).

125. For the fresco see Ch 5 n 15. Examples of medals survive only for Giovanni, Lodovica and Lorenzo Tornabuoni and Giovanna Albizzi: Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, nos 1021-25, 1068-69. These may have been among the "21 medaglie" in a leather box or the "piu medaglie chon chose teste di relievo" noted in the Tornabuoni inventory (Pupilli, 181, ff 148v, 149v). The one of 1531 listed "una medagla d'oro" (Acquisti e Doni, 274, unnumbered insert, f 5r).

126. Coloured terracotta work is frequent in the inventory of 1498; see also nn 67, 138 here. Illuminations or bindings include the Harley mss (n 98), Bancheqli's arithmetic book (BNF, Magl, XI, 115), those cited in nn 97, 117, 118, and Lucrezia's commission of illuminations in 1475-76 (M. Levi d' Ancona, "Postilla a Girolamo da Cremona" in Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis [Verona, 1964], III:45-104, esp 69-95).

127. A very ancient Tornaquinci tomb slab was seen in S. Pancrazio around 1619 (CS, Ser II, 135, ff 33r-33v, reverse of a family tree). For those tombs in Rome and Luigi's in Florence see Ch 3 nn 16, 126, 129. For tombs of the consorteria at S. Maria Novella see esp Ch 5 nn 98f.

128. The many cassoni in the inventory of 1498 (Pupilli, 181) included those for Giovanni Tornabuoni's marriage of 1466, lovingly set in a rich ensemble (f 149v):

2 chassonj a sepoltura da spose chon l'arme di chasa e de
Pitti di braccia 4 l'uno chon seramj chopertj di tela verde

uno chassone a sepoltura di prospettiva di braccia 4 in una

una spalliera sopra dettj chassonj dipinta e messa d'oro

Lorenzo's rooms contained "2 forzierj da spose doratj e di pino chon ispalliere dorate e dipinte" with similar surrounds (f 148r). Only the pair for Lucrezia Tornabuoni's marriage of 1443 seems to survive: L. Vertova, "Cupid and Psyche in Renaissance Painting before Raphael," JWCI (1979):104-21. On 6 occasions the consorteria's marriages resulted in cassoni from Apollonio di Giovanni's shop: Callmann, Apollonio, 76-80 nos 9, 21, 64, 105, 128, 135.

A surviving Triumph of Fame desco, with the Medici and Tornabuoni arme and Piero de' Medici's personal device on the reverse, has been associated with the birth of Lorenzo in 1449: Ames-Lewis, "Devices," 137, Pl 39a; H. Comstock, "Italian Birth and Marriage Salvors," International Studio 85 (1926):51-54, with reproductions of both sides; L. Einstein and F. Monod, "Le Musée de la Société Historique de New York," GazBA 3 per, 33 (1905):416-17; Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen, Secular Painting, 9 and Pl 6; Wohl, Domenico Veneziano, 165-66, Pls 201-02 (confused on the arme but notes that the artist is now recognised as Masaccio's brother). The Tornabuoni inventory of 1498 listed one such example ("uno tondo chon chornicione d'oro e dipinto da donne di parto" f 149r), as did the inventory of 1531 ("uno quadretto di noce da donna dj parte," Acquisti e Doni, 274, Filza I, unnumbered insert, f 4r, with "tavagle da donne di parto" on f 4v). Pontormo's Birth of John tondo in the Uffizi has been associated with the birth of a son to Lisabetta Tornaquinci and Girolamo Della Casa in 1526 (Berti [cited in n 123], Tav XLII, no 89), but only the Tornaquinci arme seem to appear on the reverse, in which case the father was probably from that family.

Fahy, Followers, 39f, 130-32 and Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 158, 271 n 14, claim that 3 panels by the Ghirlandaio shop, depicting episodes from Jason's story, are due to the marriage of 1486 between the Tornabuoni and Albizzi because 1 panel bears their arms and the date 1487.

129. Pupilli, 181: "alla parigina" (passim); "morescha" (ff 141v, 147v); "a fiandresche" (ff 142v, 147r-148r, 149r); "levante" (ff 147r, 148v); "Alexandrino" (f 149v); "lombardo" (ff 141r, 143r, 144v, 145v, 147v, 148r, 150r); "alla spagniola" (f 148r); "milanese" (ff 148r, 149r); "banbagia" and "forestiero" (passim). For the sheets see ff 143r-144r; see also "2 vasj di murano christallino chon lavorj" (f 148r) and "uno paio di mostre di ghattj di spagnia" (f 149v). Cassoni, bedsteads, bedspreads and chests are often described as "al' antica" but this phrase seems indistinguishable from "antico tristo," "al' anticha usata" or "al' anticha vecchia." "Nuove" goods are noted too and once "alla moderna" is used of a "misciroba" (f 145r). One Virgin and Child painting was "al'anticha" (f 147v), as was "uno tabernacolo" (f 148v).

130. Pupilli, 181, ff 143r, 148r, 149r, 148r respectively. For the branch see Ames-Lewis, "Devices," 135, 141, Ch 6 n 102, Ch 7 n 139.

131. Pupilli, 181, f 149v. Lorenzo's room also contained similar work, probably in intarsia: "uno forziere di nocie chon prospettiva e altrj lavorj di nocie chon dette spalliere" and "uno choltrone grande da letto nel chassone della prospettiva" (f 148r). For the painted views see Grossman, "Ghirlandaio's 'Madonna and Child,'" 125 n 46; A. Parronchi, "La prima rappresentazione della Mandragola. Il modello per l'apparato - L'allegoria," La Bibliofilia 64 (1962):37-86, figs 8, 12, who associates two with Ridolfo Ghirlandaio; Saalman (cited in Ch 2 n 158).

132. Pupilli, 181, ff 149v for the tapestry, 148r-148v for Lorenzo's objects.

In 1438 Alessandra Strozzi honoured a kinsman by giving him "una carta pecorina, dipintavi su Italia ... molta bella e buoni" costing 25 florins, which he later thought worthy of presentation to the King of Aragon: A. Strozzi, Lettere, 76 n C. Another map of Italy valued

at the same price and a "picture on wood" of Spain were amongst Lorenzo de' Medici's estate in 1492: Gilbert, Documents, 138. When he wanted a "mappamondo" in 1489 his son reminded him of "uno vecchio e molto tristo" which he had seen in Carlo's room: del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, II:174. For commissions by a pope or the Mantuan court see Gilbert, 140-41 and Vasari-Milanesi III:498.

133. Pupilli, 181, ff 144r, 146r; Acquisti e Doni, 274, unnumbered insert, f 6r. Filippo Strozzi built a dovecote at his Santuccio villa in 1489: Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 26. When Francesco Sassetti rented out his house at Nuovoli in 1490 it was described as "unam domum cum uno Orto, cum colupnis et pergolis ... cum reservatione columbarie et unius antichamere...": NA, A 382, f 25v.

134. Most of these works have been mentioned already: see esp Ch 3 nn 128, 144, 171, 187, 198, 209 and this chapter nn 66, 74 (note that the Brozzi frescoes of the 1470s may be an early association). For Prato see Morselli and Corti, S. Maria delle Carceri, 69-70, 117, 119 and figs 33-36. For the Magi tondo ("uno tondo chon chornicione d'oro di nostra donna e magj che o fersono a christo" in Lorenzo's room, Pupilli, 181, f 148r) see also Vasari-Milanesi III:258 and Hatfield, Botticelli, 98-99 n 108. Not listed in the inventory is a little known copy by the workshop now in the Pitti Palace: van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:fig 81 and Steinmann, Ghirlandajo, Abb 28, not discussed by Fahy, Followers. In 1860 Layard (cited in Ch 7 n 4), 33 n mentioned that "a third picture of the same character, painted for a member of the Tornabuoni family, and afterwards in the Palazzo Pandolfini, is said to be in England."

Works in the inventory which can not be identified and/or works no longer surviving may also have been by Ghirlandaio. Shapley claimed a Tornabuoni provenance for a painting by the Ghirlandaio school of "Sts Mary of Egypt, Peter Martyr and Catherine of Siena," notably suggesting a Dominican interest, but Fahy, 113-14 doubted this. For the Jason panels see n 128; Granacci's later work n 124 above.

One panel not previously connected with the Tornaquinci deserves mention because its portraits recall faces appearing in their chapel, the male donor in abisso being similar to no 10 in the Zacharias fresco or to the man immediately behind Lorenzo in the Joachim fresco (Ch 7 nn 15, 74 for these). The panel by Bartolommeo di Giovanni shows the Virgin and Child with Sts. Louis and John and is inscribed 1486: van Marle, XIII:fig 159.

135. For Verrocchio see Ch 3 n 126; for Botticelli's frescoes n 75 here; for his embroidery see Ch 5 n 174. Stylistic affinities suggest he may have designed the two figurative panels on the choir stalls too: Ch 6 at n 100.

136. Rucellai, Zibaldone, 118.

137. Vasari-Milanesi III:260, 276. Vasari's reliability and accuracy concerning Ghirlandaio need not be doubted. He had access to the artist's notebooks and he knew Domenico's son Ridolfo well: Kallab (cited in Ch 3 n 3). It may be that Vasari also knew the Tornabuoni, perhaps through mutual and Medicean circles, for although he could not see all the artist's work in private houses he did gain entrance to the Tornabuoni palace: Vasari-Milanesi III:271, 258. When he commented that the chapel's donor portraits were good likenesses ("che

dicono esser molto naturali," 262), he is more specific than in his usual figure of speech which simply claims accurate portraiture without reference to contemporary opinion. He may have discussed the portraits with a Tornabuoni, since he was greatly interested in the identification of portraits. See also Ch 5 n 190.

138. Bandini, Catologus Latinorum, III:433; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:177; see also nn 99, 103 above, Ch 7 n 12.

From his father, Giovanfrancesco di Filippo di Filippo (1436-post 1498) and his brothers inherited a house, bought from the defunct Cardinali line, and several farms including a "casa da signore" at Careggi: Copia, 73, ff 441r-441v (two folios with their numbering repeated). One farm, "nel popolo di santa andrea ... luogo detto alla tore," described as adjacent to the Terzolle river and Giovanni Tornabuoni's property in 1498, was probably the site at Brozzi where a Tornaquinci tower stands today: Cat, 921, f 272v; Copia, 73, f 441v; Dec Rep, 25, f 254r and n 66 above. He owned one quarter of the Mercato shop where once another Tornaquinci tower had stood and which endowed masses at S. Maria Novella: n 29.

For his endowment of SS. Annunziata see n 32. He was often a political or territorial office holder (incl as Gonfaloniere in 1493) and was active against the Medici fall in 1494 "armato e a cavallo": Landucci, Diario, 76; B. Masi, Ricordanze, 23. Just one instance of his civic service will also serve to illustrate his confusion with Giovanni Tornabuoni. The Tornabuoni arme by Luca della Robbia on the Palazzo Pretorio, San Giovanni Valdarno are inscribed IOHAN. FRANCISCVS. TORNABONVS. VICARIVS. ET COMISSARIVS. 1478. 1479. Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 77, 272, fig 57 identifies the officer as "patron of Ghirlandaio" but the position was one our Giovanni never held elsewhere, he was in Florence in 1478-79 (Ch 3 esp nn 124, 131, 132) and the inscription allows the correct identification as Giovanfrancesco.

139. Borsook, "S. Maria Novella," 800 doc 10 (1488); n 114 for the confraternity; Vasari-Milanesi IV:304ff (1491). The two fellow operai in 1466-67 were Tommaso Minerbetti, one of the Cathedral's operai in 1491, and Jacopo Ventura, like Giovanfrancesco a representative of the S. Maria Novella quarter in 1491. The two fathers were Maso Albizzi (of Giovanna, in the Visitation) and Ridolfo Ridolfi (of Giovanfrancesco, in the Zacharias gathering). Niccolo Ridolfi and Bernardo del Nero were executed in 1497.

140. See Ch 3 nn 112, 113, 115, 120-21; Rochon, Laurent de Médicis, 322, 350 n 291 for a 1465 letter from Francesco di Filippo Tornabuoni to Lorenzo de' Medici on medals; Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia," passim. A Roman correspondent of Ginevra de' Benci sent her some mother-of-pearl "through Tornabuoni" in 1490: Walker (cited in n 78), 26. On behalf of his brother-in-law Piero de' Medici in 1452 Niccolò Tornabuoni paid for the hasty acquisition of a sculpted doorway to be placed at S. Maria Novella as part of the decorations greeting the Emperor: Goldthwaite and Rearick, "San Paolo," 234, 298 docs 13 and 14. Piero Tornabuoni was required to perform some favour in 1490 "per Gregorio amico di Bertholdo nostro," Lorenzo's sculptor: Protocolli, 426.

141. Protocolli, 435, 402; Vasari-Milanesi II:630. Poliziano (del Lungo), 159-60, wrote the epitaph. Marabotto Tornabuoni rented a country property to a painter: Neri di Bicci, Ricordanze, 63, 98-99.

142. Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 266 on the coterie; Trexler, Public Life, 240. See Ch 3 n 85. For Dei see esp Romby, Descrizioni and Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 165-67.

143. See n 47 for the "Signori." In Oct 1406 Francesco di Messer Simone Tornabuoni won a joust in the piazza of S. Maria Novella, receiving a helmet as the prize: Corazza, "Diario," 245; G. Morelli, Ricordi, 467. See Ch 1 n 95 for the importance of helmets. Filippo di Filippo di Messer Simone Tornabuoni jousted in 1428 and 1429: Cambi in Delizie XX:172-73, 175; Brucker, Civic World, 482-83; he is probably the Filippo who died in a duel (BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028). In a letter to Pico della Mirandola Poliziano wrote of Piero de' Medici and Lorenzo Tornabuoni, "nobilitatis juvenes, alias in toga et foro conspicui, cum militibus exercitatissimus concurrerant" winning the palm of public acclaim: Greswell, Memoirs of Politanus, 147 n; Poliziano (del Lungo), 334-35n.

The inventory (Pupilli, 181, ff 147r-147v, 150r) incl a fabulous saddle ("una sella di velluto nero chon fornimenti d'ottone dorati molto bella da chavaolj"), a rich horse-cloak ("una choverta di taffetta azuro con fiangia d'oro e altri lavorj richamata da chavagli"), a "schudo da giostra," 32 "lancie buse da giostra," at least 15 other saddles and so on.

144. Fineschi, Cimitero, 11, 18, 20 mentions the avello which is now indecipherable (see also Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 39 and Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 114). For the knights see Ch 3 n 16.

145. Trexler, Public Life, 315. For their actions see Ch 3 nn 8-22, 40 passim.

146. See n 129; Ch 3 n 182. One of Lorenzo Tornabuoni's maps depicted "spagnia, borghogna e francia" (n 132 above) and his consorteria was often associated with galley trips (Ch 3 n 61).

147. Pupilli, 181, ff 142r, 147r-147v, 148v; n 23 here for 1486.

148. BNF, Cl. II, IV, 344, ff 44v, 45v for Giovansimone; n 109 above for the nephew.

149. The tondo celebrating Lorenzo de' Medici's birth in 1449 still shows the Tornabuoni arme with the cross (Ames-Lewis, "Devices," Pl 39a), but Bancheqli's arithmetic book for Lorenzo Tornabuoni omits it (BNF, Magl, XI, 115, f 1r), as does the stained glass in his Cestello chapel (Pl. 56). The presentation copy of Lucrezia's poetry, compiled after Piero's death in 1466, has the impaled arms of the Medici on the left and Tornabuoni on the right, without the cross (BNF, Magl, VII, 388, f 1r). It is also missing from the Tornabuoni arme in the chapel's stained glass (Pl. 32) and from Lucrezia's arme in her chapel at the Badia, Fiesole (Rosselli's Sepultuario, MSS, 625, p 1435). Yet the cross is at the centre of the Tornabuoni arme in the chapel's arch at S. Maria Novella (n 26) and also in the intarsia work there (Pl. 36), as it is in Giovanfrancesco's arme by Luca della Robbia (Pope-Hennessy, Luca, fig 57).

150. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 4r-5v, in which he also cites Dante as an authority. On f 1v he speaks of a consulate position held by a distant ancestor as "al modo romano anticho." For Poliziano see the

studies of Rubinstein, esp "Il Poliziano e la questione delle origini di Firenze" in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1957), 101-110 and his "Vasari's Painting" (cited in Ch 2 n 145).

151. Quoted at Ch 3 n 174.

152. Verino is quoted from Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 331; Valori in Ch 3 n 85 above.

153. The quotation from a Rucellai priorista is in BNF, *Manoscritti Passerini*, 192 no 16, p 1; see also Mariani's Priorista of 1718 (MSS, 248, vol I, f 113r) and Crollanza (cited in Ch 3 n 2), 31. Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 332 traces the family to c 1000 via a man living c 1100. The family tree in *Bib Ricc*, Codex 1859, ff 72v-73r explicitly begins the lineage at "Tornaquinci fu nel 1000" and then has "Alberto" in 1050 and we have a reference to "Gio. d' altro Gio. di Tornaquinci" from 1080, which could mean a birth date c 1020 for his father (CS, Ser II, 135, f 48r).

154. See n 109 for the nephew; Ch 3 n 170 for Lorenzo.

155. *Bib Ricc*, Codex 1885, ff 1-6 (c 1376); CS, Ser II, 100 (Giovansimone's priorista); *Vasari-Milanesi* III:266-67 n (1561 record of portraits); Ch 5 n 15 for the 16th century fresco; CS, Ser II, 135, ff 27r-27v, 43 (1619).

CHAPTER FIVE: NOTES

1. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 4r-5v. For conflicts with the Cathedral see eg Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 314ff; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:311f; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 27f; Ch 2 nn 163, 164.

A brief report of some of the material in Chs 5-7 here is contained in my "The Process and Iconography of Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel, S.Maria Novella, Florence" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage.

2. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:389 publishes this transcription from the presentation copy of Caroli's Vitae still at S. Maria Novella, which agrees with his autograph copy, Bib Laur, Plut.89 inf.21, f 24r. Orlandi, 363 dates the text to c 1470-80, Camporeale, "Giovanni Caroli," esp 163-68, now more precisely dates it to the late 1470s. For Caroli as a witness in 1486 see NA, M 237, f 192v.

3. MSS, 812, p 3 n 2 (an eighteenth century copy of Sermartelli's Sepoltuario with additional notes, here quoting the document from Borghigiani's chronicle of the same century); Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 30-31; Richa, Chiese Fiorentine, III, pt I, 96-97; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 48. A convenient summary of all known documents on the church's early history to c 1320 is given by Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 358-63.

4. The original still resides at S. Maria Novella and is here quoted from its earliest surviving copy by Cavalcanti in the 17th century: MSS, 621, ff 3r-4v. The Martini copy of 1729 bears the same information (Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 11v-14r), while another 18th century copy inserts a quotation from the relevant section of the Tornaquinci ricordo (MSS, 812, pp 2-3), stating that it was in Sig. Riccardi's library where it remains today. Sermartelli may have known that ricordo too, since he wrote in 1617 and the Memorie del Convento di S.Maria Novella by Fra Santi Arrighi of the 1620s contains a vellum insert copy of that ricordo (BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, ff 340r-45v). On Sermartelli see Ricozzi, "Necrologio," 278, 319 and 293 for Arrighi.

5. Richa, Chiese Fiorentine, III, pt I, 8-9; Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:125 (all subsequent references to these two works are to these volumes). Sermartelli is the only source to give the "da Campi" identification of this "Forese" or "rustic" who is cited without any patronymic in the 1221 document: Richa, 8; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 48; as summarised by S. Razzi (OP) in his 16th century Cronica della provincia Romana dei frati predicatori, Bib Laur, SM 873, f 27r. No such name occurs in the Tornaquinci genealogy and the confusion is perhaps due to some documentary reference to the Tornaquinci having appointed this man. BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2030 also asserts that a Forese Tornaquinci "donò il luogo."

6. MSS, 248, vol I, f 113v; G. Carocci, "La Chiesa e il Convento d'Ognissanti Antichi ricordi dei Frati Umilitati," L'Illustratore Fiorentino (1909):156 n 1; Horner (cited in Ch 6 n 68), 452; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, I:206 n 1.

7. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, f 4r; Fanelli, Firenze (1980), fig 6; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 8, 19; Ch 3 esp nn 4, 7; Ch 4 text at nn 1, 65. Early Dominican foundations in Italy were commonly sited just outside a city, near a gate: Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 24, 49-51.
8. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 4r-4v; known to Mariani (MSS, 248, vol I, f 113v). See Ch 3 text at n 7. According to Richa, 7, the canons held Imperial and Papal grants to S. Maria Novella, beginning in 983 with Otto II, so perhaps the rights over the Arno area were given to the Tornaquinci as compensation.
9. Carocci, "Il Centro," 28 and "Ognissanti" (cited in n 6), 156; Delizie IX:45-62; Manni, 125; Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 336 n 9, 338ff; Richa, Chiese Fiorentine, IV:255. It is interesting that the Umiliati from 1239 to 1251 had earlier occupied S. Donato a Torri (see Ch 4 n 66), in the northeast contado, until the then exiled Tornaquinci sold their land there. By 1256 these Umiliati were established at Ognissanti: B. Quilici, "La Chiesa di Firenze dal governo del 'Primo Popolo' alla restaurazione guelfa," ASI 127 (1969):268 n 7, 299-301, who does not mention the Tornaquinci activity in relation to Ognissanti.
10. Delizie IX:112, 115; Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 143-44, 320; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:440.
11. On St. Luke's day, 18 Oct: Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 30r; Richa, 16. The early building history is still unclear: see Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella; W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1952), III:663ff; K. Giles Arthur, "The Strozzi Chapel: Notes on the Building History of Sta. Maria Novella," AB 65 (1983):367-86.
12. Vasari-Milanesi I:351. Either these later "sons of Messer Iacopo" are a confusion with the much earlier sons of Messer Iacopo di Tornaquinci di Alberto de' Tornaquinci, or they are the grandsons of those first sons (fig. 1). If Vasari is correct and a later generation did indeed donate land, he would be referring to Messer Ruggieri, who built the St. Benedict chapel, and his brothers: nn 102f below.
13. Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):41. On Biliotti and his contacts with the Ricci see S. Razzi, Istoria degli uomini illustri ... del sacro ordina de gli Predicatori (Lucca, 1596), 334-35; Ricoszi, "Necrologio," 257-58, 271-78, 318; Haines, "Sacristy of S.Maria Novella," 599; n 116 no 6 below for an example from 1584 where Biliotti and Fra Girolamo Ricci acted together. For Fra Domenico Ricci see n 51.
14. For the oculus and tomb see nn 26, 30. Later writers on land donations include Sermartelli in 1617 (MSS, 621, f 4v); its 1729 copy (Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 12v, 14r); Rosselli's Sepoltuario of 1657 (MSS, 625, pt II, pp 671-79 passim) which uses Vasari for the Tornaquinci and only gives the oculus to the Ricci; Carlo Strozzi in the 1670s who only mentioned Iacopo's sons (ASF, Spogli Stroziane di cose ecclesiastiche, p 406); an anonymous friar's "Descrizione Dell'Jus Padronato della Cappella Maggiore" of the 18th century which only mentions the "suolo" given by the Ricci (Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87); Richa, 15; Anon, L'Osservatore Fiorentino, I, pt IV,

(1776):13 and 2nd ed, (1798), III:9; Fineschi, Cimitero, xii n 1 and Memorie Istoriche, 128-29; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, I:206 n 1; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 64.

15. Fineschi, Forestiero, 54. Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 11 n 1 however only mentioned arms of the Tornaquinci and Florence, claiming that the depicted doorway resembled a fragment of an ancient portal, which must have been believed in the 16th century to have come from the original chiesetta. This portal includes the kneeling donor portraits of a man and woman either side of the Virgin and Child (Alinari 31212; E. Hertlein, Masaccios Trinität [Florence, 1979], 30-31, fig 13). Fineschi, Cimitero, 109 gives no indication that it is a Tornaquinci monument.

16. CS, Ser II, 135, f 43r. The location of this original chiesetta is complicated by the fact that the ricordo was written c 1376 (Pampaloni, "Tornaquinci," 332 n 3) at the very time when Haines now dates the construction of the new sacristy on the old choir site ("Sacristy of S.Maria Novella," esp 577), so the ricordo's phrase "dove è oggi la sagrestia" may imply this recent or imminent change. The possible Tornaquinci portal (n 15 above) now stands in the vaulted ambulatory not far but certainly distinct from the present sacristy.

17. NA, M 237, ff 192v-193r. For 1348 see text at n 21.

18. See n 4 above. An inscribed column placed on the sacristy roof in 1479 claimed that spot as the site of the first church (Lunardi, S.Maria Novella, 21-22 with illustration), around the same time as Caroli was writing. Possibly, the Tornaquinci ricordo (n 16 above) had been read recently by the friars and had determined this (erroneous?) siting of the original "chiesetta."

19. The contract is quoted from the translation in Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 173. For 1470 see n 62 below; for 1486, NA, M 237, ff 192v-193v, which further uses the phrase "cappelle et altaris" twelve times; for the Founding Ch 6 Section C.

20. Warburg, "Le Ultime Volontà di Francesco Sassetti" (1907) in Rinascita, 211-46. He was confused by the word "hedificium" in the document of 1470 (n 62 below) which refers however to the frame and structure of the "altaris" alone and not to the rest of the chapel. For a reference by the Dominicans in 1390 to an altar as "construxit" see Haines, "Sacristy of S.Maria Novella," 578 n 6. Goffen, "Masaccio," 496 n 32 asserts that it was unusual to find the altar's donor, Fra Cardoni, being distinct from the donors of the Trinity fresco, but for yet another instance see M. Hall, "The operation of Vasari's Workshop and the designs for S.Maria Novella and S.Croce," BM 115 (1973):207 and n 12.

21. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:434. Quoted closely but in Italian by Arrighi, (cited in n 4), f 112r who dates it 1348. The Latin text was known to the anonymous Dominican in the 18th century, who does not suggest a date: Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87. C. de Pierro, "Contributo alla Biografia di Fra Jacopo Passavanti Fiorentino," Giornale storico della letteratura italiane 47 (1906):15-16 quotes it, as 1348. Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 128-29 dates the paintings to c 1340-48 and the meeting to 1348 upon their completion. The document itself does not give a date and unfortunately has been published only

in isolation. While 25 "major friars" were present, we know that in Jan 1349, after the worst of the Black Death, the convent contained a total of 38 friars (C. Paoli, "Frate Jacopo Passavanti," in del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, I:46), so the meeting may date from another time. Given the offices held by the Strozzi and Passavanti friars the outside dates for the council are c 1335-55: Orlandi, Necrologio, I:405f, 502, 505-06, II:603. For convenience the date 1348 is accepted in my text. For other Tornaquinci activity at the convent c 1348-49 which may result from their failure to gain burial rights in the cappella maggiore see text at nn 106, 110.

We do not know whether the friars or a family paid for the decorative frescoes of the 13th century recently discovered on the chapel's dado level (Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," 159, nn 58, 65, 79), nor can we be sure whether the disastrous flood of 1333 damaged this particular chapel (E. Borsook and L. Tintori, Giotto. The Peruzzi Chapel [New York, 1961], 13 on the damage to S.Croce). The subsequent penitence certainly led to increased patronage at S.Maria Novella (Fineschi, Cimitero, 87f); for its effects see also A. Smart, "Taddeo Gaddi, Orcagna, and the Eclipses of 1333 and 1339" in Studies ... in Honor of Millard Meiss (New York, 1977), I:408f. Of relevance too are the procession to halt rain and plague in 1347 (Trexler, Public Life, 354 n 127) and the horrors of the Black Death in 1348.

22. Vasari-Milanesi I:594. Ghiberti does not mention the Ricci: Busignani and Bencini, Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella, 32. L. Beccherucci, "Ritrovamenti e Restauri orcagneschi," Bollettino d'Arte 33 (1948):24-33 dates the vault fragments to c 1340-50 and as not only finished but damaged by a storm in 1358. M. Boskovits, "Orcagna in 1357 - and in Other Times," BM 113 (1971):240f and fig 16 has bibliography and says they are an "early work," implicitly c 1350; Giles, "Strozzi Chapel," 195-97 suggests c 1345-47. E. Micheletti, Chiese di Firenze (Novara, 1959), 78-79 also reproduces the prophets, one in colour.

23. Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):49f. Later writers in chronological order are Baldinucci, Notizie, I:260; C. Strozzi in the 1670s (CS, Ser III, 233, ff 391v-392r); Richa, 63; Follini, Firenze, 321; Borghigiani's 18th century chronicle in Orlandi, Necrologio, II:399, reported from a different passage by Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 17. The first passage of Borghigiani cross references to 1320, 1348, 1350 and 1365, the latter only to the first two years, 1320 for Fra Baro (n 55 below), 1348 for the Ricci superceding the Sassetti. Perhaps 1365 refers to the oculus in the facade (n 26). In all he is a confused, unreliable and late compilation. It might be worth noting that Simona di Guido Ricci (no direct relation of Rosso's) had married Zanobi di Marabottino Tornaquinci in 1363: BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2031; Manni, 132-33.

24. MSS, 621, ff 14r-14v; with slight changes in later copies (Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 21r; MSS, 812, f 41r). Sermartelli's Sepoltuario was used by later writers from the convent on this issue: Conv Soppr, 102, 94, 2nd filza of inventari and 103, insert 87; Chiaroni, "Cappella de' Tornabuoni," 15 who gives us a confused mixture of sources and is the only other writer to specify Messer Rosso for 1348.

Sermartelli may be confusing the situation with one Vasari described for the 1490s, where Vasari (at n 46 below) and later writers sometimes cite a "contract of sale" (Biliotti, Chronica, I [1893-94]:50; Borghigiani in Orlandi, Necrologio, II:399; Rosselli in

MSS, 625, II, p 679). He also may have had some knowledge of an agreement between the friars and Rosso in the 1370s: text at n 34.

25. See nn 30, 46, 47, 96 here and Ch 4 n 26.

26. MSS, 625, II, pp 680, 758 no 618; Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):45-46; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:458, 595, Tav XX, II:412, 444-45; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 114-15. See also H. van Straelen, Studien zur Florentiner Glasmalerei des Trecento und Quattrocento (Wattenscheid, 1938), 24-26 and P. Toesca, "Vetrate Dipinte Fiorentine," Bollettino d'Arte 14 (1920):3-6.

27. Fineschi, Cimitero, 5. This ignores the earlier privilege granted the Bardi. In 1336 the Bardi patrons of a transept chapel were allowed to bury their father and any knights from the family "ad pedes altaris" as well as being able to bury their other members in a floor tomb, but no raised sepulchre ("eminens sepultura") was to be erected: Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 127; I. Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht. Dokumente zu zwei Kapellen der Bardi," MittFlor 20 (1976):263-70 publishes the document, in which three Bardi friars were amongst the conventual witnesses. For earlier examples see Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 135-39.

28. Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):177. The tombs can be located with the aid of the plans in MSS, 626, f 41v; MSS, 812, f 101r; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 79r, 87v. The inscription on the lower tomb can only belong to the "Ruggerius domini Johannis de' Riccis cum habitu" buried on 25 June 1413: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 109. This also tallies with the family genealogy in A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, 228 where he is called a "molto stimato Ciptadino" who was Gonfaloniere in 1406 and Podestà at Pisa in 1411.

29. The one in the opposite aisle belonged to Giorgio di Riccardo de' Ricci: MSS, 626, f 43v; MSS, 812, f 95r; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 71v.

"Ughucciottius Ardinghi de' Riccis cum habitu Ordinis" was buried in the right transept on 15 Mar 1405: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 62; MSS, 626, f 42v; MSS, 812, f 126r (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 88r, which notes that the inscription included "mercatoris Florentini." Presumably he and "suorum Descendentium" were granted this honour because he was a "uomo mercatante, ricco, savio, grande di parentado e di stato" (Morelli, Ricordi, 161, also 156). At the end of the century he was described as of "bella presenza et fu molto richo ... et fu richo di figliuoli maschi": A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, 225.

Even greater honour had been shown to Ugucione di Riccardo de' Ricci, whose involvement in politics ensured that he was buried on 4 Aug 1383 "cum habitu honorifice et honorabilis civis et laudabilis in tota Ytalia": Calzolari, 130; MSS, 626, f 47r; MSS, 812, f 126r (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 100r; see also Brucker, Florentine Politics, 34, 73, 225 n 126. His descendant later said he was "molto commendato et universalmente da tutti e' ciptadini et popolo Fiorentino": A. de' Ricci, 221-23. Ugucione and his descendants were buried adjacent to the old monk's choir but his much richer brother Rosso won even higher honour (n 30 below).

30. Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 120; MSS, 625, pt II, p 700 no 87 (Rosselli's Sepoltuario quoted here); MSS, 626, f 41v; MSS, 812, f 126r (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 88v-89r; Wood Brown,

S. Maria Novella, 129. Rosso "fu molto adoperato nella nostra Ciptà et honorato ... era huomo di grande animo ...": A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, 214-20; see also Brucker, Florentine Politics, 34, 81 n 101; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, I:193-95.

The anonymous Dominican of the 18th century (Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87) disagreed with Sermartelli's description of the tomb's location, claiming all 5 slabs in front of the altar were originally "più lontano ... fuori assolutamente della Cappella" until their transferral there in 1569 by Vasari. Even if this is correct, Rosso was obviously in an honoured position nearby and read in this way by Vasari. Nor has any previous writer known of Rosso's will (n 33 below).

31. Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 15 gives the full inscription, now rubbed in parts. Above the Ricci arme is the original inscription as recorded by Rosselli (n 30) and Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, I:195; below its transfer in 1807 is recorded. In 1804 it was still "sul presbiterio." A different history states that a little before 1573 new steps were placed in front of the altar and Rosso's slab was moved from the "posto à principio nel mezzo" to the right side, the "Cornu Epistole": Conv Soppr, 102, 94, pt I, 2nd filza of inventari.

32. Of the other 4 tombs once in front of the altar, one was of a Spaniard buried in 1528, one is a Pilli tomb of 1371 and the last is a Tosinghi (n 30). Only the Tornaquinci and Ricci arme appeared in both tombs and parts of the chapel's arch or tabernacle so only these two families are of interest to writers on patronage rights there.

33. Conv Soppr, 102, 94, pt I, in the second filza of inventari.

34. Orlandi, Necrologio, esp II:35-39, 604.

35. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:93. The Order's first Chapter General, held in 1220, decreed "Fratres nostri mediocres domos, et humiles habeant": V.M. Fontana, Constitutiones, Declarationes et Ordinationes Capitulum Generalium Sacri Ordini Fratrum Praedicatorum ab Anno 1220 usque ad 1650 emanatae (Rome, 1862), 23. The Constitutions were expanded in 1228 to include the restriction "et non fiant lapidibus testitudinata nisi forte super chorum et sacristiam": Meersseman, "Origini del tipo di chiesa," 66. For further rulings in the 13th century see Fineschi, Cimitero, 3 n 2; Fontana, 23, 120 (confirmed in 1513, 1515 and 1518), 436-37; Meersseman, (cited in Ch 2 n 73), 171; MOPH, III:11, 13, 32, 53, 64, 114, 117, 170, 187; Wood Brown, S. Maria Novella, 94.

Admittedly such rules were being relaxed in the 14th century (for the Bardi in 1336 at S. Maria Novella see n 27), although the high altar at S. Maria Novella was still closed to secular invasion in 1348 (n 21) and Rosso was buried near there as a singular privilege in 1383 (n 33). The Constitutions of 1358 repeated the call against "curiositates et superfluitates," including "in ... pavimentis," but no location such as the choir is singled out and the formula is being re-iterated beyond its real life according to Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 114, 132 n 49.

36. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:451, 454f, 462-63, II:531 and Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 123-24. Other examples of Passavanti attracting bequests to his convent are mentioned in Paoli and de

Pierro (cited in n 21).

37. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:462, quoting Borghigiani. See n 165 here.

38. NA, M 237, f 159r for the contract. Arme are called a sign of patronage by Francesco Sasseti in 1488 (text at n 67), the later Sasseti (n 67), Borghigiani (n 68), Sermartelli (n 45) and Vasari (n 46); see also Strozzi in 1491 (Ch 2 at n 85).

On 1358 see Balducci, Notizie, I:260 and Beccherucci (cited in n 22), 33 n 1; for 1424, Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87; for the 1460s, Gaye, Carteggio, I:565, 568; Sermartelli, MSS, 621, f 14v echoes Vasari-Milanesi III:260 in all but word order on the poor state of the chapel's roof and water damage there. The earthquake of 1453 (Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 203, 211 and Petriboni quoted by Orlandi, Antonino, II:302-03), a flood in 1467 (Hatfield, "Magi," 117 and Landucci, Diario, 5), and other such natural disasters may all have contributed further damage.

39. For a doorway placed there in 1452 with Tornabuoni aid see Ch 4 n 140. The latest literature on the Papal apartments is F. Quinterio, "Filippo di Giovanni: quattro cantieri col Ghiberti" in Lorenzo Ghiberti nel suo tempo (Florence, 1980), 643-64, esp 658-59 for documents.

40. F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 50, 60, 62-65, 82.

41. Fineschi, Cimitero, xxi-xxix on confraternities often lists events from these years. In 1467 the St. Dominic confraternity consecrated its new oratory (Ch 4 n 114), the St. Peter Martyr one received a new reliquary (n 133 below) and the Innocenti confraternity moved to the Ubriachi chapel (Capitoli, Comp Soppr, 719, f 3r-3v). The Purità confraternity and its chapel were begun in 1474 (Ch 2 n 55). The Gesù Pellegrino confraternity undertook its refurbishment in the 1470s: U. Middeldorf, "Gesù Pellegrino. A Quattrocento Sculpture Rediscovered," Apollo (Dec 1978):382. Other activity in the 1470s includes Goldthwaite, Building, 441; Hatfield, Botticelli, esp Ch 1; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 44, 145.

42. On Giovanni Dominici's praise of restoration see Fraser Jenkins, "Magnificence," 163. Later writers frequently comment on the need for the restoration of both chapel and altarpiece: Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):50; Manni, 130; n 38 above.

43. NA, P 354, ad datum (May 1486); Orlandi, Necrologio, II:587, 588 for the visits, except 1486 which is in NA, M 237, f 193v. Filippo Strozzi (at n 42) at S.Maria Novella and Francesco Sasseti at S. Trinita (Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 14, Doc 5) instead had to obtain a papal Bull to permit their acquisition of chapels. That the Tornaquinci did not have to do so also suggests that their original patronage of the chapel was not in doubt.

44. For their dramatic political demise see Alberti, Family, 144; Brucker, Florentine Politics, 124ff, 249; Civic World, 173-74, 337-40; D. Kent, Rise, 68-69, 128, 146 n 31; Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 381; Passerini, Marietta de' Ricci, I:191ff. A family's bankruptcy or extinction was the most common reason for the transferral of chapels: eg Borsook, Mural Painters, 117; C. Elam, "The Site and Early Building History of Michelangelo's New Sacristy," MittFlor 23 (1979):183-85; C.

Gilbert, "The Patron of Starnina's Frescoes" in Studies ... in Honor of Millard Meiss (New York, 1977), 186, 190 n 9; Salé, Strozzi Chapel, 102.

Messer Rosso's last descendant wrote a family memoria at the end of the century precisely because the Ricci had fallen into "rovescio" and were less rich and powerful than in their glorious past: A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, by Agnolo di Giovanni di Francesco di Messer Rosso, the last of his line according to Passerini, I:195. He was a prior in July-Aug 1479 and a partner in a retail business in 1451: CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum and Molho, "Traffichi," 104. This Angelo is probably the same man who, with two distant relatives, concerned himself with a bequest of 150 florins left to the convent around 1440 by one of Messer Rosso's grand-daughters. The friars settled with her descendants in 1494 but payment was still due in 1499 when Angelo made his will (information supplied in a letter from Rab Hatfield, 2 June 1981). When Ghirlandaio was contracted in 1485 no doubt the Dominicans were aware of Rosso's line owing them money and being nearly extinct.

45. MSS, 621, f 17r. Earlier the text follows Vasari very closely.

46. Vasari-Milanesi III:260, 262. The first edition of 1550 is very similar, only using "honorato" for "ornato" and making the agreement sound more friendly and informal, reading "E così persuasi, diede loro un beveraggio per una certa amorevolezza; ed fece fare uno instrumento rogato molto stretto": Vasari-Ricci 188. Sermartelli, MSS, 621, f 14v copies this version. Trexler, Public Life, 96 discusses this dispute with minor factual errors and a somewhat unconvincing interpretation: see Ch 2 at nn 90f.

47. NA, B 910, insert 1, f 299v. For the position of the arme high atop the altarpiece (too high to please the Ricci?) see n 161. The Ricci arme on the tabernacle are reproduced by MSS, 812, f 45r: the same as those seen today on Messer Rosso's tomb, (yellow) stars and three hedgehogs over a (blue) ground, which differ from Tebalдино de' Ricci's arms at the oculus, where a cross divides the field into tilted quarters, each with hedgehogs and stars (best seen in Toesca's large reproduction: cited in n 26). While all other examples of the Ricci arms show the animals facing left, those in the oculus are turned around so that they too adore the Virgin's Coronation from both sides! Tomb slabs of the Ricci also display either arms, so there were at least two distinct branches (MSS, 626, ff 42v, 43v, 47r, 55r, 58v, 59v).

48. Vasari-Milanesi III:262, 268, V:340 and n 190 below on Ghirlandaio's death. The new altarpiece is first mentioned in Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 103v. Vasari says the arme were already on the tabernacle in mid 1494 whereas the licence is of Feb 1495. Probably, as he says, the courts approved the size and location of the arme and then the legal document was drawn up to clarify the rights and "limitations" entailed in such a "licentia." Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):51 also speaks of litigation, but his source may be purely Vasari, as it is for Rosselli (MSS, 625, pt II, p 679), Sermartelli (MSS, 621, f 14v), Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87 and BNF, Conv Soppr, C.3.896, ff 287v-288r.

49. Note that Vasari's first edition had suggested an informal meeting (n 46) and the very existence of the "Licence" suggests some

consideration, negotiation and discussion. See NA, M 237, f 160r for the contract; NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r for the will; text at nn 174-75 below for arms in the embroideries. The middle section of the window's base no longer survives but the existence only of Tornabuoni arms is confirmed by all sources into the 18th century: MSS, 621, f 15v; MSS, 625, pt II, p 679; MSS, 812, ff 42v, 44v; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 22r (see n 171 below).

50. Sermartelli noted "altre spese" by the Ricci in the Trecento (n 24). Rosso de' Ricci was buried in 1383 and perhaps this affected incorrect claims made by Fineschi and Biliotti about Ricci burial rights in the church "after 1380" (nn 27, 28). Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 115 recognised the division of patronage rights in the chapel but incorrectly thought that the Ricci held burial rights.

On 15 April 1418 Francesca di Giovanni Portinari, widow of Tommaso di Messer Rosso de' Ricci, left 5 gold florins "pro edifitio et ornamento noviter fiendo in altarj et seu ara maiore" of S. Maria Novella: NA, G 212, ff 65r-68r. No Tommaso appears amongst Rosso's four sons according to his descendant (A. de' Ricci, Ricordanze, 220) and I have not come across any references to a Tommaso Ricci.

51. For Fra Domenico see in general Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1009; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:368-69, 587; G. Pomaro, "Censimento del Manoscritti della Biblioteca di S. Maria Novella...", Memorie Domenicane, n.s., 11 (1980):333ff, 427; Ricoszi, "Necrologio," 230. Ricci genealogy is difficult to construct but Domenico does not seem to directly descend from Messer Rosso. He was a witness when the Tornaquinci obtained patronage rights: NA, M 237, f 192v. For associations with the Tornabuoni in the 1490s see text at nn 175-77 below and for his possible portrait in the chapel n 180.

Other friars acting as a mezzano include Fra Andrea Rucellai playing a leading role in the construction of a pulpit: Gilbert, Documents, 30; F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 282-83; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:168, II:258-59. See also n 191 and for Fra Passavanti text at n 106f.

52. Borghigiani explicitly says he does not know when the Tornabuoni (sic) acquired rights: Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 18. Indeed the document of 1486 is mentioned for the first and only time in Glasser, Artists' Contracts (originally 1965), 53, 112 n 1, who nevertheless states that rights were "conferred on Giovanni Tornabuoni." Commentators such as Warburg and Offerhaus also have not known it. In 1804 a marble slab was erected at the altar which refers in part to Giovanni Tornabuoni and of Tornaquinci patronage. The opposite plaque refers to a restoration campaign in 1854 and both make no mention of the Ricci, only stating that the Medici-Tornaquinci had taken over the patronage rights.

53. I am most grateful to Rab Hatfield for his lengthy response to an earlier version of my discussion on the Sasseti, which averted several mistakes. The interpretation offered here would still disagree with him on certain points as I remain less convinced of the solidity or antiquity of Francesco's claim.

For a general assessment of the presence of the 3 families at S. Maria Novella see esp Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," passim, a more accurate transcription than that in Delizie IX:123ff for the period they both cover; Fineschi, Cimitero; Orlandi, Necrologio; Ricoszi,

"Necrologio." For Tornaquinci friars see Ch 4 n 106; for burials n 101 below.

54. NA, M 237, f 192v; n 2 above.

55. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:40. The earliest use of the document, without direct quotation but with the presumption that it refers to the high altar, is by Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):51, II (1895-96):238 (quoted and accepted by Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 10, Docs 14, 15). The early copy of Sermartelli (MSS, 621, f 16v) does not quote it but attributes the high altarpiece to Fra Baro and then uses Vasari-Milanesi I:454. Borghigiani writes of Fra Baro's altarpiece for the high altar yet also of Ricci rights in the chapel in 1348: Borsook and Offerhaus, Docs 17, 18. The Necrologio is quoted with the addition by MSS, 812, f 44r; Conv Soppr, 102, 103, insert 87; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 131.

Other commentators accept this traditional paternity of the altarpiece: eg Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 24r; Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 264-68, 290 n 31, 306-08 n 177; Cannon, "Simone Martini," 87-91. Vasari and Petrei do not mention the Sassetti (n 56). The later Francesco Sassetti (Lettere, xxix-xxx) explicitly cites Vasari and then follows Biliotti (a friend? see n 80 below) to say the altarpiece was moved from the high altar around 1485 and was in the capitolo until it was moved again in 1591. In 1790 Fineschi probably saw it in a dormitory but no mention is made of it in his 1836 edition of Forestiero (Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 265). See n 57 for an alternative suggestion that its original position was in the sacristy.

56. Vasari-Milanesi I:454, attributing it to Ugolino da Siena, as did Petrei who also made no mention of the patron (Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 265, 309 n 189). Gelli mentioned a Sassetti altarpiece "oggi nel capitolo" but in the muddled context of attributing Orcagna's frescoes and later patronage rights solely to the Sassetti: "Vite d'Artisti," 46.

57. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:326-27 n 5 and Tav XVI noted that Biliotti saw a Virgin and Child with Angels (Chronica, II [1895-96]:238), Borghigiani later claimed it represented the Virgin's Assumption (as Carlo Strozzi implied in the 1670s too: CS, Ser III, 233, ff 391v-392r), while Orlandi himself proposed a Coronation of the Virgin by Bernardo Daddi, as Antal, Florentine Painting, 183 had also suggested! See also Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 308 n 185.

In 1600 Francesco di Giambattista Sassetti recalled the altarpiece, which he had not seen in many years: "vi è dentro una Madonna vestita alla greca, con il figliolo in braccio, messa in mezzo da due Santi, che non mi sovviene per chi sieno fatti": Lettere, xxix-xxx. (Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 306 n 19 and 308 n 73 doubt the veracity of this later Sassetti on other matters). If Francesco's hazy memory recalled the Virgin and Child accurately but made of the Angels seen by Biliotti "due Santi," then these two descriptions, the earliest we have of its subject, might fit "Unam Immagine ... Marie Virginis de Angelo" described in an inventory of the original sacristy conducted on 16 Aug 1351 (Conv Soppr, 102, 94, pt I, 2nd filza of inventari). Fra Baro's obituary in 1324 referred to paramenti for the sacristy and then a "tabulam altaris" which could have been for the sacristy too. Cannon, 129 plausibly argues that Baro was at one time the sacristan. Around 1380, just when the Tornaquinci ricordo also implies a new location for the sacristy, and

nearly 60 years after Baro's death, a new sacristy was built by the Cavalcanti on the old choir site (n 16 above). Perhaps Baro's altarpiece was then moved from the old sacristy to the high altar rather than from the old choir site to the new one. Certainly its presumed unbroken presence on the high altar probably would have entailed at least one physical translation c 1380, before its further moves c 1485, 1591 and by 1790 (n 55). The Assumption seen by Carlo Strozzi and Borghigiani after c 1670 might be a replacement in the capitolo after the Sassetti altarpiece was moved to a dormitory.

58. Diplomatico, S. Maria Novella, 11 Jan 1429; published in part by Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 229 and Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 13. Borsook and Offerhaus, 10 n 4 claim she was the widow of Pellao Sassetti but she was his daughter; their Doc 19 calls her "vedova di Talano Adimari." She specifies the tomb of her mother, a Sassetti only by marriage, buried in Aug 1383; her brother Arnaldo was buried in Sept 1393, but no mention is made in the records of her father's burial: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 129, 154. Brucker, Documentary Study, 42-44 has extracts from Paolo Sassetti's diary which records these two deaths, "Rinaldo" dying in the house "of his sister, Monna Fiondina ... And like the bad woman she is, she did not allow him to make another will, nor did she permit any of us to visit him. Without any reason or provocation, she has treated each one of us as though we were mortal enemies." That rift explains why she chose her mother's tomb, who had not been buried in what Paolo called "our vault" but placed in another Sassetti "tomb through the error" of a friar who "thought he was honouring us, but we were not pleased." In these circumstances Fiondina's relatives may not have seen her bequest to the high altar as their responsibility and she may have chosen a site over which no previous family associations existed.

59. The puzzling phrase might be illuminated by the few comparisons I have come across, such as "uno chuoio per lo altare maggiore, dentrovi l'arme di frate Marcho" to cover the altar at SS. Annunziata after the liturgy: Casalini, (cited in Ch 2 n 37), 125 no 38, an inventory of 1422. An altar frontal or "pectorale dell' altare col coperchio di sopra, incollati et spranghe et peracintule, chiavati in su l'altare, colli orli da lato infine alle colonne della taula" was provided for ser Giuliano's chapel in Pisa in 1428: Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 32 no 7, 46 no 4. This "coperchio" is related to an altar vestment or coopertoria by Gardner von Tueffel, (cited in Ch 2 n 97), 62 n 121, but Beck, 47 points out that a woodworker was paid for this "coperchio" and envisages it as either the lid of the altar or a "wooden crowning element" to the altarpiece. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 10 n 4 say Fiondina's gift was "to make a large and beautiful altar panel to cover the old altarpiece." I suspect that it was for either a frame (incl new side wings?: see Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 135-36) or for the sort of wooden paliotto still existing at SS. Spirito (see Markowsky [cited in Ch 2 n 93]).

The amount of 200 florins was very high at that time for an altarpiece, especially if the price did not include the frame, which again might suggest a reference to embroidery or to a very large, elaborate mock-up of embroidery. On prices see Borsook, "S. Maria Novella," 738 and n 21; Glasser, Artists' Contracts, 42-43 with bibliography; H. Lerner-Lehmkuhl, Zur Struktur und Geschichte des Florentinischen Kunstmarkts im 15. Jahrhundert (Wattenscheid, 1936), Table III; Wackernagel, 338ff. In 1423 Gentile da Fabriano's Strozzi

altarpiece cost 150 florins, in 1426 Masaccio was paid 80 florins for his Pisan altarpiece and in 1433 Fra Angelico was to receive a generous 190 florins, which did not include the frame's cost, for the Linaiuoli tabernacle unless his conscience dictated that he demand less (Antal, Florentine Painting, 339, 353 n 94, 347 n 22). In the early 1490s Lorenzo di Credi's altarpiece for Cestello cost 100 florins for the panel and a further 40 florins for the frame and we only know of 80 florins being spent on Ghirlandaio's altarpiece for the Tornabuoni chapel there: Luchs, Cestello, 86, 92.

60. Only Carlo Strozzi in the 17th century said it "fu eseguito": CS, Ser III, 233, ff 391v-392r and ASF, Spogli Strozziiani di cose ecclesiastiche, p 406. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:218 n 15 says it was not carried out. As far as I know, no altarpiece or furnishing of the 1430s has been given a S. Maria Novella provenance. Subsequent documents on dealings between the convent and the Sassetti over her bequest make it clear that only troubles resulted (n 65).

61. NA, B 398, ff 18r-19r (26 Oct 1468); partly in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 20 who read "construitur." The language is a little unclear and abbreviations lead to some problems with transcription but Rab Hatfield and Gino Corti believe "constructam" to be most likely. No family link of any closeness seems to exist between Fiordina and Francesco. Family beneficence but not patronage rights are appealed to, together with Francesco's liberal spending when he had no legal obligation to do so. Perhaps he wished to avoid absolving the convent from their debt over Fiordina's bequest.

62. NA, B 398, ff 153r-154r; partly in Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 229-30 and Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 21; known to most commentators. That Francesco was only a recent arrival at S. Maria Novella is suggested by the mention in April 1468 of the burial there of a "fratello di Bartolomeo Sassetti" (Delizie IX:204): the man is identified by his relationship to Francesco's brother. Perhaps Sept 1468 saw Francesco's first activities there (n 65).

63. The word "pretendit" is an unusual one in such documents, along with the suggestion that Francesco had done the claiming. (Borghigiani wrote that "i Sassetti contro al convento pretendendo" that the altar had been improperly granted to the Ricci: Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 17). Usually the legal coolness in such documents places the church in a position of ahistorical liberality in which personal claims are ignored, except for the frequent noting of the donor's liberality and devotion. So too the mention of Sassetti heirs very late (missing from its partial publication: n 62) and without elaboration as to the masculine line and so on is unusual. An investigation of jus patronatus in Renaissance Florence is very much needed.

64. Fra Baro's Dominican status may have been more crucial to the friars than his parentage. Certainly during work on the choir area, directed by Fra Passavanti in 1365, it was the convent itself which paid "per i ferramenti dell'Altare maggiore e restaurazione del medesimo": Orlandi, Necrologio, I:463. For the possibility that Baro was a sacristan see n 57.

65. Inconvenience and legal squabbles were the main result of her bequest which not only left money for that "copertorio" but also designated the convent as her heir. Subsequent litigation only resulted in some money, particularly a pro-rata amount of 140 florins for the "copertorio," and some land going to the convent, at the cost of much trouble and unfriendly relations with and between the Sassetti. See Diplomatico, S.Maria Novella, under the following dates: 5 May 1431, 17 May 1430 (sic), 18 May 1431, 31 July 1431, 28 Jan 1431, 20 Oct 1433; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:187, 217-18, 256; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 131. In an unnumbered insert near the beginning of Conv Soppr, 102, 94, pt II there is a document of 1583 headed "Sumpto et summario delle scripture appartenente alla heredità di mona Fiondina di Pellaio Sassetti fatta per me fra Vincenzo Soldanj questo dì 30 di Novembre." This unfinished summary contains 20 items of complexity and length covering the years from 1324 to 1454. A few other Sassetti gifts to S.Maria Novella are included, but the altar is never mentioned and land is virtually its sole subject.

Francesco came to the friars' notice in 1468 by attempting to "inherit" this legacy with its obligations. He exchanged certain land with them in return for the acquisition of Fiondina's small farm at Novoli which had become the convent's. See NA, B 397, ff 380v-382v (30 Sept 1468, partly in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 19) and B 398, ff 18r-19r. He reported it in his catasto of 1470 as being "ffu d'una donna di chasa nostra": Cat, 921, f 282v.

66. On the vestments see Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):51, II (1895-96):238-39, partly in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 15; Sassetti, Lettere, xxxviii, claiming they cost 300 florins. For his purchases of wax see n 122 below; his father's tomb, never installed, text at nn 78, 82; his recognition at Candlemas, Ch 6 at nn 4f.

67. Warburg, Rinascita, 228; another fragmentary copy is in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 24; Rab Hatfield also has been unable to find the document used by Warburg. The later Sassetti, Lettere, xxx seems to have had access to the text and echoes his ancestor on the altarpiece: "è una bella memoria della nostra antichità e nobilità, essendovi nella basa di detta tavola da ogni canto l'arme de' Sassetti, la quale dimostra il nostro patronato ..."

68. Occurring no later than April 1488 when Francesco voiced his complaint, the removal of the Sassetti arms has been dated variously: as 1480 (Carlo Strozzi, cited in n 57), or 1488 (Carlo Strozzi again in his Spogil Strozzi di cose ecclesiastiche, p 406; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 14 n 28; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:326; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 131), as c 1485 (Sassetti, Lettere, cited at n 57). It is suggested here that the "villania" took place between Nov 1485 and Feb 1486: text at n 74f.

Borghigiani made a puzzling claim in the 18th century that Sassetti arms were "alla parete a levante del coro," which might refer to arme affixed there after 1470 and before 1488 as Borsook and Offerhaus, 12, Doc 17, suggest. If such were the case Francesco's ire should not have been so aroused, because these arms were not erased. But there is even less likelihood that the arms would have been placed there later, unless at the time of say Francesco di Giambattista Sassetti they were placed there "in segno, penso, del loro primo padronato di detta cappella" in Borghigiani's words. As patronage rights had long since lapsed this latter possibility is also suspect.

Sepoltuari as far as I know do not notice these arms.

69. On 3 Dec 1484 the convent paid over 7 lire for nearly 56 libbre of rope, "fune da drappelloni," "fune da schudi" and "fune rinforzata per l'altare maggiore." From the same lanciaio they purchased 3 1/2 libbre of "fune rinforzata" on 23 Jun 1488, "fu pel lampanaio dinanzi all'altare maggiore." A woodworker was required on 2 Jan 1483 "per rachonciatura della cornice della tavola dell'altar maggiore, la qual caschò quando si mandò lo standardo giù dopo le feste di Natale." Just over double the money was paid on 2 Nov 1497 "Alla tavola del capitolo ... per fare mettere el cornicione" which is probably a repair to the "Sassetti" altarpiece moved to the Chapterhouse as Vasari and a later descendant claimed. See Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, ff 93r, 100r, 115r, App 21, f 83r.

70. NA, G 25, testamenti, f 78v; A 380, f 14r.

71. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 14, 17f, Doc 5; la Mare, "Library of Francesco Sassetti," 191 n 15.

72. The simple entry "1479 ... [sic] f. di Francesco Sassetti" occurs in the convent's Libro dei morti (Delizie IX:206) and on 26 Dec 1479 the convent received only 1 lire "Dal mortorjo d'una figliuola di Francesco Sassetti" (Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 11r). No other source notes this daughter. Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes," 237-38 n 32 is the most complete and documented account of 6 of Francesco's daughters.

73. Unfortunately the clearest statements on the date of acquisition are from the 17th century. Carlo Strozzi's notes in BNF, Magl, II, IV, 378, p 279 recorded under 20 Feb 1479/80 an old tomb being moved out of the chapel "perché Francesco Sassetti voleva cominciare acconciare la Cappella;" repeated from the same Entrata e Uscita of the convent by Don Averardo Niccolini's Notizie who later dates all Ghirlandaio's work there "intorno agli anni del Signore 1480" (Conv Soppr, 89, 135, ff 135v, 185r). See Warburg, Rinascita, 223 n 1; Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 306 n 7 and History and Legend, Doc 8.

74. Cat, 1013, pt II, f 319r (Warburg, Rinascita, 229 n 1; Borsook, Mural Painters, 121 n 3; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 9); NA, A 381, ff 171r-174r for 1485.

75. Agreement on the chapel's dowry was reached with the monks of S. Trinita on 1 Jan 1487 (NA, A 381, ff 269r-275r) and the dowry was enlarged on 31 July 1487 (ff 275r-276v; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 12). Officiation began in the chapel on 1 Jan 1486: Conv Soppr, 89, 65, f 53r; Borsook and Offerhaus, Doc 11. Although formally established after the chapel's use had begun, the dowry was already envisaged in Francesco's catasto of 1480: Borsook and Offerhaus, Doc 9.

76. Warburg, Rinascita, 226.

77. NA, A 381, ff 171r-174r (Oct 1485). He paid for a minor funeral for a daughter in Dec 1479 (n 72). Payments in early Nov for the day of the dead are noted for 1480-85, except 1482 for which no records exist: Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, ff 5v, 10r, 18v, 22v, 26v. The Nov 1490 day of the dead saw a payment from Francesco recorded although he

had died by 2 April (Warburg, Rinascita, 215 n 3), and probably on 31 March (de Roover, Medici Bank, 363), so his descendants made this one last return to S. Maria Novella (App 86, ad datum). He received wax from the convent on the Purification day for 1480-85 but, on cue, does not appear in Feb 1486 (Ch 6 at nn 4f).

78. Warburg, Rinascita, 228, 229; partly in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 24.

79. The Francesco Sasseti writing in 1600 used "disparere" twice: Lettere, xxix, xxxviii. Emotional words are used by Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):52: "indignatus (ut aint)"; and Carlo Strozzi (cited in n 57), "mala sodisfazione."

80. Warburg (Rinascita, 219f), relying solely on Biliotti (who referred to two of Francesco's descendants as "consobrinos meos") and the later Sasseti, proposed that the conflict was due to Francesco's desire to decorate the chief chapel of a Dominican church with the story of his patron saint, St. Francis! Neither source mentions whether it was the altarpiece or walls under such dispute. As Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 289 and History and Legend, 13 point out such a suggestion from Francesco would have been ludicrous. They further note that the reasons for the quarrel "remain obscure; it may have concerned a hoped for share in rights of patronage for the main chapel, the installation of a black marble tomb for Francesco's father and heirs, or properties involved with the endowment of the high altar." I would here develop and combine these first two suggestions, relegating the third to the realm of continuing troubles (n 65 above) which would have less fresh or emotional impact on Francesco. From the friars' point of view any dispute over the altar's dowry might lessen their faith in Francesco, but from his it would be a symptom not a cause of less interest in the altar.

Only shortly after he acquired rights over the Dominican altar, Francesco, on 11 Jan 1472, began buying property very near S. Trinita which was his new home by 1484 (Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes," 230, 237 n 30). But such a move would explain his choice of S. Trinita for a chapel, not his removal from S. Maria Novella, which was after all not much further away from his new residence than were those of Giovanni Tornabuoni or Giovanni Rucellai. In 1488 he would have been happy still to regain "altorità" at the convent.

81. Firstly: One of the Sasseti avelli may be later as only the dates 1561 and 1579 are recorded for it: MSS, 626, f 66r; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 123r; Fineschi, Cimitero, 54 and n 6.

Secondly: In the ambulatory near the Chostro Verde were buried Soldo di Iacopo Sasseti (1345) and the Dominican Fra Bartolo di Soldo (1348): MSS, 625, pt II, p 737; MSS, 626, f 58v; MSS, 812, f 172r (Pl. 72 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 162r; Fineschi, 111; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:72, 410; Sasseti, Lettere, xxiii. This was "our tomb ... under the vault of the cloister ... belonging to Soldo" where Fiondina's mother was buried in "error": n 58.

Thirdly: An anonymous Sasseti tomb lay in the St. Anthony Abbot chapel between this ambulatory and a side entrance to the church: MSS, 812, f 172 (Pl. 72); Fineschi, 83.

Fourthly: Another anonymous Sasseti tomb was situated in this ambulatory or crypt as it ran roughly parallel to but under the transept, near the entrance to the Gesù Pellegrino confraternity's chapel: MSS, 812, f 172, showing it further west than it really was

according to Fineschi's description, 93-94 (Pl. 72); MSS, 625, pt II, p 731 no 277. It lay some distance from the vault directly under the cappella maggiore itself, which was a chapel in its own right possessed by the Alfieri in 1363 and, intriguingly, dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis according to Fineschi. Warburg, Rinascita, 228 n 1 only notes two Sassetti tombs including this one. Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 289, 306 n 1 and Borsook, Mural Painters, 117 identify Francesco's "family burial plot" as this one, implicitly believing it lay closer to the St. Francis chapel than Fineschi or MSS, 812, f 172 (Pl. 72) would allow. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 13 and n 23 use Rosselli's misleading description to claim that it was "near the entrance to a room used by a religious confraternity, the Compagnia del Pellegrino, built by the Alfieri family which happened to be directly beneath the main chapel."

Fifthly: An avello of Azzo Sassetti (c 1250-70) and descendants stood against the east wall in the old cemetery: MSS, 625, pt II, p 768 no 650; MSS, 626, f 64v; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 117r; Fineschi, 65. The later Francesco only named Soldo's tomb and this avello, singling out the latter as being for "tutti li Sassetti" and claiming it was the only one in the wall in marble although no sepoltuario noted this: Lettere, xxii-xxiii. Given the medium this may be "our marble tomb" which was the more correct Sassetti burial plot according to Paolo (n 58).

82. Warburg, Rinascita, 228; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 24. On p 13 they concur on the lack of internal burial sites but instead place Francesco's intended tomb in the crypt under the high altar. The later Sassetti also mentioned "marmo" (n 81) and specifically connected the avello with Francesco. The will of Francesco's brother Bartolommeo in 1479 stipulated burial in just this marble tomb: "jn Cimiterio ecclesie sancte Marie Novelle ..., situm et positum versus plateam veterem, jn sepulchro marmoreo maiorum suorum" (NA, V 297, ff 143r-146v). Bartolomeo's second testament in 1482 again located it "nel cimiterio verso la piazza Vecchia jnella sepultura di marmo de' nostrj passati" (NA, A 381, ff 4v-8v).

83. Warburg, Rinascita, 228-29. His son Teodoro died in Lyons before 12 May 1479, on which day he baptised a new born son with the same name: Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 289, 306 n 14; History and Legend, Doc 7. It has been very plausibly argued that the change in the programme, which led to the insertion of St. Francis Resurrecting a Notary's Son, was brought about by Teodoro's death and then symbolic rebirth in the new-born infant: "Storia," 289f; History, 15, 18-19, 28, 37). The Florentine practice whereby nomenclature could "remake" a dead relative, not mentioned by Borsook and Offerhaus, gives further weight to their interpretation (see Ch 2 n 212). The chapel's emphasis on resurrection further suggests its key function as a burial site. Warburg, 225 noted Francesco's desire to be buried at S. Trinita but made little of it, not mentioning Tommaso or the tombs at all.

84. Warburg, Rinascita, 228; Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 24. Only the tombs of Francesco and his wife are discussed in the literature. A round marble slab set into the floor is not given a date or discussed. Furthermore, a now empty niche behind the altarpiece (Borsook and Offerhaus, Pl 65) may have held the "vaso della sepoltura," or Tommaso's "sepultura di marmo" removed from S.Maria Novella (text at n 78), in which case this tomb behind an

altar would be a precedent for Filippo Strozzi's arrangement in S. Maria Novella, seen as an unusual act of "meglomania" by D. Friedman, "The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in Florence," L'Arte 9 (1970):108-31. Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 307-08, fig 106, independently realised that the "shallow compartment" may have been intended as a "burial chamber." Any such "burial" at S. Trinita might not be recorded in sepoltuari because it was rather invisible behind the altarpiece and was a relocation of bones rather than a burial.

85. The "paramenti" were mentioned in the dowry agreement of 1487 (n 75), but we do not know if they were commissioned.

86. The dowry agreement (n 75), later reported in Conv Soppr, 89, 135, ff 26r-27r, 99r-99v (briefly quoted in Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, Doc 25 and Doc 27 reports also on the annual cleaning).

87. Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, unnumbered folio; for Giovanni and 1491 and his funeral in 1497 see n 124 here and Ch 3 nn 159, 206.

88. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r. For the changes to the programme see Ch 6 n 2; for the rivalry between Francesco and Giovanni, esp Ch 3 n 104; for the installation of the altarpiece by May 1494, n 146 below; for Francesco's illness and death, de Roover, Medici Bank, 363. Work may have commenced on the frame by late Dec 1491: n 149 below. Francesco's sons (one of whom, Federico, may be portrayed in the Zacharias fresco: Ch 7 n 31) seem to have allowed the Sassetti claim to lapse.

89. CS, Ser III, 233, ff 391v-392r.

90. Francesco cited at n 67 above; the Baldesi case in F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 60 n 7, 63 at n 3 stressing the "friars' active role." For 1448 see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 282-83; Orlandi, Antonino, II:308-10 and Necrologio, I:168, II:258-59. Arme and their placement were the basis of Minerbetti claims but their location in an arch nearby was not considered adequately adjacent to be accepted as proof.

In the 1480s Filippo Strozzi's rights to a chapel were described as "padronagio e altre alturità": Borsook, "S. Maria Novella," 801 docs 20, 21. In 1600 a chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome, was conceded "con facoltà et autorità" to the patron: D. Mahon, "Egregius in Urbe Pictor: Caravaggio Revised," BM 93 (1951):226 n 33.

Francesco's heritage within Florence could not have given him the support and power available to the Tornabuoni either. The Sassetti were not politically or financially strong before Francesco's managerial position in the Medici Bank (and for his troubles there see Ch 3 nn 104, 140). They were on the losing Ghibelline side (Compagni, Cronica, 140); only one man reached the Gonfalonierate, in 1524, while Francesco was a prior in 1469 (CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum); they were not powerful in their quarter (D. Kent, "Florentine reggimento," 638); they were modest money-lenders in the Trecento (Brucker, Florentine Politics, 22; Jones, "Florentine Families," 184-85). Nevertheless Francesco proudly believed "la nostra famiglia esser nobile et vetusta, venuta anticamente dalla Sassetta, castello in maremma di Pisa" (quoted by Sassetti, Lettere, xx; probably the reason for the view of Pisa in the Stigmatization fresco). The stress he and his

descendant placed on the altarpiece as a sign of "nostra antichità" (n 67) has additional emotional and social meaning against the actuality of his family's history.

91. Del Migliore's copy in BNF, Magl, XXV, 404, pp 229-39, esp 237. Mariani's Priorista of 1718 knew of the "antica Chiesetta" and mentioned the burial rights consequently given to them: MSS, 248, vol I, ff 113v-114r. In 1749 Manni, 125 repeated this assertion, then quoted without comment by Richa, 9 in 1755. Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 103 knew the claim in 1754, as did a late, undated Rucellai Priorista (BNF, Manoscritti Passerini, 192 no 16, p 1).

92. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r. Five of the nine friars were educated magistri and they included the current prior, Mariano Vernacci (Orlandi, Necrologio, II:608). Churchmen seemingly buried in or near the nave choir include Fra Passavanti, Fra Leonardo Dati, Beato Giovanni da Salerno and Bishop Iacopo Altoviti (Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 117, 121, 125, 128). In 1436 a Cardinal was "seppellito in la cappella maggiore": Corazza, "Diario," 292. For the burial of Dominicans near the choir or high altar see Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 57, 113, 132-39, 169ff.

93. Conv Soppr, 102, 106, I, no 11, ff 68r-72r; Ch 3 n 190 for his grandmother's tomb in Rome.

94. For the Bardi and a transept chapel in 1336 see n 27. When Mico Guidalotti died in 1355 he was buried either in front of or behind the altar in the capitolo, for the decoration of which he had paid: Borsook, Mural Painters, 48, 52 n 5. Both the altar under Masaccio's Trinity and Filippo Strozzi's chapel are special cases of burial near an altar: Borsook, 124.

95. J. Clearfield, "The Tomb of Cosimo de' Medici in San Lorenzo," Rutgers Art Review 2 (1981):29 claims that "in Tuscany there are few examples, before Cosimo, of private citizens buried in proximity to the high altar" yet her n 74 cites 3 Tuscan exceptions incl Castello Quaratesi, chief patron of San Salvatore al Monte, after his will of 1465, and Francesco Datini in S. Francesco, Prato (also a generous patron of that site: Origo, Merchant of Prato, 344-45). Citing evidence only from countries beyond Italy, A.M. Schulz has suggested recently that Cosimo's tomb was placed in the usual position for the founder of a church, "a disposition that has seemed till now an unqualified expression of the hubris of a Renaissance ruler": AB 62 (1980):319. Other Tuscan examples include the 1355 Guidalotti tomb of the patron in S.Maria Novella's capitolo (n 94); the Alberti, as ancient donors with certain rights over the cappella maggiore of S.Croce, buried below the steps of that altar (B. Cole, Agnolo Gaddi [Oxford, 1976], 21ff, 80; Hall, Renovation, 171-73); the tomb of the original founders of SS. Annunziata, the Falconieri, allowed to remain "nella cappella maggiore" by S. Antonino in 1456 (B. Brown, "SS. Annunziata," 16, 20, 64f, 298; Teubner, "Langhaus der SS. Annunziata," 50-51, Docs V, VII, XI); the Frescobaldi chapel and sepulchre at S. Spirito "ad pedem altaris maioris sive iuxta altare maius" by 1420 (M. Bori, "L'Annunziazione di Piero del Donzello in una cappella Frescobaldi...", Rivista d'Arte IV [1906]:117); Filippo Strozzi in 1478 planning to bury his brother in the chapel he had founded at Lecceto, a "luogho non meno honorato, stando dinanzi alla capella maggiore" (Borsook, "Lecceto," 3, Doc 19).

96. Hall, Renovation, 168. Lapini, Diario, 146, 152 notes that the altar was moved forward by "circa a 6 braccia." For a plan of the church as it appeared in 1724, which does not indicate the position of tombs, see N.M. Venuti, Esequie di Luigi I. Cattolico che delle Spagne celebrate in Firenze nella Chiesa di S. Maria Novella... (Florence, 1724), Pl 2 (now in Hall, Pl 1).

97. For Strozzi's provisional burial see Borsook, "S.Maria Novella," 742 and n 48; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 53, 119, 304, 307. No tomb slab survives at Giovanni's resting place of 1566 nor elsewhere.

98. MSS, 626, f 47v; MSS, 812, f 126 (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 100v which notes that only the arms and not the lettering survived. The tomb of Niccolò di Pagnozzo Cardinali and descendants, with arme, is recorded in the nave "dallo scaglione di mezzo la Chiesa alla porta" to the choir by Delizie IX:228 and Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 59r.

99. MSS, 625, pt II, p 702; MSS, 626, f 45r; MSS, 812, f 126 (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 95r; text at n 109 below. It is now positioned, still on the left side, in a straight row of marble slabs leading from the cappella maggiore's steps to the first pillar, second from the steps on the innermost side ahead of the Tornaquinci slab (n 100). This is probably the tomb of Filippo di Messer Simone "de Tornaquincis sive de Tornabuonis" buried in Nov 1402: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 178; Delizie IX:198. For masses he instituted see n 116 no 5 below.

100. MSS, 625, pt II, p 700 no 89; MSS, 812, f 126 (Pl. 71 here); Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 88v. The arme have been missing since at least 1976. On a Tornaquinci avello in the facade see Ch 4 n 144.

101. Drawn from the convent's burial records as published in Delizie IX:123ff and Calzolari, "Libro dei morti." In the computation women, wives and children were counted separately and the highest number derived from either source was used. Although the documents are fragmentary, their randomness is likely to affect each family equally. Naturally these figures indicate a family's overall size and hence strength as much as its particular interest in S.Maria Novella. The Sassetti are usually quite low, numbering 16 at the highest in the period 1350-1400. The Ricci numbers halve from 1400 onwards. The Tornaquinci burials drop for a time in the early Quattrocento, as do those of the other two families, but once the Tornaquinci branches establish themselves, their deaths increase between 1450 and 1500, when the records are very incomplete: there were at least 6 Giachinotti burials, 15 Popoleschi ones, 5 for the Tornaquinci and 19 for the Tornabuoni. Over the same period only 2 Sassetti burials (1468 and 1479: nn 62, 72) and 12 Ricci burials are noted. The earliest burial listed in these sources for any of these families is a Ricci one in 1299, but for the 1275 will of Ricca, widow of Gianni Tornaquinci, requesting burial at the convent see Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 153-54. Her daughter Tessa elected thus in 1300 or 1301: Delizie IX:119.

102. MSS, 625, pt II, p 733 no 293; MSS, 626, ff 35v, 62r; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 154r; Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):175; Fineschi, Cimitero, 98-99; Memorie Istoriche, 129; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:265,

532; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 99, 109, plan opp 76. Its decoration included "antiche Pitture" illustrating the life of St. Benedict and an Ecco homo "sculpto in pietra di antica": Fineschi, Cimitero, 98. The sculpture may still survive: Lunardi, S.Maria Novella, 91, who dates it "fine del XV secolo."

103. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:413, 446; see n 183 below.

104. Fineschi, Cimitero, 98-99 quotes an inscription; see text at n 87 for 1481, n 123 for 1484. Giovanni Tornabuoni's dowry arrangement of 1487 (NA, S 536, ff 103r-104r) mentions candelabra "supra altare ... [sic]" and "super sepulcrum dicti Iohannis" which might refer to this site before his more ambitious plans for burial in the cappella maggiore were laid down in his will of 1490. He may have commissioned the Ecco homo work (n 102).

105. Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):45, 56-57; Höger, Familienkapelle, 74, 159 n 192, 165 n 213, 172 n 238, 178 n 279; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:335, 456, II:399-400, 424-25; Richa, 69-70; Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," 142, 149-53, 159; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 125-26, 132-33. Meiss, Black Death, 175-76, fig 63 associates Andrea di Firenze's polyptych in the National Gallery, London with this chapel (see also M. Davies, London, 14-15).

106. Biscioni's Sepoltuario, MSS, 626, addition, f 40r. Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):56 gives 1318, presumably a slip of the pen because the chapel was not ceded until 1325. Passavanti's mother Cecca or Francesca died in 1345: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 137. Sometimes the chapel was called the St. Lucy chapel and in 1346 Passavanti paid 20 florins for feasts of Sts Jerome, Cecilia and Lucy: Orlandi, Necrologio, I:452.

107. Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered insert.

108. Fineschi, Forestiero, 29; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 60. One of Guardina's relatives later provided a mass for St. Luke in the high chapel, which may also indicate a link between the two altars (Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered insert, under Oct: "A di 17 per Tomaso Guardi una messa solenna di san Luca et all'altar maggiore").

109. NA, M 237, f 193r; nn 99, 116 no 5 here.

110. Orlandi, Necrologio, I:530 n 25; also in part or with minor variations in CS, Ser II, 135, f 21r and Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 58 n 144.

Fineschi, Cimitero, 100 claims it was dedicated to SS. Filippo and Giacomo, followed by Calzolari, Lunardi, S.Maria Novella, 92, Orlandi, I:529-30 and Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 86. Information is also drawn from Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 181r-181v; Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):175, XII (1915-16):393; Delizie IX:239; Fineschi, xxiv, 100-01; Orlandi, I:529-30, II:409; Richa, 106; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 86-87.

From 1415 it was often the meeting place for confraternities, beginning with the Innocenti until 1466: Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr, 719, f 3r; Biliotti, XII (1915-16):393; Fineschi, xxiv; Richa, 106.

111. The tomb slab reads "Hic iacet Philippus, & Nerius q. de Tornaquincis, et Fil. q. Domini Marabottini, et Ghini, et Pieri q.

Bernardi de Tornaquincis": Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, ff 181r; Fineschi, Cimitero, 101. Their burial dates include:

Filippo and Neri: 1348 (on the same day)

Niccolò di Ghino: 1373 "cum habitu Ordinis et honorife"

Tomaso di Piero: 1377 "cum habitu"

Zanobi di Marabottino: 1387 "cum habitu Ordinis"

(Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 106, 161, 187, 123).

112. For the Popoleschi arms see Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 181v, which must date after 1364 when Niccolò di Ghino was the first to take the Popoleschi name (Ch 3 n 30). For the other arms see also Delizie IX:239; Fineschi, Cimitero, 100-01; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 86-87.

113. de Pierro, (cited in n 21 above), 4-5; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:466, II:409 n 2, 439-40. He set aside 2 florins each year for the S. Iacopo mass and 4 to a mass on St. Jerome's day. According to Fineschi, Cimitero, 101 the semi-ruined altarpiece depicted SS. Filippo, Giacomo [ie Iacopo], Domenico and Girolamo (see also Orlandi, II:39 n 25).

114. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:409 cites a mass for these saints on 1 May funded by Matteo and Niccolò. He claims the money came from Fra Pssavanti but the document of 1360 (n 113 above) only names Matteo and is for a Iacopo mass alone in July.

115. Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):175 gives Sandra's name thus, saying she was Neri Spini's widow, while the 16th century record of the "rinovale" calls her Sandra Spini: Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered insert. For the catasto reports see Ch 4 n 30.

116. Other examples not mentioned in the main text include:

(1) The 1275 will of Ricca, Gianni Tornaquinci's widow, left 10 lire to the friars and 50 lire to the prior "pro restitutione usurarum": Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 153-54.

(2) Around 1309-11 Geri di Cardinale Tornaquinci left his funeral cloths to S.Maria Novella: Orlandi, Necrologio, I:311-12.

(3) The 1362 will of Tommaso di Sandro Tornaquinci made his universal heirs the Laudi confraternity, with some money set aside for alms: Orlandi, I:563, 578-79.

(4) In 1392 Niccolò Tornaquinci gave 50 florins towards the expenses of the Provincial Chapter when it met at S.Maria Novella: Orlandi, II:544.

(5) On the Mercato Vecchio shop which endowed masses for the "anticessori" of Filippo di Filippo Tornabuoni's descendants see Ch 4 n 29. Three masses in the 16th century review (no 8 below) may refer to this perpetual bequest: firstly, "un' rinovale con tanta cera" for Filippo's father Simone on 3 Dec (the day he died in 1393: Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 179), although this is more probably the result of Giovanni Tornabuoni's dowry established in 1487 (n 121 below). Secondly, in Oct "un' rinovale el dì di San Simone" for Simone and Filippo Tornaquinci, who are however these same father and son from the new Tornabuoni line; their burials at S.Maria Novella in 1393 and 1402 refer to them by both surnames (Calzolari, 178-79). Thirdly, a more frequent mass had been left by a will for "Filippo Tornaquinci e suoi con rinovale."

(6) For Francesco di Nofri Tornabuoni's will in 1525 regarding S. Maria Novella and including sung masses for 40 years see actions of

1560 and 1584: Acquisti e Doni, 274, filza 1, nos 3 and 15. Friars Biliotti and Girolamo Ricci were both present at the latter meeting. (7) On 24 July 1487 Nofri Tornabuoni paid 1 lire 4 soldi "per libbre dua tra candele e falcole pella festa della Visitazione": Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 43r.

(8) A 16th century summary of the convent's obligations over masses listed many for the Tornaquinci consorteria: Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered and unfoliated insert. Other than those for Giovanni Tornabuoni and his immediate relatives (Ch 3 nn 183, 191-96, 206), Sandra Spini (n 115 above), Leonardo Tornabuoni (n 117) and Filippo's family (no 5 above), they included:

April: Niccolò di Francesco Tornabuoni, "un' rinnovato con cera" (his mortorio was conducted in Feb 1481: Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 16r), which resulted from the dowry left to the confraternity of St. Peter Martyr by his brother Giovanni (n 121).

July: Mona Simona Tornaquinci, from a testamentary legacy to the convent, "un' rinnovato."

Sept: Mona Regnola Tornaquinci, the same, on the Octave of the Virgin's Birth.

Sept: Messer Dego Tornaquinci (buried 31 March 1366: Calzolai, 67).

More regularly, for "Piero Tornaquinci e suoi un' rinovala con cera."

117. NA, A 300 ff 336r-337v; Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered insert.

118. Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, ff 32r, 40r, 43v, 108v, 112v, these last two being for a St. Gregory mass as well in 1486 and 1487. Her death is recorded in Delizie IX:207 and 6 lire 3 soldi were spent for wax at her funeral (cf 1 lire for a Sassetti girl in 1479: n 72, or nearly 5 lire for Ghirlandaio's wife: n 189).

119. See Ch 4 n 106 for the friars; nn 112f there for confraternities. Girolamo Giachinotti often conveyed the rental payments of a woman to S. Maria Novella through 1482-85: Conv Soppr, 102, 46, ff 6v, 7r-7v.

120. Fineschi, Memorie Istoriche, 318-19; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:501. The operai of 1422 were the first such committee of seculars at S. Maria Novella: Goldthwaite, Building, 90-91. For 1488 see Borsook, "S. Maria Novella," 800 doc 10. See Ch 3 n 126 for Francesca's tomb; Ch 4 n 119 for the chaplain.

121. For the regular masses from 1480 see Ch 3 esp nn 183, 191-96, 206, 207. The dowry was established on 18 Feb 1487 (NA, S 536, ff 103r-104r) and reported in Dec Rep, 25, f 607r (1495). It does not mention masses of course for young Lodovica nor for Giovanna Albizzi, newly married and pregnant for the first time. It establishes anniversary masses for his grandfather Simone (3 Dec: see n 116 no 5 here), brother Niccolò (9 April: n 116 no 8), father Francesco (1 Feb: Ch 3 n 194), mother Nanna (6 Nov: Ch 3 n 194), brother Alfonso (9 Jan: very little is known about him: see Ch 3 n 67, Ch 4 n 9; he had no wife or children to care for his commemoration), wife Francesca (23 Sept: Ch 3 n 191), Giovanni's birth day saint, S. Tommaso (Ch 3 n 192) and two masses every day for "omnium defunctorum" of Giovanni's (Ch 3 n 206). For the provisions of his will in 1490 see Ch 3 n 192.

122. All references are from Conv Soppr, 102, App 84:

folio	year	Giovanni Tornabuoni's purchase	Francesco Sassetti's
5v	1480	5 lbs (with Iacopo Villani)	2 lbs

10r	1481	6 lbs	2 lbs
18v	1483	not known	1 lb 9 on
22v	1484	4 lbs	2 lbs
26v	1485	4 lbs	2 lbs
31r	1486	5 lbs	he appears no more
36v	1487	2 lbs 6 on (Lorenzo actually paid)	
40r	1488	5 lbs	

123. See text at n 87 for 1481. In 1484 on the day of morti Giovanni purchased 4 libbre "di chandele per l'altare e per la sepoltura de' mor' loro" but the placement of Francesco's 2 libbre is not specified at all. A joint listing amounting to 21 libbre in 1485 reveals that both men contributed to the friars' morti. In Nov 1493 Giovanni paid the normal amount for his morti. In the same month, without any donor being named, it is stated that 20 libbre were put on the high altar, which indicates that the area was in use, possibly for the friars' morti again, given the amount, date and location (Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, ff 22v, others not known).

124. Conv Soppr, 102, App 86, ad datum (2 Nov 1491). I do not know whether this was for the morti of the friars or his family.

125. See Ch 3 at n 196. These may have been in the St. Benedict chapel (n 104), but the word "chapel" is not elsewhere used of that site and it is possible that these October masses occurred in the cappella maggiore. For Corazza, "nella cappella" meant at the high altar: nn 156, 183 here. That services were possible at the altar there in 1489 despite Ghirlandaio's scaffolding is suggested by a payment on 10 July to the sacristan regarding "una lampana per l'altar maggiore" and one on 22 Dec to Giovanni da Bruscoli "per parte di cera bianca lavorata in cerotti per l'altar maggiore": Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 66v, 70v.

126. One record for 1497 suggests the convent may have contributed to the expenses, as it comes from the expenditure side of their accounts: "All' onoranza di Giovannj Tornabuonj, adì 19 d'aprile, £ tre, s. sedici, d. 8; sono per più spese fatte in chiesa come appare alle Ricordanze segnate 'V' a carta 29 --- £ 3 s.16 d.8": Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 124r. App 86, ad datum notes various wax purchases: for his "morturio" on 7 April, 9 lbs 6 on; for his "onoranza" on 19 Apr a high 51 lbs, although it is later recorded as 53 lbs placed on the high altar of which only 8 lbs 6 on were burnt; on 22 Apr a further 3 lbs were placed "sopra all'altare maggiore" for Giovanni; on 16 Apr someone paid for a mass for the three dead Tornabuoni, Giovanni, Lorenzo and his wife Giovanna Albizzi but no location is mentioned for the 3lbs 6 on of wax.

127. NA, C 183, booklet 15 (1476-89), ff 19r, 20v (other offices mentioned here are also on these folios). Elected on 8 Aug, he took up the post on 1 Sept 1486. For the consecration on 1 Sept 1420 see Ch 6 n 74. On Carducci's activities see Cagni, Vespasiano, 200-03 and Vespasiano, Le Vite, II:449-52.

128. The purchase of 203 libbre for an unspecified purpose is in Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, after f 61v; he actually made payment on 7 Oct 1486: 75 lire "per libbre dugento tre di torchi alla cortigiana" (App 16, f 39v).

129. NA, M 237, f 192v (Oct 1486); NA, S 536, ff 103r-104r (18 Feb 1487). For the shop see Ch 3 n 68, Ch 4 n 31.

Worth 400 florins, the shop "jn conventu sancti Martini" returned an annual rent of 20 florins. Filippo Strozzi's dowry to his chapel in 1486 was part of a shop valued at 250 florins di suggello, though his "gift" was to buy that shop from the convent, ceding 14 florins p.a. in rent to the friars as their yearly income which paid for three masses every week in perpetuity for Filippo and his successors and a solemn, sung mass once a year on S. Filippo's feastday (Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 106). Giovanni's donation to the confraternity was more generous, enabling a wider range of masses (n 121) and, perhaps, certain decoration and maintenance expenses, although these are not specified in the document. The best indication we have of how Giovanni's money for the chapel was deposited (n 179) hints at a link with the confraternity.

130. NA, M 237, f 159v (the contract); Ch 6 at nn 89-90 for the images.

131. On the confraternity see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 282 n 210; Hatfield, Botticelli, 16, 25; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:754ff for all confraternities dedicated to St. Peter Martyr, 934ff for those dedicated to the Virgin, esp 773, 1041, 1092; G.M. Monti, Le Confraternite medievali dell' Alta e Media Italia (Venice, 1927), II:155-57; Orlandi, Necrologio, passim; Ricozzi, "Necrologio," 228; White, Duccio, 32f, 185-87. S. Orlandi, "Il VII centenario della predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze (1245-1945)," Memorie Domenicane 63, n.s., 21 (1946):26-41, 59-87 and 64, n.s., 22 (1947):31-48, 109-36, 170-211 is not available to me but references to it suggest that it does not pay much attention to the later Quattrocento. For the bequests see Ch 4 n 31; n 116 no 3 here.

132. Hatfield, Botticelli, 16 is quoted here; see also Orlandi, Necrologio, I:322, 639. The confraternity was involved with administering monies relegated for the facade by Palla Strozzi and Giovanni Rucellai: F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 50 n 6, 60 n 7, 64.

133. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:1092; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:576. One example is Fra Silvestro Francesco when one of its syndics in 1467 commissioning a new reliquary: Orlandi, II:299, 502; G. Poggi, "Il Reliquiario di S. Pietro Martire ...," Rivista d'Arte I (1903):69. Already in 1382 the "compagnia delle Laudi" itself had appointed "un Correttore Frate" without whom no decision could be made: Orlandi, II:538.

134. Orlandi, Necrologio, II:403-04, quoting Borghigiani; Fineschi, Forestiero, 49 says it was moved in 1572; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 120. Images of the newly canonised Peter Martyr were allowed in Dominican sites by their Chapter General of 1254: MOPH, III:70.

Members met in the rightmost chapel of the transept until the friars and not the laudesi transferred it to the Bardi family in 1355: Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," 153-55 who corrects Wood Brown, 127.

135. Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 306-08 n 177; Cole, Giotto, 10, 17-18, 40-43, 179-80 nn 1-2; A. Martindale, The Complete Paintings of Giotto (New York, 1966), 95-96, Pl I; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:314-15 n

27; Vasari-Milanesi I:394 and n 4; White, Duccio, 33. Cole, 179-80 n 2 reports that in the eighteenth century Manni noted a document from the convent "stating that Giotto finished a cross in 1312." Hence Cole believes the 1312 bequest was for another, probably smaller, work recently finished rather than for the large, still-surviving crucifix of the 1290s. However if Manni is incorrect or merely meant by 1312 there is no need to create a second, lost work. Ghiberti and others only mention one work.

136. For his feast day see Conv Soppr, 102, App 19 passim and Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:1102; Conv Soppr, 102, 106, unnumbered for 1462.

137. It was "pro parte prioris, canonicorum et capituli Sci. Laurentii" that official permission for that church's extension was requested and received from the government in 1418, although the Medici soon led the thrust of new building "con degli altrj del popolo." See Gaye, Carteggio, I:546 (22 Dec 1418); A. Manetti, The Life of Brunelleschi, ed H. Saalman (University Park, Penn., 1970), 105 and 103 also attributes the moves of 1418 to the "popolanj" with the prior appointed "capo maestro."

Medici pre-eminence waned during their exile in 1433-34 although a meeting of the prior, canons and certain "persone, devoti dicte ecclesie" on 3 June 1434 decided on the form of the new structure in a way which may reflect the influence of the absent Medici. See J. Ruda, "A 1434 Building Programme for San Lorenzo in Florence," BM 120 (1978):358, 361 for the document, then discussed by H. Saalman, "San Lorenzo: the 1434 Chapel Project," 361-64 who claims without evidence that the move was made by people "outside the Medici circle." Yet only the clerics are named in the document, one of whom came from the Medicean Spinelli family (D.Kent, Rise, 76; de Roover, Medici Bank, passim). Furthermore, the window in Giovanni de' Medici's chapel was cited specifically as a model for the design. The Medici and their friends were actively seeking their return and by June may have scented the good fortune which eventuated in early Sept.

Only on 20 Nov 1440 was the issue re-opened, when the church's prior obtained permission from the gonfalone to seek any patron who might complete the "majori cappella": Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, 312; Manetti, 148 n 143. Cosimo did not attend this meeting, perhaps wishing to keep a low profile, and this public occasion appeared, as in 1418, to be one where the parish and prior acted communally for their church.

Less than a fortnight later Cosimo began his run for official patronage, using means similar to those later employed by Giovanni Tornabuoni, giving S.Lorenzo property worth about 400 florins on 2 Dec: Molho, "Cosimo," 28 n 53.

During 1441 Cosimo opened a quarry "per fare e bozare priete a conducierne una parte di San lorenzo," but not until 13 Aug 1442 did he attend a meeting of the chapter and parishioners to publicly declare his committment and see it accepted by 63 neighbours, friends and canons who doubtlessly had long known of his intentions and activities: I. Hyman, "Notes and Speculations on S. Lorenzo, ..." JSAH 34 (1975):98 and nn 1-5; D. Kent, Rise, 71; Manetti, 146 n 133. The meeting granted him "potere murare Ta cappella maggiore" and he made a further and prompt committment in Sept, depositing 40,000 florins in the Monte for the "muraglia" of S. Lorenzo: P. Rosselli and O. Superchi, L'Edificazione della Basilica di San Lorenzo (Florence, 1980), 23, 35-36, 87-93.

138. The contract signed with the Ghirlandaio brothers in Sept 1485 specified their commencement in May 1486 and the Tornaquinci were granted rights in Oct 1486. Patronage rights or a permit to build was only granted for the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal after a drawing had been shown: Hartt and Corti, Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 48. For an instance of 1523 where patronage was granted on condition that improvements be made, see Tonini (cited in Ch 2 n 47), 301-02.

139. Hatfield, Botticelli, 19-20, 23; for the Strozzi instance see nn 141, 142 below. According to Dominican statutes the conventual seal had to be set to documents such as contracts in the presence of the whole community: Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 109, 111. Such was the case in Oct 1486 when 45 friars were named in the document.

The thesis of Sheila McClure Ross (Ch 6 n 3) argues that Dominican power controlled Giovanni Tornabuoni's patronage and extracted "a series of concessions" from him: "Giovanni Tornabuoni and the Brothers of S.Maria Novella," Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, College Art Association of America Conference, New York, Feb 25-27, 1982, 45.

140. NA, B 398 (1468-72), ff 153r-154r (22 Feb 1469/70).

141. NA, M 237, ff 193r. For these paramenti see text at nn 173f. Embroideries may often have been the most lavish and crucial "proof" of an aspiring patron's good intentions. Both Sasseti and Tornabuoni had donated these before they were legally given rights. Such may have been the case for Giovanni Rucellai too: Zibaldone, 118, 121.

At S. Maria a Ughi, Filippo Strozzi installed two glass windows after Nov 1472 but before he obtained the jus patronatus to the main altar: Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 20-21, 512-13. He again supplied a stained glass window with his arms at S. Maria Novella in 1481-83, before obtaining rights to a chapel (Borsook, "S.Maria Novella," 730, 800), while his main activity and expense after acquiring those rights in 1486 was the provision of clerical vestments (Borsook, 802, docs 31-39; Sale, 109, 134 n 24, 527 doc 48).

142. Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 100ff. The "financial insolvency" of the previous patrons occupied much of the document's attention. In Sale's words, it also noted that Filippo "customarily gave alms to the church every day for himself and for his descendents," so he too had begun concerted activity in the church together with the window commission (n 141). We now know that as early as 2 Feb 1484 the friars recognised his worth as a patron by including him in their Purification festa (text at Ch 6 n 6) and without knowing this Sale dates the negotiations for the chapel to early 1485. Although Filippo paid the 250 florins di suggello for "14/20 d'una bottega a uxo di legnaiuolo posta in Merchato Vechio," the rent from which endowed the chapel, on 3 July 1486, its consignment to that purpose was drawn up on 27 June (Borsook, "S.Maria Novella," 801 doc 21), a detail not noticed by Sale. Hence in a legal sense Filippo Strozzi also showed sufficient proof of his intentions before being granted patronage rights. Fra Giovanni Caroli acted as the convent's "procuratore e sindacho" on 27 June and he was much involved in the early stages of the Strozzi chapel, for which see Orlandi, Necrologio, II:339f, 513.

143. In the 19th century the altar's replacement was built "a spese

dei religiosi": Fantozzi, Pianta, 38. For the choir area in the Trecento see n 64. For payments by the convent for the sacristy and its furnishings see Haines, "Sacristy of S.Maria Novella," 591f, 596, 604 and n 96. Individual friars often made donations to the church (eg Fra Baro Sasseti, n 55; Fra Piero, n 150; Orlandi, Necrologio, passim, incl I:111, Tav XIX, II:290-91 n 7 for an especially large, embroidered altar cloth probably given by a friar in the Trecento).

144. Voragine, Golden Legend, 775; Antonino quoted by Clearfield (cited in n 95), 29. For S. Bernardino on the area see n 154. The most prestigious burial site was the choir where the eucharist was celebrated, the next most sought-after location was a chapel of the Virgin: P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (New York, 1981), 79-80. The Tornaquinci chapel was both.

145. See n 42. As late as 1492 Pierfrancesco Tosinchi was given Papal permission to restore S. Felice in Piazza, claimed to be "quasi deserta" (Diplomatico, Famiglia Ricci, 2 June 1492), although in 1494 it was in proud enough condition to be the site of a religious play welcoming Charles VIII (Landucci, Diario, 84).

146. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 103v. For conventual payments for the altarpiece before 1486 see n 69.

On Christmas eve 1490, only 2 days after the unveiling of the murals, the friars paid for minor work on the altar too. "Simone, scharpellatore," was paid 2 soldi "per levare 4 ferri del muro drieto all'atar [sic] maggiore," while "maestro Giovanni, muratore" received 10 soldi "per aconciatura della residentia dell'altar maggiore" (f 79r). Perhaps the unveiling ceremony had necessitated certain changes which were now removed or mended for Christmas, but no matter what the cause of these small payments they indicate that the friars were still in some part financially responsible for the altar. After the "tavolla nuova" is first mentioned in May 1494 not only the curtain (n 148) but also in 1495-98 the binding and illumination of a "mesale grande dell'altare maggiore" were paid for from the convent's coffers (f 109v; App 21, ff 105v, 107v). On 19 Oct 1487 they made the final payment for "uno libro di figurato," a "libro di chanto" (Conv Soppr, 102, 46, f 94v).

147. An intriguing glimpse of their censer and tabernacle comes from a final payment to the goldsmith Papino on 21 Nov 1483: "ch'e resto avere d'aconciatura d'una chupoletta d'uno terribile d'ariento e nettatura del giglio in su che si tene el corpo di Christo e saldatura d'una boccia d'esso giglio e factura d'una boccia di nuovo, ancora d'esso giglio, e facitura d'una vituzza a uno huovo di struzzolo" (Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 97r). Further repairs were needed on 17 Mar 1497 when Ubertino di Bartolomeo, orafo, was paid 1 lire 15 soldi "per saldatura di 3 gigli e una crocetta in sul tabernacolo del corpo di Christo e uno smalto d'una patena" (App 19, f 123r). This is another instance of the infamous ostrich egg (Meiss, Painter's Choice, 110-12), to which can be added also Brunetti, (cited in Ch 2 n 44), 232.

148. Repairs and accoutrements for the credenziera or for such things as an "armario" for the eucharist, in the sacristy books from at least 1486 to 1508, have been transcribed by Rab Hatfield.

The altar and its painting were too sacred for constant exposure so the friars provided it with a curtain. Within a year of the new

altarpiece's instalment they purchased materials for "la cortina dell'altare magore" and it was repaired in 1504: Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 109v, 118v; App 21, f 135r. Ruskin still had to "lift the curtain; and go in behind the grand marble altar" (Mornings in Florence [London, 1901], 24), although this altar was built in 1857 and the original curtain covered the painting rather than the chapel's access. On the Madonna from Impruneta and the Signoria itself both needing to be shielded from over-exposure see Trexler, "Sacred Image," 17, "Setting," n 36. In fact the curtaining of panels or chapels was quite a widespread practice: eg an altarpiece in Venice (n 160); Ghirlandaio's Innocenti altarpiece (Küppers, Tafelbilder, 89); Masaccio's Pisan polyptych (Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 32 no 8, 45 no 1, 48); Filippino Lippi's altarpiece in the Palazzo Vecchio chapel, much larger and richer than the one in S.Maria Novella, but in part supplied by the same draper's shop (Gaye, Carteggio, I:582); Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 135-36.

149. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 79r, 85v, 86r. Scholars attribute the entire frame of the altarpiece to this Baccio (Holst, "Ghirlandaio: L'Altare Maggiore," 36; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:381 n 10, quoting Borghigiani; Vasari-Milanesi V:350 n 3, 363; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 131) who did make an altarpiece frame for SS. Annunziata in 1500 (Vasari-Milanesi V:350n). Like the one in S. Maria Novella it was double-sided and, although now lost, a painted glimpse of it shows that it too used full-length classical columns and foliated capitals: Camesasca, Perugino, 109 no 100; C. Gilbert, "Peintres et menuisiers au debut de la Renaissance en Italie," Revue de l'art 37 (1977):19. Since the wood purchased on 30 Dec 1491 amounted to "braccia 24 di piane" this would suggest that the "residentialia" was no small tabernacle but the entire frame. As Gilbert has demonstrated, frames were usually finished before the painter went to work. For Baccio's work on a carrying box and the choir stalls in 1494 see n 167 and text at n 170. According to Holst, 40 n 8 and as implied by Vasari-Milanesi, Baccio received his final payment for the altarpiece's cornice in 1496.

150. In general see King, Liturgies of the Orders, 372-73. At S.Maria Novella payments were made for various iron holders, hinges, lamps or a "ruotta della lanpana dina[n]zi all'altare maggiore," extinguishers, poles for lighting, torches and sometimes their painting. The most expensive purchase in this area was "due paia di candellierj grandi pella cappella maggiore," costing 43 lire 5 soldi in July-Aug 1481. Made of wood, they were painted with "oro, colorj" and then affixed with the aid of iron: Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 86r-86v. For those at Pisa see Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 32 no 9, 45 no 2, 49, 55. Before he died in 1520 Fra Piero di Benedetto "detto il Rosso, fe fare per l'altare grande, quelli bellissimi e grandissimi candellieri di ottone," so at some stage the wooden ones had been replaced or supplemented: S. Razzi (OP) Cronica della provincia Romana dei frati predicatori, late 16th century, in Bib Laur, SM 873, f 29r. Most of Razzi's brief information derives from Vasari, the convent's Necrologio or other well known sources, but this particular note does not recur in Ricozzi, "Necrologio," 231. By 1586 the convent had paid over 700 lire for a lamp before the sacrament at the high altar, designed by Allori: Haines, "Sacristy of S.Maria Novella," 604 n 96.

151. NA, S 536, ff 103r-104r (1487); C 644, ff 47r-50r (1490); text at n 146 (1494). The post-1570 description of Benvenuti's bequest in

1462 mentioned "quattro candellierj dell'altare maggiore, che sono sopra la tavola lassù alto": n 136. Views of 1705 show two large candellieri on each side on top of Ghirlandaio's altarpiece: Holst, "Ghirlandaio: L'Altare Maggiore," figs 2, 9 (Pl. 40 here). The obsequies of Luigi I in 1724 saw many more candles on the altar and over the frame's top arch: Venuti, (cited in n 96), Pl 4.

152. Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 154; n 136 for the Benvenuti bequest; Ch 6 Section B for Purification; see Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 52-53.

153. Raised round studs in gold are still visible for instance in the borders' capitals in the lowest register of John's cycle, in the interior capitals and ceiling of the Birth of John, in the triumphal arch's capitals in the Zacharias scene, on the ribbing of at least four arches in the Expulsion of Joachim, on the costume of the rightmost elderly bystander in the Presentation of the Virgin, and in parts of the bordering frieze throughout in which the Tornabuoni device also constantly appears. In these cases Ghirlandaio would have applied gold to wax relief (pastiglia), as Filippo Lippi did at Prato (L.Tintori, "Conservazione, Tecnica e Restauro degli Affreschi," MittFlor 19 [1975]:figs 89, 91) and as Filippino Lippi was to do in the Strozzi chapel (Borsook, "S.Maria Novella," 125).

Fake but glistering tesserae are visible in the backgrounds to the triumphal arch's reliefs of the Zacharias scene, esp the adlocutio, also in the column bases on the right side of the Naming of John and in all framing pilasters on the first two levels of the Baptist's cycle.

Flat, applied gold is scattered through the Birth of John, on the bed's base, the door hanging, the leading visitor's dress and on the hem of the woman behind her. In the vaults it is most obvious for St. Luke, but all four Evangelists have thin gold rays of light filling and flowing over their blue surrounds.

Virtually all these observations concern the Baptist's cycle because the oculus in the transept which could illuminate Mary's cycle is now curtained. No doubt the altar in the Expulsion of Joachim or the costumes and furnishings in the Birth of the Virgin would reveal similar effects if sunlit.

154. On the tramezzo at S. Maria Novella see BNF, Conv Soppr, B.9.432, ff 32r-32v; Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):23, 41f; R. Diaccini, La Basilica di S.Maria Novella (Florence, 1920), 53; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:398f; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 66-67, 119f; Ch 2 nn 165-66; but esp Hall, "The Ponte in S.Maria Novella," and "The tramezzo in S.Croce."

One of Hall's claims has been that "the view of the priest at the high altar must have been almost entirely blocked" (Renovation, 2), yet Corazza's observations (n 155 below) and her own fig 4 tend to belie or at least soften this assertion. When the gates were open, such a view was possible through the 3 central arches and above these no chapels obstructed the view of the cappella maggiore's window, while the side walls of the chapel could be seen from oblique angles. The cappella maggiore of many churches was certainly accessible on a regular basis, as is suggested by S. Bernardino's recommendation that one should first "Go to a high altar when you enter a church, and adore it. First give due reverence to the body of Christ..." At a nunnery in 1591 the male confessor "saw through the grate" the nun's religious play: both cited in Trexler, Public Life, 55, 190. The

fresco of St. Francis at Greccio at Assisi has been cited by Hall and Trexler (n 156 below) as evidence for women being barred beyond the tramezzo, but even here at least 9 women could stand at the doorway and watch the play while many secular men mingle with singing friars inside the altar area. Manetti had personally viewed Brunelleschi's carved crucifix at S. Maria Novella "che è messo in mezo dalle due cappelle, che sono nella faccia della capella maggiore" (cited in n 137 above, 41).

155. Mostly drawn from Corazza, "Diario," 258-70, 287f, 298; see also Cambi in Delizie XX:142-43 (1418); Petribuoni in Fineschi, Cimitero, 35n (1418); an anonymous chronicle on 1434 in Fineschi, 45. In Easter 1426 Cardinal Orsini "dissa la Messa ... all'Altare Maggiore cantando et solenne officio fece": BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, f 128r.

156. See esp Corazza, "Diario," 262, 298; Ch 2 nn 165-66. One such event must have been typical: "fu una solenne e bella cosa. In quella chiesa fu tante gente, che fu quasi per affogare assai persone; e pure si feciono male alquante donne e omeni" (Corazza, 258). Unfortunately Corazza does not mention the tramezzo specifically here although the service itself was conducted "nella cappella," so it doesn't contribute either way to the currently popular notion that women were not allowed beyond the tramezzo (M. Hall, "The Italian rood screen: some implications for liturgy and function" in Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore, eds S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus [Florence, 1978], II:215 and n 4; Trexler, Public Life, 37, 117, 189).

That women like Guardina Guardi and her daughter could possess a transept chapel (n 105) tends to argue against such an idea. In 1946 Meersseman (cited in Ch 2 n 73), 163 said that the faithful were able to circulate past the sides of the enclosed choir and, with some evidence, he claimed that this included women. Sassetta, an acute observer of monastic habits and surroundings, painted The communion of a sacreligious converso at a high altar: behind the friars hooded women (nuns?) kneel ready for the eucharist, while secular men stand at the end of the queue (Carli, Sassetta, Pl 5). A Milanese painting of the late Quattrocento depicts secular men kneeling on one side of an high altar while women kneel on the right: M. Laclotte and E. Mognetti, Avignon. Musée du Petit Palais. Peinture Italienne (Paris, 1976), no 44. At least through the means of portraiture, Tornabuoni/Tornaquinci women were granted an eternal presence in their chapel behind the tramezzo.

For bustle and earthly activity in churches see Trexler, Public Life, 54. Here in S. Maria Novella too could gather "seven ladies ... sitting, more or less in a circle, in one part of the church, reciting their paternosters" waiting at a time of plague "to count the number of corpses being taken to burial, or to hear whether the friars ... chant their offices at the appropriate hours": Boccaccio, Decameron, trans G. McWilliam (Penguin, 1972), Day 1, 59. In June 1480 the "cappella di San Nicolò degli Acciaiuoli" at S. Maria Novella acted as a taxation office: B. Machiavelli, Libro di ricordi (Florence, 1954), 115-16.

157. On seeing the eucharist and hearing the mass see esp Arlotto, Facezie, 47-49, 104; Hall, (cited in n 156), 216-17; Trexler, Public Life, 56, 75, 112, 116-18; Ch 2 Section D i. The Dominican Fra Giovanni Caroli noted that there were two ways to take the eucharist: physically at mass or spiritually, through aural participation ("audire"): BNF, Magl, XL.9.46. f 116v.

158. Examples include Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 99r, 100r; Brunetti (cited in Ch 2 n 44), 232 for "38 paia d'aste per tenere e' torchi di diverse persone" at SS. Annunziata in 1439. For storage boxes see Haines, "Sacristy of S. Maria Novella," 593 and n 64; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:726-28.

159. Conv Soppr, 102, App 21, f 168v. In 1439 SS. Annunziata contained "una schala grande. Et una minore et due schaloni": Brunetti, (cited in Ch 2 n 44), 232.

160. P. Humfrey, "Cima da Conegliano, Sebastiano Mariani, and Alvise Vivarini at the East End of S. Giovanni in Bragora in Venice," AB 62 (1980):350-63. The setting of Cima's Baptism was "an important local precedent" for Titian's Assumption at the Frari. Ghirlandaio's Virgin in Glory would have been particularly appropriate too for such an arch-within-an-arch.

161. Vasari-Milanesi III:262; text at n 96 above.

Information from the sacristy books, sepoltuari and documents describing previous frames for Ghirlandaio's altarpieces were not used by Holst, "Ghirlandaio: L'Altare Maggiore," but further confirm the accuracy of the 1705 view of the altarpiece that he published (figs 2, 9; Pl. 40 here). Two pertinent comparisons are also large altarpieces, each placed on high altars and also showing the Virgin adored by saints. The first was the Virgin enthroned with Saints from the Gesuati church S.Giusto alle Mura, now in the Uffizi with the predella in various collections, finished by 6 June 1486 when its frame was cited as a model for the second, the Adoration of the Magi still in the Ospedale degli Innocenti and inscribed 1488. For these see L. Bellosi, Il Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti a Firenze (Milan, 1977), 234-35, Tav 53-66; G. Bruscoli, L'Adorazione dei Magi. Tavola di Domenico del Ghirlandaio nella Chiesa dello Spedale degli Innocenti (Florence, 1892); M. Davies, London, 218; Küppers, Tafelbilder, 87-89; Lauts, Ghirlandaio, Pls 32, 93, 97; Vasari-Milanesi III:257-58, 570.

The Gesuati frame included "dua agnoli che adorano," and a "tabernacolo per Corpo di Cristo, candellieri da lato, e 'l cornicione o con mensole" (Küppers, 87). The Innocenti frame, made by Giuliano da Sangallo and his brother, included gilded "pilastri, colonne, cornicione, tabernacolo del Chorpus domini, candelieri in sul cornicione e angioi e ogni altro adornamento" (Küppers, 88). The gilding of "due candelieri che stanno di sopra a detta tavole che fanno lume al Corpo di Cristo" (Küppers, 89) suggests that the tabernacle was above the altarpiece too, not on the altar itself, nor to one side of the chapel as was the usual position then (Caspary, "Kult ... der Eucharistie" [cited in Ch 2 n 150], esp 113ff; Humfrey [cited in n 160 above], 362 n 59).

The same innovation seems true of the Tornabuoni altarpiece where the tabernacle with the Ricci arme was "sotto un arco," "nella Sommità dell'Altare" (Vasari-Milanesi III:262; Carlo Strozzi in CS, Ser III, 233, ff 391v-392r; see also MSS, 625, pt II, p 679; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 24r; MSS, 812, ff 41v, 44v, 45r; these last two also note 4 Tornabuoni arme "su' le Cantonate della Tavola"). Caspary, 121 cites this as the first Florentine instance of such a placement, unaware of the Innocenti frame. Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 196 n 129 suggests that the tabernacle was "perhaps for the reserve of consecrated hosts."

A curtain and 4 candelieri at the "tavolla nuova" (nn 148, 151, text at n 146) in S. Maria Novella are also comparable with the Innocenti frame, but no angels adoring the Body of Christ are mentioned, nor are they visible in the 1705 engraving. Now in an "arco," the Corpus Christi is placed in an architectural setting where the frame's iconography alludes to a Triumphal Arch. Also lacking pilasters, this later frame is more plastic and architectonic, a free-standing, double-sided and broad structure with three-dimensional columns, its approximation to a triumphal arch reinforced by Ghirlandaio's painting within: the central arch alluded to by the Glory's composition, the standing saints at either side placed in illusionary niches. The frame's solid, restrained columns and impressive proportions suggest Baccio's later palaces and herald the rather austere classicism of the early 16th century. (Holst, 36, 38 does not comment on the frame's innovation in style or iconography). See Kurz (cited in Ch 2 n 150), for other less successful, less architectural attempts to integrate a tabernacle with an altarpiece, often by artists from the Verrocchio/Ghirlandaio circle.

162. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r; Ch 2 at nn 163f for the Corpus Christi celebrations there; n 161 here for the tabernacle's location.

163. Conv Soppr, 102, App 21, ff 105v, 107r, 126r. On 8 Dec 1499 "Francesco Agniolo" was paid for the lamp's "ruotta" (App 68, f 66v). For Baccio in 1491 see n 149. The genealogy in Vasari-Milanesi V:361 lists 4 sons of the legnaiuolo Agnolo: Baccio, Francesco, Raffaello and Giovanni.

164. The cantoria is now in London: Fineschi, Forestiero, 38; Pope-Hennessy, Victoria and Albert Museum, I:188-91. For the choir stalls see n 167.

165. See text at n 37. For many years the "Coro dei Conversi" lay in the west transept near the sacristy. See Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 12f; Hall, Renovation, 4 n 9; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:462-63, II:403-04; Wood Brown, S. Maria Novella, 60, 132. Since the sparse documents are unclear, it is possible the conversi only entered the cappella maggiore when the new stalls were provided, in which case the friars allowed Giovanni Tornabuoni to be associated with an important change to the church's space and the chapel's function. For the different offices sung or recited by the "monaci" and the "laici conversi" see Arlotto, Facezie, 170 and MOPH, III:87. For precedents of a choir behind the high altar, incl at the Dominican S. Marco, see B. Brown, "SS. Annunziata"; Clearfield, (cited in n 95), 26; Luchs, Cestello, 151 n 58 (Giuliano da Sangallo's work at Cestello in the early 1480s might be particularly influential).

166. Vasari's alterations included the provision of a private corridor leading from the dormitories to the high chapel because now the friars' choir also was placed here and without the tramezzo and choir screen another means of remaining cloistered had to be found: text at n 96.

167. Fineschi, Forestiero, 28 (quoted here). For the stalls see also Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore"; Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 94 n 25 who notes that the two figurative panels are the last such known to survive; Luchs, Cestello, 42, 120, 159 n 8; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:381-83, Tav XVI; Vasari-Milanesi V:350; Wood Brown,

S.Maria Novella, 131.

168. Vasari-Milanesi V:350. On the 2 pupils see esp Condivi, Michelangelo, 9-10 and Fahy, "Michelangelo." For the sketchbooks see Ch 3 n 117; for other associations between the 2 artists see n 161, Ch 7 nn 97-98.

169. Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 430f and N. Dacos, La Decouverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grotesque a la Renaissance (London, 1969), 61-62.

170. Landucci, Diario, 60 (quoted at Ch 3 n 156); NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r (Giovanni's will which indicates that the stalls had been begun by Mar 1490); Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 104r. For the banda see n 174. Two payments in July 1503 for material to cover or cushion the stalls noted they were for "la spalliera che ci donò Giovanni Tornabuonj": App 21, f 131r.

171. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 85v. For the inscription and arms see n 49. After charging his heirs to complete the frescoes and "spalliere lignee cum tarsia," Giovanni's will in Mar 1490 immediately moved to the new project of the window whose "modo et forma et prout videbitur dicto Laurentio" his son and heir who was to install later a window designed by Ghirlandaio in his Cestello chapel (n 172). The will stipulates that the old window is to be dismantled and sold towards part payment for the new one, with the "pacto et modo et condicione" that the friars say a mass "in perpetuum pro animabus illorum qui dictas fenestras veteres fecerunt et fieri fecerunt." The day is explicitly left to the convent's choice, which may suggest that whichever family originally made the window no longer existed and could not be consulted. Further, the "arma antiqua" of those who had made the old windows were to be included with Giovanni's arme on the new window. The original donors then (Ricci? Tornaquinci? an extinct branch of the Tornaquinci, possibly the Cardinali who had a tomb in the lower part of the church [n 98]?) were to be paid by masses and the continued presence of their arme, the only payment possible perhaps to unknown dead. Perhaps the "device" centrally below the Madonna del Neve scene (Pl. 31) and other central scenes in the window, rather like flames associated with the Holy Ghost, are those "ancient arms." Already in Sept 1485 Giovanni had had the power to order the Ghirlandaio brothers to close the chapel's oculus as one of their first tasks: NA, M 237, f 159v.

We do know that at least some money later entered the conventual coffers, when 3 braccia of the old window was sold for 18 lire on 7 Jan 1497: App 19, f 57v. When returned to the convent in Dec 1491 the glass was probably about to be used in the installation of the new window.

Still in place in Mar 1490, the old window had been dismantled by Dec 1491, which sits well with the "1491" inscription once in the new window. Installation may have progressed through the winter of 1491/92 (it is unlikely that the enormous space with the newly completed frescoes inside would have been left open to the elements for too long). An oculus nearly 4 metres in diameter designed by Donatello was installed in the Cathedral over just such a short period, Dec 1437 to Feb 1438: B. Bennett and D. Wilkins, Donatello (Oxford, 1984), 57.

The rest of the window's inscription recognised the skill and renown of the craftsman Sandro who executed the design, but stylistic

evidence consistent with the Tornabuoni glass at Cestello and Prato, also installed in the early 1490s by Sandro, would grant Domenico Ghirlandaio the design role at S.Maria Novella (n 172). It is probable that the choice of scenes to be inserted in the window, let alone their design rather than execution, had begun as early as 1488 when changes to the Virgin's fresco cycle might have taken the future window into account. In that year was executed the register with the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents scenes, which necessitated the transfer of the Virgin's Purification to the window: Ch 6 n 2. So the "modo et forma" to be seen to by Lorenzo according to the will had probably been established already between Ghirlandaio and Giovanni Tornabuoni.

172. Conv Soppr, 102, App 21, ff 129v (16 Jan 1504), 139v (6 Aug 1504), 145r (5 Sept 1505); App 68, f 71v (1508). On Sandro di Giovanni d'Andrea Agolandi see B. Kreplin in U. Thieme and F. Becker et.al., Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler (Leipzig, 1921), XIV:103. By July-Aug 1491 Sandro had also produced the Tornabuoni glass for Prato and the Cestello chapel: Morselli and Corti, S.Maria delle Carceri, 60, 70; Luchs, Cestello, 43-44, 116, 119 n 3, 159 n 8, 284, fig 6.

173. Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, ff 100v (10 Jan 1485), 102r (19 May 1485), 103r (July and 3 Aug 1485), 103v (5 Oct 1485). Fra Stefano Benincasa was prior from June 1483 to May 1485: Orlandi, Necrologio, I:193-94, II:320-24, 608. Scholar, scribe and possibly an illuminator, he played some role in the facade supplied by Giovanni Rucellai: F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 64-65. The situation seems comparable to arrangements for the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal where the abbot or prior was to tell the bank when to pay artists (for the possible bank involved here see n 179) and a friar also opened an account book for minor expenses associated with structural changes: Hartt and Corti, Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 52, 58, Doc 22.

174. Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):241; text at n 141 above. The banda and other vestments are now lost. Vasari-Milanesi III:323 only mentions Botticelli's "fregio della croce che portano a processione i Frati di Santa Maria Novella" in 1568 after his work there on the tramezzo had begun. See also Horne, Botticelli, 320-21. Botticelli's other work for embroideries is discussed by J. Balogh, "Botticelli-Zeichnungen für Stickereien," Acta Historiae Artium VI fasc 3-4 (1959):299-308 and A. Garzelli, Il ricamo nella attività artistica di Pollaiuolo, Botticelli, Bartolomeo di Giovanni (Florence, 1973). Several examples of a "benda tutta richamata ... a uso della dicta croce" were inventoried at SS. Annunziata in 1422: Casalini, (cited in Ch 2 n 37), 99, 101-02. For Lorenzo as a patron and giver of alms see Ch 3 at nn 171ff; for the device, Ch 6 n 94.

175. NA, C 644, ff 47r-50r.

176. Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, ff 104r-104v, 110v.

177. NA, A 300, ff 437r-437v (July 1495); see also nn 47, 51 here.

178. On 19 June 1495 the convent bought from "Francesco dipintore ... 5 regoli missi a oro fine per la banda della croce": Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 110r. On 22 May 1500 over 22 lire were paid out to various

artisans for the banda's lining and finishings: App 21, f 117v. Nevertheless the "resto" had been paid out in 1498 (n 179), so this later payment may either be at the friars' own expense or the utilisation of an account still administered on behalf of Giovanni and Lorenzo, who had both died in 1497.

179. Conv Soppr, 102, App 21, f 85r (1498); App 16, f 103v (1485). The Benintendi had a chapel at S. Maria Novella and one of their revered ancestors, Beata Villana, was buried at another: Orlandi, Necrologio, passim, esp II:402. In 1486 the convent received "Da messo di nichold di benintendj ... 80 soldi di fitto d'uno podoe [podere?]": Conv Soppr, 102, 46, f 9r. "Francesco Scharfi" or Francesco di Martino dello Scarfa was the son of a banker much used by the confraternity of St. Peter Martyr: D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, passim; G. Poggi, "Il Reliquario di S. Pietro Martire e un Quadro di David del Ghirlandaio in S. Maria Novella," Rivista d'Arte 1 (1903):69. For an association between the two men and Lorenzo Tornabuoni see Ch 6 n 9. See n 173 here for the possible way in which the bank was involved.

180. See n 51; text at n 174f. Domenico's face on his medal (Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1009) shares several features with the frescoed profile (best seen in the detail available in Marchini, "Frescoes in the Choir of S. Maria Novella," fig. 9): a heavily lined forehead, an overhanging brow, sharp nose, lines at the side of the mouth and down the cheek, a benign and inward smile, and a tuft of hair at the front. The existence of a medal, most rare for any Dominican, suggests a consciousness of and interest in matters of decoration and learning by this librarian. Important enough within the community to be sent to meet the Master General in 1488, he was described by Caroli as having the "cura del popolo della nostra chiesa et convento": Orlandi, Necrologio, II:369, 587.

181. Camporeale, "Giovanni Caroli," Tav I shows a face up to a decade younger and hence less bald but with the same pose and chubby build. For his text on the Tornaquinci altar see n 2. Other than the text here at n 179, see also Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, ff 36v, 37v, 39r for payments he made for masses ordered by Giovanni Tornabuoni in 1485-86. He was the second friar, "Magister," named in Oct 1486 when the Tornaquinci gained patronage rights (NA, M 237, f 192v) and one of 9 Dominican witnesses of Giovanni's will in Mar 1490 (C 644, f 47r). See also nn 43, 142, 157 here and Ch 2 nn 160, 173, 208. Caroli (1428-1503) was a disciple of S. Antonino and Cristoforo Landino (to whom he dedicated a text, c 1478), both depicted in the chapel; a Master of Theology; prolific writer; astute critic of Savonarola; and earlier a Medicean propagandist and patriot. His writings reveal an interest in architecture and in the visual stimulation of devotion (eg Ch 6 n 86). Bibliography includes L. Alberti, De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum (Bononiae, 1517) which publishes many of the lives in Caroli's Vitae Fratrum; Bandini, Catalogus Latinorum, III:cols 372f; A.M. Bandini, Specimen literaturae Florentinae Saeculi XV (Florence, 1747), I:189-98; Gilbert, Documents, xxvii, 152-53; R. Hatfield, "A Source for Machiavelli's Account of the Regime of Piero de' Medici" in Studies on Machiavelli, ed M. Gilmore (Florence, 1972), 319-33; Hatfield, Botticelli, 26, 52, 89 n 76; V. Marchetti, "Caroli, Giovanni," in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome, 1977), 20:523-26; Orlandi, Necrologio, passim, esp I:203-05, 479-80, II:353ff, 388f, 470-72, 479-80, 513f; R.J. Quetif and R.J. Echard,

Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum (Paris, 1719), I:864f.

182. For the Master General, Venetian Joachim Torriani, see n 43; R.P. Mortier, Histoire des Maitres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (Paris, 1911), V:1-65; Hill/Pollard, Medals, 79, Pl 15.2.

For Fra Gabriele di Domenico Narucci (c 1427-1497), a doctor of theology, see Orlandi, Necrologio, esp I:198-99, II:335-44. His third priorate at S.Maria Novella (May 1486-Aug 1487) was particularly active as he not only oversaw the granting of patronage rights to the Tornaquinci in Oct (NA, M 237, f 192v) but was involved in the refurbishment of the adjacent chapel, conceding it to Filippo Strozzi. He maintained his interest in the Tornaquinci chapel when no longer prior, being a witness to Giovanni's will in 1490 which treats future decoration there in detail (C 644, f 47r). It could be that his involvement with the confraternity of St. Peter Martyr was cause for further connection: as prior in Aug 1486 he elected Giovanni its captain (n 127), in his room ("camera prioris") the dowry to the confraternity was notarised in Feb 1487 (n 121), as syndic and procurator for the confraternity in Dec 1493 he administered a property left to it by Leonardo Tornabuoni (A 300, ff 336r-337v).

183. For the dedication to the Assumption see MSS, 621, f 16r; Bib Ricc, Codex 1935, f 22v (the 1617 and 1729 copies of Sermartelli); Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 240; Orlandi, Necrologio, I:327, II:446; for the banda, text at n 174 here. A small but regular income entered the sacristy's books for offerings made at the high altar on that feast day, 15 August, and distinguished visitors celebrated it "nella cappella" (Corazza, "Diario," 264, 290). In 1739 Francesconi, Firenze Sacra, 92-93 noted its celebration "all'Oratorio de' Tornaquinci," possibly the Tornaquinci chapel dedicated to St. Benedict at S. Maria Novella where the Assumption had been celebrated in the Trecento (text at n 103 above).

184. The contract with Ghirlandaio stipulated a start in May 1486 (NA, M 237, f 160r) but in Oct 1486 Giovanni Tornabuoni's liberality was singled out in these terms: "precipue per magnificum et generosum virum Johannem ... qui, ut ad presens oculata fide inspicitur, cappellam maiorem eiusdem ecclesie egregiis ac splendidis et ornatis picturis, eiusdem Johannis magna impensa, decorare ac ornare conatur - et iam in fieri opus ipsum pictarum apparet pro maiori parte perfectum" (f 193r). For the possible use of portraiture to win the good will of Benedetto Dei and Federico Sasseti see Ch 7 at nn 22, 31.

When portraits appear in the Dormition and/or Assumption of the Virgin they usually occur as kneeling donors praying for her intercession and for eternal salvation (eg Pl. 86) and they are very often holders of religious office. Perugino included the kneeling donor portrait of Sixtus IV in his now lost fresco of the Assumption for the altar in the Sistine Chapel at the time when Ghirlandaio was working there, and in the early Cinquecento Perugino's shop repeated the design with the donor portrait of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, Protector General of the Dominicans: Camesasca, Perugino, nos 19, 99. Other instances include Torriti's mosaic in S.Maria Maggiore of the 13th century, the Bovi chapel, Perugia (Ch 2 n 124), Castagno in S. Egidio (Ch 2 n 141), Lippi's fresco in the Spoleto Cathedral (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 173), Carpaccio's panel for the Scuola degli Albanesi (G. Perocco and M. Cancogni, L'opera completa del Carpaccio [Milan, 1967], no 40 F), all of the Dormition, and Gozzoli's frescoes of the Death and Assumption in the Castelnuova tabernacle

(Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, Pls 225-27). See also Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 112.

More commonly towards the end of the Quattrocento donors kneel beneath an image of the Virgin and Child in Glory, a pictorial type which may have evolved from Perugino's Sistine Assumption and his coterminous rendering of the Glory type with Sixtus in his burial chapel in Old St Peter's: Camesasca, no 19. Ghirlandaio's Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints in the Tornabuoni altarpiece is an important example of this evolution (von Einem, "Raffaels Madonna") where however donor portraits are replaced by representative saints. St. Dominic addresses his audience with an exhortatory text on the left, representing his preaching Order; instead of Giovanni, St. John the Baptist points to the way on the other side and transmits the plea for intercession made by a kneeling saint usually identified as St. John the Evangelist because of Giovanni's name but perhaps his birth day saint St. Thomas (Ch 6 n 97), appropriate to a scene reminiscent of the Assumption. On both sides of the Virgin figures, shown in more particularised portraits elsewhere in the chapel, are here substituted by generalised saints, still in attitudes of devotion. The bibliography on the altarpiece is minimal and does not discuss iconography. See W-D. Dube, The Munich Gallery, Alte Pinakothek (London, 1970), 144-45 with colour reproduction; Holst, "Ghirlandaio: L'Altare Maggiore"; Küppers, Tafelbilder, 78-81; Alte Pinakothek München. Italienische Malerei (Munich, 1975), 49-50; Scharf, "High Altarpiece from S. Maria Novella."

185. The contract stipulated that Ghirlandaio's drawings would be vetted by Giovanni Tornabuoni and the patron's pleasure as to subject, *arme*, embellishment and genre details was also to be followed in the "modo et forma" dictated by Giovanni: NA, M 237, f 160r. For Lorenzo and the window see n 171; for him as a patron in his own right Ch 3 nn 171f.

186. For Ghirlandaio and the Tornabuoni see Ch 4 n 134; for Agnolo's sons n 163 above. On wax sellers being used more than once at S. Maria Novella see Ch 6 at n 8. An artisan was called "Sandro, nostro lanciaio" in 1504: Conv Soppr, 102, App 21, f 135r.

187. Conv Soppr, 102, App 86, ad datum and n 172 above.

188. In chronological order:

2 Mar 1493: "Domenico, dipintore" bought 1 lb 10 on of "chandeles" for 1 lire 2 soldi, for "da morti": Conv Soppr, 102, App 19, f 27v; App 86, f not known;

18 July 1497: "Del mortorio di Benedetto di Thomaso Grinllandaio," 8 lbs 19 on: App 21, f 3r; App 86, f not known;

3 Aug 1499: "Dal mortorio d'un figliuolo di Domenico Ghirlandaio ... rechò David," 1 lire 12 soldi and "Da llui detto, di detto, per la nostra parte del doppiere e per la chalatura," 1 lire 1 soldi: App 21, f 20v;

13 July 1503: "Da David di Thomaso Bigordi dipintore ... del mortorio della sua donna che mori per insino adì 17 Aprile 1501; rechò lui decto," 2 lire 2 soldi: App 21, f 44r;

17 July 1503: "Dal mortorio di Thomaso di Domenico Bigordi," 3 lire: App 21, f 44r; Delizie IX:213.

1515: "Dal mortorio d'una Sconciatura chiamata Gio. Batista figliuolo di Ridolfo di Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi Dipintore": Delizie IX:217.

189. On 24 Jan 1486, months before he commenced work in the Tornaquinci chapel, the convent received "Da Domenico di Thomaso, detto 'el Grillandaio,' dipintore" 4 lire 19 soldi for 9 libbre of "torchi" and "falchole," "rechò Davit, suo fratello": Conv Soppr, 102, App 16, f 37v. A separate record under the same date noted "Dal mortorio di madonna Gonstanza, donna fu di Domenico di Thomaso del Ghirlandaio, dipintore," 15 libbre 8 on: App 84, f 27v. Later that year on the day of morti, 1 Nov 1486, the convent received 4 lire "Dalla donna di Domenico del Grilandaio ... sono pel mortorio di decta sua donna": App 16, f 39v.

190. On 11 Jan 1494 the same amount of wax as was purchased for his wife's funeral, 15 lbs, was provided for Domenico by his brother David: Conv Soppr, 102, App 86, f not known; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:588 quoting Borghigiani's record from a sacristy book. Being a member of the Compagnia di San Paolo, Domenico's death was also recorded by that confraternity: "Domenicho di Tommaso di Churrado Bighordi, dipintore, detto del Grillandaio, morì sabato mattina a dì XI di gennaio 1493 di febre pestilenziale, secondo si disse, perche mori in 4 dì: e quelli che erano sopra la Peste non vollono vi s'andassi al morto, e non vollo[no] si sotterrasse il dì. Sotterrossi sabato sera in Santa Maria Novella tra le 24 e l'una ore: e Dio gli perdoni. Funne grandissimo danno, perchè era huomo di chonto per ogni parte di suo' qualità e dolse molto gieneralmente" (Vasari-Milanesi III:277-78 n 2; a slightly different transcription in Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 16-17, the latter repeated in Orlandi, II:588 n 1). Vasari was well informed on his death by "gravissima febbre" and he may be accurate too when he then immediately claims that the Tornabuoni sent him 100 gold ducats because of the "amicizia" and "familiarita" between patrons and artist (Ch 4 nn 134, 137). The confraternity's note suggests sadness and Vasari reported the "molte lagrime" and "pietosi sospiri" of his brothers and son and the many bereavement letters sent by "molti eccellenti pittori forestieri." Fineschi, Cimitero, 65 n 2 says that "ad istanza di Ridolfo [Domenico's son] gli Operai concessero" an avello where he was transferred and other Bigordi were later buried there (as Rosselli reports: MSS, 625, II, p 768). On the day of morti, Nov 1495, his brother David bought 1 lb of wax to commemorate Domenico: App 86, f not known.

In 1489 Domenico's father may have been employed by the convent as "champanaio," if this "Thomaso di Currado" is the same as the man named thus in other documents referring to Domenico's father: App 19, ff 68r, 69r, a total of 5 lire. The confraternity had used the "Churrado" appellation along with both Bigordi and Ghirlandaio. The artist's signature on the fictive intarsia in the Birth of the Virgin gave both BIGHORDI and GRILLANDAI. Contracts with Domenico sometimes use the Currado name: Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 15, 21; Küppers, Tafelbilder, 86-87. The "Ghirlandaio" name is usually explained as deriving from that family's institution of garlands but this is historically inaccurate. Instead G. Milanesi, "I pittori Domenico e David Del Ghirlandaio" in del Badia, Miscellanea Fiorentina, I:46-47 says the name probably arises from Tommaso's sons having been trained under a goldsmith. Domenico's grandfather was Currado di Doffo Bighordi: Mesnil, "Portate," 64-69.

191. G. Poggi, (cited in n 133), 70. The document was not known to Orlandi, Necrologio, I:201, II:347-48 who does however give ample reasons for this friar's devotion to St. Lucy. Through financial

support from his family Fra Cortesi built the cappella maggiore of a church at S. Gimignano.

192. See nn 36, 64. Recent studies are freeing Renaissance friars, monks and priests from a stock image as passive recipients of finished works of art. They could be mezzani (n 51), active recruiters of patronage (eg n 36 here; Goldthwaite and Rearick, "San Paolo"; D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, Ch 3; Luchs, Cestello, esp Ch 1, 40ff, 153 n 67), active in the removal of arme (n 90), assessors of finished works (eg Beck, Masaccio, the documents, 22; Haines, "Sacristy of S. Maria Novella," 588), selectors of an artist because of their experience (Hartt and Corti, Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 63), supervisors of a programme regarding the dedication of each chapel (Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," 149, 159, 164, 167 n 9), as well as active in iconographic direction (eg Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes"). Some of these examples have been deliberately chosen from S. Maria Novella. Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," see esp 2, 119-24, argues that the Order made a "conscious, but selective, use of art as religious propaganda."

193. See n 86 for the Sassetti arrangement. In 1473 the rector of S. Luca noted an agreement, perhaps similar to an unwritten one between the Tornabuoni and friars, in which he was to pay "per rinfreschare et lavare la figure di Sancta lucia" although the Nenti patrons paid for the rest of the altarpiece. Three days later he also paid for "tanti ferramenti arpioni bandelle et maschiettj aguti et chandellieri per apichare le chandele ... et pel cornicione": O. Giglioli, "L'Antica Cappella Nenti nella Chiesa di S. Luca de' Magnoli a Firenze e le sue pitture," Rivista d'Arte 4 (1906):188. The Servites paid Castagno for decoration in a Medici chapel at SS. Annunziata in 1455 because of a "promessa" made "più anni passati": Teubner, "Langhaus der SS. Annunziata," 51 doc X. When S. Pancrazio's Abbot paid for the carving of a coat of arms upon one of his parishioner's tombs in 1453 he explained "pagammo di nostro perchè è nostro benefattore": D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 132 and n 31. The Purification ceremony was another such recognition of patrons at the friars' expense: Ch 6 Section B.

CHAPTER SIX: NOTES

1. Gombrich, Warburg, 115 (see, eg, Ch 7 n 148). The contract is quoted from the translation in Chambers, Patrons, 173-75 (with the addition of "villas": Ch 4 n 52). For the Dominicans see Ch 2 at n 73; Ch 5 Section D; Ch 7 at n 58f; also Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," esp 144-45, 147-49, 192, 269, 489-90 and ff passim on portraiture; Lesnick, "Dominican preaching"; n 70 here.

For the Sassetti chapel see esp Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 20-27, 43-45; Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 423-28; Saxl, "Classical Inscription." For the consortereria's exposure to humanism and religion, see esp Ch 4 Section E. Purtle, Marian Paintings, esp 62, argues for the effect of ordinary religious habits and rituals upon Jan van Eyck's art.

2. Judging by its abstract, O'Leary's thesis (n 3) argues that the Trecento altarpiece was removed "in 1488," no doubt because of Sassetti's anger recorded in April that year but which I argue was a result of actions taking place between Nov 1485 and Feb 1486: Ch 5 nn 67, 68, text at nn 74f. The abstract goes on: Giovanni "then expanded his plan into an ambitious program" which was a "pivotal shift at the midpoint in Ghirlandaio's work [and] resolves the question of why the contract of 1485 was abandoned in favor of the sequence of scenes we now find in the lower zones." (A dedication inscription in the lowest register and Landucci's comment on the unveiling in Dec both document the completion of the frescoes by late 1490). O'Leary also believes that the altarpiece was installed "by 1497" whereas May 1494 for the "tavolla nuova" is documented here (Ch 5 at n 146). Hence O'Leary's chronology for such a "pivotal shift" needs adjustment and this may also place in jeopardy his claim that the altarpiece "was the crucial and dominating element that gave meaning to the surrounding frescoes."

My suggestion that the contract's plan was revised in the winter of 1487/88 is dependent upon the depiction of a giraffe in Ghirlandaio's Magi fresco (Pl. 20), the naturalistic flow and precision of which can only result from the arrival in Florence of an actual giraffe in Nov 1487. It was received by Lorenzo de' Medici (although officially presented to the Signoria) as a gift from a real eastern king, the Sultan, and was lodged at S.Maria Novella "nele istale del Papa." No-one has noticed this element in the chapel, other than Sabatini, Ghirlandaio, 19, who does so in passing and without any comment on its position or date. For the animal and its later representation in art see J. Barclay Lloyd, African Animals in Renaissance Literature and Art (Oxford, 1971), esp 47, 49ff, 95-96, 121-22; A. Brown, "Priorista of Angelo and Francesco Gaddi," The British Museum Quarterly 22 no 3/4, pp 62-64; Guicciardini, History of Florence, 71; Landucci, Diario, 52-53; B. Laufer, The Giraffe in History and Art (Chicago, 1928), 80-82; Machiavelli, Florentine History, 283; B.Masi, Ricordanze, 18; Rinuccini, Ricordi, cxliii; Rossi, Delizie, XXIII:246-48; Valori (cited in Ch 7 n 29), np. The inclusion of such an exotic and popular curiosity in the Magi scene indicates not only the artist's quick responsiveness to current taste but also an iconographic astuteness and perhaps the involvement of the Dominicans (and of Poliziano who wrote on the animal).

The Magi and its adjacent Massacre of the Innocents scenes are in the highest register that testifies to any change from the contract: the Magi scene was originally intended for the register below the

final one chosen (see fig. 5, Pl. 3). The Purification, in 1485 planned for the position occupied now by the Magi, instead entered the stained glass and the adjacent scene, Christ disputing with the Doctors, became the Massacre of the Innocents. (The inclusion of this scene may have been influenced by the revitalisation of the confraternity of the Innocenti at S.Maria Novella in 1487: Ch 7 at n 169). On this same level but at the window wall we now see Dominican narratives instead of the envisaged saints, who are depicted on the altarpiece.

So the alterations to the contract's programme were made after Nov 1487 but surely not too long thereafter, given the massive amount of fresco that Ghirlandaio's shop executed by Dec 1490. It seems plausible to suggest that the necessary seasonal pause (see the citations of Gilbert in Ch 7 n 143) during the winter of 1487/88 was the time for a reconsideration of the Virgin's cycle. For changes and dating related to the Baptist's cycle, again during 1487 and 1488, see Ch 7 esp at n 142.

Vasari-Milanesi I:595 and hence others claim that the programme followed Orcagna's scheme, a claim difficult to assess, although Vasari's implication at III:261 that this refers to a decision made at the time of the contract (a distinction not noted by later commentators) could be possible. The original, contracted programme for the Virgin's cycle may indeed repeat a Trecento one: it certainly follows that on the 14th century paliotto from S.Maria Novella which is large enough to have been placed on the high altar (Orlandi, Necrologio, I:Tav XIX, II:290-91; seen in the Bargello chapel in 1981). Both contract and paliotto share every scene, including the rare Christ disputing with the Doctors and the Purification, while the Meeting at the Golden Gate is notably absent in each.

3. NA, M 237, f 159v: the fifth scene was to be "Purificationis Virginis Marie." See Ch 2 Section D. Two American doctoral dissertations have been completed recently on the chapel but neither is available to me because copyright remains with the authors: Daniel O'Leary, "Harmony and Ritualistic Allusion in the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella" (Ph.D. diss., Univ of Michigan, 1983) and Sheila McClure Ross, "The Redecoration of Santa Maria Novella's Cappella Maggiore" (Ph.D. diss., Univ of California, Berkeley, 1983). Brief summaries are available in Dissertation Abstracts International A 44 no 7 (Jan 1984):1957 and no 11 (May 1984):3192 respectively; for the latter work see also Ch 5 n 139.

4. The transcriptions by Rab Hatfield from the sacristy books, when available to me in February 1981, only covered these years but may well extend over many more. See Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, f 60r (1480), unfoliated (1481 and following); App 86, ff not known (1489 and following); App 21, f 121v (1501).

5. For the Purification festa in 1492 the Cistercians at Cestello gave 3 lbs of wax "a medicī e dottori": n 9 below. For Donatello's grateful gift to his doctor, Giovanni Chellini, see Ch 1 at n 107.

6. Several families in Florence had the Bartoli surname (F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, 179 n 49) but Orlandi, Necrologio, passim, only records two Bartoli friars at S.Maria Novella in the Trecento and one, who died in 1452; he makes no reference to a chapel for this family. Two Bartoli brothers worked in the Medici Bank at the beginning of the century but none is known thereafter: de Roover, Medici Bank, 44,

254-56. For a Bartoli associated with a festa at S.Maria Novella in 1477 see n 16 below.

Since this Domenico recurs in 1501 (text at n 8) he does not seem to be a mere figurehead for Medicean infiltration, nor a promising patron who came to nothing, unless he twice managed to convince the friars of generous intentions, never fulfilled.

A Domenico di Giovanni Bartoli, "apparently warmly Medicean," was captain at Sarzana in 1476 (F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 29, 87 n 1; A. Brown, Scala, 75-76) and an arbitrator in Nov 1485 for a property division between the two Medici branches (A. Brown, "Pierfrancesco," 100 n 94). This Domenico was married to Maddalena Rucellai, daughter of the Giovanni who built S.Maria Novella's facade. Since he accompanied his father-in-law to Rome for the famous sight-seeing pilgrimage in 1450, the example set by his relative may have induced his own interest in patronage, in the very quarter where the Rucellai held most sway (Rucellai, Zibaldone, 29, 35, 67, 160 n 4, 177 n 5). In May 1486 Domenico, his brothers and descendants were granted patronage rights over S.Maria degli Angeli in La Verna and this led to Andrea della Robbia's Madonna della Cintola altarpiece, with the Bartoli and Rucellai arms: Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 75 and n 10. This same Domenico was later a fervent follower of Savonarola, so his religious passion and perhaps an attachment to the Dominicans further suggests that this was the figure associated with the Purification ritual at S.Maria Novella. Ironically, he was Gonfaloniere when Lorenzo Tornabuoni was discovered to be a participant in the Medicean plot: see R. Ristori, "Un mercante savonaroliano: Pandolfo Rucellai" in Magia, Astrologia e Religione nel Rinascimento (Warsaw, 1972), 42-43.

7. On Leonardo see Ch 5 nn 117, 118; Ch 7 n 9.

8. On 2 Feb 1491 Giovanni di Bartolomeo Baroncini sold the friars 2 lb 10 on of white "candelotti" to give to the five citizens (Conv Soppr, 102, App 86, f not known) and on 24 May 1497 over 60 lire were paid "A Giovanni di Berto Baronccini e compagni, spetiali in Merchato Vechio" for 67 lbs 6 on of "falcholozzi per l'altare maggiore ... per la festa del corpo di Christo" (App 19, f 124v). For 28 Jan 1501 see App 21, f 121v; this same "Cornelio, spetiale" provided, on 15 Jun 1500, 35 lire worth of "falchole bianche per l'altar maggiore e 4 per gli acholitj per la festa del corpo di Christi" (f 118r).

No Agnolo de' Bardi is listed in Orlandi, Necrologio. The Bardi were active at S.Maria Novella in the Trecento (Ch 2 n 84; Ch 5 n 27). Possibly this is the Agnolo di Bernardo who was the nephew and heir of Giovanni d'Agnolo Bardi, first founder of a chapel at Cestello and keen to be "an example to other benefactors": Luchs, Cestello, 40, 378-79. Giovanni's other patronage included sites at S.Spirito and S.Croce: Luchs, 49; Lightbown, Botticelli, II:56f. Agnolo founded a chapel at SS. Annunziata in 1499 and endowed a chaplaincy at the Murate convent in his will of March 1502 (Luchs, 49). A year before this testament perhaps the Dominicans were hopeful of an alternative arrangement.

9. D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 139 n 41, supplemented by information from F.W. Kent. The document is headed "1488," which now requires correction to 1489. The long list for Cestello, headed "nota delle chandele dell'anno 1491" (now to be dated 2 Feb 1492) was misinterpreted by Luchs as a "list of donors of candles to the Cistercians in 1491": Cestello, 12, 299-302. That it is the opposite

is indicated by the use of "dare" three times in its last section, incl 11 lbs "per dare agli amici." Since the many names are divided according to quarter, and include men like Lorenzo de' Medici and his associates like Niccolò Michelozzi who were not themselves direct patrons at Cestello, the festa was probably an attempt to flatter and attract donors. Only 5 men from the quarter of S.Maria Novella appeared, Lorenzo Tornabuoni amongst them, and two of his fellows were Lorenzo Benintendi and Francesco di Martino Scharfi, whose banking company seems to have administered the Tornabuoni dowry for S.Maria Novella (Ch 5 n 179). For the Purification at SS. Annunziata see n 13. More such examples doubtlessly will be discovered, once historians are aware of the festa and its significance.

10. For Antonino see A. d'Addario, Aspetti della Controriforma a Firenze (Rome, 1972), 17 n 26. The Council of Toulouse in 1229 still acknowledged only 4 feasts of the Virgin, her Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and Birth (Kishpaugh, Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, 64 n 24), which had been introduced to the West in the 7th century and were then celebrated particularly at S.Maria Maggiore, Rome (R. Batiffol, History of the Roman Breviary [London, 1912, 3rd ed], 109). The chancellor Salutati chose the Purification day as the date for the meeting of the Holy League in 1378 because of its "happy auspices": Trexler, Public Life, 80 n 178.

11. Corazza, "Diario," 267-68; even Corpus Christi did not receive the same attention. In 1516 Leo X performed much the same ritual, but at his family's arena, S.Lorenzo: Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 83 n 4.

12. Corazza, "Diario," 288. On 22 Nov 1439, at the Church Council in Florence, Eugenius IV issued a bull concerning the "concordia" with the Armenian church in which 6 feasts were to be celebrated by the Easterners, including Purification: Franco and Dalmazzo, Bullarum, 5:51.

13. C. Guasti, Santa Maria del Fiore (Florence, 1887), 310-13, 316-18; and see n 47 below for images of the Purification in glass and intarsia at the Cathedral (a connection noted by Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 185 n 23 who does not however know the further relationship between the Cathedral and the Purification day cited here in n 14). However, the Servite church seems to have paid some attention to the Purification as well. An inventory there in 1422 listed "otto libricciuoli da cantare i gloria laus e per fare la processione di Sancta Maria," books for Palm Sunday and Purification: Casalini, (cited in Ch 2 n 37), 103, 125 no 347. A pact between SS. Annunziata and one of their patrons in 1523 stated that the church had to send him a candle every year for "la candelleria": Tonini, (cited in Ch 2 n 47), 302; for 1456 see n 25.

14. Francesconi, Firenze Sacra, 29: "tutte le Chiese" were to celebrate the Purification as well. On 2 Feb 1295 the bishop of Florence appointed the operai for the new Cathedral: Guasti, (cited in n 13), 8. The Cathedral with its new dome was consecrated by Eugenius IV on Annunciation day, 25 Mar 1436: Corazza, "Diario," 292 and n 3.

15. Petriboni's chronicle is in Orlandi, Antonino, II:301-02; the state herald described it in less detail (Trexler, Libro Cerimoniale, 72-73). For the route see Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri," 284 and Ch 4 n 63; for rivalry between the Cathedral and S.Maria Novella, Ch 2 nn

163, 164, Ch 5 n 1. The religious drama of the Resurrection was chosen for performance on that day in 1452: Trexler, "Checklist," (as cited in Ch 2 n 166), 463-64; Public Life, 403. Nevertheless sacred plays of the Purification existed (for fourteenth century instances in England and Padua see Young, Drama, II:250-55) and around 1465 one was written in Florence, developed from the Ordo Prophetarum: Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 81-106; n 52 below. See also E.O. James, Seasonal Feasts and Festivals (London, 1961), 261-63.

16. For 13 Aug 1477 (more than a week after the proper date of St. Dominic's day) see BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, f 132r; Orlandi, Necrologio, II:501-02. One of the current priors from the quarter of S.Maria Novella was "Juliano Bartholomeij di Juliani di Bartoli." 5 June that year saw a notable celebration of the Corpus Christi day at S.Maria Novella: Ch 2 n 166.

17. See esp Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 233f; Hinnebusch, Dominican Order; B. Jarrett (ed) Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers, 1206-1259 (London, 1955), esp Pt 1; King, Liturgies of the Orders, 360-61. For a manuscript illumination of the Madonna as Protector of the Order see L. Berti, Beato Angelico (Milan, 1964), I Maestri del Colore no 19, Pl I.

18. The fourteenth century Liber Novus listed it in S.Maria Novella's calendar: Orlandi, Necrologio, II:406; see also King, Liturgies of the Orders, 362, 371. For indulgences see Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:1069, 1100, 1101, 1104; see also MOPH III:162, 272.

Arrighi's Memoria of S.Maria Novella, written c 1626, mentions with regard to the Purification actions by Innocent III in 1198 and Honorius III in 1216: BNF, Conv Soppr, D.8.96, f 358r. In fact the day was celebrated in Jerusalem by the late fourth century and spread to the West in the sixth century: Shorr, "Presentation," 17-18. Voragine, Golden Legend, 152 attributes it to Pope Sergius (687-701). See also J.H. Crehan, "Candlemas" in A Catholic Dictionary of Theology (London, 1962), I:317-21 and James (cited in n 15), 232-34.

19. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:935-36, 1032-33, 1054, 1057, 1064. While no document there records the giving of candles to the members of a confraternity in the Trecento, there are two confraternities of the Virgin which in 1312 noted the practice for other special days: a Perugian compagnia practised the donation of candles on the feast day of its founder St. Peter Martyr; a Pisan confraternity of the laudesi listed a "luminare maggiore" on the Assumption, Resurrection, Christmas and St. Catherine's day, during which everyone in the church, male and female, would be given a lit candle (1065, 1055).

20. Pope-Hennessy, Renaissance Sculpture, fig 48; Wood Brown, S.Maria Novella, 119. As far as I know, the pulpit's iconography has not been discussed.

21. Fineschi, Forestiero, 16; Hall, Renovation, fig 5.

22. G.M. Monti, Le Confraternite medievali dell'Alta e Media Italia (Venice, 1927), I:155. However by the late 15th century these dates had changed: Giovanni Tornabuoni's elections for 6 month terms were made on 8 Aug 1486 and 22 Feb 1490 (Ch 5 n 127).

23. Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr, 719, ff 18v-19r.

24. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternitatis, II:722 no 10, 725 no 6, 730 n 5, 737 no 13. The specchio or bans list was to be read on this morning, no doubt determining who was eligible to receive candles. The confraternity of the Madonna del Neve at S.Ambrogio similarly ruled that every eligible member was to be given a white candle at the company's expense on the "purificazione di nostra donna," although again the officials were to receive more: Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr, 606, ff 17v-18r.

25. See n 9 (1489, 1492); B. Brown, "SS. Annunziata," 65 (1456); other honours incl at S.Croce are mentioned by R. Gaston, "Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo, Florence, 1350-1650" in F.W. Kent and Simons, Patronage, esp nn 52, 79.

26. E.M. Angiola, "Nicola Pisano, Federigo Visconti, and the Classical Style in Pisa," AB 59 (1977):11-12.

27. All references to a feast day's liturgy are from the Missal; Biblical references are usually to the RSV. On the Purification see Fra Domenico Corella's Theotocon (by a Florentine Dominican in the mid-Quattrocento), XVII no X, 28-30; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 379f; Meiss, Black Death, 16f; Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 81-106; Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 55-61; Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 261-66; Schiller, Iconography, I:90-94; Shorr, "Presentation"; Voragine, Golden Legend, 149-54.

28. Voragine, Golden Legend, 150 (quoted here); Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, esp 91, 102.

29. Voragine, Golden Legend, 150; Angiola, (cited in n 26), 9-10; Augustine, City of God, Bk XVIII, Ch 35 and XX, Ch 25; Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" 211, 217-18, 223.

30. Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 60-62; Corazza at n 12 above; Visconti at n 26; Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, esp 90, 95, 100-02. Shorr, "Presentation," 24 only discusses 2 French examples of the type with Christ upon the altar; English plays of the Purification could place the child on the altar: Sinanoglou, (cited in Ch 2 n 149), 501-02. Schiller, Iconography, I:92f and Meiss, Black Death, 17 discerned the "sacrificial" nature of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, noting its allusion "to the offering of the host" and its prefiguration in Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (a subsidiary scene depicted in Mantegna's panel: n 48 below). Anagraphic alignments of the Presentation with scenes such as the Magi also point to its sacrificial nature: Davisson, "Advent of the Magi," 109, 117, 120, 122, 303. Carpaccio coupled it with the Massacre of the Innocents on organ shutters executed in 1523: Perocco and Cancogni, (cited in Ch 5 n 184), no 75 A. Note that the play performed at the 1452 Purification was of the Resurrection: n 15.

Nilgen (cited in Ch 2 n 152), discusses the manger as an altar in relation to the Magi, and it is precisely the Purification which closes the liturgical season of Epiphany (Shorr, "Presentation," 17, 19). The theme of offering links these feasts: God offering his only son, the Magi giving gifts, Christ's parents dedicating their child on the altar, the congregation receiving candles then offering them to the Lord.

Christ's willingness or reluctance to return to the Virgin from the arms of the high priest also refers to Christ's future sacrifice: Shorr, "Presentation"; Pseudo-Bonaventura, 57-58. The sacredness of his Body is sometimes visually referred to when either Simeon or the Virgin wait to receive Christ with a cloth or veil over their hands, as does the priest/Simeon figure in Ghirlandaio's design. On the sacramental significance of the veil see Hatfield, Botticelli, 35ff; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 99f.

Although the eucharistic theme was more properly associated with the Presentation of Christ and/or his Circumcision, all 3 events were often conflated in visual and instructional terms. The Circumcision of January 1, for instance, was seen as the first occasion on which Christ shed his consecrated blood for mankind. It was also a sign "that He had really taken human form" and that corporal circumcision was replaced by baptism, although one still had to go through "spiritual circumcision, that is, ... we should apply ourselves to the work of our purification" (Voragine, Golden Legend, 83; also Pseudo-Bonaventura, 42f; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 378-79). So personal involvement and purification was also stressed for this feast day. The inscription on Fra Angelico's panel of the Circumcision for SS. Annunziata comes from Jeremiah 4:4: "Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, remove the foreskin of your hearts" (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 135).

31. Voragine, Golden Legend, 150; Lettere di S. Antonino (Florence, 1859), 128-31; n 28 also on humility; Augustine, City of God, Bk XX, Ch 25 is more universal and eschatological.

32. Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 58.

33. Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 56; Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 91; the last quotation from Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 227, from the single prayer used in the Dominican variation on the liturgy for the blessing of the candles (King, Liturgies of the Orders, 362). On the mediatory nature of choric figures directing the audience see Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 72-73 and Ch 2 esp at nn 123, 201.

34. Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 106, 103.

35. From the third prayer at the Blessing before the Mass; see also Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 99, 227. The Florentine play also emphasises the joy of eternal salvation signified by light and flame (Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, esp 105), as does Simeon's canticle. Ghirlandaio's altar holds a blaze of light in its centre.

36. For the vestments see Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 227. Few other bystanders in a Purification are given such prominence by way of dress, position and gesture.

By the late 15th century the High Priest and Simeon were often confused visually (Schiller, Iconography, I:92-93; Shorr, "Presentation"), due to the mistaken belief that Simeon himself was a priest. Such a conflation is made in the design of the intarsia in the Florentine Cathedral: Haines, Sacrestia delle Messe, 188-89, who claims the combination is unusual although she not only cites northern examples but also works by Fra Angelico and Lippi (nn 46, 49 below). In Ghirlandaio's design the bearded worshipper without an halo is probably a Jewish elder witnessing the revelation as called upon to do

in the Ordo Prophetarum plays (n 52). The priest and Anna on the left both have haloes.

37. Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 98; Archbishop Visconti echoed St. Anselm when speaking of the candles as a figure for Christ: Angiola, (cited in n 26), 11-12, with a Pisan laud also which saw the pure candles as a sign of the purged body and soul. On the virginal purity of candles see also Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 97 and Trexler, Synodal Law, 103-04.

38. As reported by the Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 59; it forms both the Introit and the Gradual in the Mass. The words differ in the RSV (Ps 48:9), so the Vulgate is quoted here (Ps 47:10). Both Luke 2:22 and the Pseudo-Bonaventura, 56 specify that the ceremony took place in the Temple of Jerusalem; the Florentine play as "al Tempio della Pace" (Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 102).

39. Shorr, "Presentation," 27 n 63 mentions the parallel with the reception of Christ; the translation of the Antiphon of the Procession is taken from Covi, "Inscription," 102, 361.

For the symbolism of the Virgin see Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 168; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 162-64, 167, 321, 450f; Kishpaugh, Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, 39, 55-58; H. Rahner, Our Lady and the Church (London, 1961).

40. Voragine, Golden Legend, 149. For "sure access" see Ch 2 esp at nn 61, 66 and passim.

41. See Ch 2 at n 216; "enhancement of the said church and chapel" is in the contract (Chambers, Patrons, 173).

42. Kishpaugh, Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, passim; Hatfield, Botticelli, 54-67 for the Magi and the rich Christological and eucharistic significance with which the temple image is invested.

43. Text at n 33 above. For the Founding see Section C below.

44. See n 31 for Antonino; Ch 7 Section C for the Expulsion. The text from Malachi occurs both in the Epistle and as the chapter for second vespers: VENIET AD TE[M]PLVM SA[N]CTV[M] SVV[M] D[OMI]NATOR. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 134-35 could not identify the inscription's source. For the eschatological meaning see also Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" esp 227-29.

45. Luke 2:29-32; Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 57-58; Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, esp 90.

46. For the Lorenzetti see Meiss, Black Death, 19, 29, 55 and Shorr, "Presentation," 28; for Fra Angelico, Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 189 n 32 and Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, fig 134. A Biblia Pauperum and possibly a Bartolo di Fredi use the passage too. Unfortunately Shorr never comments on Anna's scroll, often inscribed but difficult to read in most reproductions. For the Baptist as the fulfillment of this prophecy see Mark 1:2, Luke 1:17, 76, 7:27 and Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" 217-18.

47. Matthew 3:11, Mark 1:7, Luke 3:16. John did not adopt his camel coat until he saw Jesus: M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 90 n 32.

For the colour and the red bedspread in his Birth see Ch 7 at n 156.

Artists normally portray Anna, Simeon and/or the High Priest, the Christ Child, Mary and Joseph (who usually carries the Virgin's offering of doves when her Purification is being treated). If bystanders are present, they are usually handmaidens or male temple assistants, always adult and without haloes. A catalogue of previous examples, none with the Baptist, is available in Meiss, Black Death, 16ff, figs 12-15, 18 and Shorr, "Presentation." Further examples, esp Tuscan ones of the Quattrocento, include the following:

- Fra Angelico (n 46)

- the pulpit in S.Maria Novella (n 20)

- the third window in the Cathedral's tribune by Ghiberti, which in his words depicted "quando [Christo] è portato nel tempio": Vasari-Milanesi II:246 n 2; M. Bacci et al, Lorenzo Ghiberti. 'Materia e Ragionamenti' (Florence, 1978), 252-53, Pl G VIII no 1.

- intarsia in the Cathedral of the 1460s: Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 185-92

- a c 1468-70 panel by Fra Diamante now in the Prato Museum: Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 204 (and see n 49 for another from Lippi's shop)

- a predella panel by Gozzoli now in Philadelphia, for the altarpiece commissioned from him in 1461 by the Purification confraternity: Chambers, Patrons, 53-55; M. Davies, London, 73-76; John G. Johnson Collection, Catalogue of Italian Paintings (Philadelphia, 1966), 35-36 and colour pl 38; Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, 128, Pl 121 (the Virgin's cycle on the orphrey of St.Zenobius' cope in the main panel bears comparison with the programme stipulated in the Ghirlandaio contract of 1485 and includes the rare "Christ disputing with the Doctors")

- an earlier predella by Gozzoli for an altarpiece of the Virgin: Padoa Rizzo, 117-18, Pl 43 (the programme is similar to that outlined in the Ghirlandaio contract of 1485)

- Bartolomeo di Giovanni commissioned on 30 Jul 1488 to paint the predella of Ghirlandaio's Innocenti altarpiece, including "la Purificazione di nostra Donna," which contains the rare motif of two adult women holding lit candles: Bellosi, (cited in Ch 5 n 161), Pl 64; Klüppers, Tafelbilder, 88

- a sixteenth century carved altarpiece in Sarzana Cathedral which includes a boy holding two candles: U. Middeldorf, "Quelques sculptures de la Renaissance en Toscane occidentale," Revue de l'Art 36 (1977):7-26, fig 21.

48. A small boy supports the priest's arm in Nicola Pisano's Presentation on the Pisan Baptistery pulpit (Angiola, cited in n 26, 12); miniature youths hold candles at the head of the procession in Lochnar's Presentation (Shorr, "Presentation," 30, figs 26, 29), as does a boy in the Sarzana relief (n 47). Bellini's drawing of the Presentation includes two children in the foreground: C. Joost-Gaugier, Jacopo Bellini. Selected Drawings (New York, 1980), Pl 29; Antonio Vivarini's scene of the 1440s has a boy on the left (Berlin, 470).

Mantegna's panel, which conflates the Circumcision (the priest holds a knife) with the Purification (Joseph carries the doves), is unusual in its inclusion of both a youthful assistant for the priest and a much younger boy on the other side, who turns away from the circumcision, perhaps indicating no more than a very human reaction but possibly also suggesting a fearful presentiment of Christ's next shedding of blood: A. Martindale and N. Garavaglia, The Complete Paintings of Mantegna (New York, 1967), no 34 C and Pls XXXV-XXXVII. The panel was begun c 1464 and finished by 1473. Given Mantegna's

visit to Florence in 1466 and the panel's location in the Uffizi, which has led some scholars to give it a Medici provenance, perhaps Lucrezia Tornabuoni's interest in the young Baptist played some part in the painting's iconography.

49. For the first see Baldini, Angelico, no 81; for the Lippi see Marchini, Filippo Lippi, 214, Pl 165, incorrectly called a "Circumcision" in which only St. Bartholomew carries his usual attribute of a knife. Two beatified friars kneel in the foreground, four saints stand either side of the altar. In a way, Voragine provided a textual precedent, for he described a woman's miraculous dream about the Purification mass at which S. Lorenzo, St. Vincent and the Virgin herself officiated: n 56 below. Ames-Lewis, "Drapery 'pattern'-drawings," esp 59, marshalls evidence from drawings for other projects to suggest that Domenico Ghirlandaio was in Lippi's shop during 1459-60.

In the 1490s Botticelli, perhaps with some intervention from Bartolomeo di Giovanni (see n 47 above for his association with the Ghirlandaio shop), designed an embroidery panel of the Purification where candles are held and all seven figures have haloes. From right to left they are Simeon, Anna, the High Priest, Christ, Mary, Joseph and Joseph's bearded attendant(?): Garzelli [cited in Ch 5 n 174], 34, Pl 42. A male intruder appears in several Florentine examples, but is an adult, without an halo and at the edge of the scene, more akin to the youth garbed in violet vestments at the left edge of Ghirlandaio's design (n 36; cf Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 189).

50. Voragine, Golden Legend, 323-25; Trexler, Public Life, 265 (Dati); 59 n 60 refers to a civic document of 1454 calling John a patriarch and prophet. In the Florentine play the prophets have been released from Limbo: Newbigin, Nuovo Corpus, 92 and passim.

51. Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditations, 63-64, 416; M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 86 nn 6, 7, 10, 87 n 19, 93, 97f. The illustration in the Pseudo-Bonaventura is quite similar to Signorelli's portrayal of the Baptist being presented to Christ by the fathers while both mothers embrace on the right in a grouping very similar to the Visitation: Lavin, fig 21; Berlin, 410-11. A Sieneese-Byzantine dossal of c 1270-80 with the Baptist's cycle includes Elizabeth presenting her child to the Virgin and Child: BB Central II:Pl 17. For early meetings between Christ and John as children see also M.T. Ferer, "The Feast of St. John the Baptist: Its Background and Celebration in Renaissance Polyphony" (Ph.D. diss., Univ of Illinois at Urbana, 1976), 5, 69, 76-80, 88f. A young John adoring the newborn Christ Child became a very popular subject in Florentine painting: for examples from the Ghirlandaio school see van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:figs 83, 84, 97, 98, 117, 120, 122, 123, opp p 194, 134, 135, 136, 140, 167, 173, 174.

The legend may have been encouraged by a confusion between John's father, the priest Zacharias, and the mistaken belief that either Simeon or Zacharias was the officiating High Priest at the Purification: Shorr, "Presentation," 24 and n 24, 29. The legend that the Virgin attended John's Birth also enabled the close association of these figures during childhood: Lavin, 90 n 32; Voragine, Golden Legend, 323. Mary is shown at the Trecento version of the Birth of John in the sacristy's window at S.Maria Novella.

52. M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement," 325 n 32, 326 n 37

(also for a "representation" of the Baptist's life, produced near Urbino in 1488, which included a temple setting for both the Annunciation to Zacharias and the Circumcision). A Slavonic text had also described the Baptist being called to a meeting with the Christ Child at the "Temple of God": M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 86 n 10. The Ordo Prophetarum performed, often in a processional form, during the Christmas season, esp on the feast day of the Circumcision, included John, Simeon, Elizabeth and Zacharias: Young, Drama, II:125-71.

53. For Dominici see Ch 2 at n 187; for Lucrezia's text, G. Volpi, Le laudi di Lucrezia de' Medici (Pistoia, 1901), esp 11 (she also singles out the Innocenti as being present in the ranks of paradise). On Lucrezia and the theme's development see Borsook, "Filippo Lippi," 29f; M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," and "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement"; Ch 4 n 121.

54. BNF, Magl., VII, 338, f 1r. For Ghirlandaio's early panel of the subject see Berlin, 175.

55. Voragine, Golden Legend, 64; Angiola (cited in n 58), 245; Schiller, Iconography, I:114-15, 141. Angiola (cited in n 26), 10 but without any specific reference claims that the Purification was a type of baptism. For candles at Purification for the confraternity of the Innocents see text at n 23. The liturgical texts on the feast day of the Innocents included Ps 79:3: "They have poured out their blood like water round about Jerusalem" and Rev 14:4-5: "these have been redeemed from mankind as first fruits for God and the Lamb, and ... they are spotless": Schuster, (cited in n 77), I:385-88. Fra Angelico's inscription for the Massacre of the Innocents came from Joel 3:19 which, with the preceding verse, referred to rivers ("a fountain shall come forth from the house of the Lord") and ended with "they have shed innocent blood in their land" (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 138).

56. In the Tornabuoni window at Cestello he wears red (Pl. 56). Voragine, Golden Legend, 437 said Lorenzo "was green and fresh in the cleanness and purity of his heart, whence he said: 'My night hath no darkness!'" In an analogy dear to any Medicean, he also mentioned Lorenzo's name as derived from the laurel, "a symbol of victory, for it is fair to the eye through its lasting greenness..." His role as an early church deacon who administered the eucharist and particularly consecrated the wine (Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 172 and n 185) may partly explain this emphasis on Hope. For visions in which he officiated at the Purification mass see Goffen, "Masaccio," 497 and Voragine, 153. In a painting from Lorenzo Monaco's school he holds a large chalice: Laclotte and Mognetti, (cited in Ch 5 n 156), no 119.

57. Voragine, Golden Legend, 54f; Biblioteca Sanctorum (Rome, 1967-), IX:cols 1376-92. The Octaves of the Innocents, St. John the Evangelist and Stephen were temporally related: A. Ebner, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957), 25, 27 for Florentine texts; also Schuster (cited in n 77), I:398. On the altarpiece see Ch 5 n 184. Scharf, "High Altarpiece from S. Maria Novella," 214, 217 simply comments on the inclusion of S. Stefano that his cult with that of S. Lorenzo was "so widely spread in Florence, and their veneration in Dominican circles was so great." Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, cols 949-64, fig 90 and "The Fabulous Life of a Saint," MittFlor 17

(1973):123ff does not adequately support this claim with respect to S. Stefano. Certainly he was a common colleague for the Tornabuoni name-saint, Lorenzo: eg Borsook, "Filippo Lippi," 11-12, 23 and Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pls 108-23. But he was also, like Lorenzo, the Baptist and the Dominicans, a preacher (Pope-Hennessy, Pl 109; Voragine, 54, 437) and it was his Disputation which was chosen for Ghirlandaio's predella (n 88 here). Further, like Lorenzo who distributes alms on the Tornabuoni embroidery (Ch 5 at n 174), this early church deacon did so: Pope-Hennessy, Pl 108. Above all, he too was a martyr, shown with his bleeding head on Ghirlandaio's altarpiece, where his inscription stressed his triumph over death: "Torrentis lapides Stephano martiri invictissimo dulcissimi extiterunt" (Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 17); celebrated also on his feast day: Schuster (cited in n 77), I:378-81. Because of his mode of martyrdom, he was linked with St. Peter Martyr: Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 202.

58. On Baptism see nn 30, 55 here; John 3:5, Romans 6:4, Titus 3:5; Angiola (cited in n 26), 7, 13; E. Angiola, "'Gates of Paradise' and the Florentine Baptistery," AB 60 (1978):242-48; Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 338-55; B. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," AB 60 (1978):655-72; M. Lavin, Baptism; Schiller, Iconography, I:127-43.

On St. Michael see Borsook, Mural Painters, 3, 6 n 19; Gilbert, Documents, 134 (quoted at Ch 2 n 135); Giles, "Strozzi Chapel," 83-84, 102; Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 103-04, 106-07, 211; Voragine, Golden Legend, 578-86.

59. The quotation is from an hymn: H.W. van Os, "Schnee in Siena," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 19 (1968):28. The destination of the Papal procession is mentioned by Visconti: Angiola (cited in n 26), 11; see also Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 113. S. Bernardino of Siena said that milk and snow "significano purità e nettezza di corpo e di mente" (van Os, 40 n 53) and David prayed for his cleansing from sin, "wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow" (Ps 51:7); see also Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 436, 544-46 n 1. When Dante's three Theological Virtues danced at the Pageant of the Sacrament, Faith "did seem / As she were formed of snowflakes fallen anew": Purgatory, XXIX, ll 125-26. When the Virgin as a child entered the temple "her face shone as the snow": Kishpaugh, Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, 7, 66. For the Cathedral's commencement see n 14 above.

60. Other than van Os (cited in n 59), the literature on the legend mainly treats Masolino's scene: A. Braham, "The Emperor Sigismund and the Santa Maria Maggiore Altar-piece," BM 122 (1980):106-12; L. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "The Brancacci Chapel in Florence" (Ph.D. diss., Univ of California, 1971), 63f, 82-92; M. Davies, London, 352-61; G. Masson, The Companion Guide to Rome (Fontana ed., 1972), 324-31; M. Meiss, "The Altered Program of the Santa Maria Maggiore Altarpiece" in Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für L.H. Heydenreich, ed W. Lotz and L. Mötler (Munich, 1964), 169-90. See also Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 631-32. On 19 Jul 1222, Honorius III confirmed previous Bulls to grant an indulgence for the day of S. Maria Maggiore's consecration: Franco and Dalmazzo, Bullarum, 3:383-84. The actual commemoration of St. Mary of the Snows only entered the calendar of the curia in the 14th century according to Batiffol (cited in n 10), 169. It is listed in missals under 5 Aug, usually with

St. Dominic, and sometimes it is noted as the Dedication feast for S. Maria Maggiore and as of duplex ranking: Ebner (cited in n 57), incl 45, 154, 157, 161, 176, 186, 216, 234, 243, 244, 344. It was one of 7 Mariological festivals to be celebrated in a foundation of Cardinal Brancaccio's in Naples: Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 73.

61. For Siena and Rome see esp van Os (cited in n 59). The Florentine examples are:

(1) The panel of the late 1420s by Masolino and Masaccio (n 60);

(2) A late fifteenth century predella scene by an anonymous artist (van Os, Pl 17);

(3) A so-called "Madonna of the Snow" group by Luca della Robbia or the Michelozzo shop rediscovered at SS. Annunziata in 1922: C. Avery, "Three Marble Reliefs by Luca della Robbia," Museum Studies 8 (1976):14-19, fig 8. However, only heavy clothing and a title originating in the eighteenth century are put forward as reasons for its appellation. Vasari-Milanesi II:447 simply called it "una mezza Nostra Donna di marmo, di mezzo rilievo, col Figliuolo in braccio." Further, Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, I:249, II:285, Pl 91 and Pope-Hennessy, Luca, 264, fig 39 both imply that it is a work executed well after the Quattrocento.

(4) A fresco by Lorenzo Monaco in the Virgin's cycle in the Bartolini-Salimbeni chapel, S. Trinita: E. Borsook, The Companion Guide to Florence (revised Fontana ed, 1973), 188; reproduced but without comment by C. Gardner von Tuffel, "Lorenzo Monaco, Filippo Lippi und Filippo Brunelleschi: die Erfindung der Renaissancepala," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 45 (1982):1-30, fig 1; not discussed in the literature on the artist. My thanks to Joanne Pritchard, Power Institute, Univ of Sydney, for supplying a photograph of this faint and damaged fresco, in which a kneeling donor on the right might be discernible.

62. Vasari-Milanesi II:294; see also Braham, (cited in n 60); Kery, (cited in Ch 2 n 100), 78-83 (who only mentions Ghirlandaio's window, with its inclusion of an Emperor, as evidence that a Florentine tradition for Sigismund's presence in Masolino's work existed before Vasari).

63. The Papal re-benediction of Florence took place on 5 Dec 1480: Landucci, Diario, 37; Trexler, Interdict, 173. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 49f place these events at the heart of the Sassetti chapel's iconography. PACE is celebrated in the 1490 inscription in the Tornabuoni chapel.

Matteo di Giovanni's predella might include a young imperial figure dressed in gilded finery, but it is difficult to judge on the basis of a small black-and-white reproduction before recent restoration: n 72; the cleaning is reported in BM 125 (1983):389.

64. Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr, 606, f 38r. Amongst other things the confraternity cared for the "Holy Roman Church," partook of a procession with candles and a cross to "S. Maria Impruneta" (ff 17v, 38v, 40v-41v), a procession for the Corpus Christi day (Ch 2 n 160), communion on the day of the Virgin's Assumption (ff 45r-46r) and a "festa" with sermon and feast on the first or second Sunday in August to commemorate the Madonna del Neve (ff 16v-17v). Their prayers included a desire for "pace in questa nostra città e contado" (f 47r). On the confraternity see Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 168, 183; Monti, (cited at n 22), I:185; Trexler, Public Life, 400, 405;

Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 66, 92, 224.

65. The depiction of Pope and Emperor in the capitolo may refer to another and specific occasion of re-union between the two, in 1367: Borsook, Mural Painters, 50 and Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 123. Watson, (cited in Ch 2 n 118), emphasises the depiction there of secular and Church worlds in union.

66. The Alinari photograph no 43679 was taken before recent restoration, and a large, blank block of glass at the top of the palace has now been moved to its base. An inscription at the back of the altar records the restoration of both glass and frescoes in 1858. In 1907 two different men worked on the Sts. Dominic and Aquinas glass (Chiaroni, "Cappella de' Tornabuoni," Dec 1908, 19), which may explain the more muddy, dark quality of the section with Dominic and the Tornabuoni arme underneath.

Mino da Reame's relief for S.Maria Maggiore of 1463 has nearly symmetrical architecture on both sides, with ground floor loggie and a rusticated palace above. In time and style it is closest to Ghirlandaio's design: van Os, (cited in n 59), Pl 10. Masolino also showed open, arched structures on each side, with landscape in the central background. Jacopo Bellini's backdrop is a purely civic streetscape: van Os, Pl 16. The window at Or San Michele (n 93 below) has towers and turretted structures on either side, all apparently secular. The late fifteenth century panel by an anonymous Florentine is unusual, showing a Colosseum-like structure (influenced by Monaco's fresco?) and a classical column behind the Pope, with a palace in the central background and on the right an arched, pedimented and square structure which may wish to suggest a classical temple. The setting is obviously Roman and attempts historical accuracy: van Os, Pl 17. Sassetta's predella panel of the 1430s for the Sienese Cathedral is most accurate, but unique, showing only a landscape with much sky, appropriate for the Esquiline hill: Carli, Sassetta, Pl XII.

67. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 334; for Dei's "new Rome" see Ch 2 n 224; for Polliziano, Scala and so on nn 70, 71 here. The fresco in the Spanish Chapel also showed the Pope and Emperor before the Cathedral.

68. See Busignani and Bencini, Quartiere di S.Maria Novella, 105-07 for S.Maria Maggiore in Florence. John was often called the "advocato della città nostra": eg Hatfield, "Magi," 157. S. and J. Horner, Walks in Florence and its Environs (London, 1884), 446 called the Neve scene the "Virgin of Mercy protecting Florence and below that several bishops": they mistook the snowfall for the cloak of Misericordia and two Cardinal's hats and a Papal mitre for bishop's hats, but they may have been the only writers to notice the Florentine dome! For Florence as a New Jerusalem see Ch 2 n 220.

69. According to the legend the Pope designated the site with his hand: van Os (cited in n 59), 22 n 29. No-one points in Masolino's work. In Mino's sculpture men on both the "secular" and "ecclesiastical" sides do, though a noticeable and unusual prominence is given to the gesture of the patriarch John, here probably a portrait of Cardinal d'Estouteville: van Os, 16 n 22, Pl 10. In other examples from van Os: the Pope and his assistant both point (Pl 15), John's wife does (Pl 16), the Pope and John each do (Pl 25). In Sassetta's panel a church official indicates (n 66). Sometimes a Papal assistant wields the hoe, though more usually the Pope does so,

thereby according with the legend. At Or San Michele (n 93), the patriarch John holds the hoe in one hand and points with the other but he stands quite still, without expression, while the Pope indicates actively with a stick.

70. Bib Ricc, Codex 1885, ff 5r-5v for the Tornaquinci record (quoted at Ch 4 n 150). See N. Rubinstein, "The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence. A Study in Mediaeval Historiography," JWCI 5 (1942):198-227, esp 215f; "Il Poliziano," (cited in Ch 4 n 150), 102, 104 and n 5; "Bartolomeo Scala's Historia Florentinorum" in Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de' Marinis (Verona, 1964), IV:49-59. The only contribution made by Scala to the Villani tradition is a long speech by a Florentine nobleman imploring the Roman Senate to rebuild his city (Ibid, 57), an elaboration of a precedent perhaps pertinent to Giovanni Tornabuoni's contemporaneous selection of the Neve scene. Landino's commentary on Dante in 1481 is brief but follows the Charlemagne story: Scritti Critici, 130. Corella (d 1483) wrote De Illustratione Urbis Florentinae at S.Maria Novella and the text, like his more well-known Theotocon, praises the Medici, the Virgin and Florence. Book I closes with:

A quo principium Florentia nobile sumpsit,
Quam gemine posuere duces ditione potentes,
Felix Sylla prius, qui condi iusserat illam,
Et Rex Augustae Princeps clarissimus aulae
Carolus, eversam qui post reparavit eandem,
Moenibus amplectens, et sacris aedibus ornans ...
Qua pollet nostri speculum Florentia saeceli,
Patria nobilium mater secunda virorum.

(Bandini, Catologus Latinorum, III:col 867).

71. Borsook and Offerhaus, "Storia e Leggende," 299, 304; History and Legend, 53-54; Borsook, Mural Painters, 118; Rubinstein, "Il Poliziano" (cited in Ch 4 n 150).

72. See Ch 5 Section A incl Caroli's slight lack of precision ("perhaps") at n 2 there; Fineschi, Forestiero, 54 for the 16th century fresco. Emperor Otto's early donation of land rights to the Tornaquinci (Ch 5 n 8) may also be remembered in the window.

Martin V's own choice of the subject may have been affected too by his family's role as early patrons of the rebuilt S.Maria Maggiore and by his own activity in Rome as a "great builder": Meiss (cited in n 60), 178, 182, who does not however make this connection.

The patron of Matteo di Giovanni's Madonna del Neve altarpiece of 1477 was another Giovanni, Bishop of Pienza, who also founded the Oratory dedicated to S.Maria del Neve in Siena wherein the altarpiece resided. van Os (cited in n 59), 16 and n 22, Pl 28, suggests the presence of family portraits in the predella. A larger reproduction of the predella, but without comment on the iconography, is available in Trimpì (cited in n 89), fig 7.

73. For the Assumption see n 82. For the celebration on 5 Aug and Dominican devotion to the Madonna del Neve see van Os, (cited in n 59), 25-26; his Pl 29 is a Sienese Madonna del Neve placed in a chapel dedicated to her at S. Domenico in 1508. See also King, Liturgies of the Orders, 365, 367-68. Gregory the Great compared the snowfall to the word of preachers: Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 544 n 1. The convent's calendar noted St. Dominic's celebration under 5 Aug (Orlandi, Necrologio, II:412; see also n 60 above); Leonardo signed a drawing of

a Tuscan landscape on the "day of Holy Mary of the Snows on the 5th of August 1473" (trans by Kemp [cited in Ch 4 n 18], 51). Giovanni Rucellai made the rare comparative note that S.Maria Maggiore was "della grandezza di Sancta Maria Novella": Zibaldone, 69. Today the Dominicans are responsible for the confessions at S.Maria Maggiore, but I do not know how far back that association goes. Antonino disliked "apocryphal tales" (Gilbert, Documents, 148), but in 1445 he approved the capitoli of the Madonna del Neve confraternity: Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr, 606, f 50v.

74. Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):178f; Corazza, "Diario," 270-71; Fineschi, Cimitero, xiii; Trexler, Public Life, 54, 62.

75. The convent's 14th century calendar from the Liber Novus already notes nothing special on St Luke's day: Orlandi, Necrologio, II:415; see Ch 5 n 108 for 1279. For 1486 see Ch 5 n 128; that date in Sept never saw him purchase wax in any other year. The St. Dominic confraternity at S.Maria Novella similarly celebrated the anniversary of their oratory's consecration, which day had an indulgence as did the 1 Sept feast day: Biliotti, Chronica, II (1895-96):178f; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:736 n II. The confraternity also held a separate mass for the oratory's chief benefactors: Meersseman, 738-39. On the feast of the Dedication of a church see Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 230-31; such a day was ranked as a greater double: Batiffol (cited in n 10), 167, 175 and n 60 above.

That the Neve legend could be associated with patronage and also with consecration is suggested not only by its obvious choice as the day on which S.Maria Maggiore's consecration was celebrated (n 60). The predella of Matteo di Giovanni's altarpiece (n 72) contained 3 narratives: the snowfall, the Pope marking the site and a third scene set beneath a portal-like structure where a consecration or at least officiation at an altar appears to be taking place. Kneeling seculars (donors?) on the right are matched by the standing curia on the left.

76. See esp Caplan, Of eloquence; T.M. Charland, Artes Praedicandi. Contribution a l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen age (Paris, 1936); M. Lavin, Baptism, 107-08; J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (Berkeley, 1974), Ch VI; cf O'Malley, Praise and Blame, Ch 2; Voragine, Golden Legend; Zafarana, "Una raccolta privata di prediche." For Dominican control or action vis-a-vis secular patrons at S.Maria Novella see Ch 5 incl at nn 90, 180f, 192.

77. Echols, "Coronation," 81-82; Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 430-34; I. Schuster, The Sacramentary (London, 1924), I:136-60; Voragine, Golden Legend, 776; Corazza, "Diario," 270 for 1420; O. von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral (New York, 1962, 2nd ed), 8-11, 37, 129-34 (St. Augustine quoted here from 129-30). Similar symbolism evoking purification was employed in a similar ritual: the newly ordained carried lit candles to signify exorcism: Gaston, (cited in n 25), n 52. For oblation by an exorcised man "with torch in hand" see Brucker, Documentary Study, 173-74.

78. Voragine, Golden Legend, 778. See also Ephesians 2:19-22 (quoted before n 99 here), cited by Abbot Suger in his description of his Gothic choir, "the City of the Great King" (von Simson, cited in n 77, 130); see also Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 433 for the text's relationship to the consecration ritual.

79. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:723; in the RSV, Ps 127:1; in the Vulgate, Ps 126:2: "Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam." Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 62-63 also notes the relationship here between micro and macrocosm, "between confraternity and city."

80. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 103.

81. NA, M 237, f 159v (the contract); C 644, ff 47r-50r (the will). Giles, "Strozzi Chapel," 102-13 investigates the Virgin's Coronation, esp when she is already crowned and enthroned beside Christ, arguing that this had become an image of Paradise, as Offner had suggested for any Coronation not in a narrative context. The rare motif of Christ holding a scepter (as he does in Ghirlandaio's lunette) is associated by Giles with Virgil's description of Heaven as "the city of the Emperor who reigns aloft," an image referred to by Dante. In the Strozzi chapel of the Trecento at S.Maria Novella this scene of the Virgin's Triumph is placed opposite the Inferno. Echols, "Coronation," 5, 44, 58, 76, 246, 249-55 however gives more examples of this Rex coelestis type from the Quattrocento, with a seated Virgin being crowned by Christ's right hand, very few of which are Tuscan. Ghirlandaio's accords with her Type I.st.8, of which she lists only 7 instances, Ghirlandaio's and Fra Angelico's in the Uffizi (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 34) being the only exact Florentine examples. The usual Tuscan type was for Christ to hold the crown in both hands, as he does before a kneeling Virgin in Ghirlandaio's altarpiece completed by 1486 for the Franciscans at Narni (Glasser, Artists' Contracts, 31, 67f, Pl IX).

82. For the early dedication see Ch 5 n 183; for the altarpiece and its frame Ch 5 n 161; for its subject, Biliotti, Chronica, I (1893-94):50, 52; II (1895-96):238. That Masolino's Neve panel was accompanied on the reverse by an Assumption may prove significant but no comment has been passed on the association of these two miracles where the Virgin resides in an heavenly realm. M. Davies, London, 358 n 20 offers the only explanation so far: that Christmas, the "Snows" miracle or consecration and the Assumption were the three great feast days celebrated at S.Maria Maggiore; for the importance of the Assumption at S.Maria Maggiore see now Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 113-15. The Bull of 1222 (n 60) placed the feast day of the consecration at the Octave of the Assumption. See n 64 here for the Florentine confraternity dedicated to the Madonna del Neve celebrating the Assumption.

83. For the legend see n 96.

84. Warner, Virgin Mary, Ch 8; also Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 410ff; King, Liturgies of the Orders, 363; Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 112; Male, The Gothic Image (London, 1913), 246ff; Rahner (cited in n 39), Ch 11; Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 616-21; Voragine, Golden Legend, 449-65.

85. For the Soldiers of God see Ch 7 n 44. For the Arch of Constantine and the reliefs here and their other sources see esp Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 439-42; J.A. Dobrick, "Ghirlandaio and Roman coins," BM 123 (1981):359 n 8; Gombrich, Warburg, 117; Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 20, 51, 52, 126-27, 150-51 n 108, 213-14, 240 n 51, 241 n 53, 296 (who argues for a purely civic

interpretation).

For the Virgin as the Gate of Heaven see eg text at n 39; Edgerton, "Mensurae temporalia ...," 121, 127; Plogsterth, "Reconsideration of Religious Iconography," 436 n 35; Warner, Virgin Mary, 262. For portals as entrances to Paradise see Angiola (cited in n 58); Panofsky, Tombs, 37ff; S'Jacob (cited in Ch 7 n 178), 145ff.

Some of the reliefs in the Tornaquinci chapel may be relevant to the argument offered by J. Bialostocki, "The Sea-Thiasos in Renaissance Sepulchral Art" in Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday (London, 1967), 69-74 (who mentions the Sassetti chapel).

86. BNF, Magl., XL.9.46, f 95v (see Ch 2 n 160). The Corpus Christi liturgy was universally accepted as the work of Aquinas not long after its creation. Canonised in 1323, his theology had been accepted by the Dominican Chapter General as early as 1279: Bonniwell, Dominican Liturgy, 214, 217f; MOPH III:235. He was highly revered, Antonio Lanfredini for instance in 1484 calling him "Sancto Thommaso, doctor sancto e famosissimo": Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt I:91. The brilliance of his mind and a wisdom more than human and hence inspired by the Holy Spirit was a common theme: J. O'Malley, "Some Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," RenQ 27 (1974):174-92, esp 182. It is reflected in Gozzoli's Triumph of Aquinas, once in the Pisan Cathedral and now in the Louvre: Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, Pl 211, but Aquinas had been called the light of the Church as early as 1274 (Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 125) and the explicit parallel then drawn with God's creation of light in Genesis is suggested in the Sun's face held by Aquinas in the Tornabuoni window (n 87). Caroli's description of his convent's capitolo, which included the fresco of Aquinas' Triumph, suggested the imagery of light: "verum et significatione sanctissima ad devotionis fervorem animus vehementissime accendatur" (Orlandi, Necrologio, II:395; trans at n 105 below).

87. See Ch 5 text at n 173 for the cope. In Masolino's altarpiece, St Jerome holds a church in one hand and the opening passage from his translation of the Vulgate in the other, a similar reference to the scholarly foundation of the church.

Aquinas is treated as the exemplar of the Church's learning and triumph in the capitolo of S.Maria Novella (Ch 2 n 118). Another Trecento fresco, in the convent's refectory, shows Aquinas on the far left, holding a church in one hand while the other gestures with semi-open palm, perhaps once having held a sun: Orlandi, Necrologio, I:459; S.Maria Novella, fig 48 (with variable, questionable identifications for the four saints either side of the Virgin and Child enthroned). He is also represented thus in a polyptych by Andrea da Firenze associated with S.Maria Novella's "Gondi" chapel which from 1325 was a Tornaquinci chapel (Ch 5 n 105): M. Davies, London, 14-15; Meiss, Black Death, 175-76, fig 63. The format refers to this "glorious doctor [who] illuminated further the church of God" as was stated at his canonisation (Cannon, "Simone Martini," 73) but had been expressed already in 1274 (n 86 above). Fra Angelico included the Beato John Salerno in the ranks of his Order's beatified and in this case the first prior of S.Maria Novella is shown holding a church and illuminating sun: M. Davies, 24; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 5. Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, fig 1102 is an example of this motif, with Aquinas again, from S.Domenico, Arezzo, by Parri Spinelli. For his treatment in Orcagna's altarpiece see Giles, "Strozzi Chapel," 75f.

88. Bacci, Piero di Cosimo, Pl 76 (possibly from S.Marco); Berenson, Homeless, Pl 284; Biblioteca Sanctorum (Rome, 1967-), IV:cols 710, 730; Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 73-74 and n 37; Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, cols 312-13, fig 358; van Marle, Italian Schools, V:fig 135; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, figs 23 b, 42 d. For the story see Quetif and Echard, (cited in Ch 5 n 181), 6; Voragine, Golden Legend, 414. In the Spanish Chapel, heretics tear their books apart after unsuccessful debate with St. Dominic, but the incident employing fire was more symbolic and denoted the inviolability of Scripture: Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 122.

The only scene on the now-lost Tornabuoni predella to be mentioned by Vasari-Milanesi VI:532 was "una Disputa" under St. Stephen, doubtlessly his disputation with the Pharisees (Acts 6:8 - 7:60; Voragine, 55), previously frescoed at Prato and Rome (Borsook, "Filippo Lippi," fig 20; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 109).

Ghirlandaio's contract had forecast another scene for the Virgin's cycle with the same significance to the Dominicans, "Christ Disputing with the Doctors in the Temple": NA, M 237, f 159v. Fra Angelico's painting of this subject (Pope-Hennessy, Pl 137) carried an inscription from Jeremiah 8:9 which could equally apply to St. Dominic and the Burning of the Books: "The wise men shall be put to shame, they shall be dismayed and taken; lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them?"

89. His martyrdom is carved on the facade of the convent's capitolo (Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes," 117, fig 9) and depicted inside it too, but the damaged fresco no longer bears, if it ever did, signs of the three crowns (Borsook, Mural Painters, Pl 63; Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, cols 817-33, esp fig 938). Ghirlandaio's scheme, including the 3 crowns, follows a Trecento fresco originally in the choir near the tramezzo, but transferred by Vasari: illustrated in Lunardi, S.Maria Novella, 96. Fra Angelico's depiction shows two crowns: Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 12 b, but a panel in Zagreb, possibly by Gozzoli, shows three: fig 111. The third crown signifies blood martyrdom: E. Trimpi, "...a predella for Matteo di Giovanni's Placidi altar-piece," BM 125 (1983):459.

S.Maria Novella held a relic of one of his fingers (Francesconi, Firenze Sacra, 52-53), no doubt believed to be the one which wrote "Credo," for which see Covi, "Inscription," 139, 408. For Peter at the convent see Ch 5 n 131. Canonised in 1253 (Franco and Dalmazzo, Bullarum, 3:562-66), images of him and St. Dominic were allowed by the Dominican Chapter General of 1254 (MOPH III:70; see also 71, 256 and XX:16) and his day was celebrated as a totum duplex by the Order (King, Liturgies of the Orders, 368). In general on the saint see also Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 202f and Voragine, Golden Legend, 247-59.

90. St. Peter Martyr's inscription, now lost, is transcribed by Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 17; St. Dominic's is given, with slight mistakes, in Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, col 312. The opposite page of St. Dominic's text is merely mock writing. The text is probably a typical late Quattrocento adaptation of that he displays in Traini's polyptch of 1345 from S. Caterina, Pisa: "Venite filii audite me timorem Domini docebo vos" (Ps 34:11; Biblioteca Sanctorum [Rome, 1967-], IV:col 728).

91. For the vision see Cannon, "Simone Martini," 79; Hinnebusch,

Dominican Order, 121; Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, col 313; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, figs 23a, 42 b, 88; Voragine, Golden Legend, 416 (330ff for the iconography of Peter and Paul). For the dream's depiction at S.Maria Novella during the fourteenth century see Antal, Florentine Painting, Pl 25 b; Gardner, "Chapterhouse Frescoes", 114, fig 8.

Peter and Paul, as the two pillars of the early Church, are named in the Bull of 1222 (n 60) and appear in the Madonna del Neve altarpieces by Sassetta and Masolino, as does St. John the Baptist whilst they appear either side of the Virgin, with Sts Lorenzo and Clare kneeling below in Matteo di Giovanni's panel of 1477 (n 72). Braham (cited in n 60) argues that in Masolino's work the Baptist is present as the witness of the inception of the new law, a role argued here for him esp in relation to the Purification (text after n 49) and note his presence in the window between Dominic and Peter.

92. Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altare Maggiore," 17 for most of the saints' inscriptions; Holst, "Ghirlandaio: L'Altare Maggiore," fig 6 also for S.Antonino; Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, col 93 is the only writer to note the book and its source in the breviary ("Pater pauperum et liberavi pauperem vociferantem. Merentium consolator et pupillum cui non erat ..."); Ch 4 n 104 for Antonino and the Tornabuoni; Biblioteca Sanctorum (Rome, 1967-), II:cols 88-105.

93. For Or San Michele see W. Cohn, "Zur Ikonographie der Glasfenster von Orsanmichele," MittFlor 9 (1959/60):8-9, fig 8; for the damaged fresco at Pistoia, van Os, (cited in n 59), Pl 14. While the patriarch's wife sometimes appears in other representations (eg van Os, Pl 16), these are the only two Italian examples I know where the couple kneels as though they are donors at the miracle. An old couple kneel in the midground of Grünewald's Founding of S.Maria Maggiore while two younger men hold the Pope's train and the latter are probably the two canons who were the patrons: G. Testori, L'opera completa di Grünewald (Milan, 1972), 94-95; A.M. Vogt, Grünewald (Zurich, 1957), 162, Pl 32 (neither note possible portraits).

94. For the device and arms present in the chapel see Ch 3 n 204; Ch 4 n 26; Ch 5 nn 49, 161, 174-75. The triple diamond device is also carved in the capitals and arch at the entrance to the Tornabuoni chapel at Cestello and appears in one version of Giovanni's medal: Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 1023; Luchs, Cestello, 21, 44, figs 17 a and b, 63; Pls 42, 57 here.

That the Tornabuoni device consists of 3 diamonds is suggested not only by Biliotti's description (Ch 5 at n 174) but also by its more apparent form when seen in a single mounting on the women's dresses (Pls 10, 18). It probably originated from the Medicean device of 3 intertwined diamond rings or one ring with 3 feathers, such as was shown on the reverse of the Tornabuoni-Medici desco celebrating Lorenzo's birth, and which implied eternal faithfulness and strength (Ames-Lewis, "Devices," 122 n 3, 126ff, 137, Pl 39 a). Francesco Sassetti and Giovanni Rucellai (Ames-Lewis, 130; Preyer, "Rucellai Palace," 198-210) were thus not the only Quattrocento Florentines who adopted the device, although the Tornabuoni form is a more complex and independent one, perhaps suggested by Poliziano who could supply what he called "un misterioso simbolo" and other such mottoes and devices: I. del Lungo, Florentia. Uomini e cose del quattrocento (Florence, 1897), 204.

The Bible, Pliny, Isidore of Seville and other lapidaries speak of the gem's hardness, Pliny saying that neither fire nor hammer could vanquish its "unconquerable force" which also prevailed over poisons and nightmares: Ezekiel 3:9; Natural History, XXXVII, xv; J. Evans, Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Oxford, 1922), passim; Agostino del Riccio, Istoria delle pietre ed P. Barocchi (Florence, 1979), ff 51r-54r. Its durability led to its common association with constancy, fortitude and faith or of victory over contention: see also G. de Tervarent, Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600 (Geneva, 1958), cols 187-88. Hence, as with the Tornabuoni device, the single diamond can be shown invincible amidst flames: G. Hill, "Notes on Italian Medals - XVI: Francesco Fermi," BM 24 (1913-14):212; U. Middeldorf, "Giuliano da Sangallo and Andrea Sansovino," AB 16 (1934):115 for an illustration of a 1490s console in the Palazzo Gondi courtyard; see n 104 here for a similar idea expressed in the inscription for S. Lorenzo on the altarpiece. Flames can be joined by the ineffectual hammer and a similar tool, with flames, hangs beneath the conquering Tornabuoni device in fresco between the chapel's window and the donor portraits: P. Giovio, Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amoroze (Lyons, 1559), 42; A. Henkel and A. Schöne, Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1976), cols 85-88; Pls 24, 25 here.

The meaning is further explicated by its appearance on Giovanni's medal (Pl. 42) where Hope gazes upwards at the radiant device, suggesting that its triangular and triple format, noted by Biliotti, derives from Trinitarian emblems where the triangle connotes unity and faith: eg M. Lavin, Baptism, 160 n 5; G.A. Schüssler, "Zum Thomas fresco des Andrea Bonaiuti in der Spanischen Kapelle...", MittFlor 24 (1980):261 and n 64, Pls 14, 16. The clear white light of stars which is like the diamond (Albertus Magnus, OP: Evans, 85) and the "crystalline" nature of the third grade of heaven (Ficino in Garin, Prosatori Latini, 936f) might also be influential notions. Certainly the device is scattered like stars through a dome of heaven in the temple's apse of the Annunciation to Zacharias drawing (Pl. 5), barely visible now in the fresco, where however one can discern the device on Zacharias' garment, perhaps a reference to the diamond and other jewels on the High Priest's breastplate (Exodus 28:18, 39:11; Pl. 2 here). For Christian meanings of the diamond see also L'Oreficeria, no 221.

Lastly the medal's inscription and hence apparently Giovanni's personal motto was FIRMAVI, connoting strength and victory in adversity, appropriate to the diamond and treated in Ps 31:7-8 which Hill suggests as the motto's source. It is notable too that his device and motto suit what we know of Giovanni's personality: his religious faith, his Medicean loyalty combined with an independent stature, his steadfast love for his family and his dead wife, and his relative optimism.

More arcane and complex interpretations of the device might be possible but my investigation of such matters as the philosopher's stone, Hermes Trismegistus and the pentagram leads me to conclude that the secret riddles delighted in by the late 15th century Neoplatonists (eg M. Lavin, 159-60 n 5), if applicable, would only gloss and confirm this preliminary outline. For interested letters in response to my queries on this matter I thank Francis Ames-Lewis, Diana Galis and Ursula Szulakowska.

95. For his birth on 22 Dec 1428 and the chapel's unveiling on 22 Dec 1490 see Ch 3 nn 94, 156. For the practice of adopting two names, one

related to kinship and the other to the son's day of birth or baptism, see Klapisch-Zuber, "Le nom 'refait.'"

96. See esp Warner, Virgin Mary, 278ff; also Borsook, Mural Painters, 113-15; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 431-32; Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 230; Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 618-21; Voragine, Golden Legend, 454. For the relic and its celebration at Prato see B. Cole, AgnoLO Gaddi (Oxford, 1976), 35f, 87-88, Pls 55-78; Lightbown, 230f; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 2, 683 (Verino in the 1480s). The first documented performance of an Assumption play in Florence, which included the episode of the girdle, occurred in May 1480: Trexler, "Checklist," (as cited in Ch 2 n 166), 469. Earlier, Antonino had disapproved of the depiction of this legend: Gilbert, Documents, 148.

97. For the iconography of Thomas, always shown as "a very young beardless apostle," see Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, cols 969-77; cf John the Evangelist (the universal identification of the saint on the Tornabuoni altarpiece) who is often bearded, old and holding a book: cols 560-69; also Biblioteca Sanctorum (Rome, 1967-), VI:cols 785-97 and Voragine, Golden Legend, 58-64. St. Thomas in the window's Assumption also wears green (and purple) and has long blond hair. The only reason ever given for the identification of the saint on the panel as John the Evangelist is that he shares the same name as the Baptist and the patron Giovanni Tornabuoni (eg Dube, cited in Ch 5 n 184). Thomas' role as a patron saint of Giovanni has not been known previously.

On the other hand, as a representative of humanity at the foot of the Cross, beloved of Christ and close to Mary, John the Evangelist would also be appropriate on the altarpiece, interceding for mankind. More particularly, he was the patron saint of theologians and writers and, with the Virgin, had appeared to a Dominican at the hour of death (Jarrett [cited in n 17], 229-30), so he was a fitting companion of Dominic and Michael on a Dominican altarpiece. In 1419 Corazza, "Diario," 265 recorded one of the important feast days at S. Maria Novella, celebrated by a Cardinal in the Papal retinue, as that of St. John the Evangelist on 27 Dec.

98. Conv Soppr, 102, App 84, f not known (1485); App 86 for all others. For a possible service at the altar on 22 Dec 1489 see Ch 5 n 125. In 1483 his wife's sung anniversary mass (marking the decade after her death?) was paid for by Lorenzo and, although late, the money was received on 22 Dec: App 16, f 29r. For the dowry see Ch 5 n 121; for his death in April, Ch 5 n 126; App 86, f not known for the first anniversary mass in Dec 1497; Conv Soppr, 81, unnumbered insert, for the convent's record in the 16th century of its obligation on this day (quoted in Ch 3 n 192).

99. For the "oratory" see Ch 5 nn 103, 183. On alms see nn 57, 92 here; Ch 3 n 177; Ch 5 at n 174.

100. Vasari-Milanesi V:350.

101. See esp Matthew 3:1-10; also 7:19; Luke 3:9, John 8:39, 15:6. For the cut tree see M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista," 94; Schiller, Iconography, 133, 135, 140. For the young John comparing the desert with a paradise in Florentine legends see Borsook, "Filippo Lippi," 31 and M. Lavin, 88, 95, 98. For his rocky prominence, called a "monticello" by a 14th century Dominican text (Manni, Vite, 229-30)

and Lucrezia Tornabuoni (Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 171), see also Borsook, 31; Dunford, "S. Giovanni at Urbino," 371; Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, 157. The naked child is from an Hellenistic statue of a young boy with a goose (Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 446-47), but is even closer to Masaccio's use of the marble work in his Virgin, Child and St. Anne from S. Ambrogio. The only possible precedent is a clothed boy who sits beneath the classical plinth of an "Ascetic Preaching" in Bellini's Louvre sketchbook: Joost-Gaugier (cited in n 48), Pl 28.

102. See esp G. and L. Bauer, "Bernini's Organ-Case for S. Maria del Popolo," AB 62 (1980):118f; G. Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance" in Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky (New York, 1961), 303-22; M. Lavin, Baptism, 114; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 89-91, 200f, 249; Psalm 1:3; Ch 7 n 139.

103. Matthew 3:11, Luke 3:16; Malachi 3:2 (used in the Purification liturgy: text after n 30 above).

104. "Pressuram flamme non timui et in medio ignis non sum estuatus": Chiaroni, "Coro e l'Altar Maggiore," 17. The translation is from Covi, "Inscription," 576-77, who suggests it comes from Eccl 51:6 since the second half coincides with this text and is used in the Missal. A similar phrase occurs in Isaiah 43:2, the first half of which speaks of not being overwhelmed by water, from whence may come the inscription's unusual reference to the "pressure of the flame." The implicit reference to Christ's Baptism in Isaiah may also indicate that the text was considered appropriate. The passage, where the Lord speaks to Jacob and Israel, reads: "When you pass through the water I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you." Voragine, Golden Legend, 440-41 speaks of blades "pressed" to Lorenzo's side, of his executioners "pressing him down with iron forks." For the Tornabuoni device see n 94; for Purgatory, Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 172 and Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, col 1095.

105. Voragine, Golden Legend, 445. For Aquinas see n 86, with the translation of Caroli from Gilbert, Documents, 153; for Simeon and prophecy see text at n 45 ff above.

106. Wisdom of Solomon 7:25-26; see also Song of Songs 8:6. See Ch 5 esp n 153 for Ghirlandaio's rendering of gilded surfaces.

107. For example, Isaiah 53:6-7, Ps 27:1, Luke 2:32, John 1:1 and 29, 8:12, 1 John 1:5 and 7, 2 Cor 4:6, Rev 21:23. See also E. Kirschbaum (ed) Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (Rome, 1968-), III:cols 7-14; Schiller, Iconography, 117-21. The four rivers of paradise or the four Gospels often flow from the Lamb of God. For the contract see NA, M 237, f 159r and n 1 here.

108. The entrance vault bears St. Mark and his lion. St. Luke and his ox appear above the Baptist's cycle: van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII: fig 57. St. John listens to the eagle above the window: Francovich, (cited in Ch 3 n 204), 267, fig 68. Over the Virgin's cycle sits St. Matthew inspired by a flying angel: n 112.

109. Job 16:17-19 (RSV), v 20 in the Vulgate.

110. ORATIO MEA SICVT INCENSVM IN CONSPECTV TVO: Ps 141:2, in the Vulgate Ps 140:1. See Ch 2 at n 216.

111. See text at n 44 here; Ch 7 Section C for the Joachim fresco.

112. The text is just visible in van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:fig 58 and more clearly in Alinari 4018. Kaftal, Iconography of the saints, col 725 is the only writer to note it. In full Matthew 14:1-2 reads: "At that time Herod the tetrarch heard about the fame of Jesus; and he said to his servants, 'This is John the Baptist, he has been raised from the dead; that is why these powers are at work in him.'" A similarly unfinished and evocative text in the adjacent Strozzi chapel begins "si scires donum Dei," referring to God's gift as the Water of Life or Eternal Life: E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel," MittFlor 11 (1965):266.

CHAPTER SEVEN: NOTES

1. Gombrich, Warburg, 115 for the quotation; Warburg's unpublished work on the chapel was an exception for it did consider the implications of portraiture. For the more usual treatment see, eg, Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits," a recent summation of all identifications which both records and creates confusion from previous undocumented discussions, such as those of P. Bargellini, Il Ghirlandaio del bel Mondo Fiorentino (Florence, 1948) and G. Davies, Ghirlandaio.

2. See Ch 3 n 210 for Pieraccini; Ch 2 n 212 for "remaking."

3. Gombrich, Warburg, 116; Hatfield, "Sherlock Holmes," 227-28; Alazard, Portrait Florentin, 13, who nevertheless goes on to claim that portraits are documents. Even when we have what would seem a secure foundation, such as an inscribed medal, identification is not always easily settled. Differences in medium, artist and function of the images, the age of the portrayed and so on must all be considered. More often, especially in the case of women, not even this much of a visual source exists.

4. Most conveniently published in Vasari-Milanesi III:266-67 n 1 (copied in G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 120-21), the 1561 list was first published in full for the Zacharias fresco by G. Della Valle (ed) Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori Scultori e Architetti scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari (Siena, 1791), IV:176-78 and referred to in part by Manni, Sigilli XVIII:132; D.M. Manni, "Vita di Domenico del Ghirlandajo pittore fiorentino" in Raccolta d'Opuscoli scientifici e filologici ed. A. Calogiera (Venice, 1751), XLV:150-52; Follini, Firenze, 323-24. The list was originally appended to drawings owned by the Tornaquinci and Baldovinetti, which "still exist" according to A.H. Layard, Domenico Ghirlandaio and his fresco of the Death of S. Francis (Arundel Society, 1860), 29 n, but are not known now. For Benedetto Landucci's relationship with his Tornaquinci neighbours see Ch 4 n 16; he was born in 1472, so would have seen many of the portrayed as living men.

5. Giuliano's title has not been noticed either. The only four texts which mention the two names on the right are A. Stix and L. Fröhlich-Bum, Beschreiben der Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlungen Albertina (Vienna, 1932), III:6-7, 92, in which Tafel 9 does not clearly show the left-hand names; O. Benesch, Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina (Salzburg, 1964), 321 and Pl 9, a clearer reproduction (who notes that the names are original); Glasser, Artists' Contracts, 141-43; Gilbert, "Masaccio's Sagra," 269 n 15.

For the drawing see also BB Drawings, 133-34, no 891, fig 300; Ames-Lewis, Drawing, 146, 149, Pl 145 (who notices "several" names). Given the style and placement of another 10 portraits, including 6 in abisso (one of whom wears a cap and mantle which already suggest a humanists or bishop), it is notable that Ghirlandaio planned multiple portrayal akin to his chief frescoes in the Sassetti chapel, before further discussion with the patron expanded this again.

My thanks to Bill Kent and Dale Kent for their paleographic

assistance with a difficult reading of "Lorenzo." Furthermore, an erased name can still be seen above Giovanfrancesco, on the same level as Giuliano's, and this might be read as "Alessandro." The absence of this name from Landucci's list may also be due to the subsequent inclusion of Alessandro Nasi, with Lorenzo, in the Expulsion of Joachim (n 72 below). But the man may have been a Tornabuoni, and the only such Alessandro was the elder brother of Messer Giuliano. Only in Florence between July 1488 and Jan 1489 (Ch 3 n 16), Alessandro is probably not in the fresco because he departed before Ghirlandaio could prepare a portrait drawing of him.

6. For the dates see Ch 3 nn 94, 148, 159; for the medal, Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, nos 1023-25; for the other portrait, Section F here. The scarlet cappuccio and crimson or lighter mantle of the Gonfaloniere is described in I. del Badia, "Modo d'andare a processione il Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, Priori, Podesta Giudici della Ruota di Firenze" in his Miscellanea Fiorentina, I:107-08; Borsook, Mural Painters, 58, 60 n 3; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 96. The figure here labelled no 10 points across to Giovanni, indicating his status as chief patron.

7. For Piero see Ch 3 n 14. Warburg identified this man as "Bartolommeo di Niccolò di Piero Popoleschi" (Gombrich, Warburg, 116), the only other possible contender for leadership of the Popoleschi. Bartolommeo had been their representative in the petition of 1487 seeking exemption from the divieto (Ch 3 at n 46f), but he died in 1489 (Delizie IX:208).

8. For Girolamo see Ch 3 n 58, Ch 4 n 70. Violet in a merchant's clothing is mentioned by R. Levi Pisetzky, Storia del Costume in Italia (Milan, 1964), II:414. For the gesture see O. Chomentovskaja, "Le Comput Digital. Histoire d'un geste dans l'art de la Renaissance Italienne," GazBA 20 (1938):157-72 and Gage, Life in Italy, 70.

9. Leonardo was born on 22 April 1425 according to Tratte, 443 Bis, f 146r; however his father's catasto of 1427 lists his age as 5, his own report in 1480 give 57 and Carte Dei, Tornabuoni, gives a birthdate of 1422. He was prior in Jan-Feb 1470 (CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum) and Governor at the key fortress of San Giovanni in 1475 (MSS, 248, vol I, f 117v; Rochon, Laurent de Medicis, 54 n 99). For letters indicating family closeness, esp between his sisters and wife Bartolommea, see Maguire, Medici Women, 81, 94, 103, 254-55. See Ch 5 nn 117, 118, Ch 6 n 7 for actions at S. Maria Novella.

For Florentine red, worn especially by men of justice and valour, see Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 413, 414.

Litta, Famiglie celebri, II claims Filippo died in 1479 but the "Filippo Tornabuoni" who died in 1488 (Delizie IX:208) can only be this man, for whom I have come across no notices after 1487.

10. Giuliano was born on 7 Sept 1454: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139v. See Ch 3 n 167; Ch 4 nn 68, 88, 109; for his physical violence see Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 554-55 and pt 2, 844.

11. Giovanni was born 16 Aug 1437: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139v. See Ch 3 n 93; Ch 4 n 106; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:158, 177; no 12, his brother, who displays a likeness. For black as either an academic gown, or to signify modesty or grief, and for grey as the colour of simple, cheap cloth, see J. Herald, Renaissance Dress in Italy

1400-1500 (London, 1981), 119-20, 123 and Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 154-55, 413-14.

12. Gianfrancesco was born on 29 Jan 1436: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139r. See Ch 4 nn 99, 114, 138; for other offices see Protocolli, 388, 393, 396 and Rubinstein, Government, 307, 314.

13. Girolamo was born on 9 June 1449: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139v, also 444 Bis, f 161v. He was a prior in Nov-Dec 1489 and Sept-Oct 1518: CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum. For his tenancy see Ch 3 n 71; for his will of 1524 with a strong attachment to his consorteria see Ch 3 n 42, Ch 4 nn 120, 121. If "Scarabotto" derives from "scarabattola," meaning trash, his unshaven appearance may refer to this name. Warburg's revision of the Landucci list includes both "6. Girolamo Tornabuoni, Dean" and "9. Hieronymo di Scarabotto," his no 6 seeming to be a confusion with Giuliano (no 5) whom he does not name: Gombrich, Warburg, 116.

14. Simone, brother of Giuliano (no 5), was born on 10 May 1472: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 162v and 444 Bis, f 174r. For his opposition to Savonarola see Guicciardini, History of Florence, 141; R. D. Jones (cited in Ch 3 n 12), 65; Landucci Diario, 195; B. Masi, Ricordanze, 38; Weinstein, Savonarola, 128. He was prior in Nov-Dec 1523 and Gonfaloniere in Nov-Dec 1530 (CS, Ser II, 100, ad datum); for his other honours see Cambi, Istorie, XX:116; di Crottananza (cited in Ch 3 n 2), 30; Mecatti, Storia genealogica, 220. Varchi's description is in J. Haar, "Madrigals from the Last Florentine Republic" in Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore, eds S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), II:389 and 402 n 39.

Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 378, briefly mentions a "cingola militare."

15. Giovambatista was born on 12 Aug 1452: Tratte, 443 Bis, f 139v; for Alfonso's birth see f 118r and also 444 Bis, f 137r. He was a prior in May-June 1492: CS, Ser II, 100 ad datum. For the tondo see Ch 4 n 134.

16. See Ch 3 nn 16, 167. The faces in the fresco and on the tomb share thin clenched lips, a cleft in the chin, large and deep eye sockets and a marked groove running down from the side of the nose.

17. See Ch 4 n 106.

18. That the placement suggested here does not follow Landucci's smooth numerical continuity may be due to a possible copiest of the now lost drawing, or to mistakes made by Della Valle, who is the only source for all later republications (n 4).

The only surprising exclusion is Giovanni's nephew Nofri, only surviving son of Niccolò and prominent in the Medici Bank (see Ch 3 n 154). His continual activities in Rome, and consequent absence from Florence when Ghirlandaio would have had to study his face, would seem to explain his absence from the chapel.

19. Gombrich, Warburg, 118; Alberti, Family, 194-95; Leonardo is quoted by Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 312 and goes on: "il giovane ornata d'abito." This is applicable to the brighter, more varied colour and shorter robes of the youths in the Joachim fresco. Decembrio said that "one's dress can be a source of respect and good

will among gentlemen": W. Gundersheimer, Ferrara. The Style of a Renaissance Despotism (Princeton, 1973), 106. For Florentine red see n 9. In the Sassetti chapel, costume is more colourful, varied and luxurious, including fur-lined robes. Francesco had been a prior in 1469, but his family's inconspicuous civic record (Ch 5 n 90) necessitated the inclusion of parenti, amici and Mediceans to compensate.

20. Warburg conjectured that he was "Baccio Ugolini?" (Gombrich, Warburg, 117), surely as an obvious Medicean and musician, but he held no position at S. Lorenzo: Barfucci, Lorenzo de' Medici, 89-90; G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York, 1954), 153. Giovanni aided in the finding of a benefice for Baccio in 1473 (Rochon, Laurent de Médicis, 280 n 143) and by 1478 Baccio had been met by Philippe de Commines in Giovanni's house (Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, III:264-65).

In 1477 Lorenzo de' Medici wrote "A Giovanni Tornabuoni, per Arnolfo cantore, per una licentia di ordinarsi" (Protocolli, 4) and this is probably Ser Arnolfo Giliardi, attached to S. Lorenzo as "a singer and chaplain" by 1479 (D'Accone [cited in Ch 3 n 155], 266), but he seems to have been absent from Florence during the latter half of the 1480s. Connections between S. Lorenzo and the Tornaquinci are also very rare, except for Lucrezia Tornabuoni's chapel there dedicated to the Visitation (n 122 below). In 1479 the Tornabuoni tutor, Martino della Comedia, had wanted a chaplaincy at S. Lorenzo: Ch 3 n 133. The unnamed "Priorem Sancti Laurentij" was nominated by Lorenzo Tornabuoni and his brother-in-law Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi in Sept 1492 as their representative at the baptism of Piero de' Medici's son: NA, B 910, insert 1, f 211r.

It is appealing to consider the possibility that the man is Francesco Albertini, who held a position at S. Lorenzo, was a musician, writer of guide books to Florence and Rome, and "pupil" or associate of Domenico Ghirlandajo's. Unfortunately we only know of him between 1493 and 1510. See Kallab (cited in Ch 3 n 3), 166-71; Murray, Five Early Guides; Rushton, "Italian Renaissance Sketchbooks," 145-46, 184-89; J. Ruyschaert, "Albertini, Francesco" in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome, 1960), I:724-25.

21. On the important ceremonial and theoretical place held by music in Florence see F.A. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 14 (1961):307-58, esp 311, 348-49; Ficino on the Golden Age in Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 79-80; Landino, Scritti Critici, 39, 47, 122-23, 227f; Landucci, Diario, 3, 51; Rochon, Laurent de Médicis, 323-26, 351 n 311; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 98. Plato had "considered music as pertaining to the state and the improvement of moral conduct in the commonwealth": C. Rawski, "Petrarch's Dialogue on Music," Speculum 46 (1971):317.

Lorenzo Tornabuoni was a performer of music (J. Hill, "Death and Politian," Durham University Journal [1954]:9 n 72) and the Tornabuoni houses contained musical instruments for their own pleasure and the refined entertainment of their guests (Pupilli, 181, ff 142r, 147v, 148v).

22. M. Pisani, Un avventuriero del Quattrocento: la vita e le opere di Benedetto Dei (Genoa, 1923), 28, 99 for 1473 and for Dei's residence in Florence during 1489-91; Gage, Life in Italy, 133 for the quotation in English; Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, xxvi,

576 for 1486; Ch 3 n 140 for Trexler; P. Orvieto, "Un Esperto Orientalista del '400: Benedetto Dei," Rinascimento ser 2, 9 (1969): 215 for the "tromba."

For mention of the Tornaquinci consorteria and of their locale in the city see Dei's "Cronica," MSS, 119, ff 30r, 34r, 34v, 35v, 57r, 73v; his "Memorie," Bib Ricc, Codex 1853, ff 32v, 34v, 50r, 52r, 52v, 53v, 56v, 90v, 91r; Romby, Descrizioni, passim. Extracts from Dei's writings are also available in G. degli Azzi, "Un frammento inedito della cronaca di Benedetto Dei," ASI 110 (1952):99-113; Gilbert, Documents, 181-84; Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 165-67.

A June 1486 letter to him by the State herald Francesco Filarete on behalf of "el vostro el nostro Deschecto," some sort of literary or information-exchange group, is probably typical of the letters which passed through his hands and is similar to Lorenzo's letter of the same year. The arrivals of galleys and ambassadors mingles with international news concerning the Turks and the imminent peace: F. Flamini, La lirica toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico (Pisa, 1891), 594-96. It might just be that the newly married Lorenzo was hoping that Dei would be godfather to his hoped-for son, as perhaps Dei was of "Giovannino" who was born in Oct 1487. Lorenzo wrote: "Del volere voi esser mio compare, quando Idio concedera el potere, v'acetto volentieri e da hora vi chomincio a chiamare compare."

23. Vasari-Milanesi III:266; the same words on costume are used by Petrei (in Frey, Libro di Antonio Billi, 58); referred to as "messer Cristofano da Prato" in K. Frey (ed), Il Codice Magliabechiano (Berlin, 1892), 106. The possible portrait of Landino in the Medici chapel by Gozzoli (Hatfield, Botticelli, 79 n 38, fig 23) bears adequate resemblance to the much later portrayal by Ghirlandaio.

24. Landino nominated Giovanni Tornaquinci (no 6) as his procurator: Verde, Studio Fiorentino, II:177. For Caroli see Ch 5 n 181; for Landino on art, esp M. Baxandall, "Alberti and Cristoforo Landino: the practical criticism of painting" in Convegno internazionale indetto nel V centenario di Leon Battista Alberti (Rome, 1974), 143-54; O. Morisani, "Cristoforo Landino," BM 95 (1953):267-70, with comment by P. Murray and reply, 391-95.

25. For identifications see those texts cited in n 23; the medal, Warburg, Rinascita, 121-22, Pl 32; the portraits in the Sassetti chapel, Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 41-42, Pls 30, 42; Poliziano and the Tornabuoni, esp Ch 4 n 90, Ch 6 n 94. Verbal descriptions, incl his own ("...naso enormi, et oculo sublustro ...") are cited by Greswell, Memoirs of Politanus, 30, 112 n. See also J. Hill Cotton, "Iconografia di Angelo Poliziano," Rinascimento 2 (1951): 261-92, incl 3 copies of this section of the fresco.

26. For identifications see those texts cited in n 23: Vasari and Petrei note that his costume is that of a canon, presumably marking his appointment in Mar 1487 which occasioned his grateful letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, signed "Marsilius Ficinus canonicus Medices" (A. Brown, "Pater Patriae," 211 n 145; Picotti, Giovinezza di Leone X, 83, 132 n 66; della Torre, Accademia Platonica, 620 and n 1). For the red biretum see Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 495; for 1473, Ch 4 n 110; for his self-description, Ficino, Letters, II:56.

Other portraits of Ficino include his medal (Hill, Corpus of Italian Medals, no 974); his author portrait in an illuminated initial

of 1492 (A. G. Dickens ed The Courts of Europe [London, 1977], 94); his idealised bust in the Florentine Cathedral of 1499 (M. Brion, The Medici: A Great Florentine Family [London, 1969], fig 13).

I would suggest that the richly dressed and leftmost man, in the foreground of Ghirlandaio's Francis renounces his worldly patrimony in the Sassetti chapel, is an unrecognised portrait of Ficino. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 27 and n 89, Pls 7, 8, identify the background city as Geneva, but in a public lecture on 27 July 1984 at Monash University, Melbourne, Eve Borsook suggested Lyons instead. Lyons would be appropriate to the "worldly" and worrisome involvement of the Sassetti in the Medici Bank branch there; but a depiction of the Florentine Baptistery's roof and lantern at the far right, inside the walls and on the Bishop's side of the fresco, would be fitting to a representation of Florence as the Christian city and Francis' new, welcoming and spiritual home.

27. Vasari and Petrei as cited in n 23; accepted by Weiser-von Inffeld (cited in Ch 3 n 144), 192-95. The "anonimo magliabechiano" (n 23), 106 identifies him as "il [Michele] Marullo," a poet. For the "violet" costume of a bishop see Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 41 n 94, 201; for his possible portrait by Gozzoli see the right-hand figure tentatively identified by Hatfield, Botticelli, 79 n 38, fig 23. The glimpse we have of the figure's left arm in S.Maria Novella is attired in deep green brocade, a dress probably beyond the stature or salary of a professor or a poet. Contacts between Becchi and Giovanni Tornabuoni (Ch 3 at nn 122, 150 and Lorenzo de' Medici, Lettere, II:273) were largely to do with their occupations as ambassadors and Medicean emissaries in matters relating to the Church. In 1494 Becchi's longheld hopes for a Cardinal's hat were dashed, but such ambitions would have been alive still in 1490. In Florence he was eminent as an "uomo doctissimo" (Warburg, Rinascita, 141-42) and around 1487 was included in the learned discussants in Landino's De vera nobilitate.

28. On the "new Athens" see, for example, Landino, Scritti Critici, I:121; Landino, De vera nobilitate, 26; S. Pasquazi, "Un carme inedito del Tebaldeo a Lorenzo il Magnifico," Rinascimento 7 (1957):261-69 (c 1485, from Ferrara, praising Lorenzo and the era of peace and triumph, Lorenzo being an ideal prince and Florence an ideal country); delle Torre, Accademia Platonica, 586 (Ficino). The two previous quotations in the paragraph are from A. Brown, "Pater Patriae," 192, 196, who discusses their context, and for the philosopher-ruler see also Landino, De vera nobilitate, 67. Vasari said the four humanists signified that Florence "flourished": at n 68 below. A South German copy of this group of four, executed c 1510, indicates that these worthies indeed enhanced the chapel's attraction: see G. Gronau, "Eine deutsche kopie nach Domenico Ghirlandajo im Münchner National Museum," Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst 1 (1906):109-12; n 25 for other copies.

29. Landino, De vera nobilitate, esp 31-32; written c 1487 but placed back at c 1469/70. For Lorenzo's letter see n 22; for in abisso figures, Ch 2 n 129. Actual debates occurring in the late 1480s include those at the convent of San Gallo on the immortality of the soul (N. Valori, "La Vita del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici" in B. Buonaccorsi, Diario [Florence, 1568; repr 1973], np); those in 1489 at the Cathedral and in the Medici Palace involving a Dominican, Poliziano, Ficino and others, on original sin (F. Banfi, "Fra Niccolò

De Mirabili O.P. reggente dello Studio di S.Maria Novella di Firenze," Memorie Domenicane 52 [1935]:181, 268-70); a Medici banquet in 1490 (Foster, Poggio, 524-25 n 710; Trexler, Public Life, 446-47). Vasari-Milanesi III:265 noted that Ghirlandaio's figures "in cerchio ... ragionano insieme." The circular grouping may be one of several instances of Ghirlandaio's regard for Masaccio, here remembering the Tribute Money in the Brancacci chapel.

30. Banfi (cited in n 29), 271-72. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 1, 9, 30-31 discusses the importance of the piazza in Florentine social life. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 41, Pl I; Chiarini (cited in Ch 2 n 139); Gilbert, "Masaccio's Sagra"; discuss Ghirlandaio's use of the Sagra.

31. For Federico's birth date see Warburg, Rinascita, 116 n 2, who places his death in 1490, whereas de Roover, Medici Bank, 389 claims he died after 1513 (possibly a confusion with Federico di Tommaso Sassetti). For his death on 21 Dec 1491 and his study of canon law see Verde, Studio Fiorentino, III pt 1, 256-57. He was sworn in as a protonotary in Feb 1485: NA, A 381, ff 139r-141r. For his portrayal in the Sassetti chapel see Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 37, Pl 31; for Francesco's death and the altarpiece Ch 5 at n 88.

32. Gombrich, Warburg. 117; his source is probably Cambi, Istoria, XXI:67, who calls him "Andrea vochato Brutto de' Medici" (see also Guicciardini, History of Florence, 74). Francesco Tornabuoni died on 14 Feb 1485: Delizie IX:207; BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2027. For the 1490s group see Ch 3 n 170 and Pampaloni, "Francesco Cegia," 207, 212-13, 224-25, 233. Andrea di Bernardo was confined to the contado for 10 years after the group was discovered in Aug 1497: Cambi, XXI:109; Landucci, Diario, 156. In 1499 "Grasso de' Medici" was banished, as was Simone Torbabuoni (no 9), for their Medicean plotting, but this man was Andrea d'Alamanno de' Medici (Landucci, 195).

33. Gianfrancesco was born on 25 Oct 1475: Tratte, 444 Bis, f 37r. For his relationship to the Tornabuoni see fig 2. He is not listed in the indices of either Protocolli or de Roover, Medici Bank and I have come across no other information on him.

34. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 58. For Sassetti status see Ch 3 nn 104, 140, Ch 5 n 90, n 19 here.

35. The translation is adapted from Gombrich, Warburg, 117, who gives "our" city. A slightly different translation is in Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 213. For commerce, beautification, abundance, health, peace, victories and so on in the Christian and ideal city see Landino, De vera nobilitate, esp 41, 62-66, 73, 78f. The text seems in many ways a development of Palmieri's Della vita civile, eg 156: "I cittadini sono queglii che desiderano l'onore, la gloria, la reputazione e abondante imperio della città." To Lorenzo, Florence was characterised by "honour, wealth and empire": S. Sturm, Lorenzo de' Medici (New York, 1974), 161 n 26.

36. On Lorenzo see Ch 2 n 53; Ames-Lewis, "Devices," 143; Landino, Scritti Critici, 190, also 86, 88; Rubinstein (cited in Ch 3 n 89), 86 and n 2; Trexler, "Martyrs," 298 and n 14; Public Life, 443-44. For Donatello's statue, Janson, Donatello, 198, 200. For the Sassetti

chapel fresco see Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 32-33, 48, Pls 22, 23; C. de Tolnay, "Two Frescoes by Domenico and David Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinita in Florence," Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch 23 (1961):237-50.

37. Eg Landino, De vera nobilitate, passim, esp 23-26, 66, 79, 94 on salus; Rinuccini, Lettere, 206, for his 1493 address to the Signoria on justice, which includes: "per salute di questa florentissima patria, per bene, pace et tranquillita ..."

38. Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, 735 no 9 for the confraternity; Ch 2 n 178 for the Golden Age; Greswell, Memoirs of Politanus, 99-101 for Poliziano's letter of 1487 to Innocent VIII on "universal calm." For Landino in 1487 and 1488 see his De vera nobilitate, 23-25 and Scritti Critici, 218 ff; for the State herald in 1486, n 22; for Cambi recording peace in Aug 1486, his Istoria, XXI:38. For other comments on secular and spiritual peace and its importance in Florentine rhetoric see D. Kent, Rise, 11f; also Alberti, Family, 178, 259; Brucker, Civic World, 304 and passim; Dante, Paradiso, XV, 99; Fonzio's "hope" in 1482 that "the Muses may again be revived" once peace arrived: Saxl, "Classical Inscription," 19; Landino, De vera nobilitate, esp 64, 68-69, 74, 85f, 98; Landino, Scritti Critici, 85, 89, 91, 103-4, 107, 190-91; Rinuccini, Lettere, 206-07 (part quoted in n 37 above).

39. Marks, "Financial Oligarchy," 142. For the economic position of the Tornabuoni, optimism, magnificence and Quattrocento praise of mercantile activity, see Ch 3 Section D and Ch 2 nn 144, 176; Ch 3 n 174 for "copia" in a context where Lorenzo Tornabuoni was praised. Landino praised abundance: Scritti Critici, esp 172, see also 33, 85, 100, 106, 109, 125f, 212, 217; De vera nobilitate, 62-63, see also 70, 71, 81, 82 where "copia" is used in relation to agriculture and to eloquence. See also Wilkins (cited in n 150 below), 416-18, for civic and family "wealth."

Fonzio in 1482 expected the arts to revive after peace (n 38); a Ferrarese text c 1485 praised Florentine and Laurentian triumphs, peace and building (n 28); writers such as Palmieri, Ficino (Ross and McLaughlin, Renaissance Reader, 79-80) and Landino (Scritti Critici, 21, 48, 92, 116f, 224, the last a reference to Lorenzo which includes "bonus musicus, bonus architectus, bonus agricola"; De vera nobilitate, 38, 41, 45, 54, 62-64, 71, 96) thought magnificent building and the arts were important in the perfect state. For Giovanni Tornabuoni and architecture see Ch 4 Sections C and D, esp at nn 51-52.

40. Landino, De vera nobilitate, 73, 78-79; also Scritti Critici, 24, 111f. See also Ch 6 Section D on the Virgin's Triumph.

41. Ady, "Morals and manners," 181 quotes Guicciardini; Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 213; see Ch 6 n 85 for references on classical sources for the Arch and its reliefs.

42. Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 214-15.

The dedication inscription also can be read as a prayer or thanksgiving, like that offered in Alberti, Family, 230: "To me it seems proper also to render thanks to God for the gifts which he in his mercy has given me. I also pray for tranquility and enlightenment of heart and mind, as well as for our long continued enjoyment of

health, life, prosperity, a fine family, an honourable estate, and good name and renown."

43. Augustine, City of God, IV, Ch 17; quoted by Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" 220, see also 209-10, 217f for material relating to the rest of my paragraph. See Ch 6 at n 46 for Malachi's prophecy, repeated in Matthew 11:10, Mark 1:2 and Luke 7:27.

44. Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 214-15; Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 137-38. For Palmieri, Antonino and others on virtuous citizens see nn 64, 179, 192 here.

45. Ettliger (cited in Ch 3 n 144), 66-70, 112f. Both the Korah and Zacharias frescoes also have a similar placement of a priest, censer and altar in the central foreground, with portraits and distant vistas on either side, and figures at the left edge shown in abisso.

46. Perhaps it even refers to Constantine's victory over Maxentius which "ushered in a golden era of tranquility," as a recent scholar has suggested in relation to Pinturicchio's usage of the Arch of Constantine in the Borgia Apartments in the early 1490s: N.R. Parks, "On the Meaning of Pinturicchio's 'Sale dei Santi'," AH 2 (1979):295-96.

47. For the adventus see Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" Antonino is cited by Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 65 n 2; Saxl, "Classical Inscription," 27-29 discusses the Sassetti chapel. Hazard, "Renaissance Aesthetic Values," 8 noted the gestural similarity between Nike and angel, as well as the fact that both figures wear a peplum, but she stressed the scene's earthbound message of power and glory, concluding that "the world of the Florentines and of the religious scene do not interact directly." This gestural play on announcement could also be a visual re-inforcement of the VOCAVIT and ORATIO words of the two religious inscriptions in the fresco.

48. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 48; see also at n 108 below.

49. Covi, "Inscription," 114-15, 421, 426; Ch 2 at nn 215-16. Incense was a common sign for "piety and prayer": Voragine, Golden Legend, 87-88, 774, who quotes Psalm 141:2; Rev 5:8, 8:3-4; Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 101-02, 302. For the dedication inscription as a kind of prayer too see n 42.

50. Covi, "Inscription," 114, 426-27.

51. For the Triumphant Arch in funeral imagery see Ch 6 n 85; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 236, 309f; n 186 below.

52. For other citations of the Arch, which began in late Quattrocento art, see van Marle, Italian Schools, XI:fig 355; R. Olson, "Studies in the later works of Sandro Botticelli" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton Univ, 1976), 247-48 nn 40, 41; Thomas, "Classical Reliefs," 20, 51, 52. See Borsook, "Lecceto," 6, fig 2 for the Strozzi chapel; Borsi, Alberti, 288-91, Pls 287-88 for S.Martino a Gangalandi; Salvini, Canonici, 54 for Giuliano.

53. Krautheimer, Ghiberti, 180f, Pl 116.

54. Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 36; Gombrich, Warburg, 119.
55. Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 154, 156; Voragine, Golden Legend, 322-23; Manni, Vite, 186-87. Reau, Iconographie, II/1:444-45 offers a brief discussion only.
56. Images consulted include, in chronological order: Giotto's lunette in the Peruzzi Chapel, S.Croce; Andrea Pisano's panel in the Florence Baptistery doors; Giovanni del Biondo's St John the Baptist and Scenes from his life, now in the Contini Collection, Florence; the stained glass window in S.Maria Novella's sacristy; Agnolo Gaddi's fresco in the Castellani chapel, S.Croce; Jacopo della Quercia's panel on the Sienese Baptistery font; the Salimbeni brothers' fresco in the Oratory of St. John, Urbino; Bernardo Cennini's panel for the silver dossale in the Florentine Baptistery, of 1478-80; Pollaiuolo's embroideries for the Baptistery, 1469-80; Francesco Granacci's Scenes from the life of the Baptist, of c 1510, once in the Tornabuoni palace and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.
57. The Riminese altarpiece is by the Master of the Life of St. John the Baptist, c 1330/40, dismembered and with the Zacharias panel in an English Private Collection in 1916: O. Siren, "Giuliano, Pietro and Giovanni da Rimini," BM 29 (1916):272-81, 313-20, Pl VI. For the choir book see Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 200, fig 122.
58. For the Order and art see Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," esp 146-47; Ch 2 esp nn 73, 204; Ch 5 n 181. Of the 7 clerical writers chosen by Gilbert, Documents, 145-57, only San Bernardino was not a Dominican; other Dominican texts include Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 41, 43; Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 54-55.
59. Fra Pandolfo Rucellai, quoted by F.W. Kent, "Making of a Renaissance Patron," 32. Other relevant comments include W. Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe (London 1972), 137f; Cannon, "Dominican Patronage," 36, 91; Lesnick, "Dominican Preaching"; Rosenwein and Little (cited in Ch 2 n 118), esp 32.
60. Hay, Church in Italy, 60-61, 74, 76-77, 88ff. For the theory of magnificence see Ch 2 n 144.
61. Weinstein, "Critical Issues", 267-68.
62. See Ch 2 n 219; A. Brown, "Pater Patriae"; Hatfield (cited in Ch 2 n 24), 233 at n 11 (Cosimo as Christ); Rinuccini, Lettere, 191-93; Trexler, Public Life, 45, 258-59; Weinstein, Savonarola, 60f.
63. C. Trinkaus, "The Religious Thought of the Italian Humanists and the Reformers: Anticipation or Autonomy?" in The Pursuit of Holiness in late Medieval and Renaissance Religion eds C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 341 n 2; A. Chastel, "Un épisode de la symbolique urbaine au XV^e siècle. Florence et Rome, Cités de Dieu" (1954) repr in his Fables, Formes, Figures, I:516-24.
- Religious narratives such as the Meeting at the Golden Gate (L'Oreficeria, no 41c) or the Annunciation (Ettlinger, Pollaiuolo, col Pl III) could take place before Florentine backdrops too. Other examples include Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the Sassetti chapel; Botticini's altarpiece for Matteo Palmieri: Pls 62, 86 here.

64. Weinstein, Savonarola, 33-34; della Torre, Accademia Platonica, 606 n for Ficino; D.V. and F. W. Kent, Neighbourhood, 94 for 1476. Ficino similarly wrote that man is "a citizen of heaven, but an inhabitant in earth. He should ... strive to think, say and do nothing which does not become a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven": Letters, II:67; see also n 192 here.

65. Rosenthal (cited in Ch 2 n 142); Ch 6 after n 66 for the window.

66. Gombrich, Warburg, 116.

67. Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 173; J. Ross, Medici Correspondence, 334 for Lorenzo, who sent artists to Portugal in 1490 for the "glory of the State, the grandeur of the family and the increase of the arts" (Gage, Life in Italy, 97). Alberti wrote of secular architecture being for the "Honour of yourself, your Family, your Descendants, and your City": Ten Books on Architecture, Preface, x; for another such list see G. Rucellai, Zibaldone, 121. Similar instances include Becker, "Lay Piety," 185 n 2 (Salutati); Ficino, Letters, I:53, 124; Foster, Poggio, 95; Hatfield, "Magi," 110; Palmieri, Della vita civile, 123, 154, 164; della Torre, Accademia Platonica, 741-42; Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 28 (Alberti).

68. Vasari-Milanesi III:265; see also VIII:87 and Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto," 1045, 1055-57.

69. Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 158; Stubblebine, Giotto, 75-76, figs 7, 78. For Orcagna see N.R. Fabbri and N. Rutenberg, "The Tabernacle of Orsanmichele in Context," AB 63 (1981):385-405; for the paliotto, Ch 6 n 2.

70. For the identification of Lorenzo see Ch 4 at n 80f.

71. Manni, Sigilli XVIII:131 simply begins "Piero, Lorenzo, e Giovanni sopraddetto" [ie Tornabuoni] and then lists all other Tornabuoni men which, as we know from Landucci's published list, were in the Zacharias fresco. Follini, Firenze, 323 is followed by Fineschi, Forestiero, 25 and Ridolfi, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 428. Two proposals in this century have not indicated any source. G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 109 says that the man behind Lorenzo is perhaps the "young and brilliant" Giannozzo Pucci; cited by van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:68; Orlandi, S. Maria Novella, 20; Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits," 281, 290. Lauts, Ghirlandaio, 31, 53 suggests instead that the man was Piero de' Medici; cited by Anrep-Bjurling, 281 290. Presumed portraits of Piero (1472-1503) do not resemble any face in the Joachim fresco: eg Ghirlandaio, Confirmation of the Rule, Sassetti chapel; Ghirlandaio school, frontispiece to a manuscript (Lauts, Pl 96); Verrocchio, terracotta bust in the Bargello (Schuyler, Busts, fig 20a).

72. Ridoli, "Giovanna Tornabuoni," 452 n 2 (1491); Ch 3 at n 184 (March 1490); Ch 3 n 213 (April 1489).

Alessandro's uncles, Bernardo and Filippo, were involved at Cestello, where Lorenzo Tornabuoni was a patron: Luchs, Cestello, 18, 49, 58, 140 n 16, 158 n 4, 163 n 24, 254, 345. Bernardo di Lutozzo Nasi was one of the few to speak against Lorenzo Tornabuoni's execution in 1497: Cambi, Istoria, XXI:108. Alessandro was one of

Piero de' Medici's "courtiers": Cambi, XXI:39.

73. See esp Luchs, Cestello, 50, 53-54, 142 n 20, 164 n 27, 168-69 n 34, 263, 351; also de Roover, Medici Bank, 223. His implication in the Medicean plot and the sentence handed down against Nofri and Leonardo is mentioned by Cambi, Istoria, XXI:109-10 and Rinuccini, Ricordi, clxi. For 1495 see NA, B 910, insert 1, f 281r.

74. For Piero di Leonardo in 1495 see Ch 6 at n 7. By 1499 he was married to Albiera di Maso di Luca Albizzi; Piero di Marabottino married Lisabetta di Bartolommeo Pucci in 1491: for both see BNF, Poligrafo Gargani, 2028.

75. Vasari-Milanesi III:263; followed by Petrei (cited in n 23); varied by Manni, Sigilli, XVIII:131-32, Manni, "Vita" (cited in n 4), 151 and Follini, Firenze, 323; more precisely referred to by Della Valle (cited in n 4), 167 n 2 ("Mico della stessa famiglia" instead of David, Tommaso rather than Alesso). G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 109-10 suggests that Ghirlandaio's father in S.Maria Novella is also portrayed as St. Francis' father in the Sassetti chapel's Renunciation. There is some resemblance, but the earlier "portrait" might still be of Baldovinetti (for Ficino's possible portrait in that scene see n 26 above). Borghini said Baldovinetti was in the Death and Assumption of the Virgin in the Tornaquinci chapel, according to van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:4.

76. On the glance and pose see Hatfield, Botticelli, 100 and n 113, figs 56, 57; Ch 2 n 133 for Ghirlandaio's previous self-portraits. G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 81 also notices Domenico as the young man behind the bishop in the Funeral of St. Francis, Sassetti chapel, whereas Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 55, Pl 42 suggest this as a possible portrait of Fonzio. His son's later portrait of him in the villa bought by Domenico, between 1480 and 1490, does not appear highly accurate, but fits the pattern: E. Maggini, Un Classicista Fiorentino: Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (Florence, 1968), 12-13, Pl IX.

77. In reflection, Ficino "touched my chest with my hand," then looked at his face in a mirror: Letters, I:78. But for the gesture as one of faith and donation see Ghirlandaio's "Simonetta Vespucci" figure in the Ognissanti Madonna del Misericordia, the Magus on the right of the Innocenti altarpiece and one of the adoring shepherds in the Sassetti altarpiece; also made by a donor in Lippi's Barberini Annunciation (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 39) and by Bernini's Fonseca (Blunt [cited in Ch 2 n 129], 80, fig 51). The gesture can connote humility and reflection, esp in the Annunciation: Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 51, 65, Pl 24(b); Marchini, Pls 35, 57, 62, 66. Our instinctive gesture accompanying the verbal response "Who me?" also combines humility, reflection and indication.

For artists offering their art and skill see Ch 2 n 86, esp the Revue de l'Art issue cited there, 18-20, 89; Klotz (cited in Ch 1 n 26); Stubblebine (cited in Ch 2 n 96), 392-93 for Duccio; Wackernagel, Florentine Renaissance Artist, 356 for Sogliani's inscription of 1521, "Orate pro pictore." For the family at S.Maria Novella see Ch 5 n 188f.

78. Gage, Life in Italy, 57 (1527); Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 26.

79. M. Davies, London, 326; Fahy, Followers of Ghirlandaio, esp 215-19; de Francovich (cited in Ch 3 n 204), 169-93, 256-70; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:186 ff; Vasari-Milanesi III:275, 277.

80. Vasari-Milanesi III:263 (272-73, for his pride and the active admiration of his brother); NA, M 237, f 159r (the contract); Covi, "Inscription," 684-85 and G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 110 for the inscriptions. Although David's implied birthdate varies in his father's tax reports, he is consistently 3 years younger than Domenico: see the publications of these cited in Ch 3 n 144. Concise comment on David is made by Marchini, "Ghirlandajo, Domenico," cols 323-24.

81. The 1480 catasto of Tommaso di Currado di Doffo Bighordi is best published in Mēsniĭ, "Portate," 68. The costs of Luca Landucci's marriage in 1466 included a high payment "Per senseria a Tommaso di Currado" (Diario, 8): an early and unnoticed confirmation of the man's profession. According to Vasari-Milanesi III:254, he was a goldsmith producing "voti d'argento." We have no record of him after 1480, unless in 1489 he was employed at S.Maria Novella: Ch 5 n 190. He was dead by the time of his grandson's tax report in 1498 (Mather, "Documents Mostly New," 49) and earlier reports indicate a birthdate c 1422-24. Baldovinetti was born in Oct 1425 and died Aug 1499: G. Poggi, I ricordi di Alesso Baldovinetti (Florence, 1909), 3, 6.

82. See Kennedy, Baldovinetti, 179-81, 230; van Marle, Italian Schools, XI:274; Nocioni, S. Trinita, 105; A. Ottina della Chiesa, Accademia Carrara (Bergamo, 1967), 24, a reproduction without comment; Poggi (cited in n 81), 49, 52; Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, 12.

83. Vasari-Milanesi II:597, III:263; Poggi (cited in n 81), 50 for the Memoriale.

84. Eg Ames-Lewis, "Drapery 'pattern'-drawings," unique in its suggestion that Lippi was an early teacher; Cadogan, "Aspects of Ghirlandaio's Drawings," esp 277 and n 23; Grossman, "Ghirlandaio's 'Madonna,'" esp 105; C.L. Raghianti, "La giovinezza e lo svolgimento artistico di Domenico Ghirlandaio," L'Arte 38 (1935):167-98, 341-37; A. Rosenauer, "Frühen Werke."

85. See esp W. Haftmann, "Ein Mosaik der Ghirlandaio-Werkstatt aus dem Besitz Lorenzo Magnifico," MittFlor 6 (1940-41):98-108; indeed Mini, Discorso, 107 only calls "Domenico del Grilandaio il mosaico." See also Barfucchi, Lorenzo de' Medici, 114, 118 ff, 133; A. Chastel, "La mosaïque à Venise et à Florence au XV^e siècle" (1954) and "Une mosaïque florentine du XV^e siècle au Musée de Cluny" (1958), each now repr in his Fables, Formes, Figures, I:333-56; Foster (cited in Ch 3 n 162), nn 18, 40; Horne, Botticelli, 178ff, 357-58; Kennedy, Baldovinetti, 60 ff; Poggi (cited in n 81), 6, 11-13, 22-23, 40-43, 48, 50, 52-53; Rossi in Delizie XXIII:272; L. Tanfani Centofanti, Notizie di Artisti: tratte dai documenti Pisani (Pisa, 1897), 135-36, 143; Vasari-Milanesi II:596 n 2, III:237f.

Haines, "Sacrestia delle Messe", 218 now suggests that Baldovinetti "seems to have been [Ghirlandaio's] master in the art of mosaics and glass windows rather than that of painting."

86. On 14 Dec 1487 Ghirlandaio examined or repaired Baldovinetti's mosaics in the Baptistery: Poggi (cited in n 81), 42; Vasari-Milanesi

II:596 n 2. On 14 May 1491 both artists were among those nominated to judge a Botticini panel at Empoli: Milanese, Nuovi documenti, 160-61; Poggi, 6. On 17 April 1492 Baldovinetti sold stucco to the Cathedral Opera (Poggi, 43) and according to Kennedy, Baldovinetti, 251 this was for the use of the Ghirlandaio workshop on the mosaics in the S.Zanobi chapel.

87. Other examples include the panel of 3 Gaddi artists (A. Ladis, Taddeo Gaddi [London, 1982], frontispiece); Masaccio's lost Sagra; five founders of Florentine art (J. Lanyi, "The Louvre Portrait of Five Florentines," BM 84 [1944]:87-95); Filippino Lippi's inclusion of fellow artists in his completion of the Brancacci chapel; Signorelli and Fra Angelico side by side in the Orvieto Cathedral.

88. Van Os, "Persona," 450. The painting of artist with donor was rare: in the 1430s Lippi probably placed himself opposite the posthumous portrait of the donor in the Barbadori altarpiece (Ruda, Filippo Lippi, 99f), as he did again in the Coronation of the Virgin in the 1440s (Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 163, 170). His son Filippino portrayed himself with his friend and patron Pietro da Pugliese c 1484 in a now-lost double portrait: Perosa (cited in Ch 2 n 125). For self-portraiture see also Ch 2 nn 86, 133; Hatfield, Botticelli, 100.

89. Meiss, Black Death, 29f, figs 35, 36. For the Expulsion of Joachim see also M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924), 39, 73; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 62-63; Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 156-57; Voragine, Golden Legend, 522. Other examples include Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Baroncelli chapel, S. Croce (Ladis [cited in n 87] Pl 4a-2); a work by Gozzoli (Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, Pl 177); three drawings by Piero di Cosimo (Ames-Lewis, Drawings, Pls 125-27).

90. Voragine, Golden Legend, 522. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 214 n 109 claims that Joachim is a symbol of Patience because he holds a lamb, but this is a necessary and usual attribute in the story. Further, according to Tervarent (cited in Ch 6 n 94), I:cols 2-3 it is the lamb itself and not necessarily a man carrying it, which symbolises patience.

91. James (cited in n 89), 39; Voragine, Golden Legend, 522. That both narratives "deal with themes of sacrifice associated with barrenness" was briefly noted by S.J. Behrends, "The Political Significance of Domenico del Ghirlandaio's Frescoes in the Capella Maggiore of S.Maria Novella," paper presented at the Mid-America College Art Association Conference, October 1977, 7. My thanks to June Stewart, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, for showing me the copy she received at the conference.

92. James (cited in n 89), 39, 73; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 59f; Andrea di Bartolo's Joachim and the Beggars (Shapley, Catalogue, Pl 2). An office later established to honour Joachim, in citing Psalm 112:2, 9, celebrates both fertility and liberality.

93. Voragine, Golden Legend, 150; Luke 2:24.

94. See Ch 6 at nn 44, 107; Augustine, City of God, Bk XX, Ch 25.

95. From left to right the reliefs can be identified as Judith victorious over Holofernes, a Jewish sacrifice scene, "an Old Testament king such as David" conversing with "Jehovah disguised as a fireball" and lastly a figure holding a sword and wearing a helmet but otherwise nude, who is probably the youthful David victorious over Goliath: Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 128 identifies only the first three scenes. Note that both "victories" show an awareness of Donatello's work. The altar itself is shaped most like a Romanesque baptismal font or like Moses' altar atop two similar steps in Botticelli's Punishment of Korah (n 45 above). Panels of c 1510 depicting the Baptist's cycle, by Ghirlandaio's pupil Granacci and originally in the Tornabuoni collection, include an Annuciation to Zacharias where the tabernacle is topped by David and Goliath, and Judith and Holofernes.

96. Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 128; Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 133.

97. Domenico Ghirlandaio was well aware of the church at Prato, offering candles there in 1485 and by 1491 designing windows for it on behalf of Giovanni Tornabuoni: Morselli and Corti, S.Maria delle Careri, 69-70, figs 33-36.

The rustication and fenestration on the first two floors of the palaces in the Joachim fresco are close to da Sangallo's Palazzo Gondi, whose foundations were laid only on 20 July 1490: Cambi, Istoria, XXI:51; Ginori Lischi, Palazzi, II:585-92; Landucci, Diario, 58; G. Marchini, Giuliano da Sangallo (Florence, 1942), 39, 91, fig 3; Rossi in Delizie, XXIII:250, 253, 256. These features combined with a loggia on the top storey are only seen in Florence around 1503 onwards, especially in the Palazzo Dei (now called Guadagni) of 1503-06 by Cronaca and the Palazzo Ginori of c 1516-20 by Baccio: Ginori Lischi, I:347-54 esp Pl 276 and II:735-42; Thiem, Sgraffito, 87.

For Baccio's design of the choir stalls and altarpiece frame in the Tornaquinci chapel see Ch 5 nn 149, 167 and at n 170. Hartt noted the general influence of da Sangallo throughout the frescoes: see n 111 below. Giuliano's architectural decoration at Cestello is close to Ghirlandaio's frescoed pilasters at S.Maria Novella: Luchs, Cestello, 156 n 74. For contacts between Giuliano da Sangallo and Ghirlandaio see Ch 3 n 117, Ch 5 nn 161, 165; and for the design of the tombs in the Sassetti chapel, Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 20 and n 64, Marchini, 26-27, 87-88, and Middeldorf (cited in Ch 6 n 94).

98. For other, all later, pictorial reflections of the Poggio schema see Foster, Poggio, 443 n 388, 455 n 422; Freedberg, High Renaissance, Pls 309, 609, 610; F.W. Kent, "Poggio," 253 n 32, who refers to Piero di Cosimo's "The Building of a Palace" (Bacci, Piero di Cosimo, Pl 54). Filippino Lippi's Triumph of Aquinas for the Carafa chapel in Rome (van Marle, Italian Schools, XII:fig 205) has a central arched niche flanked on the right by a portico and balustrade above it leading to a round building. For Fiesole see Bargellini and de la Ruffiniere du Prey (cited in Ch 4 n 121).

99. Cavalcaselle long ago recognised S.Paolo in Ghirlandaio's fresco and while Hauvette found that the connection "est assez vague" (Ghirlandaio [Paris, 1907], 113 n 1), others such as Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 128, 151 continued to draw a comparison. Cf now the

dating offered in Goldthwaite and Rearick, "San Paolo," 250-51, fig 35, which calls the fresco "Expulsion of Zacharias from the Temple." They note that "the influence of [Michelozzo's] architecture together with that of the younger Giuliano da Sangallo is discernible in many of the architectural motives depicted here" but they give no details (291 n 69). The spandrels in S. Paolo's loggia did not receive the roundels until after 1498, when Andrea della Robbia also produced the two terminating half tondi (244f, 291 n 71). Earlier, Ghirlandaio had chosen to complete the entire loggia with generalised busts in tondi, perhaps following Filarete's recommendation that a portico be decorated with famous men (C. Joost-Gaugier, "A Rediscovered Series of Uomini Famosi from Quattrocento Venice," AB 58 [1976]:188 n 43).

100. Gombrich, Warburg, 210. Only his point that the Joachim story was an addition holds true.

On the importance of procreation and fertility in the Renaissance see, eg, Alberti, Family, 25, 31, 50f, 110f, 120, 212; Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, Bk IX, Ch IV, p 193; E. Cantelupe, "The Anonymous Triumph of Venus in the Louvre: An Early Italian Renaissance Example of Mythological Disguise," AB 44 (1962):238-42; Dominici (cited in Ch 2 n 187), 44; Ficino's "Commentary on Plato's 'Symposium,'" trans in S. Davies, Renaissance Views of Man (Manchester, 1978), 35ff; Gage, Life in Italy, 24-25, 182; King, "Caldiera and the Barbaros on marriage and the family"; Kuehn, Emancipation, 63; Palmieri, Della vita civile, 67, 132-33; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, esp 46f; Ch 2 n 100; Ch 3 n 52; n 139 here.

101. For Lodovica see Ch 3 esp n 134 and at n 182f, with her medal at n 186; for her marriage n 72 here. For the Unicorn and the Virgin Mary see Schiller, Iconography, I:52-55; Tervarent (cited in Ch 6 n 94), cols 235-39; Warner, Virgin Mary, 200-01 and n 26; W.M. Zucker, "The representation of the invisible: reflections on Christian iconography" in Vision and Artifact ed M. Henle (New York, 1976), 166-67. On female honour see esp Alberti, Family, 213ff and Kirshner, Monte delle Doti, passim.

102. See M. Jaffe, "Pesaro family portraits: Pordenone, Lotto and Titian," BM 113 (1971):700; Shapley, Catalogue, 343; M.D. Taylor, "Gentile da Fabriano, St. Nicholas, and an Iconography of Shame," Journal of Family History 7 (Winter 1982):327 claims that sexually mature women wore some sort of headdress, but this is inaccurate in terms of Giovanna Albizzi's portrait in the Visitation, for instance.

103. For the device see Ch 6 n 94. For the dowry see Ch 3 n 163 and at n 185; for the bridal gown see also Hatfield's similar comment for the Sassetti chapel: "Sherlock Holmes," 231. According to L'Oreficeria, no 219, the pearls signify her chastity and, with little evidence, it is also claimed that they suggest her engaged state and her assistance at the birth. Lorenzo de' Medici wrote of the dignity and grace required of women in both dress and movement: Herald (cited in n 11), 157-58; see also Alberti, Family, 115, 213ff. The 3 leading women in the Visitation and Births also stand in the prescribed manner: "your right hand must always rest upon your left, in front of you, on the level of your girdle" (Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 70).

104. Antonino (Summa Theologica, Pars IV, tit XV, cap XLV, col 1239) is quoted by Echols, "Coronation," 145; the other quotation is from

Paolo da Certaldo, Libro di buoni costumi ed A. Schiaffini (Florence, 1945), 108-09. Other examples include S. Bernardino: Kirshner, Monte delle Doti, 7 nn 21, 22.

105. See Ch 3 nn 184, 210 for suggested identifications of these other women. The fine drawings of heads and costume related to the portraits are: studies on the recto and verso of a sheet in Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (BB Drawings no 866, fig 305; Ames-Lewis, Drawing, Pls 156, 160; Pl. 28 here); and a silverpoint study for the eldest woman in Windsor, Royal Library (BB Drawings no 893, fig 306; Ames-Lewis, Pl 161). For the composition sketch of the whole in the British Museum (Pl. 27 here) see BB Drawings no 878, fig 302; Ames-Lewis, Pl 150; and Ch 1 n 8; for the study of the water-pourer in the Uffizi (Pl. 29 here), BB Drawings, no 869 and Ames-Lewis, Pl 153.

106. On the veil, black dress and possible wimple worn by older women see E. Birbari, Dress in Italian painting, 1460-1500 (London, 1975), 23, 25, 27, 37, 75-76, 80; Gilbert, Documents, 213; Herald (cited in n 11), 50, 222, 227; Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 208-09, 246, 254-59; Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, I:188, II:280 n 14, Pl 51; E. H. Mellencamp, "A Note on the Costume of Titian's Flora," AB 51 (1969): 175 n 7, 177 and n 17, fig 1 (on actual visits); E. Polidori-Calamandrei, Le veste delle donne fiorentine nel quattrocento (Florence, 1924), 35f, 49-52, 88, fig 7; A. Strozzi, Lettere, 29, 610; Taylor (cited in n 102), 327 and n 16. A story necessitating the inclusion of widow's weeds was illustrated on a Florentine cassone panel from the early Quattrocento with the aid of dark garments and veil and white wimple: E. Callmann, "The growing threat to marital bliss as seen in fifteenth-century Florentine paintings," Studies in Iconography 5 (1979):80, fig 7 (Story of Lionora dei Bardi and Filippo Buondelmonte, London, private collection).

For such a costume in a secular visit to a birth chamber, see Masaccio's descho: Berlin, 262, which identifies such women inaccurately as "nuns"; see also at n 145 below. Andrea da Firenze's depiction of a sick man's bed chamber on the walls of S. Maria Novella's chapterhouse includes a woman costumed thus (Antal, Florentine Painting, Pl 62); so does a Birth of Mary from Orcagna's school (Lloyd, Ashmolean Museum, 137-39, Pl 96) and one by Bicci di Lorenzo in Pistoia (BB Florentine I:Pl 502); so does a Birth of John the Baptist predella panel by Perugino, from Verrocchio's Pistoia altarpiece begun in 1478 (Passavant, Verrocchio, 213, fig app 54).

107. For Antonino and others see Kirshner, Monte delle Doti, 7 nn 21, 22; also Alberti, Family, 207f; Trexler, Public Life, 69 and on "domestic ceremonialization," 100, 160. According to Kirshner, 15, approximately half of Florentine women in the Quattrocento were widows by the age of 50.

108. Quoted by Trexler, Public Life, 353; see also at n 48 above.

109. See Ch 5 n 169 for the fictive intarsia; Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 432-34, Pl 16 for the putti; Summers, Michelangelo, 151-52 for classical motifs in the fresco.

110. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 140. For Donatello see Janson (cited in Ch 2 n 36), quoted here; Janson, Donatello, 119-29, esp 125-26 for the cantoria, 108-18 for the pulpit, on which see also

Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, I:244-45. M.L. Dunkelman, "Donatello's influence on Italian Renaissance Painting" (Ph. D. diss., New York Univ., 1976), 70-71 says Ghirlandaio's figures are not from Donatello but from the same [unknown] source.

111. Lorenzo is quoted by Chastel (cited in Ch 1 n 41), 66 n 6. On the meaning of such joyful putti see M. Lavin, Baptism, 93 and M.A. Lavin, "The joy of the Bridegroom's friend: smiling faces in Fra Filippo, Raphael and Leonardo" in Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson, eds M. Barasch, L.F. Sandler and P. Egan (New York, 1981), 193-210 (for amici sponsi who could here refer appropriately to the Coronation of the Virgin); Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 40-41, 107-10, 188, 215; Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 358-68; Tervarent (cited in Ch 6 n 94), col 24. See Pupilli, 181, f 148r for the "banbinj" in Lorenzo Tornabuoni's bedroom. F. Hartt, A History of Italian Renaissance Art (London, 1980, 2nd ed), 357 cites Ghirlandaio's fresco as representing "a perfect Giuliano da Sangallo interior."

112. Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 329-30, fig 25 for Filippino; Kauffman's argument on Donatello's celebrating putti in Prato being related to the Assumption of the Virgin is accepted by Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 244-45 and Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 140 and n 171; see also B. Bennett and D. Wilkins, Donatello (Oxford, 1984) 160f, 236 n 30.

In this context it is intriguing to note Domenico Veneziano's now lost Birth of the Virgin at S. Egidio, in a cycle often considered influential. Vasari described "una camera molto ornata, ed un putto che batte col martello l'uscio di detta camera con molto buona grazia": Vasari-Milanesi II:677; for a possible report of this in a Dante manuscript illumination see M. Meiss, "The Yates Thompson Dante and Priamo della Quercia," BM 106 (1964):411, fig 13 (where a nude adult nails shut the door of a tower); Wohl, Domenico Veneziano, 19. Meiss said that it was "not clear" why Domenico included the putto. But the act of striking a door is a ritual performed to open a Porta Sancta or at the consecration of a church, for which see Ch 6 n 77, esp Corazza, "Diario," 270, Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 432 and Voragine, Golden Legend, 776. Domenico's "putto" of the early 1440s seems to me to an inventive means of suggesting Mary's virginal nature. As the "thalamum Domini" or "tabernaculum Christi" she was both the Mother of Christ and the consecrated Ecclesia (Ch 6 n 39). Only the purified soul could knock and enter through the Church door, that is through the Porta Paradisi, aided by her intercession. Only the word of God could enter the virginal body, which remained intact. See Matthew 7:7, Luke 11:9, 12:36, Revelations 3:20; as well as Song of Songs 5:2 for "Hark! my beloved is knocking," where exegesis makes of Mary the bride of Christ. The cycle at S. Egidio is often connected with that of the Prato Master, whose sinopia showed a small "child" at the hems of three adult visitors (E. Flaiano, L'opera completa di Paolo Uccello [Milan, 1971], no 18a), as does a predella panel by Gozzoli, also of Mary's Birth (Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, Pl 39) and Lippi's tondo (n 115). These may each remember Domenico Veneziano's "putto," which is, like Ghirlandaio's frieze, thoroughly Christianised by its context. Later, Andrea del Sarto's Birth of the Virgin at SS. Annunziata, influenced in many ways by Ghirlandaio's fresco, also included putti.

113. Voragine, Golden Legend, 524-25 for the feast's introduction;

S. Maria Novella's sacristy books and Orlandi, Necrologio, II:414 for its celebration there; Conv Soppr, 102, 81, unnumbered insert, for the Tornaquinci bequest. For exegesis see G. Ashe, The Virgin (St Albans, 1976), 30, 98f and Warner, Virgin Mary, esp 61.

114. Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 434, fig 17 identifies the activity but makes no iconographical comment. Cf the purification of music: see Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 362-63.

The window was to Vasari one of the work's "cose notabili": Vasari-Milanesi III:263. For the Virgin as "fenestra coeli, quia per ipsam Deus verum sedit saeculis lumen" (H. Hibbard, Poussin: The Holy Family on the Steps [London, 1974], 104 n 76), see esp Meiss, "Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings" (1945) repr in his Painter's Choice, 3-18; also Covi, "Inscription," 550-51; C. Gottlieb, "The Window in the Eye and Globe," AB 57 (1975):559-60; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 343-45; Plogsterth, "Reconsideration of Religious Iconography," 436 n 35; Ruda, Filippo Lippi, 21, 35 n 39; Warner, Virgin Mary, 44. The lit window announces both the advent of Mary and the coming of the Saviour through her.

115. On the Birth of the Virgin see Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 255f; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 84-105, 159; Reau, Iconographie, II/2, 162-64. Cavallini's mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere has an active servant and a similar but larger bowl (Smart, Dawn, Pl 34).

Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 124, 138, referring to Pollaiuolo's depiction of Temperance (Ettlinger, Pollaiuolo, Pls 34, 114), claims that Ghirlandaio's figure is of this Virtue, whose attributes are a vase or ewer (Tervarent [cited in Ch 6 n 94], cols 8-9, 394). But the figure is in a narrative context, where the bath was traditional, and the Virtue has no special affinity with Birth or the Virgin.

J.A. Dobrick, "Botticelli's sources: a Florentine quattrocento tradition and ancient sculpture," Apollo CX, 210 (Aug 1979):126 n 10 rightly says that the water-pourer and other antique motifs show an independent interest in antiquity, not dependent upon Botticelli.

See Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pls 67-69 and Ruda, Filippo Lippi, esp 119f, Pl 66 for the tondo in the Pitti Palace, usually dated to 1452 but probably from the mid 1460s. For Ghirlandaio's drawings see n 105 above.

116. On the bath see D. Denny, "Some Symbols in the Arena Chapel Frescoes," AB (1973):205; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 275; on its Byzantine origins, Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 85ff passim and 159 for its popular and "genre" nature. Occasionally the bath is stressed to the point where it occupies a separate antechamber: Ibid, 96 and van Marle, Italian Schools, IX:figs 236, 360. The Byzantine heritage in Venice may have influenced that city's art: for the Bellini of c 1453-c 1465 in Turin see H. Collins, "Major Narrative Paintings by Jacopo Bellini," AB 64 (1982):467, fig 2 and Gabrielli (cited in Ch 2 n 132), 200, fig 171, neither of whom discuss iconography.

117. From the feast day's Epistle (Wisdom 8:22-35, Vulgate only): "The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived; neither had the fountains of water as yet sprung out;" cf Song of Songs 4:12, 15, where the Virgin was "a garden locked, a fountain sealed ... a garden fountain, a well of living water."

Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece of the Birth, signed and dated 1342, established a popular scheme for Siena in which, for instance,

Joachim and a fellow male receive the news of the birth from a young boy in an antechamber. Pietro has one seated midwife pour water into a basin in the foreground, with the other testing the water's temperature, and servants approach (Anna?) with a jug and towels: Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (van Marle, Italian Schools, II:figs 243-44; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 69, 28-29 also mentions his lost cycle on the hospital facade and speaks of the altarpiece as the first isolated representation of Mary's Birth).

It is Fei's attentive re-working of the Lorenzetti model in the 1380s which most emphasises the purification rituals: Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale (van Marle, II:fig 337). M. Mallory, The Sienese Painter Paolo di Giovanni Fei (c 1345-1411) (New York, 1976), Ch II, esp 26-30 claims that Mary is now placed in a "broader iconographical program" more "complex and hierarchical," in which "the beginning of her divine mission" is accentuated, for instance, by the Annunciation above and a blessing Christ in the central pinnacle directly over her head. He saw the emphasis on the water rites as a reference to Virginité: "Fei increased the number of pitchers that appear in Pietro's panel from two to four and placed one very prominently on the chest below Anna. He also included flowers that may allude to the 'flowers without thorns,' placed a prominent window that glows with light directly over the infant Mary, and depicted Anna washing her hands. These new elements in Fei's composition would certainly be interpreted as Marian symbols in fifteenth-century Flemish art and very probably have the same meaning here. Besides alluding to Mary's virginité, these may also allude to the Immaculate Conception of Mary" (a point not supported by further argumentation or references). The garden in the background is probably a hortus conclusus and the Osservanza Master's Birth of the Virgin later includes a well and enclosing wall in the background (Meiss, Black Death, fig 19).

Other prominent examples of Anna's washing action in Sienese paintings include van Marle, Italian Schools, IX:fig 264, XVI:fig 208; Meiss, fig 20; Shapley, Catalogue, 4, Pl 3. Florentine examples include Giovanni da Milano's fresco in the Rinuccini chapel, S.Croce and Padoa Rizzo, Gozzoli, Pl 181.

118. Both quotations here are from P. Zucker, Styles in Painting. A Comparative Study (New York, 1963), 231. Others who see the interior as typical of Quattrocento reality include Birbari (cited in n 106), 3; Hartt (quoted in n 111); L'Oreficeria, no 165 (which sees the religious theme as a mere "pretesto").

119. Features in Ghirlandaio's architecture may refer to the "earthly sanctuary" and the Virgin, as the tabernacle of the Lord, was associated with the Ark of the Covenant and its house, the Temple of Solomon: eg Caspary, Das Sakramenttabernakel (cited in Ch 2 n 150), 95-97; Denny (cited in n 116), 205f; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, passim; M. Vloberg, "The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception" in The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception ed E. O'Connor (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958), 476 n 39. The "Holy of Holies" (Hebrews 9:1-5) contained many symbols later applied to the Virgin, including the incorruptible Ark of the Covenant and within it "a golden urn holding the manna" which signified her pure and uncorrupted womb (Warner, Virgin Mary, 11, 31, 62). Above the Ark "were the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy seat" which were of "gold" and "spread out their wings above" (Exodus 25:20). Although only two in number in the Temple, Ghirlandaio turns these cherubim, whose "other wings touched each other in the middle of the house" (I Kings 6:27), into the gilt

frieze, just as Solomon "carved all the walls of the house round about with carved [and gold: v 32] figures of cherubim and palm trees and open flowers, in the inner and outer rooms" (I Kings 6:29; see also 2 Chronicles 3 and Ezekiel 41:18-20). The "mercy seat" could connote the Virgin's role as intercessor and mediatrix through whom one was daily received in the Lord's temple (Antonino at n 104 above).

Wood panelling covered in fine gold with decorative elements such as palms, chains, gourds and open flowers in the Temple (Ezekiel 41:16, 2 Chron 3:5, I Kings 6:14-18) may have inspired the fictive, gilded intarsia in Ghirlandaio's scene. That their actual source was the Domus Aurea in Rome would have been entirely appropriate since the litany of Loreto named the Virgin "Domus aurea, Foederis arca, Janua coeli" (a codification composed in the late Quattrocento or early 16th century: Plogsterth, "Reconsideration of Religious Iconography," 436). Similar decorations were on the "doorposts" at "the entrance to the nave" (I Kings 6:33, 35; also Ezekiel 41:21-26) and these posts "in the form of a square" standing at the head of the vestibule may be the two large square columns which Ghirlandaio uses to divide bedchamber from entrance hall.

Certainly their intriguing capitals recall those two huge capitals "of molten bronze" set upon "the pillars at the vestibule of the temple" which were covered in "networks" or "nets of chequer work with wreaths of chain work," like the basket weave design used by Ghirlandaio. Above that he placed fruit bound in a double garland and the Temple's capitals contained "pomegranates in two rows round about upon the one network" in "chains like a necklace" (I Kings 7:15-18; 2 Chron 3:15-17, 4:12-13).

The gold winged putto who stretches his arms towards snake volutes at the capital's head is not mentioned in the Bible. The entire capital was sketched by both Ghirlandaio (Egger, Codex Escorialensis, f 22) and da Sangallo (Huelsen, Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo, f 14v) and was re-used by the Ghirlandaio school in the Berlin Judith and the Rimini altarpiece. Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 429-30 describes it as "une variante unique de l'ordre ionique" depicting the infant Hercules while Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 139, who notes the latter point, calls it "een Corinthisch Kapiteel" which, following Serlio, signifies a virginal life. In fact, like so many other painted capitals in both of the chapel's cycles, it is of the Composite Order, akin to Alberti's description of capitals invented by the "more lively Architects" for "strong ... square Columns": "which instead of Capitals had either Baskets full of Vine Branches laden with Fruit, or the Head of a Palm-tree rising up and full of leaves, or a Knot of Serpents wreathed together, or an Eagle with its Wings expanded in Token of Pleasure, or a Medusa's Head with the Snakes hissing at each other, or any other Fancy of the same kind" (Ten Books on Architecture, Bk IX:1, p 188).

Either from "Fancy" or from classical prototype (an example survives in Berlin according to Dacos), Ghirlandaio sketched the capital for future reference and called upon it as an appropriate form for the Birth of the Virgin, its lower features like those in the Temple, its winged putto (similar to the one in the Prato pulpit's capital) a "prelude" to the rejoicing and musical putti nearby (for Prato see Lightbown, Donatello and Michelozzo, 237, Pls 78, 142). Its gesture of warding off snakes may refer to Mary as the New Eve. In all, any possible source needed no alteration to serve its evocative purpose in the fresco.

The narrative complements the suggestion of the antechamber as the Temple's vestibule since the Meeting between Joachim and Anna

occurs at the head of the stairs and this meeting at the Golden Gate took place at the entrance to the Temple.

120. For the window see n 114; for the Virgin as Porta Coeli, Ch 6 n 85. Ghirlandaio's stairs are far more prominent than they are in their possible source, Lippi's tondo (n 115) and may have been influenced too by Donatello's marble Feast of Herod now at Lille (Dunkelman [cited in n 110], 100). But the Prato Master's Birth of the Virgin in the Cathedral at Prato (Flaiano [cited in n 112], 88, Pl VIII) is the closest source: stairs running in the same oblique direction on the left edge, contrasted with an enclosed horizontal structure, recur in both, while other features resemble Ghirlandaio's handling of figures in his Birth of John. Perhaps too the lost cycle at S. Egidio was influential (n 112). Ghirlandaio's prominent stairs leading to the Golden Gate probably refer to the Virgin as "Scala Coelestis": see Dante, Paradiso, XXXII, lines 28-30; Hibbard (cited in n 114), 85-90, 104 n 76, incl Michelangelo's Madonna of the Stairs, carved c 1491, not too long after he had left the Ghirlandaio workshop; Vecchietta's Ladder of Paradise, which leads to the Virgin's welcoming arms (Siena, Pellegrinaio; van Marle, Italian Schools, XVI:fig 119).

For Vasari see n 112. Ornate and contemporary settings were an established tradition, adapted from depictions of the birth of emperors and used by artists ranging chronologically from Cavallini, Pietro Lorenzetti and Filippo Lippi to Andrea del Sarto: Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie, 95, 171-72; Zucker (cited in n 118), 227-28.

121. See Ch 4 at n 76f.

122. See Ch 3 n 210. For Lucrezia's association with the Visitation at S. Lorenzo see Gage, Life in Italy, 135; Levantini-Pieroni, Lucrezia, 67 n 3; D. Moreni, Continuazione delle Memorie Istoriche dell'Ambrosiana Imperial Basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze (Florence, 1816), 1:55-56 n 2, 306; Trexler, "Martyrs," 298, 307. See Ch 4 n 112, Ch 5 n 116 no 7, for other Tornaquinci associations with the Visitation.

123. Voragine, Golden Legend, 204, citing St. Bernard on one of three reasons why we should salute Mary. On the Visitation see also Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 218, 323-30, 441-42; Reau, Iconographie, II/1:445, II/2:195-210; Schiller, Iconography, I:55f; E. Verheyen, "An Iconographic Note on Altdorfer's 'Visitation' in the Cleveland Museum of Art," AB 46 (1964):536-39.

124. For the Virgin as intercessor at the Visitation see also Berlin, 489-90; Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 160; Warner, Virgin Mary, 286-87. For the Bulls see Franco and Dalmazzo, Bullarum, 4:602-04, 5:106-07; King, Liturgies of the Orders, 365; Parks (cited in n 46), 293-94, nn 6, 14, 15, 20; J.V. Polc, "La festa della Visitazione e il giubileo del 1390," Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia 29 (1975):149-72.

125. For the "pons sublimis" see M. Levi d'Ancona, "The Medici Madonna of Signorelli" in Studi Offerti a Roberto Ridolfi (Florence, 1973), 331 and n 31; for the Virgin as bridge or Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28:12), also Vloberg (cited in n 119), 530 and Warner, Virgin Mary, 63, 286. For the stairs see n 120; later examples with stairs include Pontormo's Visitation in SS. Annunziata; Andrea del Sarto's

fresco in the Chiostro dello Scalzo and Salviati's in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato, Rome (other features in the work could also rely on Ghirlandaio). Any kind of street receding into the distance from a foreground "piazza" is also rare and the 3 examples I know are later: a 1502-17 illumination in a Book of Hours where the Palazzo Medici is in the place of Zacharias' house and the Visitation occurs in the idealised Piazza S. Lorenzo (Hyman, Fifteenth Century Studies, fig 67); Pontormo's panel for Carmignano; Perino del Vaga's Visitation in SS.Trinita dei Monti, Rome.

G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 116, and later Behrends (cited in n 91), 5, Sabatini, Ghirlandaio, 20 and implicitly van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:80, believe that the tallest campanile is that of S. Maria Novella, but the likeness is not accurate. In the fresco towers are frequent, on far and near shores. Protective watchtowers and spires were generic symbols of the Virgin or of the Church: Song of Songs 4:4, 7:4, 8:10; Dante, Paradiso, XXXIII, line 2; Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 163, 444-46; Vloberg (cited in n 119), 476 n 39; Warner, Virgin Mary, 62; Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 54, 114.

126. See esp Ch 6 n 85 and Davisson, "Advent of the Magi," 67, 123, 203-09, 325-27; also Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 125), 324, 331-32 and text at n 43f for the Zacharias fresco.

127. For Miriam and the Magnificat, see Ashe (cited in n 113), 49-51, 87-88, 98, 99, 147, 175-76 and Warner, Virgin Mary, 13, 55, 343. For the Benedictus see Warner, 343 and text at n 42f above.

128. See also Ezekiel Ch 40f; Isaiah 60:10-11, 18; Psalms 48:12-14, 87:2, 132:13-14; Revelations 21:10f.

129. See Hatfield, Botticelli, 55ff; J.M. Russell, "The Iconography of the Friedsam Annunciation," AB 58 (1978):26f, including Jerome's commentary on Isaiah 58:11-12.

130. Manni, Vite, 189, 190.

131. For the "Templum Domini" and the Virgin see Sinding-Larsen, "Centralised Church," esp 221 n 3, 237; for towers see n 125. See Ames-Lewis, Drawing, 149, Pl 149 and BB Drawings, no 871, fig 298 for the drawing. Contemporary citation of the Pantheon under its Christian dedication includes Lanfredini in 1484 (E. Borsook, "Two letters concerning Antonio Pollaiuolo," BM [1973]:468) and Rucellai, Zibaldone, 72. Villani, Pius II and Borghini drew parallels between the Pantheon and either the Florentine Cathedral or Baptistery: Foster, Poggio, 50 n 619; Rubinstein (cited in Ch 2 n 145), 70.

132. For the Psalm and its relationship to the Visitation see Covi, "Inscription," 105-06; Reau, Iconographie, II/2:196; Verheyen (cited in n 123), 537 n 6 (and 538 n 12 for the Credo).

133. Ashe (cited in n 113), 87-88; Schiller, Iconography, I:55. Works in which the Visitation is associated with the Annunciation include van Marle, Italian Schools, IX:fig 198 and Albertinelli's altarpiece of 1503 in the Uffizi (Freedberg, High Renaissance, 55-56, fig 42). The 2 subjects may also be associated because in each case divine words were received through the ear: for the Annunciation see W. Zucker (cited in n 101); for the Visitation, Luke 1:44 (quoted at n 139 below).

134. For the cloth see Hatfield, Botticelli, esp 38 n 11; Luchs, Cestello, 88.

135. Eisenhofer and Lechner, Liturgy of the Roman Rite, 89-90, 325-26; N. Fersin (trans) The Florentine 'Fior di Virtu' of 1491 (Washington, 1953), 27-28; Meersseman, Ordo Fraternalitatis, II:717, 734; C. Sterling, "Fighting animals in the 'Adoration of the Magi,'" Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 61 (Dec 1974):350-59. The gesture and meaning of the Visitation is sometimes contrasted with the Pact or Kiss of Judas: Davisson, "Advent of the Magi," 147; Stubbelbine, Giotto, figs 3, 24.

136. Parks (cited in n 46), 293; the earlier quotation is from Stubbelbine, Giotto, 81, who only mentions the meeting and bridging of Old and New. See also Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 49 for a mid-Quattrocento preacher on the subdivisions and categories of the Visitation.

137. Voragine, Golden Legend, 207, see also 206, 321f. Other comments on John's special role and the salutation include Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 125), 327 n 15; Manni, Vite, 264; Parks (cited in n 46), 306 n 7; Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 159-60; Ch 6 at n 50.

138. See, for example, Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, Pl 54 and M. Lavin, Baptism, 43.

139. Variations in the Vulgate are noted in square brackets here. Kemp (cited in Ch 4 n 18), 96 relates the text and its note of revelation to Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks. Luke 21:31 relates the budding fig to the time when "the kingdom of God is near." Figures gaze over a parapet in van Eyck's Rolin Madonna (A. H. van Buren, "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Painting, Part II: More about the Rolin Madonna," AB 60 [1978]:617-22 relates them to watchmen looking down from a watch tower), as do two figures in Roger van der Weyden's St. Luke Painting the Virgin (Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 252-54 suggests they may be Anne and Joseph). Ghirlandaio may here be picking up on a Flemish motif. It is noticeable that in both panels the main subject is a vision or visitation by the Virgin.

For the fig as a symbol of fertility see M. Levi d'Ancona, The Garden of the Renaissance: botanical symbolism in Italian painting (Florence, 1977), 139; Iervarent (cited in Ch 6 n 94), col 81. See Ch 6 n 102 for the sprouting branch as a symbol of renovatio; a connotation sometimes applied to a family's fertile growth: eg the female portrait in Lorenzo Costa's pair now in the Lehman Collection, New York, includes a sprouting trunk (Ch 1 n 56); a ceramic plate of c 1530 refers to Psalm 128:2, 3, "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thy house" (M. Shapiro, "A Renaissance Birth Plate," AB 49 [1967]:239); for Filippo Strozzi's chapel see Sale, Strozzi Chapel, esp 203, 207-08; Tiepolo's Marriage Allegory of the Cornaro Family in the Australian National Gallery, Canberra, contains a green branch growing from a stone block (R. Millen, "The Tiepolo ceiling," Art and Australia 14 [1977]:267).

140. Anrep-Bjurling, "Ghirlandaio's portraits," 288, who also makes the rare, reticent remark that "she has remained anonymous"; Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 119-20. The similarity of the jewellery in fresco and panel was also noted in L'Oreficeria, no 189.

G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 123 confessed that "we are wholly without means of identification" for all three visitors; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:86 simply says that they "are no doubt portraits of members of the founder's family." The leading woman has sometimes been confused with Lodovica: Polidori-Calamandrei (cited in n 106), Tav XVI, repeated by Herald (cited in n 11), Pl 10. Follini, Firenze, 324-25, followed by Fineschi, Forestiero, 26, was muddled by Vasari's identification of Ginevra Benci in the Visitation (Ch 4 n 78) and instead placed her "in atto di far vista a S. Elisabetta, e congratularsi seco per il nato Bambino." The three women in the Visitation and the Birth of John have been confused by others, which may explain Staley's brief comment that Giovanna Albizzi is the leading visitor in both scenes (Women of Florence, xiv).

At first sight, an identification on the basis of what might be termed the physiognomy of jewellery, seems flimsy. Yet in the case of Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi, the same necklace is worn in Botticelli's "Villa Lemmi" fresco and in the evident copy executed by Ghirlandaio's assistant, although the dress differs somewhat (Ch 4 at n 76f). Indeed in both medals and panels portraying Florentine women of the Quattrocento the same jewel rarely, if ever, seems to appear twice. Each other woman in S. Maria Novella is certainly distinguished by elaborate and different jewellery, if any is present. The piece worn by Lodovica on her medal is not repeated in her fresco, probably because in her case she wears part of her dowry in the later portrait (Ch 3 at n 185). On jewellery see Herald, Ch 7 and Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 303-11; for the reflection cast on the woman's family and relatives by such splendour see A. Strozzi, Lettere, 446, 466, 548-49.

141. See Ch 3 nn 183, 191, 194f, 209.

142. For Giovanna see Ch 3 at n 195f; for Giovanni's birth, Ch 3 n 167, and for its possible celebration in the Magi tondo, Ch 4 n 81. See Ch 2 at n 212 for "remaking." The Naming was not stipulated in the contract of Sept 1485.

143. For the seasonal delay see Gilbert (cited in Ch 2 n 156), n 73; Gilbert, Documents, 16, 109. The giornea is discussed by Herald (cited in n 11), 218; Levi Pisetzky (cited in n 8), 249 who notes that Giovanna in the Visitation wears one too; Polidori-Calamandrei (cited in n 106), 44. My thanks to Dr Jennifer Blackett-Smith for pointing out that the woman's appearance, as well as her pose, is that of a pregnant woman. For the epigram see Ch 3 n 199.

Whoever she is, she was considered important enough for a preparatory drawing to be done of her dress, which features a full length cascade of a floral pattern down the side: Ames-Lewis, Drawing, 155, Pl 152 who notes that it served as a model for Giovanna's dress in the Visitation too; BB Drawings, no 883, fig 304. Neither drawing nor fresco however give any indication of arms or family emblems. The decorative device on the dress in the fresco, which looks rather like a thistle, is in fact a typical example of what has been called, since the 19th century, the "pomegranate" pattern common to many Renaissance textiles: Herald, 83, Pls 39, 42, 43, 51; Levi Pisetzky, Pl 102; Polidori-Calamandrei, Pls LXXIV, LXXVII, LXXX. Ghirlandaio himself used it for the eldest Magi in his Innocenti altarpiece of 1488 and for Elizabeth's maniple in the Tornabuoni Visitation of 1491 (Pls 58, 85). The drawing of the dress only includes the outline of a head, perhaps because Giovanna was already ill and someone else modelled her

costume.

144. See Ch 3 n 203 for Dianora; Ch 3 n 210 for possible portrayal in the Tornaquinci chapel.

145. See n 106 for the costume; Ch 4 n 128 for deschi in the Tornabuoni collection. For the two in American collections see Antal, Florentine Painting, 355-56, Pl 145; Watson, "Virtu and Voluptas," 30-37, 194f, 265-69; P. Watson, "A Desco da Parto by Bartolomeo di Fruosino," AB 56 (1974):3-9. For the one in Berlin see Berti, Masaccio, 124-26, 159-60 n 283, Pls 74-76, fig 73. Watson, "Virtu and Voluptas," 32, in querying the subject of deschi which depict births, works with an unnecessary polarisation: "There is, then, room for doubt; do these paintings depict 'real life' or do they represent the birth of a saint?" Ghirlandaio answered with "both". Manni, Vite, 191 precisely describes the visitors at John's birth as "vicini ... parenti, e amici loro."

146. All quotations in this paragraph are from Watson, "Virtù and Voluptas," 34-36; on 33 he gives examples from 1418 and 1468, where godfathers gave gifts at the time of baptism.

147. Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, 18, Pls 55, 102; n 115 for the Lippi. A similar judgement was passed by C. Hope, Masterpieces of Italian Renaissance Painting (London, 1979), comment on Pl 19, Birth of John: Ghirlandaio's frescoes in S.Maria Novella were "typical of his competent but unimaginative style, well suited to a patron whose main concern, it seems, was to have a splendid setting for numerous portraits of himself and his relatives." Marchini, "Ghirlandajo, Domenico," col 322 makes a very similar remark with regard to the Zacharias fresco.

Visitors are apparent in earlier depictions of the Virgin's Birth, incl Orcagna's marble relief on the Or San Michele tabernacle (Fabri and Rutenberg [cited in n 69], fig 7: the gesture of one of the two visitors is very similar to that made by the middle visitor in Ghirlandaio's fresco, and the midwife's gesture and pose is also adopted); an Orcagna school panel and a Bicci di Lorenzo fresco (n 106 above); Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel, Padua; Giovanni da Milano's fresco in the Rinuccini chapel, S.Croce. Perugino's panel of the Birth of John of c 1478-79 also has visitors present: Passavant, Verrocchio, 213, fig app 54.

148. Gombrich, Warburg, 107, where he also said, "Hell, is this the way to visit a sickroom, even with congratulations?" Ghirlandaio gives no impression that the birth chamber is a "sickroom," and the attitude towards medicine and birth would have been quite different in Warburg's age. Warburg's own rather polarised and uncomfortable personality affected his reading: "I am not equipped for this kind of locomotion. Or to be exact, I should like to, but my intellectual training does not permit me to do so" (p 110).

149. Warburg traced the "nymph" with its flying veil back to the classical maenad and saw her as a hurrying figure of victory: Gombrich, Warburg, 297-99, Pls 57-58.

He noted the servant in Lippi's tondo (n 115), but not the other servants carrying a basket on their heads and arriving at or near a door in the Births of such saints as John, Stephen or the Virgin. These preceding works include Taddeo Gaddi's Birth of the Virgin in

the Baroncelli chapel, S.Croce (Ladis [cited in n 87], Pl 4a-7); Bicci di Lorenzo's Birth of the Virgin in Pistoia (n 106); the Virgin's Birth on embroidery from S.Maria Novella, of the mid 15th century (Orlandi, Necrologio, II:Tav XI); Lippi's Birth of St.Stephen fresco in Prato which includes shoulder veils flying behind the servant (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 89); Pollaiuolo's relief for the dossale (Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, Pl 102); a lost Masaccio described by Bocchi in 1591 as "the birth of a female saint ... in which, ... most beautiful also is a figure knocking at a door with a basket on her head in which is a capon" (Berti, Masaccio, 159 n 283); two predella panels from the Perugino shop (Camesasca, Perugino, nos 13, 52C). In the Prato Master's Birth of the Virgin (n 120) a servant, carrying plates in her hand, rushes down stairs, about to enter the room, and her headveil flutters.

Women carrying a burden on their head and often with their draperies in active motion could be included in other religious narratives too, esp those frescoed in the Sistine Chapel by Botticelli, Perugino, Ghirlandaio and others in the early 1480s: eg Camesasca, no 23 B; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:fig 231; Olson (cited in n 52), 200f. Such a girl energetically climbs the street in Ghirlandaio's Visitation within the Tornaquinci chapel and a less active servant similarly occupied had appeared in a few previous versions of the Visitation: eg the Trecento paliotto from S.Maria Novella mentioned in Ch 6 n 2; Gombrich, Pl 58a.

150. D.G. Wilkins, "Donatello's Lost Dovizia for the Mercato Vecchio: Wealth and Charity as Florentine Civic Virtues," AB 65 (1983):401-23, esp 411 and fig 17 which mentions Ghirlandaio's figure as an example of the statue's impact but makes no further or iconographic comment on the fresco, which is the only painted adaptation in a religious context cited by Wilkins. Another pictorial representation of a market scene, not cited by Wilkins, would further confirm his identification: a Florentine woodcut of c 1490 includes just such a figure, with basket and sheath of wheat held like a cornucopia, standing near a stall: F. Gregorovius, Lucrezia Borgia (London, 1948), Pl 94.

151. Wilkins (cited in n 150), 416, 409.

152. For Warburg's "drei K" see Ch 6 at n 1; for Midsummer, Ferer (cited in Ch 6 n 51), 48ff, esp 54-57, evident too in the trade fair held in Florence when they celebrated the Baptist's festival (eg Dati's description in Brucker, Documentary Study, 76).

153. For the bath in the Birth of John signifying future baptism see Reau, Iconographie, II/1:446. Lippi's Birth of John in Prato (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 94) shows the child held up over a font; Benedetto da Maiano's terracotta Birth of John, based on Ghirlandaio's work in the Tornaquinci chapel, also depicts a prominent font (Pope-Hennessy, Victoria and Albert Museum, 159-60, Pl 155). A jug and basin, very similar to Ghirlandaio's, are in Justus van Ghent's Communion of the Apostles where they are "a reference to the sacrament of Baptism": M. Lavin, "Corpus Domini," 17. The same accoutrements are prominent in Cosimo Rosselli's Last Supper in the Sistine Chapel (van Marle, Italian Schools, XI:fig 367) and in Ghirlandaio's Last Supper at Ognissanti (L'Orreficeria, no 171).

A similar platter arrayed with alternate black and white grapes, in a French still-life of c 1630, is discussed by I. Bergström,

"Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still Life" BM 97 (1955):307 and n 12: the plate is the cover of a baptismal font and the grapes "may signify the blood and water pouring out of the wound in Christ's side at Golgotha, thus symbolic of the baptism as well as of the Lord's Supper." For the grapes see also Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 139), 162.

154. The two large round fruits appear to be pomegranates, since one is partially split and large seeds can be seen within. This fruit was a symbol of resurrection, fertility and unity in the church: Bergström (cited in n 153), 304 and n 10; Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 139), 312-18; Warner, Virgin Mary, 276. As in Ghirlandaio's fresco, the fruit could be golden in colour: Levi d'Ancona, 315; Fra Angelico's central panel of the Perugia altarpiece; Mantegna's St. George in the Accademia, Venice.

The two smaller fruit to the left appear to be peaches because of the characteristic indentation at the side and their size. Peaches signify virtue and salvation: Levi d'Ancona, 294-96. They might be large apricots, but Levi d'Ancona, 52-53 only lists their reference to "the female sex organ" and hence sin. The only instance she specifies in a Renaissance painting, 2 "apricots" on the far left of the table in Ghirlandaio's Ognissanti Last Supper, are in fact lemons (colour, shape and texture are all clear).

155. For the lemon as a restorative and allusion to Salvation, "for its healing properties, and also because this plant thrives only under the rays of the sun" see Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 139), 206-07. Placement near the window and the yellow gleam of the fruit seem to highlight this significance. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 126-27, using Bergström's study of Ghirlandaio's St. Jerome in Ognissanti, identifies the fruit in the Birth of John as an apple, but the citrus medica only substantiates their argument that the box and jar refer to sacramental "medicine". See I. Bergström, "Medicina, Fons et Scrinium. A Study in Van Eyckean Symbolism and its Influence in Italian Art," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift 26 (1957):1-20; with brief reference also in Bergström (cited in n 153), 346 and n 44. Ghirlandaio's earlier usage of box, jar, fruit and so on shows his awareness of the salvational symbolism: see his St. Gregory appears to S.Fina to announce her death and the Annunciation in the cloister, at the Collegiata in San Gimignano, and his St. Jerome in Ognissanti (van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:figs 3, 10, 125).

156. See Ch 6 at n 47 for the Purification. On the next register, in both the Preaching and Baptism, the adult John also wears red. Perhaps the colour of the midwives' costumes is also symbolic: their yellow and green were just the colours of the Tornaquinci and hence Tornabuoni arms (Ch 3 n 28), so might be a further reference to the family's fertility. See Ch 2 n 103 for arme in disguise.

157. Manni, Vite, 191. The day's placement at Midsummer was associated with his prophecy "He must increase, but I must decrease" (John 3:30; Voragine, Golden Legend, 327). For the celebrations in January and August see Voragine, 84, 502-10. Lane (cited in Ch 6 n 58) is a recent and solid examination of the Baptist's significance.

158. Manni, Vite, 191; for the Naming see Reau, Iconographie, II/1:445-46. Its separation from the Birth is rare: Dunford, "S. Giovanni at Urbino," 370; Ettliger, Pollaiuolo, 21. It occurs in a

corner of the birth chamber in examples including the one in S. Maria Novella's sacristy window; the Salimbeni cycle at Urbino, Granacci's panel for the Tornabuoni (Zeri and Gardner, Florentine School, 182) and Pontormo's tondo for the Tornaquinci (Ch 4 n 128). Sometimes Zacharias sits in profile in an adjacent portal: Giotto's fresco in the Peruzzi chapel; Lippi's in Prato (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 96) which is closest to Ghirlandaio's in that it has a columned portico and pavement, but it is an interior with no landscape view. When shown in a separate scene entirely, Zacharias is still shown in profile to one side: the panel in Andrea Pisano's doors for the Baptistery; Giovanni del Biondo's Altarpiece of the Baptist (Meiss, Black Death, fig 68); Fra Angelico's panel (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 33), where it occurs in a walled garden; Pollaiuolo's embroidery for the Baptistery (Ettlinger, Pl 56), in an enclosed hall.

Glasser, Artists' Contracts, 145 claims that "no full composition drawings remain for the second and third upper tiers of the chapel, where there are few, if any, Tornabuoni portraits." This ignores the drawings for the Marriage of the Virgin in the Uffizi (BB Drawings, no 872, fig 299; Ames-Lewis, Drawing, 152, 170, Pl 151) and for the Naming in the British Museum (BB Drawing no 884, fig 301; Ames-Lewis, 157, Pl 157).

159. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtegrond, 152, giving only JOHANNES ... EIVS, believes that it was repeated at Vespers.

160. Later texts also stressed the universal marvel because "none of your kindred is called by this name" (Luke 1:61): Manni, Vite, 191; Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 161.

161. Voragine, Golden Legend, 321, also 503. Manni, Vite, 264 gives a similar list. Having Named, Zacharias was free to utter his Benedictus and one of John's "nine singular privileges" had been the miracle shown whereby "at his birth he loosed his father's tongue" (Voragine, 323-24). Another had been that "He leaped in the womb of his mother" (the Visitation) and the earliest had been that "his birth was announced by the same angel who announced the birth of Christ" (Annunciation to Zacharias). Later privileges, which placed John in the highest realm of paradise, centred on his mission as prophet, precursor and baptiser. See n 50 above for the Zacharias inscription.

The Benedictus prophesied that John would be "the prophet of the Most High for you will go before the Lord to prepare his ways" (John 1:76), Gabriel having announced "he will go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah" (Luke 1:17). So he was the re-incarnation of Elijah, so-named by the Lord Himself: see also Lavin, Baptism, 42, 44; Manni, 192, 264; Voragine, 322, 324.

162. Alberti (cited at Ch 2 n 205) for the importance of gesture; Voragine, Golden Legend, 325-26 and Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 162 on the wonder. The closest previous instance of a woman kneeling is only the midwife seated near Zacharias in Lippi's fresco (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 96). A figure makes the gesture of prayer in Andrea Pisano's Naming on the Baptistery doors. In the preparatory drawing by Ghirlandaio (n 158), that same figure had instead raised her hands in wonder, like a figure within Fra Angelico's panel (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 33). That the sources for these rare gestures varies suggests not an eclectic collection from predecessors but Ghirlandaio's own understanding of the event's significance and a decision to emphasise this by using gestural language to reinforce the

inscription's language: Kirche and Künstler were in harmony.

163. Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 162 and Luke 1:68 ("he has visited and redeemed his people"). For the Magnificat see n 127; for the Benedictus, nn 127, 161; for the Nunc dimittis, Ch 6 at n 27.

An emphasis on speech might also be appropriate for the Order of Preachers. The gift of speech regained by the father was to be John's instrument, as he preached and proclaimed the saviour's coming. The epistle at the Vigil, repeated in the mass on the actual feast day, stressed this office: "Then the Lord put forth his hand and touched my mouth; and the Lord said to me, 'Behold, I have put my words in your mouth'" (Jeremiah 1:9). The inscribed verbs in John's cycle, VOCAVIT, DICENS and NOMEN, all suggest mission and speech.

164. See Lane (cited in Ch 6 n 58), 662. Such a theme had been proclaimed in the Sistine Chapel, where Ghirlandaio had been working in the early 1480s. Above Perugino's Baptism an inscription read INSTITVTIO NOVAE REGENERATIONIS A CHRISTO IN BAPTISMO: B. Del Priore, A.P. Graziano, F. Rossi, The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in the Vatican (Rome, 1975), unnumbered plate.

165. See n 142; Pupilli, 181, ff 143r (his room in the Chiasso Macerelli villa), 148v-149r (in the Palace).

166. G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 122; van Marle, Italian Schools, XIII:86 n 1.

167. Barfucci, Lorenzo de' Medici, 131 (although his reference, to fig 54, is an illustration of the Joachim fresco, his description nevertheless is of the Naming); Behrends (cited in n 91), 1, 6.

168. See Ch 6 n 2.

169. For the confraternity see Capitoli, Comp Rel Soppr 719 (ff 21r-22v for its procession; ff 32r-32v for the approval in 1487) and Comp Rel Soppr 1270 (f 1v for the procession with a relic). See also Fineschi, Cimiterio, xxiv, xxvi, 129; Monti (cited in Ch 6 n 22), 170; R. Trexler, "The Magi Enter Florence. The Ubriachi of Florence and Venice," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History ns 1 (1978):153, 159 n 122, 191 n 220.

For the celebration of the feast day at S. Maria Novella on 28 Dec 1419 see Corazza, "Diario," 265; in 1493, Orlandi, Necrologio, II:587. Francesconi, Firenze Sacra, under 6 Jan lists the "Festa alla Compagnia de' SS. Innocenti nei Chiostri di S. Maria Novella" and under 28 Dec, at S. Maria Novella, "sta esposta gran parte del Corpo di uno de i ss Innocenti, e la mattina la Compagnia detta il Nocentino porta detta Reliquia a processione per Chiesa." See Young, Drama, II:113, 117 for the procession of boys through the church to the choir in some plays on the Innocents.

170. For the Innocenti altarpiece see Ch 5 n 161; itself a combination of Massacre with a foreground depiction of the adoration of the Magi. Examples of the relationship between the two subjects include religious plays (Hatfield, "Magi," 108, 144 for 1390 in Florence; Young, Drama, II:102ff); the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; a Florentine panel of the Trecento, with the Massacre above the Magi and Flight into Egypt (Antal, Florentine Painting, Pl 51; van Marle, Italian Schools, III:517 n 1); Trecento frescoes in Pomposa

(van Marle, IV:fig 244). Particularly interesting but little known are terraverde frescoes on either side wall of the apse chapel in S.Maria Maggiore, Florence, by Spinello Aretino (Busignani and Bencini, Quartiere di S.Maria Novella, 113, 115, and van Marle, III:609 mention them in passing), depicting the Massacre and Herod receiving the Magi. The confraternity of the Innocenti was in fact founded at this church in 1389 (Trexler [cited in n 169], 153) and it was one of the stations for the festa of 1390.

For the Massacre of the Innocents see H. van Os, "A Choirbook by Lippo Vanni," Simiolus 11 (1967/68):129-30; Reau, Iconographie, II/2:267-72; Schiller, Iconography, I:114-17; Voragine, Golden Legend, 64-68.

171. See Ch 6 n 53 (Lucrezia Tornabuoni) and at n 55 f there; also James (cited in n 89), 460, 539-40. Christ fleeing is of course in Matthew 2:13-18, the day's Gospel; for John's flight at the time see Dunford, "S. Giovanni in Urbino," 368; M. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Supplement," 319; Reau, Iconographie, II/1:447.

172. See esp Schiller, Iconography, I:114; Young, Drama, II:102f for plays in which Rachel is consoled by angels.

173. Herod is invariably quite visible, either seated on a throne nearby or on a balcony, such as is very common in other martyrdoms too (eg Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pls 61, 113, 138). The Massacre was a popular scene in Siena (n 176) where it was often placed in an arcaded courtyard. Perhaps textual accuracy also motivated Herod's remoteness in the fresco: his palace was in Jerusalem, the Massacre took place in Bethlehem.

174. Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, 130-32, 246; text and references here at n 126. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Arch of Constantine can often form the backdrop to the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian: eg Pollaiuolo's in the National Gallery, London; Signorelli's at Città di Castello; Thomas, "Classical reliefs," 52 for an example from 1520.

For Ghirlandaio's classical sources see Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'antique," 436f; Dobrick (cited in Ch 6 n 85), 359 n 8; Gombrich, Warburg, 180, Pl 28 and at n 175 here. Through the central arch one sees a far-off walled garden (a cemetery or paradise since it has cypresses?) with an heraldic coat of arms above the open portal. Those arms, representing a rider with a staff or lance on a horse facing left are the same as the Bighordi arme, reversed, reproduced by Vasari-Milanesi III:282.

175. Gombrich, Warburg, 126; Ch 3 at n 125ff for the letter and Francesca's tomb by Verrocchio, also inspired by classical sculpture. Certainly the memory of the family tragedy was enlivened by Clarice's pregnancy in 1478: Ch 3 at n 131. For the horror associated with the death of an unbaptised child see, eg, R. Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395-1455," History of Childhood Quarterly 1 (Fall 1973):259-84, passim, esp 269.

176. For the motto and device see Ch 6 n 94; for the martyr cult, Ch 2 n 53. For masses instituted and tombs planned by Giovanni see esp Ch 3 at nn 183, 190ff, 206, 208.

Occasionally the depiction of the Massacre in Quattrocento, esp Sieneese, art has been linked with the revived threat of Turkish

invasion: Pezzarossa, Lucrezia, 46 n 23; F. Zeri and E. Gardner Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Sieneese and Central Italian Schools (New York, 1980), 82; Laclotte and Moggetti (cited in Ch 5 n 156), nos 28-29. Other Sieneese instances include Nicola Pisano's pulpit in the Cathedral; a scene on the Maestà there (White, Duccio, Pl 88); Antal, Florentine Painting, Pl 50; Mallory (cited in n 117), 192; van Marle, Italian Schools, I:373, II:581 n 1, fig 224, XVI:fig 259; van Os (cited in n 170); and four by Matteo di Giovanni in the 1480s or 1491, incl van Marle, XVI:figs 189, 191, 192, 196. For the Turkish threat in the late 1470s and 1480s see Garin, "L'attesa" (cited in Ch 2 n 178), 30f; Marinis and Perosa, Nuovi documenti, 23-24 (Francesco Sassetti in 1479); O'Malley, Praise, incl 61, 116, 190f, 232f; Vasoli, "L'attesa" (cited in Ch 2 n 178), esp 380.

Yet the scene was relatively rare in Florentine art. Examples from that city are cited in n 170; see also van Marle, I:268 (the Baptistery mosaics), III:342, 556 n 1, fig 201 (Trecento instances); Wilkins, "Early Florentine Frescoes," 160, figs 12, 13 for early martyrdom frescoes in the Rucellai chapel, S.Maria Novella. The only Florentine examples from the Quattrocento, other than Ghirlandaio's two, are Fra Angelico's for the SS. Annunziata cupboard (Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 138); a Lippi school panel in Prato (Marchini, Filippo Lippi, Pl 206); Cosimo Rosselli's Virgin and Child with Angels, Saints and the Holy Innocents in Cologne (Covi, "Inscription," 61, 373); Piero di Cosimo's inclusion of the scene in the background of his Visitation panel originally placed in S. Spirito (Shapley, Catalogue, Pl 268).

Quite why this potential terror should affect Sieneese artists so much more than the Florentines is not clear and has not been discussed. Ghirlandaio's stress on salvation in the Tornaquinci chapel fresco is another instance of a horrid subject, possibly with contemporary overtones, nevertheless being balanced by an awareness of promise; of optimism alongside fear. A turn to a more penitential, inner life (eg Ch 2 Section D ii and n 214 there) might also have motivated the subject's revival in the Quattrocento.

177. Vasari-Milanesi III:262; Petrei in Frey, Libro di Antonio Billi, 58; Follini, Firenze, 323 (who notes that Giovanni is "al naturale," Francesca "effigiata") who is then followed by Fineschi, Foresterio, 25. Francesca's tomb effigy is now lost and Verrocchio's relief on the tomb shows a suffering, dying woman in which a portrait quality is absent (Ch 3 n 126).

178. For the tradition, esp in tombs, see Ch 2 n 72 and at n 75; P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death (Harmondsworth, 1981), 255 (who notes that "even if it is still living," a praying donor "is a figure of eternity"); Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 192-200, 206; A.M. Schulz, rev of Bauch's Das mittelalterliche Grabbild, in AB 62 (1980):317-18; H. s'Jacob, Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism (Leiden, 1954), 132 ff.

179. Schulz (cited in n 178), 317; Aries (cited in n 178), 214-15 for the Dominican; Lane, "Medieval Devotional Figure," 29 for the Offertory Rite; Ch 2 at n 66 and passim for "sure access." The Christian aspect of worldly "fame," usually forgotten in discussions of Renaissance portraiture and individualism, has been investigated by A. von Müller, Gloria Bona Fama Bonorum; Studien zur sittlichen Bedeutung des Ruhmes in der frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen

Welt (Husum, 1977), only known to me through its review by K. Morrison, American Historical Review 84 (1979):434-35. Duke Federigo da Montefeltro's motto stated that "by one's brilliant accomplishments, one goes to heaven": "Virtutibus itur ad astra" (Aries, 215). On good works see also Ch 1 n 36, Ch 2 nn 173, 179.

180. G. Davies, Ghirlandaio, 115 noted that Giovanni's portrait was "repainted in oil"; see n 177 here for the comment on Francesca. For the Sassetti portraits see Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 19, 42, Pls 2, 26-27, 66-67, col pl opp p 14; the date of Nera Corsi's death is not mentioned.

181. For the gesture see Ch 2 near n 84 (a Bardi instance in S.Maria Novella) and esp n 154. Sometimes the gesture had occurred before in a probable donor portrait where the second "donor" uses the better known gesture of prayer with palms together: Ch 6 at n 93 for two examples in Madonna del Neve scenes; one of two lay tertiaries on the outermost right of Fra Angelico's predella for the Fiesole altarpiece, which otherwise contains Dominican luminaries (M. Davies, London, 25 says they are perhaps donors; Pope-Hennessy, Fra Angelico, Pl 5).

Fra Passavanti's Specchio had the Virgin kneel with such a gesture when presenting St. Dominic to Christ (Giles, "Strozzi Chapel," 99-100) and here its meaning as a gesture of recommendation seems paramount (Ch 2 n 154).

More usually the gesture has been discussed and used as one of humility, esp by the Virgin Annunciate: Baxandall, Painting and Experience, 55, 65; Pope Hennessy, Pls 13, 18, 76, 91, 131, figs 10, 11, 21, 75 and by Gabriel in Pl 91 and fig 97. It could be a gesture of adoration by angels (Pope-Hennessy, Pls 1, 15, 38, 124, figs 76, 95, 103, 106), by Joseph (fig 78), by St Peter Martyr (fig 55), by the Virgin of Humility herself (fig 107). The Virgin could also adopt it when kneeling at her Coronation: Pls 34, 129, fig 65. Lastly, to remain with examples from Fra Angelico and his shop, the Virgin uses it when witnessing the Transfiguration in a S.Marco cell (Pl 86) and here she is probably supplicating on behalf of mankind, so that the gesture's connotations of recommendation and humility are here joined by the Virgin's role as intercessor.

182. The quotation is from Borsook and Offerhaus, History and Legend, 42. For the Rolin altarpiece and its placement see A. van Buren (cited in n 139), 625ff; Ch 2 Section D iii, esp at nn 194-95 on meditation and vision. Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, esp 55-61, 195-97 discusses the nature of every sacred arena as an Heavenly Jerusalem. S'Jacob (cited in n 178), 142-43 claims that portraits on tombs only addressed an altar from the time of the Counter-Reformation.

183. Blunt (cited in Ch 2 n 129), esp 76, where he only cites 16th century Flemish triptychs. For the "arco" of the altarpiece see Ch 5 at n 161.

184. Blunt (cited in Ch 2 n 129), 76, Pls 44, 45; 77 and n 55 cite possible ancient and 16th century Venetian precedents, even possibly Donatello, but do not note the empty chambers painted either side of the altar arch in the Arena Chapel, Padua.

185. Westfall, Perfect Paradise, 149-60 passim, esp 149-50, 160; and his "Chivalric declaration" (cited in Ch 2 n 197), 37f. For cloisters, see T. Comito, The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance

(New Brunswick, N.J., 1977), 44f; for the architecture in a paradise see also H.J. Anderson, "The Terrestrial Paradise: A Study in the 'Intermediacy' and Multi-Levelled Nature of the Medieval Garden of Eden" (Ph. D. diss., State Univ of New York at Buffalo, 1973), Ch III. For Dominican sermons in Florence during the 1480s on Paradise see Zafarana, "Una raccolta privata di prediche," 1068ff.

186. Quoted in V.A. Bonito, "The Saint Anne altar in Sant' Agostino: restoration and interpretation, BM 124 (1982):275; see also Ch 6 n 85 and nn 51, 126 here. I have not had access to J. Bialostocki, "The Door of Death: Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art," Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 18 (1973):7ff.

187. The prayer is quoted by Humfrey (cited in Ch 5 n 160), 359. For the importance of good works see n 179 here; O'Malley, Praise, esp 175-76; Comito (cited in n 185), 13 for the terrestrial paradise as the reward of virtue.

188. For pilgrims and the "road of eternal life" (Ambrose), see Comito (cited in n 185), 32; Augustine, cited at n 192; S'Jacob (cited in n 178), 211. Piero di Cosimo's pair of the portraits of Giuliano da Sangallo and his dead father makes a similar distinction: a church, outdoor altar and travelling figures are all present behind the dead man's image: van Os and Prakken, Florentine Paintings in Holland, Pls 58, 59. For the citadel or City of God on Mt Zion see esp Psalm 48:1-3; see also Anderson (cited in n 185), Ch II: "The Paradise Mountain: Medieval Geography of the Universe." The cypress is discussed by Levi d'Ancona (cited in n 139), 120-23 and Sale, Strozzi Chapel, 261-62.

189. Lane, "Medieval Devotional Figure," 84, 85 for Abbot Suger; Borsook, Mural Painters, Pl 61 for the Spanish Chapel. For St. Michael's role on the altarpiece see Ch 6 at n 58.

190. Quotations here are from Echols, "Coronation," 35, 48; see esp 25-43, 51, 135-51 for comment on Fra Angelico, Aquinas, Antonino and S.Maria Novella. On the Coronation see also Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 168 (for its eucharistic meaning); Hirn, Sacred Shrine, 432f; Male (cited in Ch 6 n 84), 256 ff; Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 55-61; Warner, Virgin Mary, 103-133; Ch 6 n 81.

191. Echols, "Coronation," 139, 145 (quoted at n 104 above), 201 n 36, 223. For the Descent of the New Jerusalem at this time see Revelations 21:2, a text also important in the concept of advent: Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent,'" 210 n 22.

192. Augustine, City of God, Bk XVII, Ch 3 (quoted from Penguin ed, 1984, 714); Echols, "Coronation," 151 for Antonino; Ch 1 at nn 36, 87 for Palmieri; see also Ch 6 n 81; n 64 here.

193. For the will and contract (here quoted from Chambers, Patrons and Artists, 174) see Ch 6 at n 81; for Antonino, Borsook, "Cults and Imagery," 198 n 164 and Geiger, "Filippino Lippi," 64-65.

194. Echols, "Coronation," 145.

195. Philip, Ghent Altarpiece, 57 n 110, in the context of an excellent, incisive discussion on "The Heavenly Jerusalem." Anderson

(cited in n 185), esp Ch I, argues that the Terrestrial Paradise was similarly seen as a union of both the divine and the mundane (eg Augustine, City of God, Bk XIII, Ch 21).

CONCLUSION: NOTES

1. T.S. Eliot, Burnt Norton, opening lines.
2. The earlier quotation is from Zucker (cited in Ch 7 n 101), 156; the second from the chapel's dedication inscription (see esp Ch 7 at n 35).
3. For the theses, not available to me, see Ch 6 n 3. The thesis of Offerhaus, Motief en Achtergrond, in 1976 had also found religious significance in the frescoes (see esp Ch 1 at n 13).
4. See Ch 3 n 213.
5. The quotation is from Marchini, "Frescoes in the Choir of S.Maria Novella," 323. Domenico Ghirlandaio made a votive offering at Prato (Ch 2 at n 55), was a member of a confraternity (Ch 5 n 190) and offered up his artistic skill in the Tornaquinci chapel (Ch 7 at n 76f).
6. Craven, "Patronage in Florence 1494-1512," 12, 91.
7. For the possible independence of the oligarchy see esp Ch 2 n 176.
8. See esp Ch 5 Section D; for the Tornabuoni priest who was a Dominican, Ch 4 at n 119.
9. Gilbert, Documents, xviii ff, esp xxv, 8, 124; C. Hope, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance" in Patronage in the Renaissance, eds G.F. Lytle and S. Orgel (Princeton, 1981), 293-343.

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C. Ady, The Bentivoglio of Bologna. Oxford, 1937: Pl. 81.

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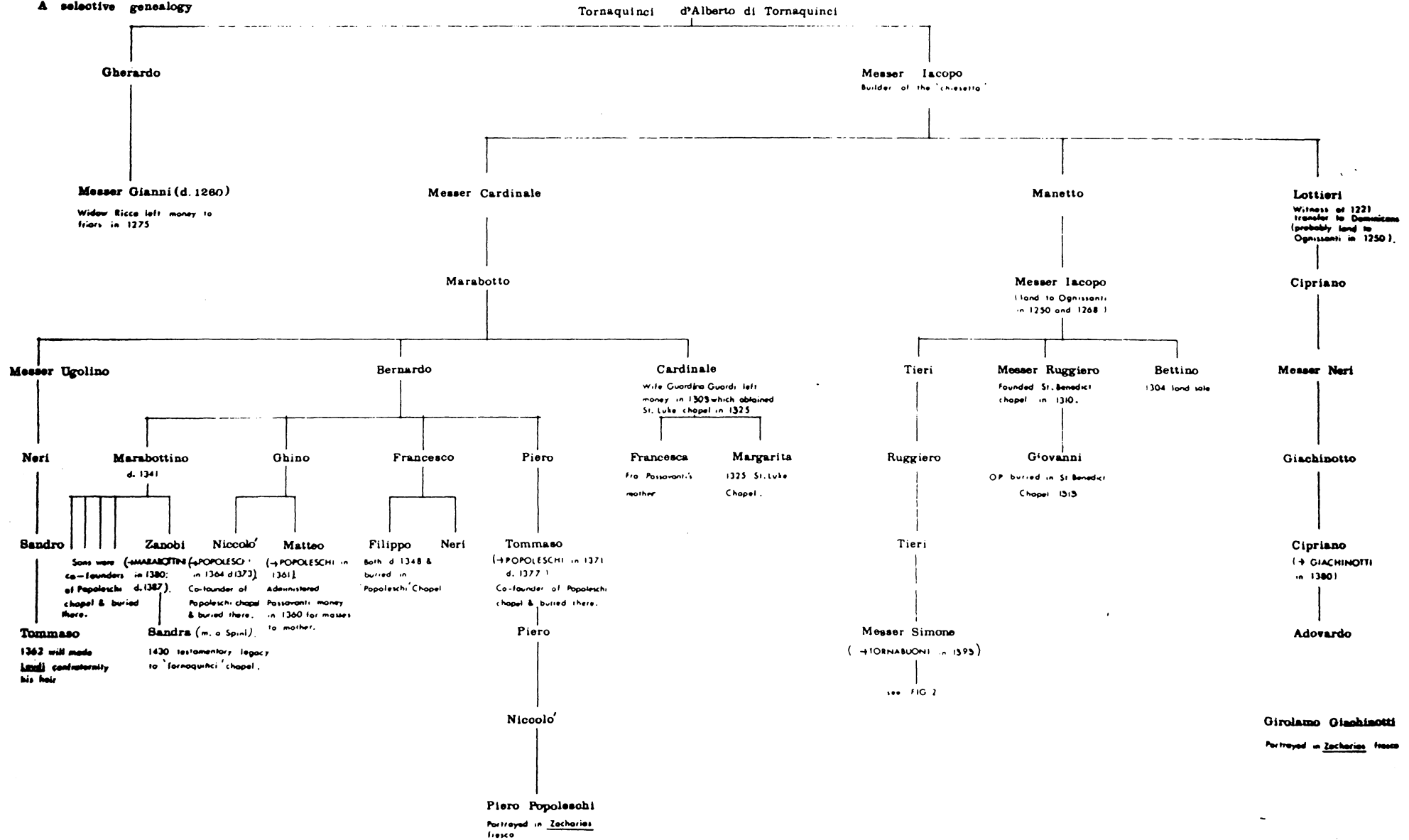
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FIG. 1 EARLY INVOLVEMENT BY THE TORNAQUINCI AT S MARIA NOVELLA
A selective genealogy



see FIG 2

FIG 2 THE TORNABUONI A selective genealogy

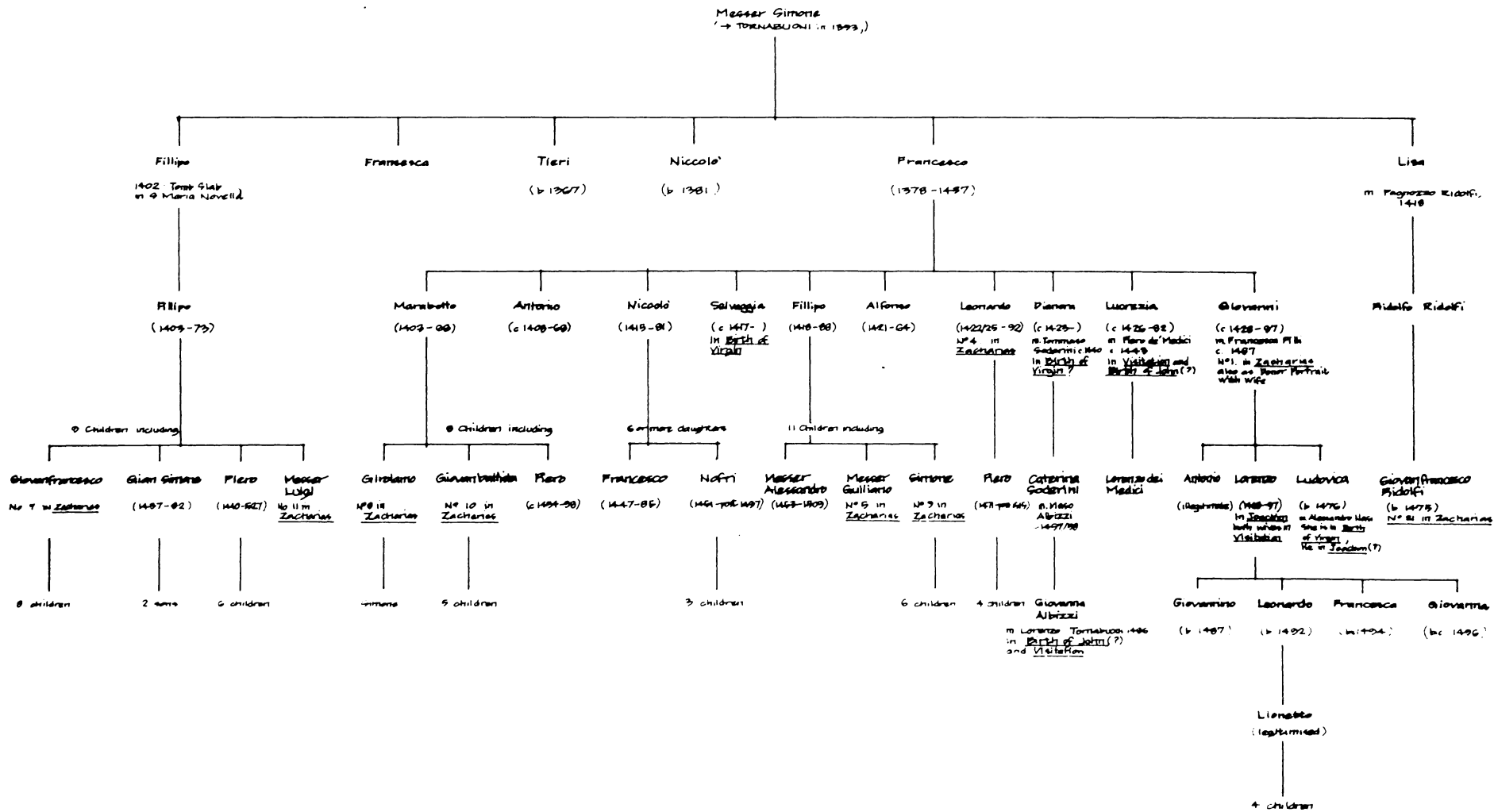
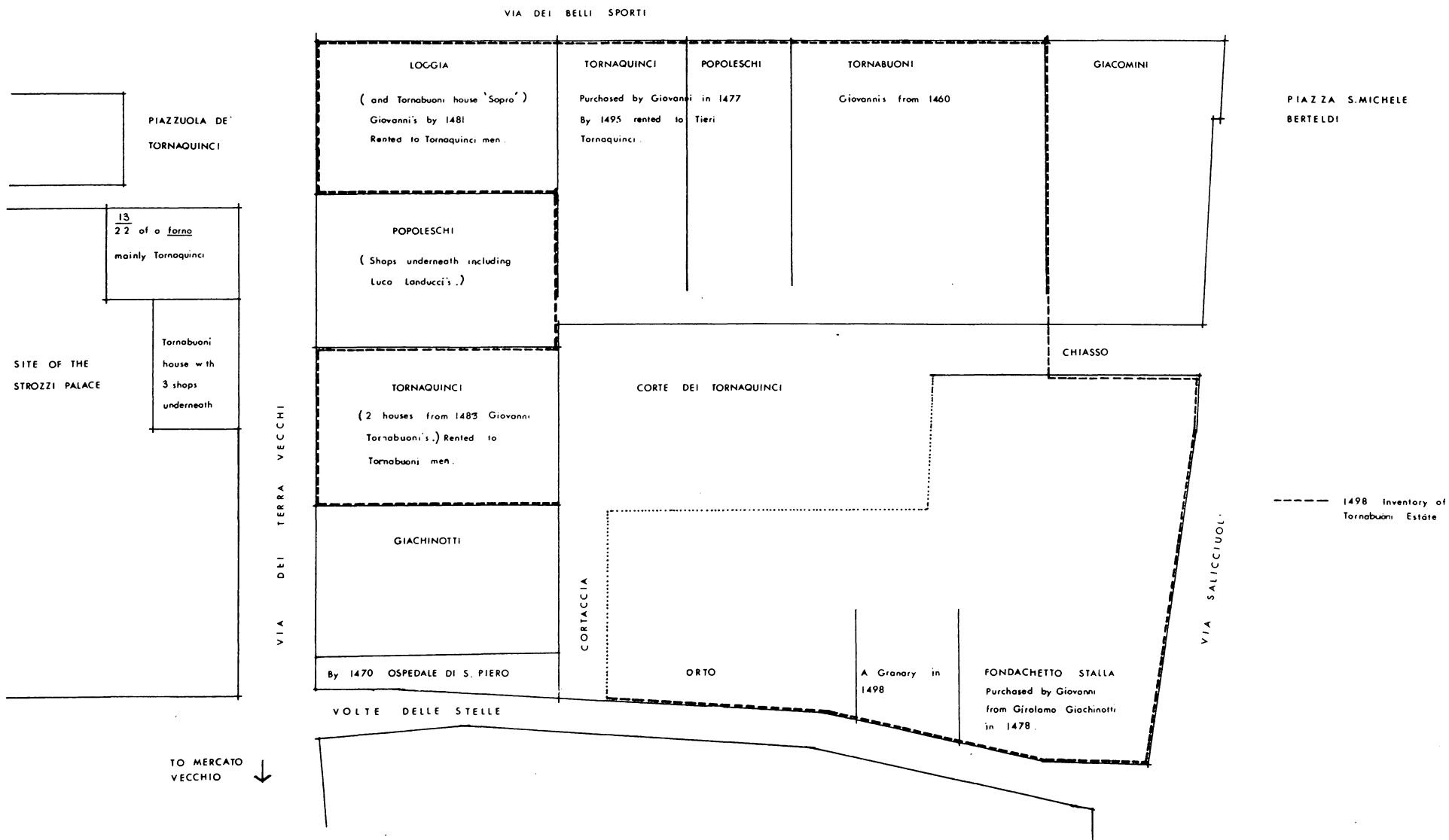
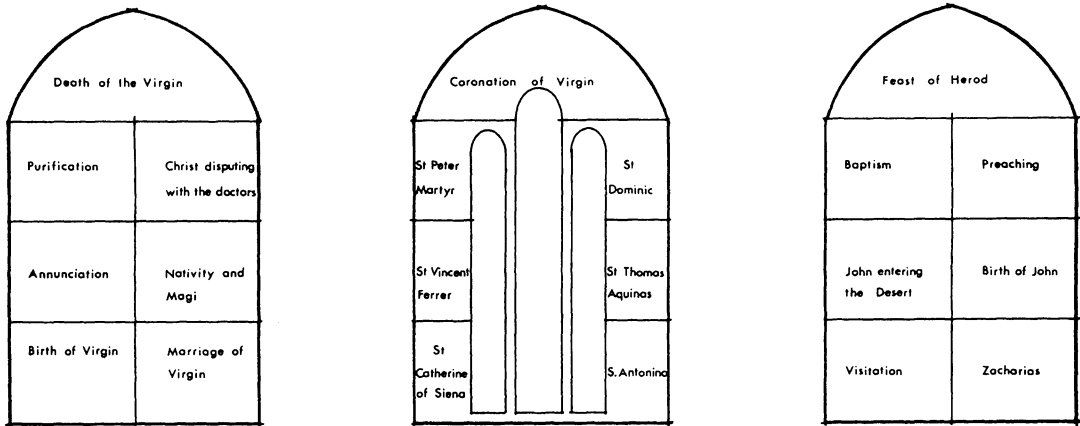
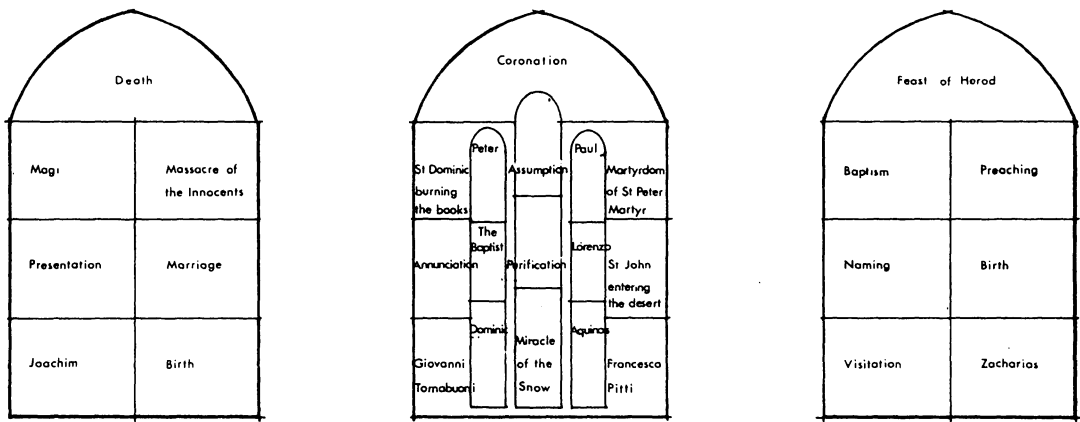


FIG. 3 CERTAIN LAND HOLDINGS OF THE TORNAQUINCI CONSORTORIA IN THE CENTRE OF FLORENCE. (not to scale)

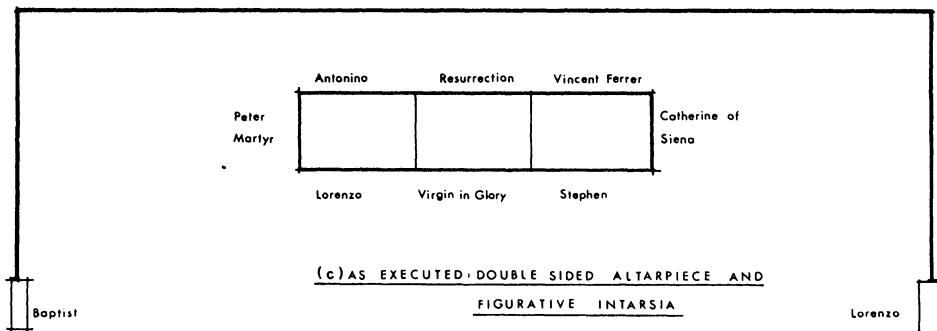




(a) ACCORDING TO THE CONTRACT



(b) AS EXECUTED: FRESCOES & STAINED GLASS



(c) AS EXECUTED: DOUBLE SIDED ALTARPIECE AND FIGURATIVE INTARSIA

FIG. 5 PROGRAMME OF THE TORNAQUINCI CHAPEL



1. View of the Tornaquinci chapel from the nave of S.Maria Novella.



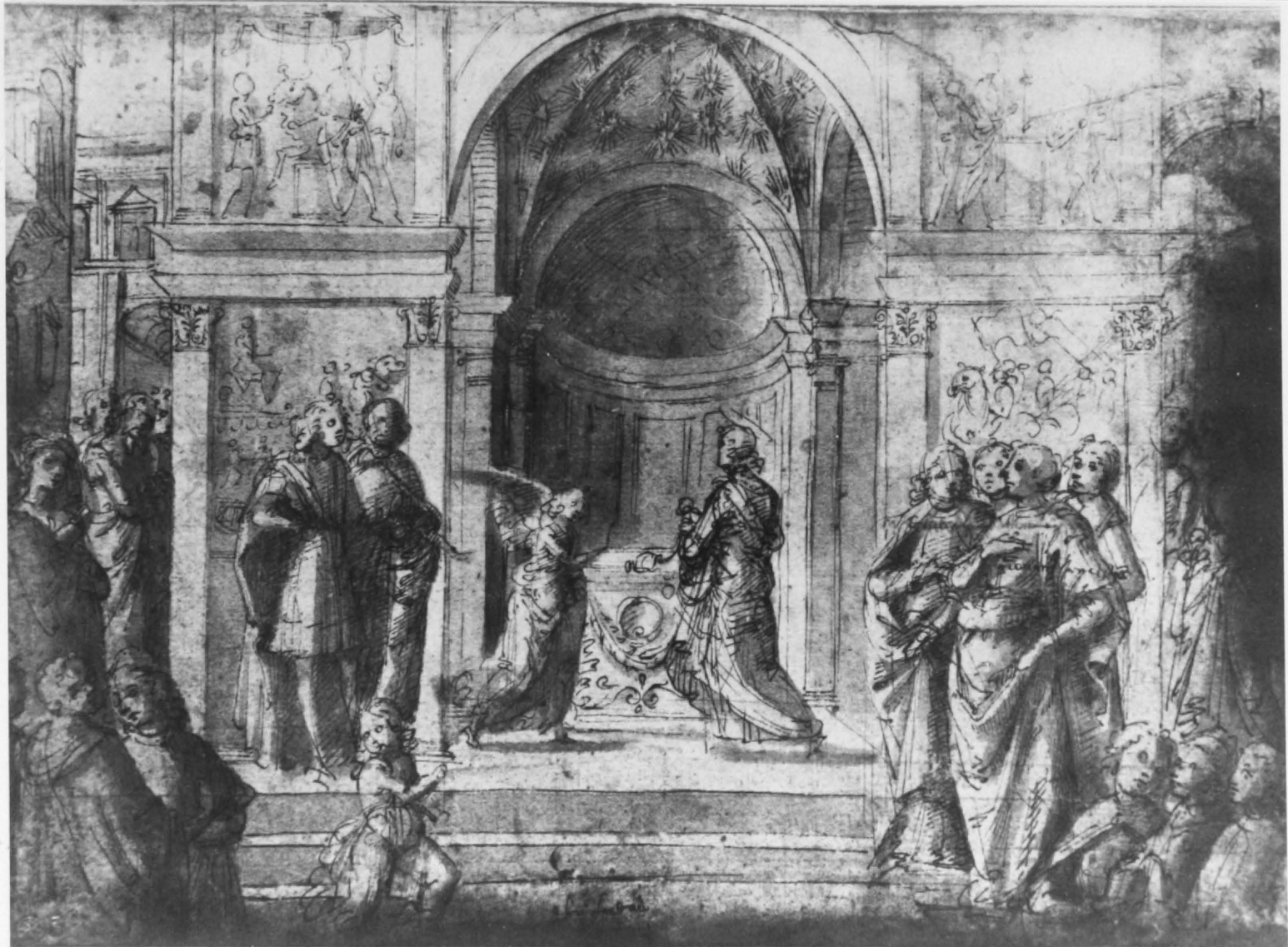
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5. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Presentation drawing for Annunciation to Zacharias, Albertina, inv. 4860, Vienna.



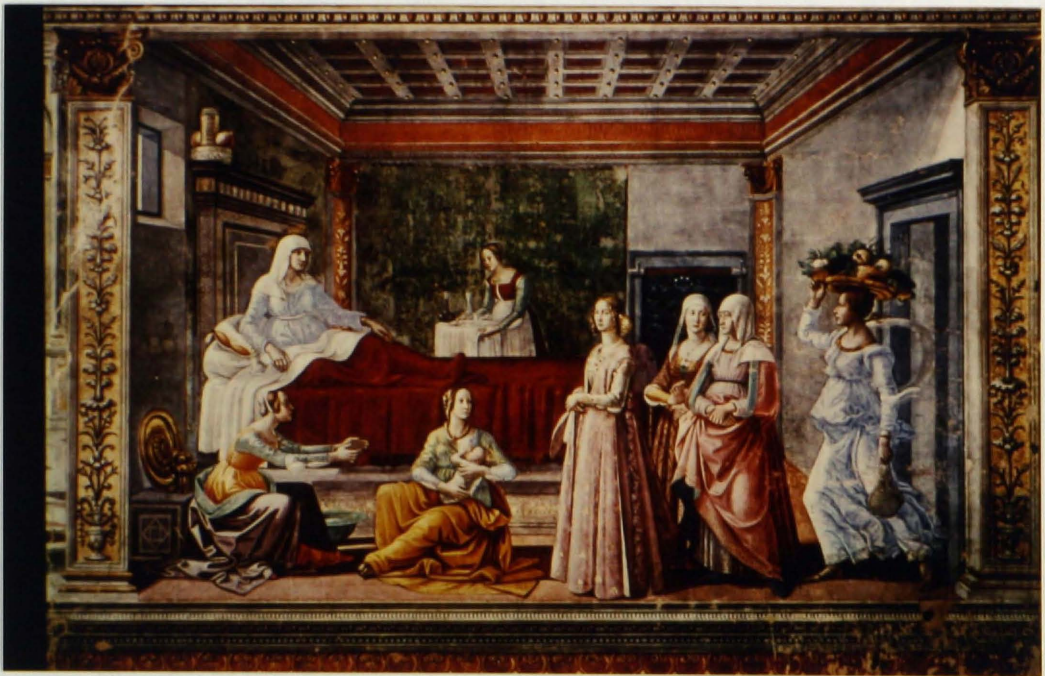
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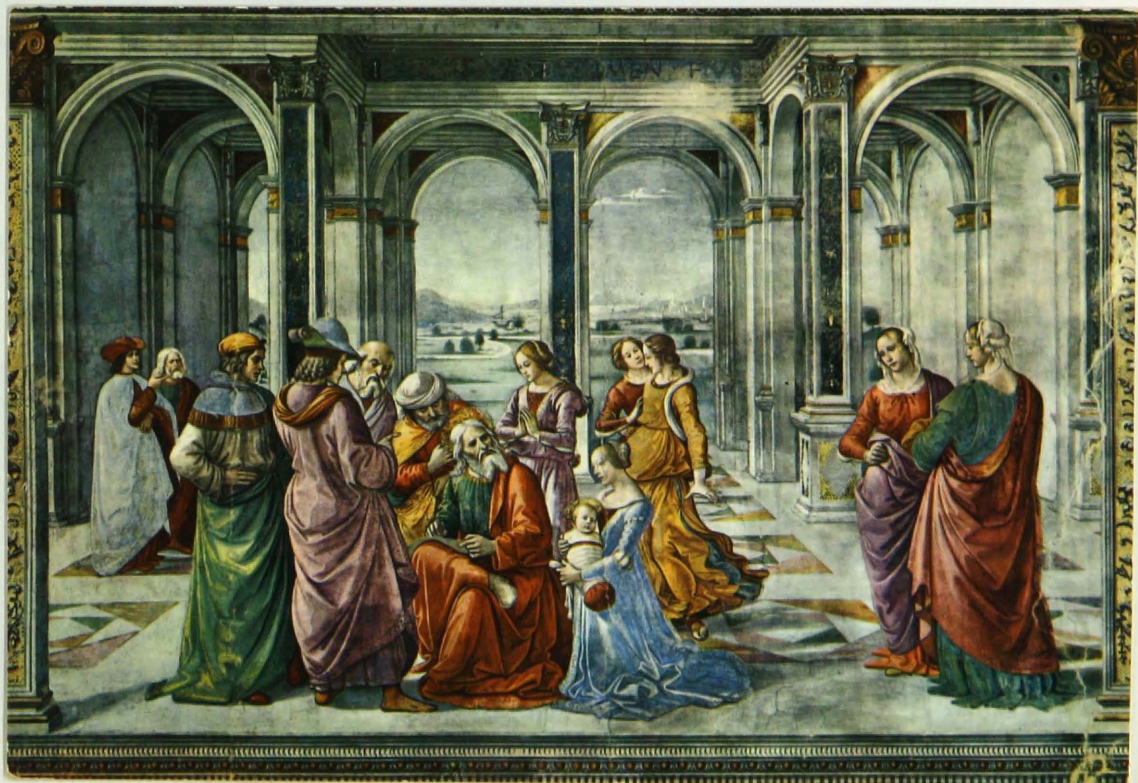
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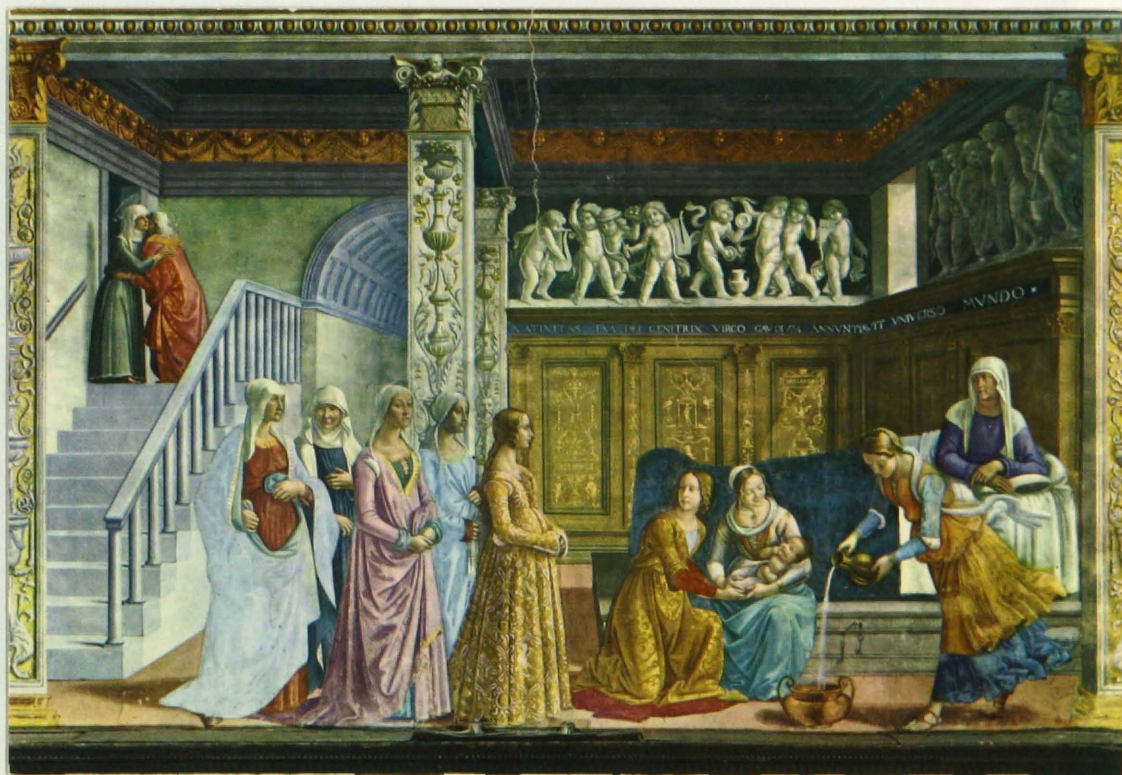
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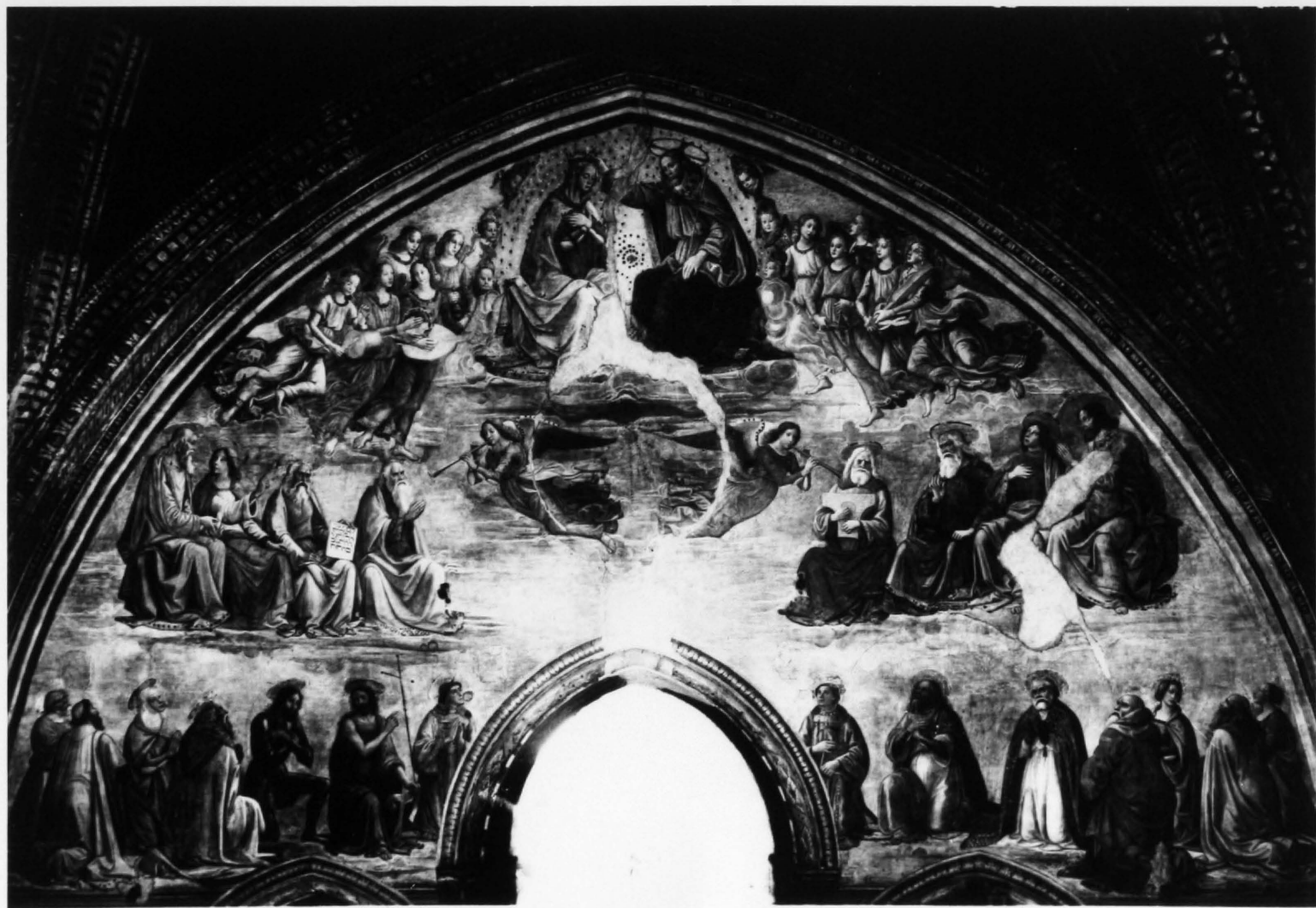
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22. Ghirlandaio workshop: Death and Assumption of the Virgin, c 1486, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



23. Ghirlandaio workshop: Coronation of the Virgin, c 1486-87,
Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



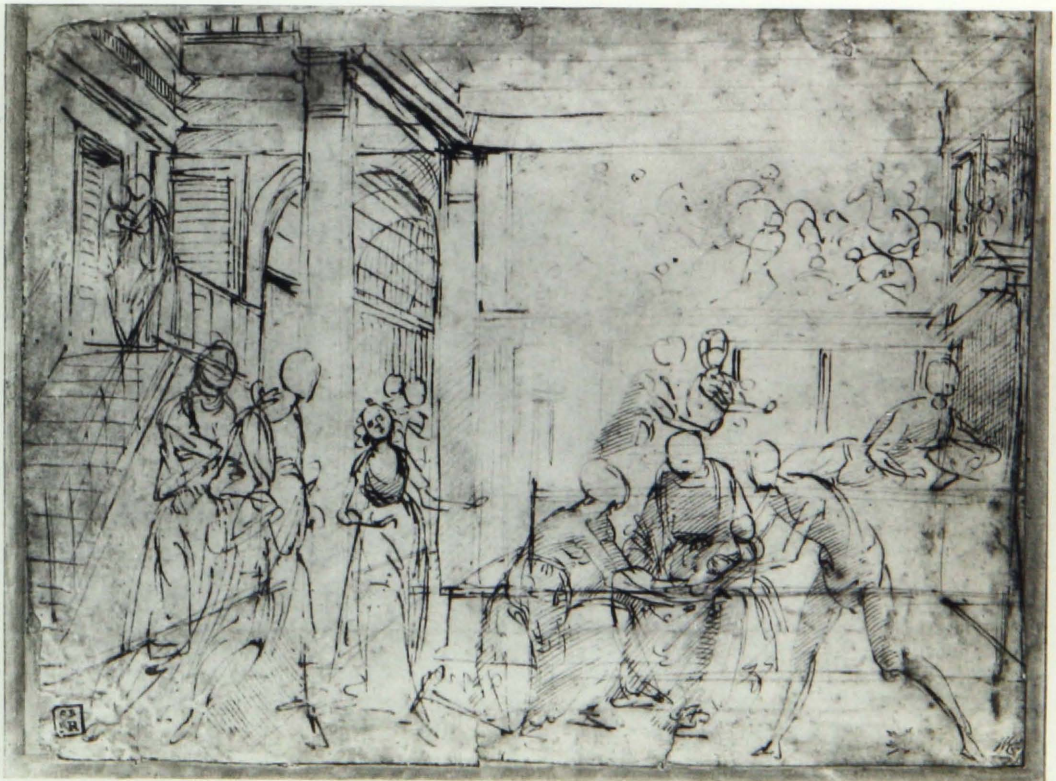
24. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Donor portrait of Giovanni Tornabuoni, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



25. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Donor portrait of Francesca Pitti, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



26. Ghirlandaio workshop: Four Evangelists, 1486, vaults, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



27. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Composition sketch for Birth of the Virgin, British Museum, 1866-7-14-9, London.



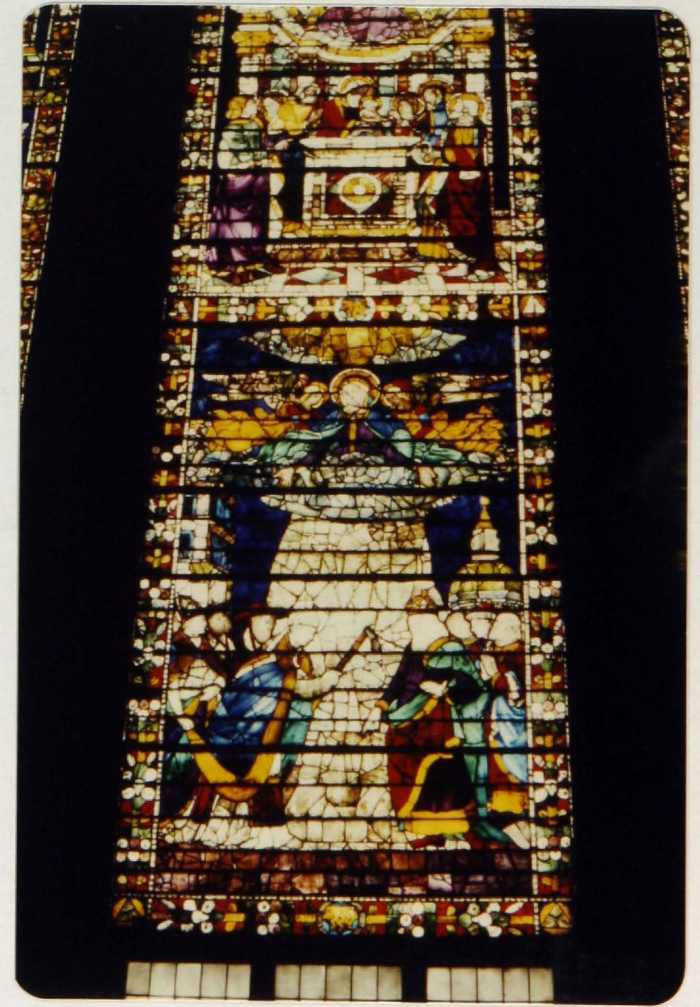
28. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Study for the head of a visitor in Birth of the Virgin, Devonshire Collection, 885 recto, Chatsworth.



29. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Study for the girl pouring water in Birth of the Virgin, Uffizi, 289E, Florence.



30. Domenico Ghirlandaio (design) and Sandro Agolandi (execution):
Central lancet of the window with Assumption of the Virgin,
Purification of the Virgin and Founding of S. Maria Maggiore, c 1491,
Tornaquinci chapel, S. Maria Novella.



31. Domenico Ghirlandaio (design) and Sandro Agolandi (execution):
Founding of S. Maria Maggiore, c 1491, Tornaquinci chapel, S. Maria
Novella.



32. Domenico Ghirlandaio (design) and Sandro Agolandi (execution):
St. Thomas Aquinas, c 1491, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



33. Domenico Ghirlandaio (design) and Sandro Agolandi (execution):
central section of the window, c 1491, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria
Novella.



34. Baccio d'Agnolo: St. John the Baptist, c 1490, choir stall, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



35. Baccio d'Agnolo: S.Lorenzo, c 1490, choir stall, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.

36. Baccio d'Agnolo: detail of the choir stalls, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



37. Baccio d'Agnolo: Tornabuoni device, detail of the choir stalls, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



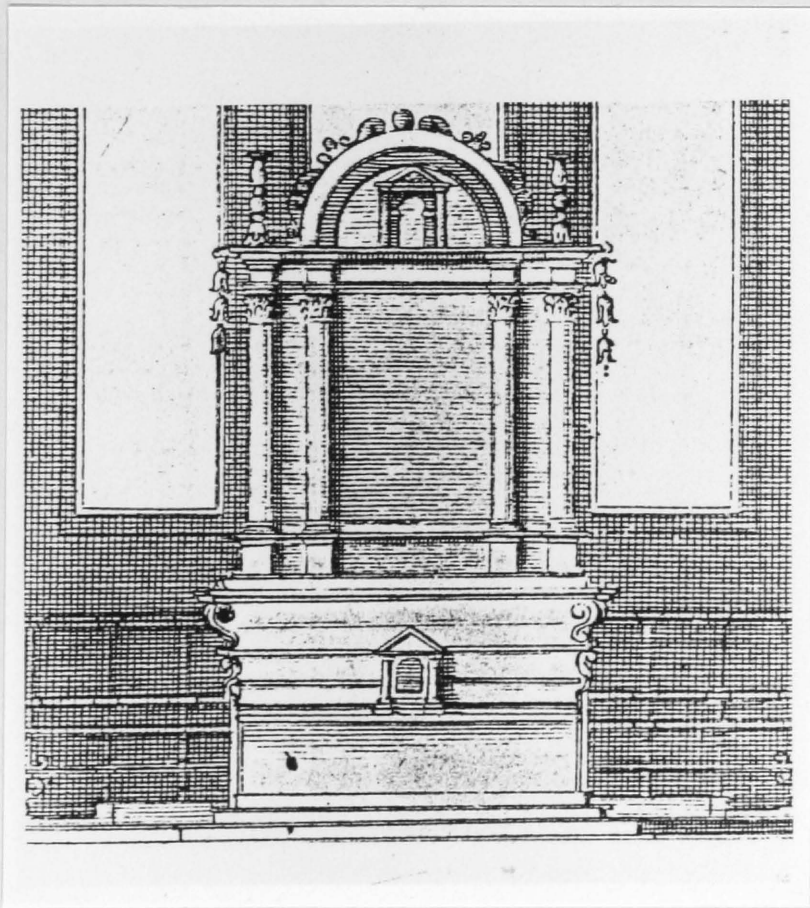


38. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints, 1490-94; front panel of the S. Maria Novella altarpiece, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



39. Ghirlandaio workshop: Resurrection, c 1490-94; back panel of S. Maria Novella altarpiece, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

41. Cicilia of Fiesole: Tomb of Luigi Tornabuoni, 1515, S. Jacopo in Campo Corbolini, Florence.



40. The high altar and frame of Ghirlandaio's altarpiece: engraving in G. Corbinelli, Histoire genealogique de la maison De Gondi, I. Paris, 1705.



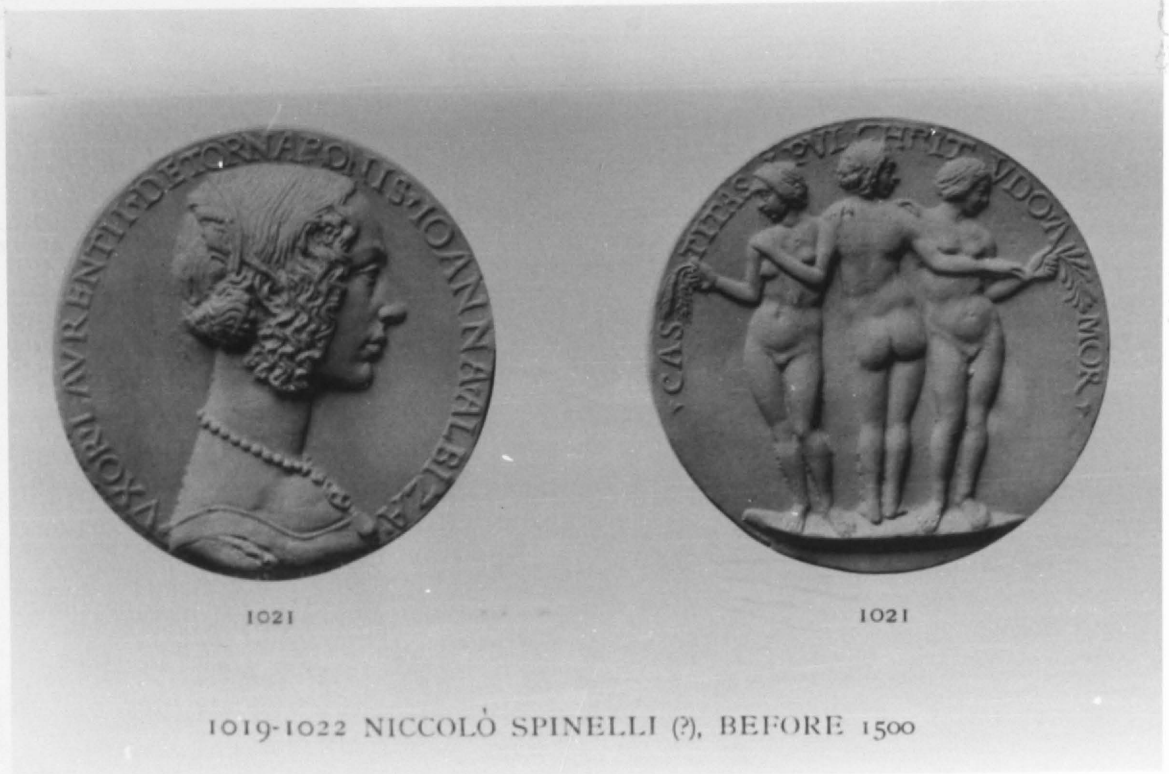


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42. Niccolò Spinelli (?): Medal of Giovanni Tornabuoni.



43. Niccolò Spinelli (?): Medal of Lorenzo Tornabuoni.



44. Niccolò Spinelli (?): Medal of Giovanna Albizzi.



45. Niccolò Spinelli (?): Medal of Ludovica Tornabuoni.



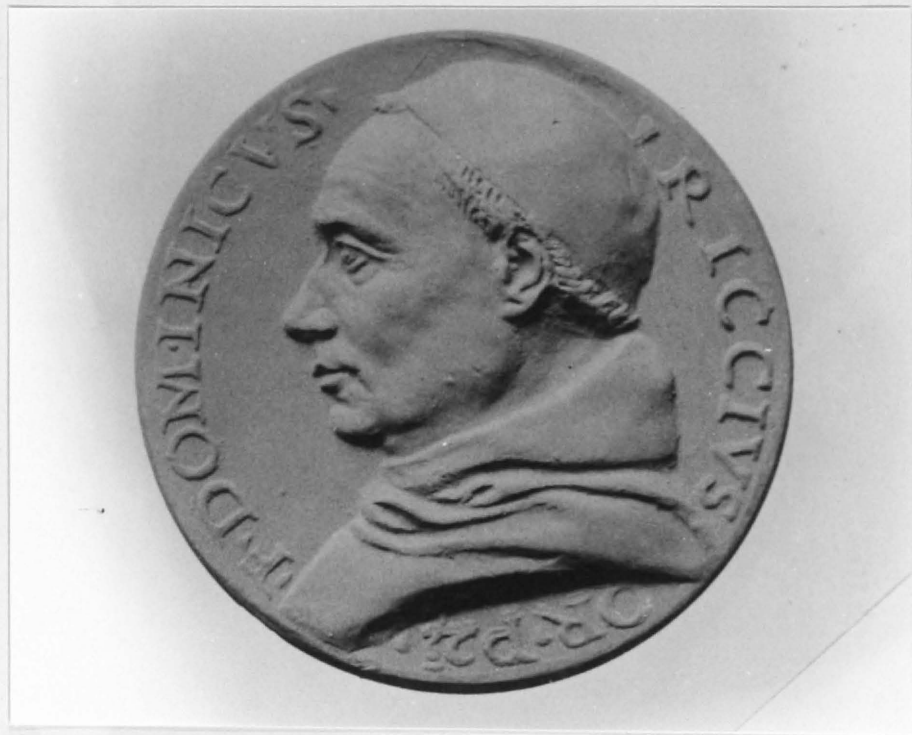
46. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Lucrezia Tornabuoni, National Gallery, Washington.



47. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Giovanna Albizzi, 1488, Thyssen-Bornemisiz Collection, Lugano.



48. Alesso Baldovinetti: Self-portrait, fresco fragment from the Gianfigliuzzi chapel, S.Trinita, Florence, now in Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.



49. Niccolò Spinelli (?): Medal of Fra Domenico Ricci.



50. Sandro Botticelli: Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi introduced to Venus and the Graces, Louvre, Paris.



(Ed. Alinari) N.° 23108. PARIS - Musée National du Louvre. Lorenzo Albizzi et les Arts libéraux. (A. Filippini, dit Botticelli.)

51. Sandro Botticelli: Lorenzo Tornabuoni introduced to the Seven Liberal Arts, Louvre, Paris.



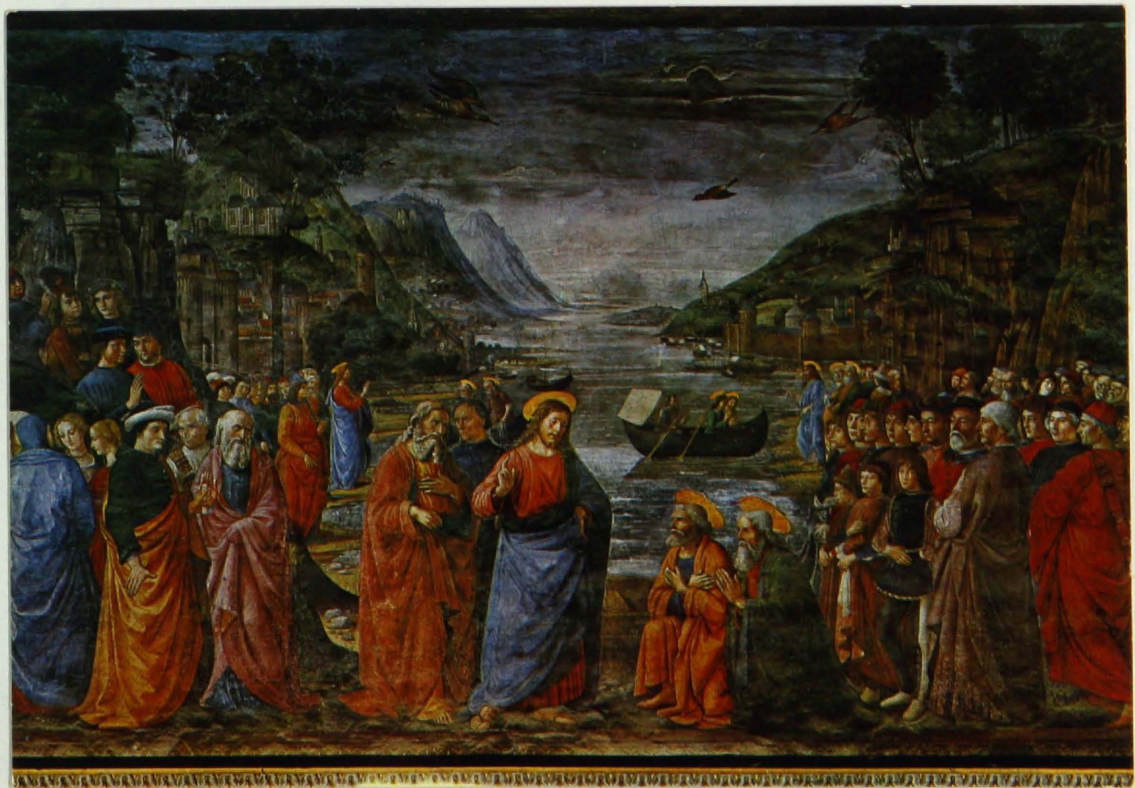
52. Sandro Botticelli: Ginevra Gianfigliuzzi, detail of Pl. 50.



53. Sandro Botticelli: Lorenzo Tornabuoni, detail of Pl. 51.



54. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Adoration of the Magi, 1487, Uffizi, Florence.



55. Domenico Ghirlandaio: The Calling of the First Apostles, c 1482, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City.



56. Domenico Ghirlandaio (design) and Sandro Agolandi (execution): S.Lorenzo, stained glass, Tornabuoni chapel, Cestello, Florence.



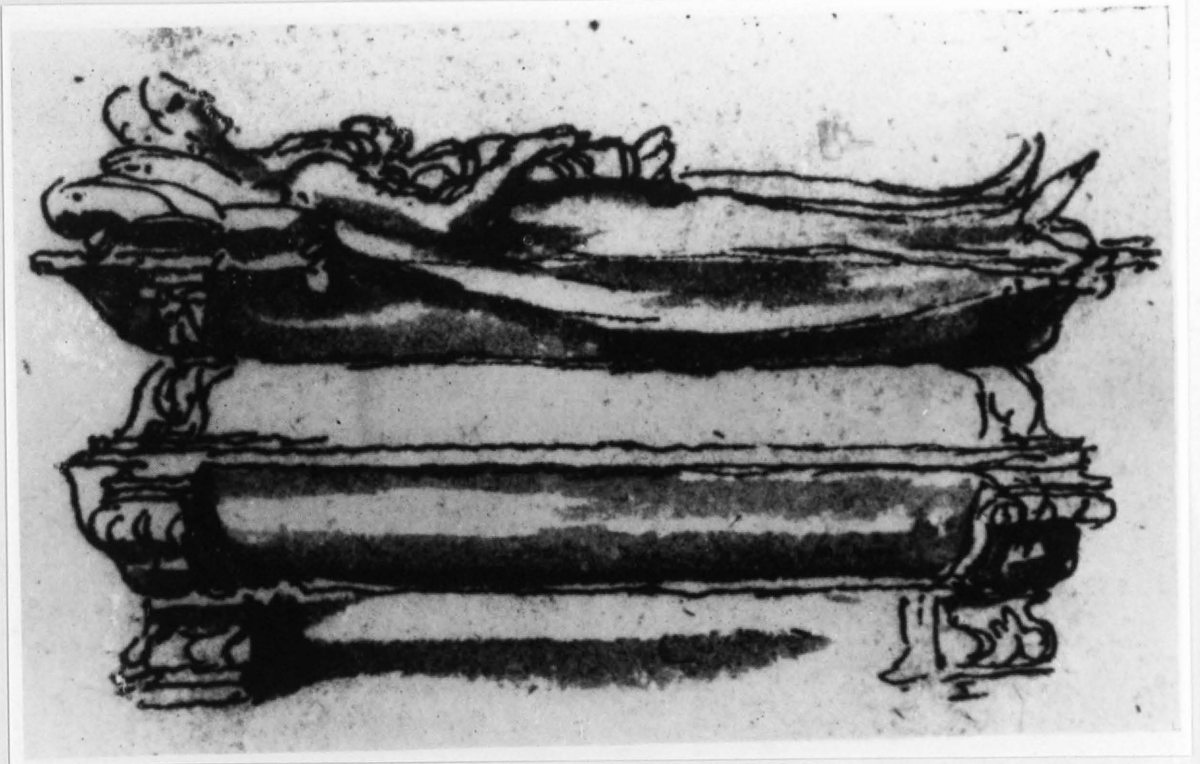
57. Tornabuoni chapel, Cestello, Florence: detail of the architectural decoration with the Tornabuoni device.



58. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Visitation, 1491, Louvre, Paris.



59. Mino da Fiesole: Tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni, c 1480-81, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.



60. Martin Heemskerck: Sketch of the tomb of Francesca Pitti in S.Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, in his Roman sketchbook, I, f 40v; Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.



61. Andrea Verrocchio: Marble relief from the tomb of Francesca Pitti, c 1476, Museo Nazionale, Florence.



62. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Sasseti chapel, c 1482-85, S.Trinita, Florence.



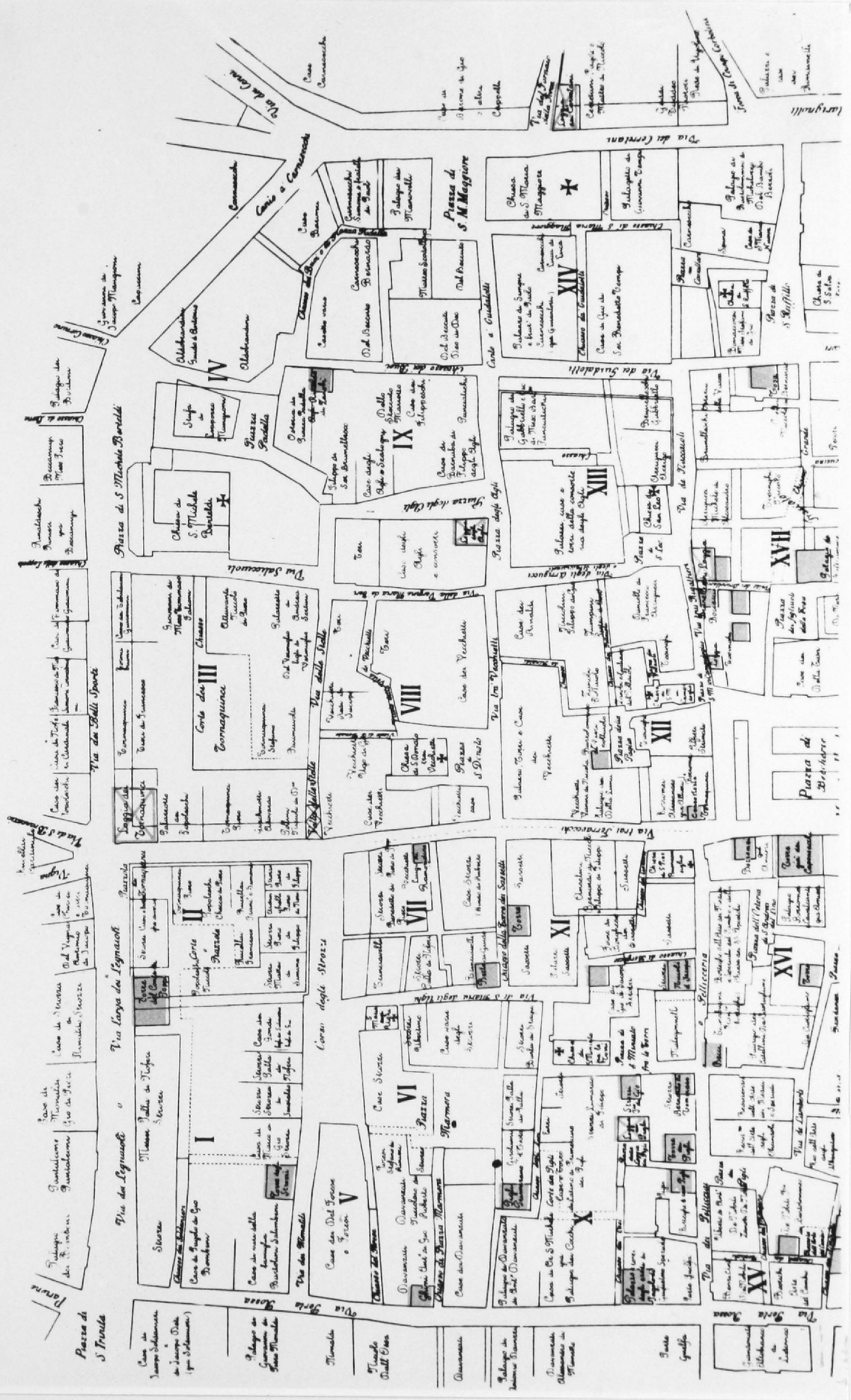
63. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Confirmation of the Rule, detail: Antonio Pucci, Lorenzo de' Medici, Francesco Sassetti, Federico Sassetti, c. 1482-85, Sassetti chapel, S.Trinita, Florence.



64. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Old Man with his Grandson (or son) Louvre, Paris.

IL CENTRO DI FIRENZE (MERCATO VECCHIO) NEL 1427

Studio di Guido Carocci. Pl. ispettore degli Scavi e dei Monumenti



65. The central area of Florence with holdings as declared in the catasto of 1427 (G. Carocci).



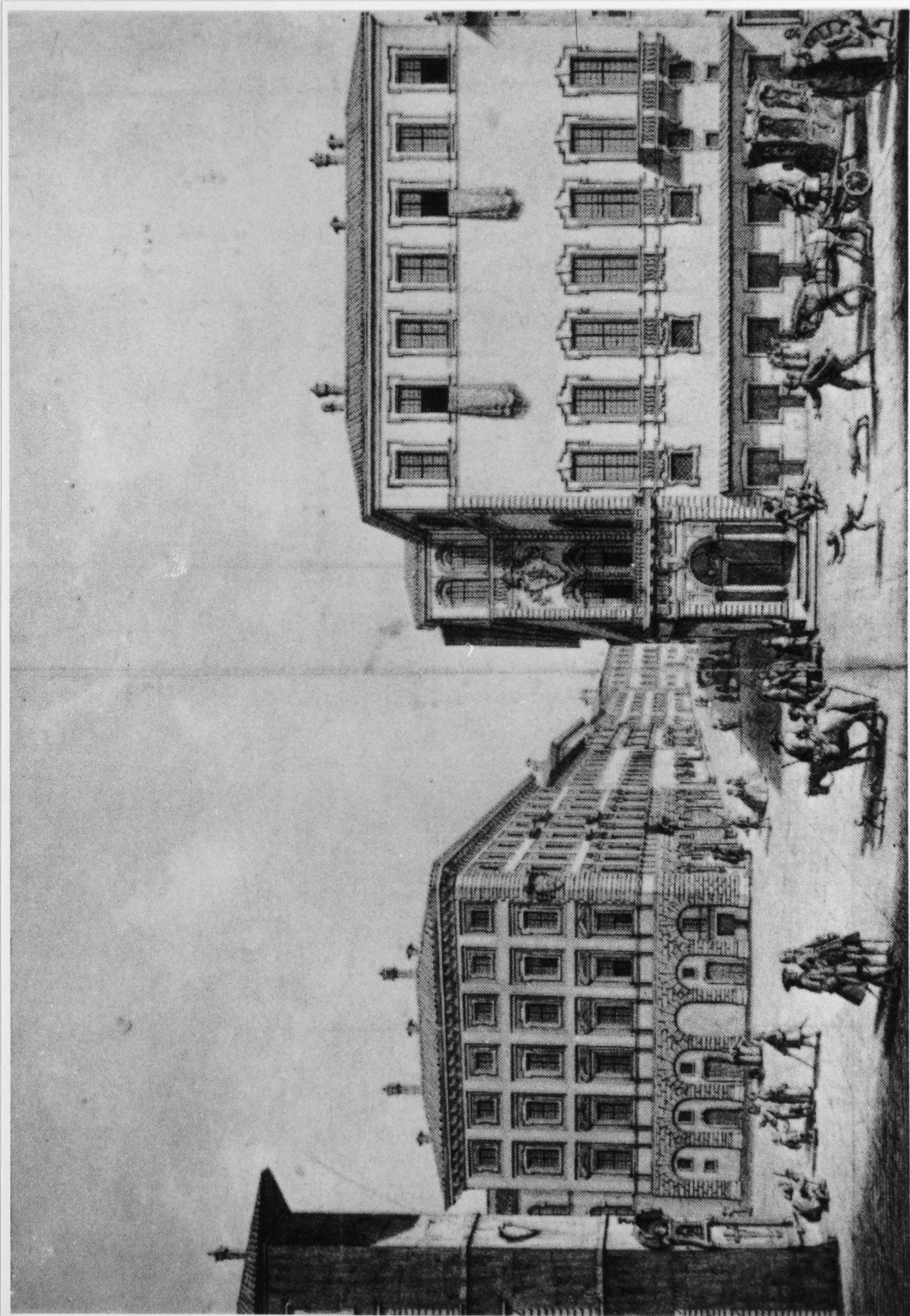
66. Bonsignori: Map of Florence, detail, 1584.



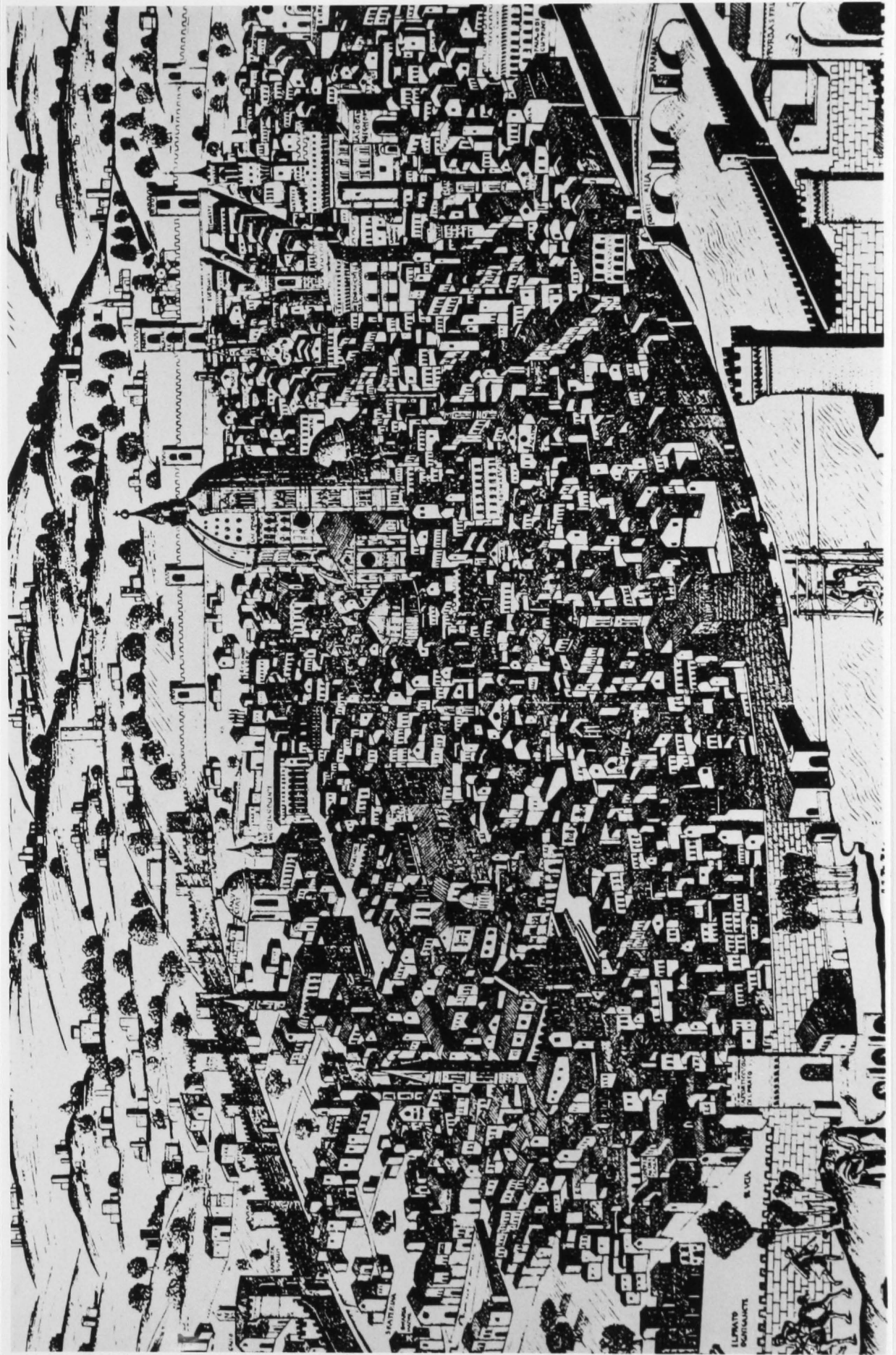
67. Anonymous: View down Via Tornabuoni showing Tornaquinci tower and loggia, 17th century, Giuntini Collection, Florence.



68. Capital in the courtyard of the Tornabuoni Palace, Via Tornabuoni, Florence.



69. J. Zocchi: The Viviani and Corsi (ex Tornabuoni) Palaces,
engraving.



70. Anonymous: The "Chain Map" of Florence, c 1482, detail.



73. Giovanni Tornabuoni's burial site of 1566, Tornaquinci chapel, S.Maria Novella.



74. Lorenzo di Niccolò: The Intercession of Christ and the Virgin, c. 1402, Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York.



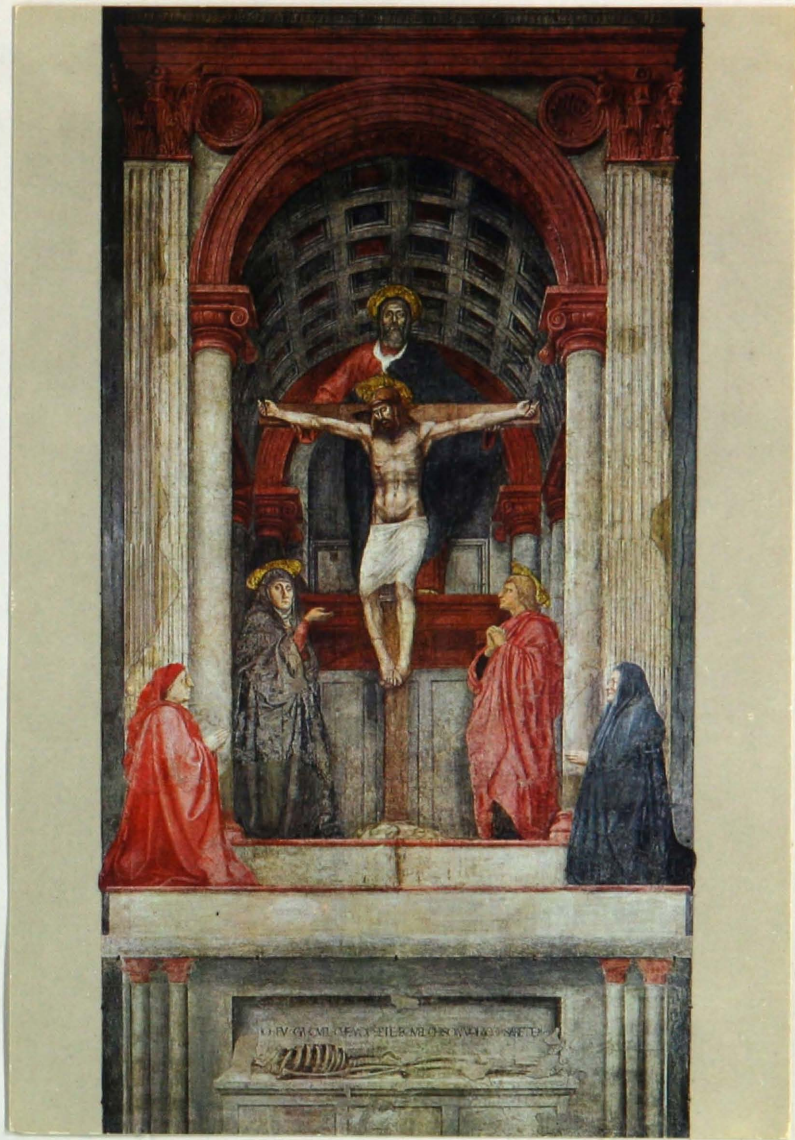
75. Francesco Granacci: The Intercession of Christ and the Virgin, Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.



76. Filippino Lippi: The Intercession of Christ and the Virgin, c 1495, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



77. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Madonna della Misericordia, c 1472, Vespucci chapel, Ognissanti, Florence.



78. Masaccio: Trinity, c 1425, S.Maria Novella, Florence.



79. Masaccio: Adoration of the Magi, 1426, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.



80. Andrea da Firenze: Allegory of the Church as Corpus Christi Mysticum, Chapterhouse ("Spanish Chapel"), S.Maria Novella.



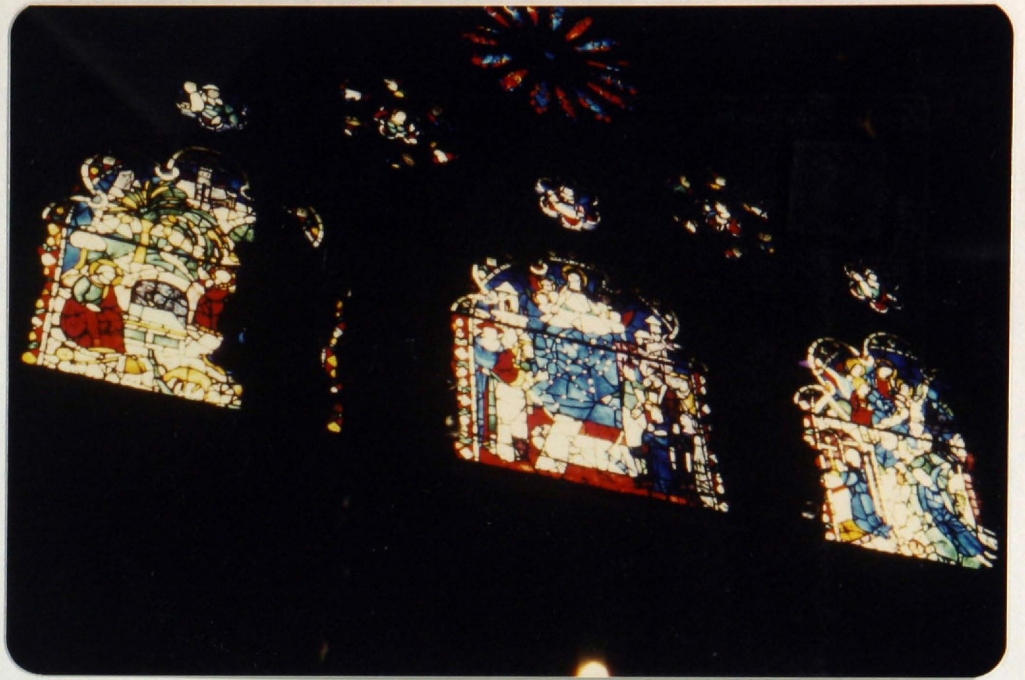
81. Lorenzo Costa: Virgin and Child with the Bentivoglio Family, 1488, Bentivoglio chapel, S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.



82. Macrino d'Alba: The Stigmatisation of St. Francis, 1506, Galleria Sabauda, Turin.



83. Filippo Lippi: Virgin and Child with narratives from the Virgin's life, Galleria Pitti, Florence.



84. Stained glass, Or San Michele, Florence: Miracles of the Virgin including the Madonna del Neve in the centre.



85. Domenico Ghirlandaio: Adoration of the Magi, 1488, Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti, Florence.



86. Francesco Botticini: Assumption of the Virgin (Palmieri altarpiece), National Gallery, London.



87. Antonio Rossellino: Marble bust of Matteo Palmieri, 1468, Museo Nazionale, Florence.



88. Bernardo Rosellino and assistants: Tomb of Neri Capponi, c 1458, with grill removed, S.Spirito, Florence.



89. Antonio Rossellino: Marble bust of Giovanni Chellini, 1456, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.