CONFRATERNAL PIETY AND CORPORATE PATRONAGE:
A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ART AND ORATORY OF THE
COMPANY OF SAN GIOVANNI BATTISTA DELLO SCALZO, FLORENCE

A Thesis in
Art History
by
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ABSTRACT

This study presents detailed reconstructions of the devotional, administrative, architectural, and decorative contexts of the Florentine flagellant confraternity of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo. The suppression of the confraternity in 1785 led to the partial destruction of its oratory and the dispersal of its works of art. Archival documents presented in this dissertation allowed for a reconstruction of the lost portions of the oratory and its missing decoration.

At the end of the Cinquecento the Scalzo had at their disposal a large and well decorated suite of rooms—including the cloister, two chapels, a sacristy, a changing room and several auxiliary service areas. These rooms were lined with choir stalls and decorated with works of art that ranged from an altarpiece by Lorenzo di Credi to a sculptural program of terracotta apostles installed in niches in the company’s main chapel.

Many of the Scalzo’s members came from Florence’s artisanal class and included shoemakers, blacksmiths, painters, wallers, sculptors, goldbeaters, bakers, and others. The confraternity frequently hired these men to perform necessary jobs, from painting the company’s emblem on robes and processional candles to monitoring the state of repair of the oratory’s roof. Often the confraternity and one of its members agreed to exchange these services for an exemption from the organization’s customary fees and fines. The Scalzo’s voting records reveal that the confraternity procured several of the statues in its main chapel in exactly this manner. In other cases, a group of brothers acting as an anonymous collective underwrote the cost of the sculpture.

The Scalzo used collaborative strategies—familiar to the organization from its charitable missions—in order to decorate its oratory. By acting as a collective, the shopkeepers and craftsmen who constituted the Scalzo’s membership were able to cast themselves in the role of art patrons. Moreover, by relying on their own members to outfit the oratory, the brothers strengthened the ritual bonds that knit the confraternity together. The apostles thus served not only as collegial exemplars for the confratelli to emulate, but also provided members and guests with concrete evidence of what the men of the Scalzo could achieve when they acted together as one corporate body.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASF  Archivio di Stato, Florence
CapCRS  Capitoli delle Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo
CRS  Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo
PE  Patrimonio Ecclesiastico
Scrittoio  Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche
FL  Fabbriche Lorenesi

AABA  Archivio dell’Accademia delle Belle Arti

DBI  Dizionario biografico degli italiani, multiple vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-present)

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The archival documents from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century that form the basis of this study are rife with spelling variations and scribal errors. These have only been corrected when it was necessary to make the sense of the passage available to the modern reader. In almost all cases, I have avoided using *sic* to mark orthographical incongruities for the simple reason that to do so would have become unwieldy and repetitive. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Each July, the residents of a predominantly Italian-American Brooklyn neighborhood put on a twelve-day celebration to honor Saint Paulinus. A tower dedicated to the saint—called the giglio because the residents of Nola, Italy greeted the return of Paulinus from slavery in the fifth century with lilies—forms the centerpiece of the processions that take place during the feast. The tradition of honoring the saint by building giglio towers came to Williamsburg with the emigrants from Nola, and took root in American soil, where the feast has been celebrated since 1903. The tower, which measures seventy feet tall and weighs four tons, is carried by a group of 120 men down Havemeyer Street as a form of penance and as a way to remember deceased relatives.

The group of men who carry the tower is supervised by five capos, and being named the first capo is a tremendous honor. It takes four hours and twenty-five separate lifts to negotiate the four blocks that make up the route, and for men in the community lifting the tower is a privilege and a duty. In 2003, Sal Mazzatenda helped carry the tower, and focused his thoughts on his wife, Gina, who had died earlier that year. Mr. Mazzatenda, who was 40 at the time, had been lifting the tower since he was 18 and carried a permanent lump on his right shoulder—near a tattoo of Saint Paulinus—from his years of devotion and exertion. Mr. Mazzatenda explained that he felt no fatigue during the lifting, “I could do this all day, I never get tired. You go into a zone when you lift this thing. It’s exhilarating.” To be a member of the crew that lifts the tower is to
belong to a tradition that unites families and the community and has been carried forward by each succeeding generation. Describing the pain that results from carrying the tower, Mr. Mazzatenda said, “It doesn’t bother you because you know what you did this for, why you did it, and you love the feast with all your heart and soul.”

However far removed in time and place the feast of Saint Paulinus in Williamsburg might seem from early modern Italy, the rituals acted out each summer in Brooklyn share many traits with the devotional aspects typical of lay confraternities. Like the members of flagellant companies, who ritualistically whipped themselves in an imitation of Christ’s suffering, the men who carry the giglio tower endure the physical hardship of the task as a way to honor themselves, their community and their deceased loved ones. Similarly, to be one of the 120 lifters is an honor and an expression of one’s standing in the community, in much the same way that admission to a confraternity bestowed upon a man access to an exclusive organization with a noble tradition of piety and charity. Finally, the communal aspect of the lifting of the tower—a task that can only be accomplished by 120 men working in concert—is also reminiscent of the emphasis that confraternities placed on collective acts, be they devotional, charitable or administrative. As the study that follows demonstrates, confraternities—like the teams of men carrying the giglio tower—best accomplished their goals when their members acted as one.

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The Company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo: The State of Research

In the past few decades, the confraternities of early modern Italy have been the subject of intense historical study and form the subject of numerous monographs and countless articles written by historians and art historians alike. Although the Florentine companies have received significant scholarly attention, large gaps in our knowledge—especially concerning the Cinquecento—still exist. Some scholars have taken a

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panoramic view of the lay companies and drawn on diverse and disparate sources to illuminate the overall landscape of lay devotion and charity, while others have focused almost exclusively on the practices and rituals of one organization and then generalized from these more specific findings. References to the subject of the present study, the company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo, can be found in many of these works, but they do not in any way constitute a systematic analysis of the organization. With the exception of those instances where the records of the Scalzo have been examined in the context of wider studies of Florentine confraternities, there are only two scholarly articles that have addressed the company of San Giovanni Battista exclusively.

Until now, art historical analyses of the works of art commissioned by the Scalzo have focused on the courtyard frescoed by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio in the first

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4 Henderson, *Piety and Charity* is a good example of a work that draws on the records of many different Florentine companies, while Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood* tends to look much more closely at a single organization, in this case, the company of San Paolo. Neither study deals significantly with confraternities in the Cinquecento. For the challenges that face a student of sixteenth-century confraternities, see Nicholas A. Eckstein, “Florentine Confraternities, Society, and Lay-religious Life in the Sixteenth Century—A Work in Progress,” *Confraternitas* 10, no. 1 (1999): 6-12.

5 Manuela Barducci, “La Compagnia dello Scalzo dalle origini alla fine del secolo XV,” in *Da Dante a Cosimo I: Ricerche di storia religiosa e culturale Toscana nei secoli XIV-XVI*, ed. Domenico Maselli (Pistoia: Tellini, 1975), 146-175; Rita Marchi, “La Compagnia dello Scalzo nel Cinquecento,” in *Da Dante a Cosimo I: Ricerche di storia religiosa e culturale Toscana nei secoli XIV-XVI*, ed. Domenico Maselli (Pistoia: Tellini, 1975), 176-204. Barducci’s article traced the development of the organization from its founding in 1376 until the end of the Quattrocento, relying on the sparse records conserved from that period to describe the company’s rituals and to give a brief description of its facilities. Marchi had much more archival material at hand, but failed to analyze it completely. She remarked on the fact that the majority of the company’s members were artisans, even as she conceded that to establish their individual identities would be an arduous task, because their names were scattered throughout the company’s records, “Un’indagine analitica dei membri dello Scalzo è stata piuttosto faticosa, in quanto non esistono elenchi di ‘matricole’ nei diversi periodi.” Ibid., 182.
quarter of the Cinquecento (fig. 1). This emphasis is undoubtedly due to the fact that the frescoed cloister and a small vestibule are all that remain of the confraternity’s extensive sequence of rooms. Although these striking, monochrome frescoes have certainly earned their place in the history of art, this study reveals that they formed only one aspect of the Scalzo’s once extensively decorated complex. A more complete picture of the relationship between the company’s devotional practices and the works of art it commissioned emerges only after a reconstruction of the oratory and its decoration.

Any attempt to reconstruct the lost rooms and works of art of the Scalzo’s oratory must necessarily rely on archival evidence. Despite the wealth of information present in these records, they still contain lacunae, and any reconstruction based solely on

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documentary evidence must remain speculative on some level. In spite of these shortcomings, the documents can be quite detailed in their descriptions of the building’s layout and the specific appearances of the various decorations. Most notably for this study, the records reveal that the main chapel was decorated with a sculptural program of the apostles installed in *pietra serena* niches. The sculptors who fashioned these statues appear in the lists of the company’s officers, and all of them were active members of the confraternity. Previously unpublished archival documents presented in this dissertation show that the company received some of these statues free of charge after passing a motion to grant lifetime exemptions from membership dues and fines to the sculptors who donated them. As this brief discussion demonstrates, the documents are crucial to this study. They not only provide descriptions of the lost works of art, but also provide invaluable contextual information regarding the specifics of the company’s acquisition of these objects. Indeed, the archival records not only provide a more complete picture of the company’s oratory as a physical entity, but also reveal the various patronage strategies—including a type of barter system—that the Scalzo employed to decorate its complex.

It is not surprising that the confraternity turned to this system of mutually beneficial exchanges of works of art for fees in order to outfit its rooms. It was precisely the exchange of benefits between the individual and the organization that made confraternities attractive to potential members and guaranteed the continued success of the lay companies. In other words, membership in a company provided a series of benefits to each *confratello* that made paying entrance fees and dues worthwhile, funds
that the confraternity then used to underwrite the costs of its activities. Typically the benefits provided to members took the form of social services—dowries, funerals, medical assistance—the costs of which were underwritten by the organization as a whole. Sometimes, however, the confraternity acted as a patron to its membership and hired them to perform jobs or provide goods, thereby providing a “hidden” advantage to membership that was not outlined in the company’s capitoli, or by-laws.

In the case of the donated statuary, the sculptors and the confraternity removed the transfer of cash from the equation and adopted instead a direct trade of goods and services. Rather than paying his dues into the company’s accounts and then receiving that same money back as remuneration for a statue in the form of debits from the confraternal coffers, the sculptor agreed to donate the work and received an exemption from paying the customary fees. This sequence of exchanges and exemptions represents a form of patronage that has largely escaped the attention of art historians, but has the potential to reveal a rarely studied aspect of art patronage, one where people of modest means act as patrons of art through barter systems. Following a thorough reconstruction of the Scalzo’s rituals and oratory, my dissertation examines the iconographic, economic and devotional ramifications of these patronage strategies. Collective methods of patronage were especially germane to the confraternity, and had the potential to introduce an added layer of meaning to a work of art for a confraternal spectator. This additional nuance spoke specifically to the confraternity’s collective rituals, and, in the case of the Scalzo, presented the apostles as iconographic exemplars for the confratelli, even as the statues
themselves stood as physical evidence of what the brothers of the confraternity could achieve by working in concert.

The Devotional and Administrative Contexts

This study places the sixteenth-century decorative campaign of the flagellant company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo firmly within its devotional, administrative and architectural contexts. As noted, since none of these contexts exists today, they had to be reconstructed from the company’s surviving records, preserved today at the Archivio di Stato in Florence. The Scalzo’s capitoli present information that is crucial for a reconstruction of the devotional and administrative practices of the

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7 The records of the Scalzo are held in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze [hereafter ASF] in two separate collections that were assembled after the suppression of the lay companies in 1785. The records of the Capitoli delle Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo [hereafter CapCRS] contain the books of each company’s statutes. There are three volumes of Scalzo statutes in the CapCRS: 80 contains the Ristretto, a printed pamphlet that outlines the responsibilities of the confratelli and the obligations of the company, as well as provides a history of the confraternity and a description of its oratory, rough copies of the statutes revised and rewritten in 1631, and a copy of the Sepoltuario of the church of Santissima Annunziata from 1681; 86 contains the statutes revised and rewritten in 1579 (confirmed by Archbishop Alessandro de’ Medici on 6 July 1579 and with additions made in 1590 and 1592); 152 contains the statutes written in 1456 (confirmed by Archbishop Antoninus Pierozzi on 22 March 1456), and a clean copy of the 1631 statutes (with additions made in 1643, 1719 and 1744). Another copy of the 1456 statutes is held at the Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2535. The bulk of the Scalzo’s documents is held in the archive of the Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo [hereafter CRS]. The CRS records include the Libri di Partiti e Ricordi, which contain valuable information about the confraternity’s members, expenditures, dowries, fines, expulsions, processions, masses, funerals and much more. The earliest records in the books of Partiti e Ricordi date to 1533. The CRS also houses many of the Scalzo’s account books. Dating back to 1514, these records provide a detailed picture of the company’s finances, tracing funds received and disbursed. Finally, the CRS also holds copies of contracts of real estate transactions or testaments, the earliest of which dates from 1401.
confraternity. The first set of by-laws, approved in 1456 by the Florentine archbishop, Saint Antoninus Pierozzi, was in effect until a new version was drawn up and approved in 1579 (fig. 2). These statutes present an ideal and ordered image of the company’s administration. They describe in great detail the organization’s often elaborate voting procedures, as well as the obligations and duties of the company’s various officers. The capitoli also outline the benefits and services to which the confratelli were entitled. Arguably, the most important among these were the funerary services—including access to a bier, pallbearers, a cortège with candles and burial in the company’s tomb, as well as memorial masses after one’s death. The company did not concentrate solely on the hereafter, however, and offered several more immediate benefits in the form of alms for the needy, dowries for the daughters of its members, and medical assistance to ill confratelli.

A detailed analysis of the capitoli reveals the extent to which the confraternity relied on collective action in order to fulfill its charitable missions. The commissioning of the apostles must be seen in the light of this tradition of communal behavior. That individuals and groups donated works of art to the confraternity represents a logical extension of the collective effort central to the company’s charitable missions into the realm of art patronage. For the confratelli, there would have been little difference between making a contribution to the Scalzo’s charity box and donating a small sum towards the cost of outfitting the company’s oratory. Much of the Scalzo’s charity was distributed to its members, and the decoration of the company’s chapel—where the
brothers enjoyed a proximity to the mass denied them at parish churches—certainly qualifies as yet another benefit that was subsidized through collective effort.

An additional benefit of membership, especially for the artisans that populated the confraternity, was the potential for employment by the company. In the case of the Scalzo, this means that the roles of artist and patron are frequently collapsed into one. Many of the oratory’s most significant decorative features—from the cloister frescoes to the statues of the apostles—were done “in-house,” that is to say, for members of the company by members of the company. Major commissions did not represent the only opportunities for employment, however, and the fact that the company hired its members to paint processional candles or repair the oratory’s roof can be seen as yet another aspect of the benefits of confraternal membership. That lay companies acted as sources of employment, and that the potential for employment might have been a considerable incentive to join a confraternity and become an active member has only recently come to the attention of scholars.8

Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, one of the sculptors who worked on the apostles, for example, was elected to office on twenty-four separate occasions. Although he never served as Governatore (governor), the official who presided over almost all aspects of the confraternity’s administrative and devotional rituals, Ferrucci did serve five

8 Barbara Wisch, “Re-viewing the Image,” 14-15 has called for a more consistent examination of “how patronage networks emerged from confraternal membership,” and has argued “that practically every artist and artisan was a member of at least one confraternity, as was true of adult males across Europe.” Nicholas Eckstein, Green Dragon, 50-51 has shown that the companies of Sant’ Agnese and the Brucciata often commissioned work from the artists in their ranks.
terms as a Consigliere (counselor) to the governor. In that capacity he would have assisted in a type of executive session that called for the participation of the counselors and nine arroti (specially-appointed voting members). Despite never having acted as governor, Ferrucci’s terms as counselor would have allowed him a substantial administrative role within the company. The records show that all of Ferrucci’s involvement as an official of the Scalzo came after his participation in the sculptural program, a circumstance that suggests that his early experience with the commission encouraged—perhaps even enabled—him to take an active role in the organization later in his life. This idea that the bonds of patronage between the confraternity and the artists and artisans who made up its membership—and frequently worked for it—could augment the ties that already bound the confratelli to the organization and each other is explored in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The light that the statutes shed on the confraternity’s rituals reveals how the confratelli acted as a collective to address the needs of the organization and its members. The sometimes elaborate voting procedures and scrutinies guaranteed that the organization was run in an honest and democratic manner. The emphasis placed on random drawings, or tratte, not only emulated longstanding practices of republican Florence, but also ensured that the confraternity’s oversight would not fall into the hands of a cabal.

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9 Ferrucci served five terms as counselor between 1608 and 1623, ASF, CRS 1195.15, 52v, 60v, 99, 120, 157. For more on Ferrucci’s service to the confraternity, see pages 94-95.
From the perspective of the company’s rituals, the Maundy Thursday celebration marked a high point on the calendar, and the specifics of this ceremony reveal much about the Scalzo and its members. Acting out the scenes leading up to the crucifixion, the confratelli underwent a series of ritualistic transformations. The governor humbled himself before the membership, and assumed the role of Christ as he washed their feet. Then, the company consumed a spartan meal of wafers and wine that evoked the Eucharist. This reenactment of the pedilavium and the Last Supper transformed the Governatore into Christ and the assembled confratelli into the apostles. As we shall see in the chapters that follow, confraternities cultivated apostolic associations in general because the apostles were an obvious prototype for the kinds of collective piety fostered by the lay companies. That the crux of the Maundy Thursday celebration was the ritual transformation of the governor into Christ and the members into apostles suggests that the decoration in the main chapel might have served to reinforce the connection between the company’s members and their apostolic exemplars. Thus, a close examination of the Scalzo’s rituals illuminates the relationship between the works of art in the oratory and the rituals acted out therein, and allows for a reconstruction of how that relationship forged meanings especially appropriate to the confratelli.

Although the minutiae of the company’s administrative procedures and offices might seem marginal to a study of art patronage, the opposite is true, since this system of democratic and collective governance is at the very heart of the confraternity’s emphasis on communal action for the mutual benefit of its members. Indeed, group effort provided

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10 The description of the Maundy Thursday ritual is found in ASF, CapCRS 86, 4r. For a discussion of this ritual, see pages 49-52.
the underlying structure for all of the Scalzo’s endeavors, from the host of social services it provided to its iscritti (members) to its devotional practices. Without a sense of group identity and obligation, the company would have been unable to provide food and medical care for the needy, and its rituals of self-mortification—acted out for the benefit of the confraternity, its members and their community—would have lost their efficacy. As we shall see, the manner in which the Scalzo commissioned works of art for its oratory went a long way towards defining and reinforcing the bonds between the confratelli as individuals and the company as a whole.

After an examination of the administrative and devotional practices of the confraternity, Chapter Two explores the extent of the charitable services provided by the Scalzo. What becomes clear from this discussion is that many of the company’s charitable activities were designed to benefit the Scalzo’s iscritti. Foremost among these were the funeral and burial benefits afforded by membership in the confraternity. These benefits were especially attractive to the artisans and shopkeepers who made up the majority of the company’s members and who most likely did not possess the means to provide for an honorable funeral cortege or burial in one of Florence’s more prominent churches. The same is true of the medical care, alms and dowries administered by the company. These services—be they modest contributions to the dowry fund of a member’s daughter or a visit from the company’s medico (doctor)—formed a safety net and a system of assistance for those members of Florentine society who could benefit from them the most.
Often the services that the company of San Giovanni Battista offered—especially the dowries—were endowed through bequests of cash, real estate or investments made by deceased members, who frequently attached obligations to the gift. These stipulations typically required that the income from the bequest be used to pay for memorial masses to benefit the testator and to provide a modest dowry to the daughter of one the Scalzo’s members. Chapter Two closes with a series of case studies that reveals the extent of these gifts and sheds light on the tradition of giving that the confraternity encouraged in its membership. This tradition of charitable giving has important ramifications for the decoration of the Scalzo’s oratory, because it establishes the context within which the donations of works of were made. In the particular case of the statues of the apostles, several of the works were donated to the confraternity by the sculptors who made them, while others were purchased by groups of confratelli who pooled their funds. Each example has an analogue in the confraternity’s other activities, be it the donation of a small house to endow a dowry fund or the collective contributions that together underwrote the cost of a physician’s services. In this way, the decoration of the Scalzo oratory can be seen as the result of its confraternal context, even as it sheds light on an aspect of art patronage in early modern Florence that has escaped the notice of most scholars. Rather than a case of conspicuous consumption, the decoration of the Scalzo’s oratory stood as a testament to the viability of their group and acted as a visual reminder of what the company could achieve when it acted together as one corporate body.
The Reconstruction of the Scalzo’s Oratory

In the last decades of the sixteenth century the confraternity commissioned a program of free-standing statues of the apostles, which were installed in a series of *pietra serena* niches in the main chapel of the company’s oratory. The installation of these apostles marked the end of a decorative campaign that had begun at the end of the Quattrocento and progressed in fits and starts over the course of the Cinquecento. Not until the early eighteenth century would the company undertake another significant campaign of decorations or renovations. To achieve some idea of the appearance of these lost rooms and works of art, it was necessary to turn to the company’s archival documents for evidence of the oratory’s decoration.

The confraternity’s Libro di Benefattori, or book of benefactors, contains a series of entries concerning the statues of the apostles, several of which were commissioned by groups of confratelli. The voting records also reveal that some of the sculptures had been donated to the confraternity by sculptors, who were themselves members of the organization, in exchange for lifetime exemptions from the fees and fines associated with membership. In other words, the sculptural program that decorated the main chapel was the product of a collaborative effort on the part of the Scalzo’s members, rather than the received largesse of an affluent patron. When considered in the light of the company’s devotional, administrative and charitable activities, it becomes clear that this style of patronage was grounded in the collective action that formed the basis of the rest of the Scalzo’s endeavors.
San Giovanni Battista, like most flagellant confraternities, was not especially wealthy. The organization’s modest income was augmented by its fee structure and any bequests it received. The company’s finances and its tradition of collective action on the behalf of its members both played a role in the commissioning and execution of the apostles. Lacking a substantial budget for the oratory’s decoration, the confraternity relied on methods familiar from its charitable activities—donations, trades, group funds—in order to procure works of art. Certainly the large number of skilled artisans in the Scalzo, including painters, stonecutters, wallers, woodworkers, sculptors, goldsmiths, and others, provided an obvious resource for the organization, and the company frequently turned to them for its needs. Even beyond this, however, the confraternity controlled costs by relying on donations from members, which, in some cases, were made in exchange for lifetime exemptions from dues and fines. To economize further, the statues were fabricated from modest and inexpensive materials, often by young sculptors who had yet to establish their professional reputations and were eager for work. The manner in which the confraternal context fostered the collective production and consumption of Florentine art by members of the artisanal class has rarely been explored, even though it has the potential to alter traditional ideas about patronage in the Cinquecento.

Because the Scalzo oratory was stripped of its furnishings and large portions of it sold after the suppression of the lay companies in 1785, I reconstruct the complex and its
decoration in Chapter Three.\textsuperscript{11} The confraternity had a large and commodious oratory at its disposal that not only housed sacred relics, but also highly-esteemed works of art.\textsuperscript{12}

Several bits of information found in archival collections other than that of the suppressed companies were crucial to this reconstruction. Two sets of plans, one drawn up in the sixteenth century by Alfonso Parigi, architect and follower of Vasari and Ammannati, and another, made shortly after the suppression in 1785 and unpublished up to now, reveal the spatial organization of the lost rooms. Another eighteenth-century document, an unpublished inventory of the Scalzo premises taken in 1783 and found at the Archivio di Stato in Florence in the archival collection of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico—the


\textsuperscript{12} The fame of the cloister’s decoration attracted artists who wanted to make drawings after Sarto’s frescoes, and required the company to establish rules of access. On 19 October 1586, the organization even paid for a series of wooden benches for copyists to sit upon, “5 pa[nc]hete da u[n]o legnaiolo che servano p[er] quali che diseg[n]iano.” ASF, CRS 1203.40, 349v. For more on the rules governing access to the cloister, see pages 40, 98-99 n. 5.
organization that oversaw the cataloging and transfer of confraternal property after the suppression—lists many works of art and liturgical furnishings. From the Scalzo’s own records there are not only eighteenth-century descriptions of the oratory, but also the voting records and account books from the Cinquecento, which provide a wealth of unpublished information regarding the decoration of the Scalzo’s rooms. My reconstruction of the history, layout and decoration of the oratory also demonstrates the extent of the Scalzo’s patronage and the frequency with which it relied on the skills inherent in its membership, and, in the process, reveals a stratum of the production and consumption of visual culture that existed below that of the wealthy and powerful.

The Significance of the Scalzo’s Decorative Program

In Chapter Four, I examine the specifics of the execution of the sculptural program of the apostles for the main chapel of the Scalzo oratory. My analysis of the various methods the confraternity used to procure works, ranging from donations to direct purchases, reveals a flexible approach to art patronage. The organization’s willingness to barter, or to accept donations, or to have groups of members work in concert to underwrite the cost of a statue demonstrates that, within the confraternity, patronage of art was not necessarily an act of conspicuous consumption or seigneurial largesse.
The Scalzo’s methods of procuring works of art benefited both the sculptors and the confraternity in various ways. From the standpoint of the organization, these strategies allowed the company to outfit its oratory while controlling expenses. For the sculptors, many of whom were at the beginning of their careers, the opportunity to sculpt an apostle for the Scalzo’s program would have given them a forum to showcase their talent to an audience of their peers. Since some of the members of the Scalzo were themselves recognized masters who worked for the Medici Guardaroba, an excellent performance with one of the apostles for the confraternity could have led a young artist to other more lucrative commissions.

Late-Cinquecento sculptural practices also played a role in the Scalzo’s commissioning of the apostles. That the statues were made of clay can be linked to the use of this material for training sculptors and sketching ideas. Several of the sculptors who contributed apostles to the Scalzo’s program were also sculpting figures in clay for the Accademia del Disegno at almost the same time. There is evidence that at least one sculptor might have brought a clay model for a much larger marble sculpture to an acceptable state of finish before he sold it to the confraternity. These examples point to an undercurrent of artistic production that has largely escaped the notice of art historians because it consists largely of works of art fashioned from mundane materials. In spite of this fact, these works and the history of their commission have the potential to reveal much about the economics of artistic practice at the end of the sixteenth century.
The sculptural program of the apostles for the Scalzo oratory is also compared with two contemporary fresco cycles for the Florentine companies of Santissima Annunziata and Gesù Pellegrino, both of which focus on the apostles. Within the context of the lay brotherhoods these apostolic decorative programs obviously resonate with the communal and charitable aims of confraternities, and it is not surprising that representations of the apostles figure prominently in confraternal decorative schemes. In fact, many companies actively cultivated the association between their organizations and the apostles by appointing groups of twelve men as officers or as the members of important charitable committees. In this way, the apostles—a group of men united by their faith in Christ and their desire to perform His work on earth—became exemplars for the confratelli, who shared identical goals.

The methods that the Scalzo employed to complete their decorative scheme ultimately distance its sculptural program from the other confraternal cycles. Rather than a reminder of the generosity of a powerful patron, the Scalzo’s program stood as a testament to the achievements of the company’s members. Their beautifully outfitted oratory was evidence of what the company could achieve when it pooled its resources and relied on the skill, devotion and charity of its members. Seen in this light, the apostles in the Scalzo’s main chapel would have taken on an added layer of meaning and demonstrated to the confratelli the efficacy of the company’s collective actions. By relying on its tradition of charitable collaboration, the Scalzo was able to complete the decoration of its oratory, and, in the process, reinforce the bonds between the company and its individual members. This extra layer of significance, which would have been
obvious to a member of the Scalzo, emerges only after the reconstruction and examination of the devotional and administrative contexts presented in the following chapters.
CHAPTER 2

“Cum grande fervore”:
The Organizational History of the
Company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo, Florence

The Origins of the Company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo

According to the book of statutes composed in February of 1456, the flagellant confraternity of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo was founded in Florence in 1376. Without any corroborating documentation, it is impossible to verify this claim, but the Cronaca fiorentina of Marco di Coppo Stefani describes how the Florentines, having been placed under papal interdict during the War of the Eight Saints in 1375, responded by assembling in great numbers in churches to sing laude, a genre of popular devotional songs (in ogni chiesa si cantava ogni sera le laude), by processing through the streets carrying relics (s’andava ogni di a processione colle reliquie), and by assembling large groups of flagellants—Stefani puts the total number at over five thousand (più di

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1 ASF, CapCRS 152, 2v (not numbered).
2 ASF, CapCRS 152, 2v (not numbered). To avoid confusion, all dates have been changed to reflect the modern style of beginning the new year on January 1; if, for purposes of clarity, it is more efficacious to use the old style, it will be denoted by “[o.s.]”. The words “company” and “confraternity,” as well as their Italian counterparts, “compagnia” and “confraternita,” will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation to refer to organizations that one scholar has characterized as “groups of people who come together in conformity with certain rules to promote their religious life in common. These people stop short of taking full religious vows within some canonically recognised Order, and most of the time they are part of the secular world.” Christopher F. Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 23.
This explosion of public devotion by the laity has been linked to the foundation of new confraternities in the late 1370s, one of which was San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo. The company’s nickname, the Scalzo, or unshod, refers to the fact that the confratello who carried the company’s crucifix in processions, walked the route in his bare feet. A Bull granting indulgences to the confratelli of the company of San Giovanni Battista, issued by the archbishop of Florence, Bartolomeo Oleari, on 18 July 1386, provides a terminus ante quem for the date of the Scalzo’s foundation. The document, which recorded the granting of indulgences to the members of San Giovanni Battista, states that the company held its meetings in the Church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini. This company is most certainly the same as the Scalzo, and these few

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4 Trexler, Spiritual Power, 131 n. 94 cites the Scalzo as “one of the new companies founded in 1376.” See also Barducci, “La Compagnia dello Scalzo,” 147-148.

5 This explanation has been cited by most commentators on the confraternity, dating back at least to Richa’s description from the eighteenth century. Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine vol. 7 (1758; reprint, Rome: Multigrafica, 1989), 196-197.

6 The confratelli received their indulgences on the day of their induction to the company, two Sundays of any month, the four principal feasts of the Virgin Mary, and the feasts of the Apostles, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint James. The Bull was published by Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:197-198. A copy of the Bull appears in Giuseppe Baccioni, Ristretto degli obblighi spirituali, che hanno i fratelli dell’antica, divota, e veneranda Compagnia del Nome Santissimo di Giesu, sotto la protezione del precursore S. Giovanbatista detta lo Scalzo, della città di Firenze, cavato da’ suoi capitoli (Florence, 1708), ASF, CapCRS 80, 20 [hereafter Ristretto]. The Ristretto is a printed pamphlet that outlines the responsibilities of the confratelli and the obligations of the company, and
documents offer a glimpse of the confraternity’s early days. Despite a complete lack of records of the company’s members, finances or voting patterns between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a rough image of the first 150 years of the organization can be limned by drawing on the book of capitoli and later copies of bequests and land transactions, some of which date to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

As a flagellant confraternity founded in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century, the Company of San Giovanni Battista belonged to a broad increase in the
number of and interest in such organizations. Estimates vary, but scholars agree that the number of confraternities in the city increased steadily over the course of the Renaissance. There were two basic types of lay company. The laudesi, which were usually devoted to a Marian image, assembled to sing songs (laude) that praised Mary’s humanity and stressed her role as intercessor, and took part in civic processions, staged plays and offered funeral and burial services to members. The disciplinati companies focused on penitence, often acting out self-mortification rituals in imitation of Christ, but

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10 Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 43-44 states that Florence had more than seventy-five confraternities by the sixteenth century, up from one in the twelfth century. John Henderson, “Penitence and the Laity in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990): 233 argues that between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century the number of companies increased from six to ninety-six. For a more precise analysis, see Henderson, Piety and Charity, 38-41. Eisenbichler, Boys of the Archangel Raphael, 12 notes that the number of confraternities rose from fifty-two in 1400 to one hundred and fifty-six at the end of the fifteenth century. On the difficulties of counting confraternities, as well as determining the number of inscribed members, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 49-57.

they also took part in public processions and performed charitable acts, such as
distributing alms and providing for members’ funerals, burials and memorial masses.12

The Administrative Structure and Officers of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo

Florentine confraternities were autonomous organizations that drew up their own
sets of statutes and were governed by a hierarchy of elected officials nominated from
within the company’s own ranks.13 Exterior oversight was provided by a priest (Padre
Correttore) who was retained by the confraternity to oversee its administrative as well as
devotional rituals.14 The Scalzo’s statutes were first written up in 1456, most likely in
response to Archbishop Antoninus Pierozzi’s decree that all the lay companies of
Florence submit to him for inspection a set of written by-laws.15 Indeed, the archbishop

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12 On the disciplinati companies, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 113-122; Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 50-58 cautions against making sharp distinctions between the two groups, which shared many of the same objectives.


14 Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 68.

himself appended his written approval to the Scalzo statutes currently held in the Archivio di Stato.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 152, 14r. Dated 22 March 1455 [o.s.], Antoninus’s inscription is heavily abbreviated and difficult to read. Several transcriptions are present in the Scalzo’s records, such as this one from the Ristretto, 20 “Nos. Fr. Antoninus, Dei, et Apostolicae Sedis gratis Archiepiscopus Florentinus praedicta Capitula dictae Societatis Sancti Joannis Baptistae, quae congregatur in orto S. Petri de Murrone in Via S. Galli, diligenter visa, & discussa ut salutifera, & animabus utilia judicantes, ea approbavimus, & confirmavimus, ita quod non liceat aliqui, vel etiam omnibus simul de dicta Societate, imminuere, vel addere, aut inmutare, sine nostra, vel Successorum nostrorum licentia speciali. Insuper, ut devotè frequentetur, quadraginta dies concedimus Indulgentiae semel in mense, idest in prima adunantia mensis cuius libet, omnibus, & singulis ad locum de mense congregantibus, & ad declarationem omnium praedictorum manu propria subscripsimus die 22 Martij 1455.”}

On 6 July 1579, a new set of statutes that the Scalzo had drawn up in a careful hand on sheets of vellum was approved by Archbishop Alessandro de’ Medici (fig. 2).\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 22v.} Over the course of the previous century, the confraternity had voted to suspend or amend some of the rules from 1456 (\textit{in molti luoghi sono stati sospesi e alterati in virtù di alcuni ricordi, e partiti, che alla giornata si sono fatti}), and a new set of statutes was needed that would more accurately reflect the Scalzo’s current practices.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 1r. It was not uncommon for companies to redact their statutes to reflect changes in practices and rituals. See Lodovico Scaramucci, “Considerazioni su statuti e matricole di confraternite di disciplinati,” in \textit{Risultati e prospettive della ricerca sul movimento dei disciplinati} (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria, 1972), 150.} The statutes, however, represent more than the collected by-laws of the company; the book itself was a ritual object used by the confraternity in its administrative and devotional ceremonies, and the Scalzo readily allocated funds to ensure that the book would be a fitting complement to
their ritual furnishings. On 2 February 1580, the confraternity voted twenty-five in favor and two against to allot seventy-three lire, six soldi and eight denari to cover the costs of the book’s production. That sum provided for a black velvet cover with silver accents, adorned with a Bernardian monogram (un nome di giesu) and a gold silk fringe.

The administrative structure of the company of San Giovanni Battista, as outlined in the 1579 statutes, was similar to that of Florence’s other confraternities. The Governatore, with his two Consiglieri (counselors), presided over the company’s devotional and administrative activities. The Provveditore (provisor) received and disbursed payments, oversaw the company’s charitable activities and maintained the borse used in elections and drawings. The Camarlingo acted as the Scalzo’s treasurer and maintained the company’s account books, while the Scrivano (scribe) was responsible for maintaining a written record of the company’s meetings and financial transactions. Six Provveditori degl’Infermi (provisors for the ill) visited and cared for the sick, and six

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19 Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 79 downplayed the significance of confraternal capitoli, stating “…in theory they formed the basis of the confraternity. It did not follow that the brothers and sisters readily knew those rules, or paid much attention to them after their initial formulation.” On the other hand, Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 85 argued that “for many confraternity members, the statute book was undoubtedly the most familiar of all religious documents.” Weissman went on to state that officers “were required to read their statutes publicly at least once during their term of office, that is, at least once every 3-4 months.” This requirement suggests that the brothers did take an interest in their by-laws and codes of behavior, and that the book of capitoli assumed a significant role in their rituals. Although it is impossible to prove that the reading of the statutes always took place, the requirement that the governor of the Scalzo read the company’s capitoli upon assumption of office was important enough to have been included in two sets of statutes, those of 1456 and those of 1579. ASF, CapCRS 152, 4v; ASF, CapCRS 86, 12r-12v. For a discussion of the investiture ceremony, see pages 52-55.

20 ASF, CRS 1197.22, 55r.
21 ASF, CRS 1203.40, 318v.
Limosinieri (almoners) distributed alms to the needy, both as part of the company’s charitable mission. The company also elected two Maestri dei Novizi (masters of the novices), two Sagrestani (sacristans), and a Depositario delle Doti (trustee of the dowries) who maintained and distributed the Scalzo’s dowry funds.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{The Governatore}

Giovanni di Raffaello, \textit{calderaio} (coppersmith), held the post of governor of the Scalzo on five different occasions between 1583 and 1603, placing him among those men who served the highest number of terms.\textsuperscript{23} In fact, Giovanni’s five terms were surpassed only by Domenico di Cosimo, \textit{fabbro} (blacksmith), who served seven terms as governor between 1537 and 1567, Santi di Michele Buglioni, \textit{scultore}, who was elected eight times between 1543 and 1568, and Giovanni di Marco Neri, \textit{merciaio} (haberdasher), who also served eight terms between 1564 and 1596.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22} ASF, CapCRS 86, 4v.
\textsuperscript{23} Giovanni di Raffaello, \textit{calderaio}, is listed as Governatore at ASF, CRS 1195.14, 113r (05-01-1583), 134r (01-01-1589), and ASF, CRS 1195.15, 9r (01-01-1595), 25v (09-03-1600), 34r (01-05-1603).
\textsuperscript{24} For the records of Domenico di Cosimo, \textit{fabbro}, see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 20v (05-06-1537), 67r (09-06-1545), 130r (09-05-1557), and ASF, CRS 1195.14, 8r (09-03-1559), 18r (05-03-1562), 32r (09-01-1565), 37v (05-04-1567); for Santi di Michele Buglioni, see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 52r (01-07-1543), 70r (05-02-1546), 83v (01-05-1550), 104v (01-05-1555), 135v (01-02-1558), and ASF, CRS 1195.14, 16r (01-04-1562), 27r (09-03-1564), 44r (09-05-1568); for Giovanni di Marco Neri, see ASF, CRS 1195.14, 19r (09-06-1562), 26r (05-07-1564), 42v (05-02-1568), 66r (01-04-1573), 84v (05-03-1577), 127r (09-01-1586), 143v (01-06-1591), and ASF, CRS 1195.15, 5v (01-02-1594).
In spite of what the preceding examples might suggest, the rules for the election of the Governatore were written in such a way as to make it difficult for one man to hold the post for a long period of time and to increase the chance that any member meeting the requirements for office could be elected. On the first Sunday of April, August and December the names of all confratelli eligible for the office of governor were placed in a bag (una borsa, dove sono imborsati tutti li fratelli), out of which the Governatore drew three names.\(^{25}\) The governor then nominated another confratello, knowledgeable about the company (prattico della Compagnia), who joined the three drawn at random in a private meeting (al segreto).\(^{26}\)

These four men then drew twelve names from the bag of imborsati, and these twelve were then called upon to nominate men for the position of Governatore. The name of each nominee, along with the nominator’s name immediately below, was written on a polizza (slip of paper) by the Correttore (priest in his role as corrector or overseer), who then put the twelve names in a bag. The priest gave the bag to one of the twelve men, and they returned to the assembly, giving the bag to the governor, who drew the slips one at a time, reading aloud the name of each nominee, but not that of the nominator. Each nominee was put to a vote (mandato a partito) by the entire company, and his polizza

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\(^{25}\) These dates for the drawings (tratte) seem to have been standard for most Florentine companies. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 60.

\(^{26}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 4v-5r. On the voting sets, usually consisting of beans (fave), chick-peas (ceci) or balls (palline) which were dropped with a closed hand into an urn (bussolotto), see Ludovica Sebregondi, “Religious Furnishings and Devotional Objects in Renaissance Florentine Confraternities,” in *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1991): 147-148.
was placed back in a different bag along with the beans the confratelli used to record their votes. This procedure was followed for each of the twelve nominees (*il simile si faccia di tutti li elezionati*), and the bags were taken off to be counted by the priest in secret, who kept the chits belonging to the four men who received the highest number of votes and burned the rest (*tutte le altre polizze si abbrucino*).27

While the priest was placing the names of the four remaining nominees back in the borsa, the governor and the confratelli prayed that God would provide an election that would honor Him and maintain the peace and unity of the company, and then they sang the hymn of the Holy Spirit. Upon the conclusion of the prayer, the priest brought the bag to the governor, who drew one of the four polizze, thereby naming the new Governatore (*il Padre sacerdote porti al Governatore la detta borsa, della quale tragga una poliza e il nome in quella descritto sia il nostro Governatore*).28 If the nominee refused to serve, he was required to pay twelve soldi to the Camarlingo, and one of the remaining slips would be drawn.29 If none of the four imborsati accepted the position, the entire process was begun again, with the exclusion of the names of the four who had already refused the office. The governor’s term began on the first Sunday of May, September and January and lasted for four months.30 Only men who owed no debts to the company (*netto di*...  

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27 ASF, CapCRS 86, 5r-5v.  
28 ASF, CapCRS 86, 5v.  
29 ASF, CapCRS 86, 11r.  
30 ASF, CapCRS 86, 5v-6r. The 1579 statutes present a longer and more complex electoral sequence than that found in the 1456 statutes. According to the rules of 1456, every confratello wrote out a nomination slip, not just the twelve drawn from the borsa, and the Correttore, Governatore and two Consigliieri then examined these polizze in secret, extracting the names of the three men who received the most nominations (*fratelli*...
specchio), were present at the meeting, had been in the company for at least three years, were over thirty years of age and had not served as governor within the previous two years were eligible for office.31

In light of the complexity of the election procedures, it might seem surprising at first that it was possible for a person such as Giovanni di Raffaello to become governor of the Scalzo five times. However, when one considers that it was within the rights of any nominee to refuse the position, and that the confratelli would be inclined to nominate and vote for men who had previous experience and had discharged their duties well, and that those men would also be inclined to accept the nomination if they received it, it becomes clear that the Scalzo’s electoral procedure provided a balance between autocratic rule and chaotic discontinuity. The use of random drawings—three of the four brothers who drew the twelve nominators were themselves pulled at random from the borsa, while the governor himself was pulled at random from the four imborsati who received the most votes—ensured that a cabal within the confraternity could not influence the outcome of
the election. Even if a conspiracy was realized, the fact that each nominee was put to a vote before the entire membership provided a democratic check to the transfer of power, and gave the corporate body the ability to decide which of the four would be placed in the borsa for the final tratta. The rarity of figures such as Giovanni di Raffaello, Santi di Michele Buglioni and Giovanni di Marco Neri, who assumed the post more than five times, points to the success of the process. Through a combination of random drawings and democratic voting, the Scalzo were able to provide stability to the company as well as the opportunity for those considered capable of leading the organization to be nominated and approved by his peers.

The Provveditore and the Scrivano

The election protocols for the office of the governor had several checks in place to guarantee that the significant power he wielded was not abused or consolidated by a single figure or faction within the confraternity. As the amount of power inherent in an office decreased, the controls placed upon the process of selecting a candidate to fill that position became less rigorous. For example, the offices of Provveditore and the Scrivano were filled through an electoral process similar to that of the office of Governatore (per eleggere il Provveditore, et Scrivano si tenga l’ordine medesimo), but with reduced sets of nominators. Instead of twelve, only eight men were selected, and of these eight, only three of those who received the most votes were placed in the bag to be drawn, rather
than four. As with the scrutiny for the Governatore, those selected as Provveditore or Scrivano could refuse the position and pay twelve soldi to the Camarlingo. Because their offices suffered from a constant rotation of officials, the Provveditore and the Scrivano were elected to serve one-year terms, taking office on the first Sunday of January. As a means of maintaining administrative continuity, the Provveditore and the Scrivano could be reconfirmed in their offices by a three-fourths majority for a period of up to three consecutive years.

The Provveditore was to speak on behalf of the entire company (possà il Provveditore piatire per la nostra casa, si come fusse tutto il corpo) and to act as a liaison between the Scalzo and the world beyond their oratory. As the public face of the confraternity, the Provveditore collected any rents or debts owed to the Scalzo, as well as allotted funds to cover the company’s expenses (including the purchase of wax and bread for Candlemas) and it was his duty to keep the Camarlingo informed of these transactions. He kept track of the members who were sick, and made sure that they were visited by the company’s medico (doctor) and that they received the benefits due to them.

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32 ASF, CapCRS 86, 6r.
33 ASF, CapCRS 86, 11r.
34 ASF, CapCRS 86, 6r.
35 ASF, CapCRS 86, 11r. The reconfirmation of the Scrivano and the Provveditore seems to have been a common practice. Raffaello di Chimenti, cuoiaio (tanner), for example, served two consecutive terms as the Scalzo’s secretary in 1579 and 1580, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 92r, 94v, 95v [two folios in 1195.14 are numbered 95; this is the second one], 96v, 98r, 99v. He was then reelected to the post for a three-year stint in 1586, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 124r, 125v, 127r, 127v, 129r, 130r, 131r, 131v, 132v. In all, Raffaello served as Scrivano 27 times between 1579 and 1595, with only a single one-year term in 1590 that was not consecutive with at least one other.
36 ASF, CapCRS 86, 17r-18r.
but only after they had taken confession. The Provveditore was also required to be present whenever the company cast a vote, and to provide an honest count of all the votes cast (sia presente à vedere tutt i partiti, e conti le fave secondo la verità), and he maintained the borse from which the nominators of the Governatore, Provveditore and Scrivano were drawn, and another from which were drawn the festaiuoli (festival organizers) for the feasts of San Giovanni and Maundy Thursday. He also held the keys to the chests that contained the company’s records and relics (Tenga una chiave della cassa delle scritture, et un’altra delle nostre reliquie).

The Scrivano’s most important responsibility was the maintenance of the Scalzo’s campione, the book in which he kept track of each member’s account and where he listed the men who owed the confraternity money from fees or fines. Because only those men netti di specchio could be elected to serve the company, he was required to put the campione in order before any names were drawn (Habbia in ordine lo specchio inanzi si habbia à far la tratta). An account register for the women in the company was kept separately. The Scrivano also recorded all the motions put before the confraternity, and was required to be present at all the votes cast by the Governor and his Counselors (sia

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37 “Provegga, che i fratelli sieno visitati, e che il nostro Medico ne faccia poliza, se meritano il beneficio, e non si dia in modo alcuno sussidio, à limosina à detti infermi, se prima non haranno le fede del parrocchiano d’esser confessati.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 17v.

38 ASF, CapCRS 86, 17v-18r.

39 ASF, CapCRS 86, 18r. According to Weissman, the company of Santissima Annunziata locked up the borse they used for scrutinies in cabinets that could only be opened with “three different keys, held separately by the governor, the eldest counselor, and the company priest.” Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 60. Such provisions guaranteed that the borse and the polizze they contained could not be tampered with in any way.

40 ASF, CapCRS 86, 16v.
presente à veder tutti e partiti si fanno à desco) and to make a visual confirmation of the ballots cast (e similmente à veder le fave d’ogni partito). The Scrivano also had the power to excuse a confratello who was sick or out of town from his obligation to attend the procession on the feast of San Giovanni. For other processions, including funerals, the secretary could accept an excuse for one brother if it was delivered by another confratello from the same bottega. During his time in office, the brother acting as Scrivano was expected to be prepared for the meetings (sia sollecito alle tornate), and he was cautioned against being too lenient in his bookkeeping (e non charità mostri i conti à fratelli). In recompense for his efforts, he was exempt from confraternal fees for the duration of his tenure (Sia il detto scrivano per quanto durerà l’uffitio suo esente di tassa).41

The Camarlingo

Like the Governatore, Provveditore and Scrivano, the Camarlingo was elected to his position. The names of all eligible confratelli—those who could write (che sappino scrivere) and were free of debt (netti di specchio)—were placed in a bag and eight names were drawn one at a time and put to a vote. The brother who received the most votes became the Scalzo’s treasurer. If he refused, the job was given to the man with the second highest vote total. If the second man refused, the process was run again.42

41 ASF, CapCRS 86, 17r.
42 ASF, CapCRS 86, 6v.
The Camarlingo maintained the records of payments (*entrate*) made to the company by the brothers or the Provveditore, and kept track of each individual account. He was responsible for submitting the names of two *mallevadori* (guarantors) for approval by the governor and his counselors. Finally, the Camarlingo had fifteen days after the end of his term to turn over the accounts to his successor.43

**The Consiglieri and the Depositario delle Doti, Maestri de’ Novizi and Sagrestani**

The two Consiglieri were drawn at random on the third Sunday of April, August and December and were eligible for office provided that they were free of debt, had not served as counselor within the previous eight months, and had not held any office in the previous four months (*Consiglieri habbino divieto dal loro uffitio mesi otto, et dalli altri uffizi mesi quattro*).44 Their duties were to confer with the governor on matters that did not require a vote by the full membership of the confraternity. Often these were preliminary votes, such as those that approved a novice’s bid for membership, which, if it passed *al desco*, was then put to a vote in the complete assembly (*corpo di compagnia*).45

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43 ASF, CapCRS 86, 18v. On *mallevadori* and the Florentine *Signoria* in the early sixteenth century, see Butters, *Governors and Government*, 70-72.

44 ASF, CapCRS 86, 6v, 10v-11r. Such restrictions, including the *divieto*—which referred to the period of time a brother had to be out of office before he was again eligible—were common in confraternal statutes. See, Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 68-69; Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 60.

45 See the discussion of novices on pages 43-45.
On the first of April, each counselor nominated one man for the position of Depositario delle Doti and the governor nominated two. These four nominees were then put to a vote before the entire confraternity, with the winner occupying his office for a full year. The Depositario was required to submit to the governor and his counselors the names of two possible mallevadori, which had to be approved unanimously (per tre fave nere).46

The governor and his counselors also appointed the two Sagrestani and Maestri de’ Novizi. The governor named one Maestro de’ Novizi and one Sagrestano. The first counselor appointed the other Maestro de’ Novizi and the second counselor named the other sacristan.47 The sacristans were to be the first confratelli to arrive at a meeting in order to prepare the oratory for the mass (sia l’obligo de’ sagrestani d’essere i primi alle tornate per far quanto è di bisogno per la messa). They also made certain that candles were available (trovar la cera) and performed any duties that the Provveditore requested (che occorre al Provveditore), including collecting the votes cast by the confratelli without looking at them (raccogliano le fave di tutti li partiti, senza poterle vedere).48 Because of the requirements of their office, the sacristans also held the keys to the oratory and the

46 ASF, CapCRS 86, 7r.
47 ASF, CapCRS 86, 6v-7r. Controversy surrounding the definitions of the first and second Consiglieri apparently required an addendum to the statutes, which stated that the first counselor was the eldest of the two, irrespective of the order in which they were drawn. “E per levare ogni occassione di Scandolo, e fare che cose vadino ordinatamente senza di aggravino di persona fu proposto e vinto da medesimi, che nella tratta de Consiglieri, quello che sarà di piu anni, e età s’intenda esser primo Consigliere e havere el primo luogo apresso el Governatore, se bene fussi stato eletto el secondo,” ASF, CapCRS 86, 24v.
48 ASF, CapCRS 86, 19v.
sacristy (tenghino le chiavi della nostra compagnia, le chiavi della sagrestia e paramenti) and on the morning that they took office, they assumed responsibility for the confraternity’s liturgical vestments and furniture (la mattina che piglione l’uffitio ricevino per inventario tutti i paramenti et altre robbe di Sagrestia). ⁴⁹

The Provveditori degl’Infermi and the Limosinieri

The six Provveditori degl’Infermi and the six Limosinieri were drawn from a bag. There was no divieto for the Infermieri or Limosinieri; they only had to be free of debt to the confraternity. ⁵⁰ As their names suggest, these twelve men carried out the Scalzo’s charitable missions of tending to the sick and the poor, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Medico and the Servo

The confraternity’s Medico and Servo (custodian) were elected by a simple majority from a pool of nominees put forward by all the confratelli. The Medico, who administered to ill members of the company, received a stipend of twenty-four lire per

⁴⁹ ASF, CapCRS 86, 19v-20r.
⁵⁰ ASF, CapCRS 86, 6v.
The Servo, who was to keep the oratory clean (*tenere pulita la compagnia*), possessed a key to the Scalzo property. He was expressly forbidden, under penalty of permanent expulsion, to let anyone into the cloister to draw (*non possa in modo alcuno menar nessuno nel nostro chiostro per disegnare*). The Servo received a salary of eighteen lire each year for his efforts, and like the Medico and the Correttore, he could be reconfirmed in his position from year to year by a two-thirds majority. In the event of the death of the Medico or Servo, the confratelli put forward names of possible replacements, and the position was filled by the man with the highest number of votes.

### The Correttore

In both sets of statutes, from 1456 and 1579, the confraternity required the oversight of a priest (Correttore). The election procedure outlined in the 1456 statutes called for nominations from the confratelli, and the four priests who received the most votes served as the company’s Correttori (*quattro delle piu faue nere rimangiuno* proposed reading: *rimangono* [chorrettore]). Each of these four priests received a seal

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51 ASF, CapCRS 86, 20r. A summary of annual payments of twenty-four lire to Maestro Giovanni Fedeli, who served as the Scalzo’s doctor from 1578 to 1591, is found in ASF, CRS 1199.30, 170 sinistra [misnumbered in MS as 169v].

52 ASF, CapCRS 86, 20r-20v. This prohibition reiterates a statute that also forbids any of the members from lending the keys to the Scalzo cloister to anyone (*non sia possino in alcun modo prestare le chiavi ad alcuno, che volesse disegnare ne nostri chiostri*) unless approved by a two-thirds majority with at least thirty confratelli present to cast votes. ASF, CapCRS 86, 15r-15v.

53 ASF, CapCRS 86, 11v, 20r-20v.

54 ASF, CapCRS 86, 20v.
with the company’s emblem on it *(ciaschuno di correttore tengha uno sugiello chol segnio della i chonpagna)*, one of which is most likely the example held today at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello and adorned with an image of the cross flanked by flails and symbols of Christ’s Passion (fig. 3)\(^{55}\) The statutes of 1579 call specifically for the correttore to be a member of the Servite order (*un Correttore della Religione de Servi*), but do not mention the seal.\(^{56}\) Like the Medico and the Servo, the Correttore could be reconfirmed in his position from year to year by a two-thirds majority.\(^{57}\) The Correttore had the authority to correct all members of the company, including the governor, whenever they violated the confraternity’s statutes (*l’autorità sua sia di correggere il Governatore e tutti li nostri fratelli, quando transgredissero i capitoli*).\(^{58}\) He was required to act upon the Scalzo’s request that he visit sick members of the company to hear their confessions, to provide advice on how to make out their wills and to consult on any other matters related to spiritual health.\(^{59}\) In return, the confraternity provided him with a one-

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\(^{56}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 21r.

\(^{57}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 11v.

\(^{58}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 21r.

\(^{59}\) “Et quando sarà chiamato à visitar infermi della nostra Compagnia, ò per confessarsi, ò per consigliarsi del modo di fare il suo testamento, ò in altro appartenente alla salute dell’anima, vi debba andare.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 21v.
pound candle on Candlemas and Palm Sunday, and the confratelli were obligated to accompany his funeral procession to his tomb.\textsuperscript{60}

**Devotional and Ritual Practices of San Giovanni Battista**

On 18 June 1594, the confratelli of the Scalzo voted twenty-eight in favor and one against to accept Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, a sculptor from the Fiesolan family of artists, into the organization.\textsuperscript{61} Andrea’s motivations for joining an organization such as the Scalzo were complex, but an examination of the many benefits provided by membership begins to shed light on why confraternities were so popular. One of the biggest attractions of a company such as San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo was that it provided its members the opportunity to participate in intimate, quasi-monastic rituals largely unavailable to the laity at their parish churches. In addition, confraternal oratories offered fixed seating and close proximity to the altar and works of art, features often wanting at larger churches.\textsuperscript{62} The Scalzo also offered a complement of more pragmatic services, including support during periods of sickness or financial hardship, as well as

\textsuperscript{60} ASF, CapCRS 86, 21r-21v.

\textsuperscript{61} ASF, CRS 1195.15, 6v; ASF, CRS 1197.23, 3v. Although the registers of members belonging to the Scalzo do not survive, it is possible to determine the identities of many of the brothers through a close reading of the entries in the books of Partiti e Ricordi, which contain lists of the company’s officers (elected three times a year), votes on the admission of novices, and references to funerals held on behalf of recently deceased members. On Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, see see Sandro Bellesi, “Precisazioni sulla vita e sull’attività dello scultore fiorentino Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci,” *Antichità viva* 28, no. 1 (1989): 49-55; DBI 47:222-224.

funeral and burial privileges. Before a person such as Andrea could enjoy these benefits, however, he first had to make a successful bid for membership.

The Nomination and Acceptance of Novices

The vote to accept Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci was held according to the rules outlined in the capitoli of 1579. First, Andrea had to be nominated by an existing member—in this case Giovanni di Raffaello, calderaiolo—who wrote Andrea’s name, occupation and place of residence (dove sta) on a polizza, which was then submitted to the Maestri de’ Novizi. The Maestri de’ Novizi conferred with the Governatore, his two Consiglieri and nine arroti, who were drawn especially for this purpose. This group of twelve had to approve Andrea’s nomination before his polizza could be posted above the cassetta delle limosine (charity box) for all the brothers to inspect. At the next meeting, 

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63 “Probably the main motivation behind many people joining the confraternities was that the society would help them to die well, provide them with a fitting passage into the afterlife through a decent funeral, and then organise corporate assistance with prayers for relief in and from Purgatory, and for a final favourable Judgement.” Black, Italian Confraternities, 104. For a description of a funeral procession and a list of funeral benefits—such as wax, a bier, mourners, a banner—provided by confraternities, see Henderson, Piety and Charity, 157-158. See also James R. Banker, Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 161.

64 ASF, CapCRS 86, 7r-8r. James Banker suggested that the rules governing the entrance of novices allowed confraternities to screen potential members. The requirement that they be sponsored by a current member “would screen out any individual whose values and behaviors differed radically from those of the members,” whereas payment of the entrance fee demonstrated their solvency and commitment to the organization. Banker, Death in the Community, 155. For more on novices, and especially entrance fees, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 85-86.

65 Once the polizze were posted they seem to have been vulnerable to tampering. The statute forbids the removal of any of the notices attached above the charity box, and
the brothers as a whole (in corpo della nostra Compagnia) voted on Andrea’s membership, which required a three-fourths majority to be approved. Upon his acceptance into the company, Ferrucci had up to two months to pay the entrance fee of seven lire piccioli (of silver). Andrea would have received a benefizio and paid a reduced entrance fee of one lira and eighteen soldi if his father, grandfather, great-grandfather or brother had belonged to the confraternity, but he seems to have been the first in his line to join the Scalzo. In addition to the entrance fee, Ferrucci, like the rest of the members, had to pay annual dues in the amount of two lire piccioli, and additional anyone caught taking a polizza would lose eligibility for confraternal offices and benefits for one year. ASF, CapCRS 86 7v-8r.

66 ASF, CapCRS 86, 7v. The statutes of 1456 required that at least twenty-four brothers be present to vote on a novice, ASF, CapCRS 152, 9r. The vast majority of the entries on novices that I collected record at least twenty-four votes cast, implying that although it was not explicitly stated in the 1579 statutes, the requirement was still in effect.

67 ASF, CapCRS 86, 8r. In the statutes of 1456, the entrance fee was thirty soldi (equal to one lira and ten soldi) and a candle weighing one-half of a pound. ASF, CapCRS 152, 9v. For more on entrance fees, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 85.

68 ASF, CapCRS 86, 8r. Bartolomeo Masi, calderao, kept track of the entrance fees he paid to various confraternities in his book of ricordanze. For example, when he joined the Compagnia del Tempio on 1 April 1507, he paid 3 soldi piccioli. His entrance into the company of San Zenobi on 5 December 1512 cost him 1 lira 12 soldi piccioli, but he remarks that he had “el benifizio di Bernardo mio padre” and so received a 10 soldi discount. Bartolomeo Masi, Ricordanze di Bartolomeo Masi calderao fiorentino dal 1478 al 1526, ed. Giuseppe Odoardo Corazzini (Florence: Sansoni, 1906), 79-80, 114. On the company of Santa Maria della Croce del Tempio, see Samuel Y. Edgerton, “A Little-Known ‘Purpose of Art’ in the Italian Renaissance,” Art History 2, no. 1 (March 1979): 45-61, and idem, Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); on the company of San Zenobi, see Wilson, Music and Merchants, 91-101.
fees of two lire piccioli on the occasion of a procession or the death of a confratello, presumably to help defray the costs—especially for wax—associated with such events.69

The Regular Meetings of San Giovanni Battista

Once accepted into the confraternity, a novice such as Andrea could begin attending its rituals and meetings. The Scalzo’s meetings, or tornate, took place regularly on the first and third Sunday of each month, early in the morning, and on a series of important feast days, including Christmas, the feast of the Circumcision, Easter, the Pentecost, Corpus Domini, the four feasts of the Virgin and the birth and martyrdom of John the Baptist. The company also convened on the feast of All Saints, the feasts of all the Apostles, and met every Sunday evening during Lent, with the exception of Palm Sunday, when they returned to their usual habit of meeting in the morning.70 The intimacy afforded to members by the confraternal ritual was one of the larger incentives for joining a company. Not only were confraternal chapels and oratories much smaller

69 One was exempt from these fees if one traveled at least ten miles outside of town (chi si ritrivesse fuora delle dieci miglia), or was over the age of 60, or infirm. ASF, CapCRS 86, 8r. The Scalzo seems not to have had an elaborate induction ceremony, such as that of the company of San Paolo, on which, see Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 96-97.

70 ASF, CapCRS 86, 2v-3r.
than most parish churches, but the confratelli themselves took a more active role in their devotions, which included their ritual of self-flagellation.\textsuperscript{71}

To make his way to the company’s meeting, Andrea would have entered the oratory through an unassuming portal on Via Larga, marked with a glazed terracotta tympanum representing a half-length St. John the Baptist and two kneeling confratelli (fig. 4). He then walked through a small vestibule and turned right to enter the company’s cloister, frescoed with scenes of the life of the Baptist by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio (fig. 1).\textsuperscript{72} Beyond the cloister was a small changing room (spogliatoio), where Andrea donned his robe, made from rough, black cloth, featuring the company’s emblem on the right shoulder and open in the back to facilitate his self-mortification.\textsuperscript{73} While wearing his robe, Andrea was expected to be a paradigm of decorous behavior, and

\textsuperscript{71} On the rituals of flagellant companies, see Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 122-125; idem, “Penitence and the Laity,” 240-241; Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 90-95; Black, \textit{Italian Confraternities}, 100-103.

\textsuperscript{72} These and other works of art commissioned by the Scalzo are discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{73} The statutes of 1456 describe the Scalzo’s robe as “una vesta nera di panno grosso a[d] uso di disciplina” and states that the “vesta abbia il segno della nostra chonpagnia insulla spalla ritta,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 13r. Elsewhere, the 1456 statutes note that the company’s emblem is the name of Jesus (nome di mesere iesu nostro salvatore), ASF, CapCRS 152, 3r-3v. This is reiterated in the 1579 capitoli, which describe the emblem as the name of Jesus, universal Redeemer and Saviour of the world (nome di Giesù universale redentore, e salvator del mondo). Barducci, “Compagnia dello Scalzo,” 159 suggests that the company’s insignia, therefore, was the monogram of San Bernardino of Siena. It should be noted, however, that the Scalzo also used as their segno a full-length image of the Baptist, which can still be seen painted on the cover of the book of Partiti e Ricordi from 1592-1648 (figs. 5 and 6), and on carved stemmi affixed to the Scalzo’s rental properties on Via della Colonna and Borgo Allegri (figs. 7 and 8). On the emblems Florentine confraternities used as building markers, see Sebregondi, “Religious Furnishings,” 146. On the garments of flagellant companies, see ibid., 150-151; Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 82-84.
the change of clothes reinforced the idea of Andrea’s transformation into a pious confratello as he made his way through a series of layered spaces between the street and the company’s chapel.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 152, 13r. Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 93 argued that the robes made the brothers indistinguishable from each other and thereby effaced normal indicators of status and fostered anonymity that strengthened the bonds of brotherhood and “helped to remove the inhibitions of those who participated in self-deprecating and emotionally charged rites in front of their kinsmen and friends.”} Although some companies had specific greeting rituals, the 1456 statutes only require the confratelli to kneel before the altar before taking their seat and praying silently. Once a group of three or more appeared, one of the brothers was urged to read spiritual things (\textit{debb\'a legiere chose ispirituale}) while awaiting the arrival of the Governatore and the commencement of the ritual.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 152, 10v-11r. In the company of Sant’ Antonio, each confratello was met at the entrance to the confraternity by another brother who said, “Go in peace.” Having said the greeting, this man left the most recent arrival to await the appearance of the next confratello, and so on, in an “unbroken chain of greeting, a rite of incorporation, [that] highlighted the solidarity of the group.” Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 92-93.} The Scalzo’s devotions did not begin at an exact time, rather the statutes allowed the Governatore to begin the ritual at his pleasure (\textit{poss\'a far tornate a suo beneplacito}).\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 3r.}

The governor began the ritual by saying the seven Penitential Psalms with the litanies and oration, followed by the oration, versicle and antiphon of Saint John the Baptist. Next, the Governatore said the office “\textit{con semplicità},” and reminded the confratelli of their debt to God and of the benefit they would receive when they were reunited in the house of the Lord. He then encouraged the brothers to act out the penitence suggested in Psalm 50. After a bit, the brothers repaired to the chapel they used before the expansion of the oratory, which they called the \textit{luogo vecchio}, or old place,
where they acted out their ritual of self-flagellation (dove si faccia la disciplina) and prayed.\(^77\) The 1456 statutes are explicit about the extinguishing of the lights during the flagellation, but the 1579 by-laws make no mention of it, although the practice most likely continued.\(^78\) Plunging the confratelli into darkness has been seen as both symbolic of the darkness cast over the earth during the crucifixion, and therefore a theatrical flourish that reminded the brothers of the object of their devotion, and as a way to further dissociate the brother from his individual identity and the social structures that defined him. Each brother, at the climax of the ritual, was hooded and unable to see or be seen in

\(^{77}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 3v-4r. The ritual as outlined in the 1579 statutes varies slightly from that of the 1456 by-laws, reflecting not only changes to the structure of the Scalzo oratory (there was no separate chapel for flagellation in 1456), but also shifting emphases within the organization and religious reforms enacted during the previous century. Weissman has argued that by the late sixteenth century many companies no longer practiced flagellation, and that it “came to be perceived as something of an anachronism, something quaint, old-fashioned, and even rather distasteful.” Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 206-207. Black found that although flagellation practices varied widely, evidence—such as the presence of flails in company inventories and testimony from apostolic visitations and legal investigations—for the continuation of the ritual exists. Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 101-102. It should be noted that the Scalzo continued to allocate funds for the purchase of flails well into the Cinquecento. For example, on 8 April 1571, the company paid 3 lire and 10 soldi for twenty-four whips. ASF, CRS 1199.30, 117 destra. One year later, on 5 April 1572, the company paid 1 lira for nine more. ASF, CRS 1199.30, 124 dest. After their new statutes—which include a description of the flagellation ritual—were approved in 1579, the Scalzo continued to purchase flails for its devotions, spending 5 lire and 8 soldi for three dozen whips (3 dozine di diciprine) on 3 April 1580. The flails themselves also varied by region and by company, ranging from those equipped with studs to induce bleeding to more benign examples made from knotted rope. Sebregondi, “Religious Furnishings,” 149. To judge from the representation of the flails in the terracotta lunette, those of the Scalzo were made of three knotted cords (fig. 9).

\(^{78}\) ASF, CapCRS 152, 11r. For a transcription and translation of the ceremony, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 123.
the darkness. Focused on his own personal devotion, he was also simultaneously aware of his contribution to the collective.\textsuperscript{79}

In addition to the regular meetings, the statutes further stipulated that the Governatore ought to celebrate an Office of the Dead at least once during his four-month term for the souls of the brothers who have passed into the next life (\textit{per soffragio de nostri fratelli passati all’altra vita}).\textsuperscript{80} The Office of the Dead was also performed on the first Sunday after the feast of All Saints, and confratelli were required to receive Communion on the feasts of the Nativity of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Pentecost, the birth of St. John the Baptist, the Assumption, Christmas and All Saints.\textsuperscript{81}

\textbf{The Maundy Thursday Ceremony}

The confraternity’s Maundy Thursday ritual provided for a distinct and more elaborate celebration than that of the regular meeting, and was designed to evoke both Christ’s humility and his Passion, two aspects central to the company’s mission and collective identity.\textsuperscript{82} The governor first urged the confratelli to accept holy peace and to forgive those who had done wrong by them, before he—in a gesture of penitential self-

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{79} Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 124; Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 95.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{80} ASF, CapCRS 86, 3v.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{81} ASF, CapCRS 86, 3v-4r. On the importance to the lay companies of communion, a sacrament that in the sixteenth century was only required once each year at Easter, see Black, \textit{Italian Confraternities}, 95-97.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{82} ASF, CapCRS 86, 4r. On the importance of Maundy Thursday for the flagellant companies, see Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 127-131 and Weissman, \textit{Ritual Brotherhood}, 99-105.}
debasement—assumed the humility of Christ (all’humilità con l’esempio di Giesu Christo) and washed the feet of his assembled brothers. This act not only inverted the normal power relations between the members and the governor, it also reiterated the role of the confratelli as apostles, humbling them through their ritual transformation into the poor and pious men who sought to do the Lord’s work and bidding.83 After the lavanda (footwashing ceremony), the world was righted and normal social relations restored with the distribution of two cialde (wafers) and only one glass of wine (un bicchier di vino solo) to each brother, in a ritualistic reenactment of the Last Supper.

This spartan meal evoked the Eucharist and served to remind the confratelli of Christ’s charity and of their mission to distribute alms to the poor. It was also meant to quell any rumors or suspicions about the activities of the Scalzo, and the statute describing the Corpus Christi ritual expressly forbade any further eating or drinking in the oratory. If the festaiuoli wanted to continue the celebration, they were to do so someplace more suitable, because, on a night of penitence and meditation on the Passion of Christ, one did not behave in the compagnia (oratory), as one would in an hosteria (tavern).85 Any brother violating this rule would be expelled from the company for six

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83 Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 100. The literature on the theme of the world turned upside down in the early modern period is too vast to be cited in full here, but a good introduction to the topic can be found in Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule,” in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 97-123, first published in 1971.

84 ASF, CapCRS 86, 4r.

85 ASF, CapCRS 86, 4r-4v. Several synods and councils of the sixteenth century addressed the issue of feasting and drinking in confraternities, including the Florentine synod of 1573 that banned all confraternal feasts unless they were associated with Corpus Christi celebrations. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 223. In 1591, church officials
months and ineligible for office or benefits. Whether or not he could return to the fold
would be put to a vote at the end of his suspension.  

It is impossible to know for certain if Andrea Ferrucci ever took part in the
Maundy Thursday celebrations, because the Scalzo’s attendance records have not
survived and Andrea is not recorded as ever having been governor of the company. Several factors, however, point to the likelihood that Ferrucci attended the ritual that took
place in 1595. Remember that Andrea had only joined the company in June of the
previous year, and it is likely that, as a new member, Andrea would have been present at
the most important meeting of the year. Maundy Thursday was the high point of the
confraternal ritual calendar, and the celebration usually enjoyed the highest attendance of
any of the company’s meetings. In addition, the statutes of 1456 required each
confratello to participate in the Corpus Christi procession, and levied a fine of five soldi
expressed concern about people who belonged to more than one company, because they
would have more opportunities to partake of the banquets scheduled on such feast days.

ASF, CapCRS 86, 4v. Suspension was a common form of punishment in the
Scalzo and the books of Partiti e Ricordi contain many entries of votes authorizing the
return of suspended members. Unfortunately, these records rarely specify the
confratello’s transgression, although I suspect many of them were simply in arrears. See,
for example, ASF, CRS 1197.21, 41v where Vincenzo di Goro Buglioni, *sensale*
(broker), was readmitted to the company on 15 February 1545 after his first successful
bid was voided when he failed to pay his entrance fees (*per non avere finito di paghare
lentrata*). This vote is also recorded at ASF, CRS 1195.15, 63r.

Ferrucci did not appear once as Governatore in my complete examination of
285 rosters of the company’s officers spanning the period from 1527 to 1629. He did,
however, hold numerous other offices.

that participation in the Maundy Thursday ritual was usually required by Florentine
confraternities.
(to be paid directly into the charity box) on those who did not attend. Further evidence
to support the idea that Ferrucci attended the Maundy Thursday ritual in 1595 is found in
the fact that his sponsor, Giovanni di Raffaello, caldaraio, was the confraternity’s
governor at the time. Ferrucci’s status as a novice under the watchful eye of senior
iscritti, coupled with his connection to the sitting governor, would have combined to form
a powerful impetus to attend. The inversion of the company’s power structure so central
to the Maundy Thursday devotions took on an added dimension when Andrea’s sponsor
and mentor humiliated himself before the novice, emphasizing in an intensely personal
manner the extent of each confratello’s commitment to penitence, humility and charity.

Confession and Investiture

The Scalzo’s statutes required the confratelli to confess at least once each
month. Furthermore, every confratello was required to confess at the investiture
ceremony of the new Governatore. The brothers approached the Padre Correttore one by
one to be confessed and to receive the seal (sugiello), which then had to be presented to

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89 “Anchora vogliamo che il giovedi santo si vadi a prescisione cholle veste indoss
a disciprina e chi manchasse paghi soldi cinque e vadino alla chasetta de poveri,” ASF,
CapCRS 152, 13r.
90 ASF, CRS 1195.15, 9r.
91 Weissman has argued that, in the late Cinquecento, the lay brothers stopped
participating in the lavanda ceremonies because they were less inclined to abase
themselves than were their Quattrocento forebears. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 225-
229. My research in the records of San Giovanni Battista found no evidence to prove or
disprove this assertion.
92 ASF, CapCRS 152, 10v.
the Governor as proof that the brother had fulfilled his obligation. Confession in the confraternity was a public ritual, and the sharing of potentially harmful or embarrassing secrets has been seen as strengthening the ritual bonds between lay brothers.

Confession also assumed a central role in the investiture of a new governor for the Scalzo, beginning with the stipulation that the new Governatore and his Consiglieri must have all confessed at least once in the previous four months, or they would be barred from office. According to the statutes of 1456, the investiture of the new Governatore took place on the first Sunday of January, May and September, following his successful election. First, the old governor corrected his officers and anyone in the company who did not bear the seal (chi della compagnia non avessi il sugiello), that is, who had not received the official stamp from the priest after his confession. The new governor and his counselors then knelt before the altar while the outgoing officers impressed upon

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93 “E tutti e frategli debino ogni quattro mesi cioe ad ogni uficio di ghovernatore una volta da uno di sopra detti choretore dal quale sia chonfessato e rechare el sugiello al ghovernatore,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 6v. According to Banker, the fourteenth-century statutes of the company of Santa Croce in San Sepolcro required the confratelli to present “proof from the officiating priest” if he confessed outside of their church. Banker, Death in the Community, 156.
94 Weissman argued that “public confession of sin provided additional bonds between members” as “private sins became secrets common to the membership.” Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 94.
95 “E chi non si fussi chonfessato fra quattro mesi non possa essere ghovernatore ne chonsigliere,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 4r. It seems that requirements such as these gave rise to the use of the Correttore’s seal and the system of stamping those confratelli who had been confessed. Such stamps would be necessary to prove that the confessions had taken place.
96 ASF, CapCRS 152, 4r.
them the responsibilities of their positions. Then, the two governors faced each other; the old wished peace to the new, and gave him the book of statutes and the keys to the oratory before kneeling in front of the altar to proclaim his failings in fulfilling his duties as governor. The old governor was then given the opportunity to correct his faults, as the new governor dispatched the priest to hear the old governor’s confession, who would receive the seal affirming his confession from the priest at the next meeting. The investiture ended with the reading of the company’s statutes; if there was not enough time to get through them all, the reading was to be completed at the next meeting.

The investiture ceremony outlined in the capitoli of 1579 remains largely unchanged from that described in the by-laws from 1456. Also scheduled for the first Sunday in January, May and September, the ritual required the old governor to correct his officers, to meet the new governor in the middle of the chapel (vadia nel mezo) and to give him the book of statutes and the keys to the oratory. There is a slight variation in that the old governor, before denouncing himself as a sinner and a failure in his office, also

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97 “Il nuovo ghovernatore chosui consiglieri inginochiati inançi all altare sieno amaestrați dal vecchio ghovernatore di quanta inportança e luficio c[he] hanno a pigliare,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 4r.
98 ASF, CapCRS 152, 4r.
99 ASF, CapCRS 152, 4v.
100 “Faccia leggere tutti e chapitoli nostri i chorpo di chonpagnia essendouj tenpo e non potendo per quella mattina all altra tornata seguente gli faccia legielle,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 4v. For a similar investiture ceremony from the statutes of the company of SS. Annunziata, see Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 61-62.
gave a robe to the new governor.\footnote{[Il Governatore] vadia nel mezo con suoi consiglieri, pigliando il presente libro de capitoli, e chiave di nostra copagnia, e con semplici parole tutto cosegni al nuovo Governatore nel mezo con una delle nostre veste, accusandosi peccatore, et haver mancato molto nell’offitio suo, chiedendone humilmente la correttione.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 12r.} After the investiture, the old governor confessed and the statutes were read, just as in the ceremony from the capitoli of 1456.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 12r-12v.}

**Processions**

When one considers that the growth of confraternities in Florence has been linked to the spontaneous devotions that took place during the interdict of the War of the Eight Saints, it is not surprising to learn that shortly thereafter the lay companies began to participate in the civic processions of Florence.\footnote{Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 253-256.} By the time the Scalzo drew up their statutes in 1456, they considered participation in processional rituals to be a significant civic and devotional duty.\footnote{On the flagellant processions of the thirteenth century, see *Il Movimento dei Disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio* (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria, 1962); *Risultati e prospettive della ricerca sul Movimento dei Disciplinati* (Perugia: Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria, 1972); Henderson, “Flagellant Movement,” 147-160.} In addition to providing a stage upon which the brothers could exhibit their collective piety—itself a source of pride for Florence—public processions also offered the chance for confraternities to display their relics and works of
art. Many of the processional banners and crucifixes carried by confraternities were made by figures such as Verrocchio, Pollaiolo, Andrea del Sarto, and Antonio da Sangallo.105

The statutes of 1456 require the confratelli of the Scalzo to take part in processions called by the city of Florence as well as those announced by the Governatore. Each member was to dress in the robe he wore to the company’s meetings and to behave honorably and modestly while wearing it.106 If a brother missed a procession ordered by the comune, he had to pay a fine of five soldi, unless he was outside of the city, in which case his fine was reduced to two soldi.107 As has been noted above, participation in the Maundy Thursday procession was mandatory for each confratello, and those absent had to pay a fine of five soldi directly to the charity box.108

Although the capitoli of 1579 did not have a statute that specifically addressed how the confraternity should go in procession as the rules of 1456 did, it is likely that the

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105 The company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo owned a wooden processional crucifix carved by Antonio da Sangallo, which is discussed, along with similar objects from other companies, in greater detail in Chapter Three. A fresco by Alessandro Allori in the Salviati Chapel in San Marco provides a glimpse of how such a procession might have looked (fig. 10). Clearly visible is the body of Antoninus Pierozzi on the bier, surrounded by four figures carrying large candles, while in the background a processional banner is framed by the arched opening of the Porta San Gallo. Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, Alessandro Allori (Turin: Allemandi, 1991), 270-272. On the Salviati Chapel, see Mary Weitzel Gibbons, Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 27-39; Michael Edwin Flack, “Giambologna's Cappella di Sant' Antonino for the Salviati Family: An Ensemble of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1986), esp. 155-156.
106 ASF, CapCRS 152, 13r.
107 “[A]nchora vogliamo che niuno di frategli manchasse quando ci fusse chomandata dalla signoria paghi soldi cinque accietto chi fusi fora della terra paghi soldi 2,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 13r.
108 For more on the charity box, see pages 75-76.
Scalzo still fulfilled its obligations to the city and took part in processions. One chapter of the statutes of 1579 stipulates that on the vigil of Saint John the Baptist the Provveditore had to have a painted candle weighing one ounce for each of the brothers in the procession. Furthermore, any confratello who did not attend the procession would be fined in the usual way (chi non viene sia apuntato al solito), which most likely means according to the schedule described in the statutes from 1456.

Several entries in the Scalzo’s voting records over the course of the sixteenth century reveal, however, that the amount of the fines was open to modification, a fact that might account for the generic language in the statutes of 1579. For example, on 27 June 1546, the confratelli approved a one-time variance to the amount of the fine, decreasing it from five soldi to one. On 21 June 1565, the members of the Scalzo passed a motion to provide a credit of two soldi to those who attended the procession, and to charge one soldo against the accounts of those who were absent. In addition, the Provveditore was

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109 ASF, CapCRS 86, 15v. The candles were painted with “un nome di Giesù” and “un San Giovambatista,” the two emblems employed by the company. ASF, CapCRS 86, 12v. The account books of the Scalzo record many payments to various painters who painted the emblems on the candles. Accounting entries from the late 1550s to early 1570s record payments to Ruberto di Filippino Lippi for painting several hundred candles at a time, presumably for distribution by the confraternity. See, for example, ASF, CRS 1199.30, 23 sinistra, where Ruberto received ten lire six soldi on 11 February 1560 for painting 300 candles. The going rate was three lire per one hundred candles, but eight larger and more elaborate candles (presumably for the priest and officers) increased the total price slightly.

110 ASF, CapCRS 86, 15v.

111 The motion was first passed “a descho” by the governor and his counselors before being considered by the entire membership. “Richordo questo di 27 di giugno 1546 chome el nostro padre ghovernatore cho sua veri chonsiglieri vinse a descho per 3 fave nere e di poi in chorpo di chonpagnia chon fave 26 nere si sospese per questa volta el chapitolo che parlla della procisone de soldi 5 che si paghi soldi 1 chi fussi manchato a detta procisione,” ASF, CRS 1195.13, 70r.
not to excuse any brother from this duty under any circumstances.¹¹² By 29 June 1594 the fine had gone back up to five soldi, but confratelli who were at least three miles outside of the city or ill were excused from the obligation.¹¹³ These votes are evidence that the Scalzo were still active in processions, and that they were constantly trying new methods to ensure that the highest possible number of their brothers walked in them. Beyond the processions that marked the major feast days and political holidays of Florence, the company also processed on the occasion of a confratello’s funeral. In fact, as noted above, the Scalzo’s funerary services—masses, a funeral procession, and burial in the company’s tombs dressed in the confraternal robe—were benefits of great value to its members.

Funeral and Burial Rites

The Scalzo’s practice of providing funerals and burials for its members conflated two aspects of confraternal ritual that this discussion has kept separate: the devotional and the charitable. From a purely devotional perspective, the funerary services offered by

¹¹² “Ricordo oggi questo di 21 di giugno 1565 come il nostre padre governatore e sua consiglieri e in corpo di compagna anno vinto come la vigilia di S. giovanni sabia aire a pricisione e tutti quegli che veranno in tal mattina abino andare creditori di soldi due e tutti quelli che non veranno abino aire debitori di soldo uno e non abia il proveditore per persona nesuna a pigliare scusa e esivinto per quaranta dua fave nere e 2 bianche,” ASF, CRS 1195.14, 30v.

¹¹³ “Ricordo questa mattina che siamo alli 29 di giungno come il nostro padre governatore e sua consiglieri e di poi in corpo di compangnia Anno vinto per numero 29 fave nere e 4 bianche che chi noverra alla priscisione di sangiovani vadia apuntato in soldi cinque scusando tutti quelli che erano di fuera delle tre miglia o malati,” ASF, CRS 1195.15, 7v.
the confraternity—most especially the Office of the Dead said in remembrance of the
deceased brother—were vital to the spiritual well-being of the confratelli and a valuable
benefit of membership. On the charitable side, the confraternity underwrote many of the
costs associated with burial, providing such essentials as wax, the bier, a confraternal
robe for the deceased to wear, an impressive funeral cortege of pious lay brothers, and
perhaps most significant, interment in the company’s vaults in Santissima Annunziata.114

The Death of a Confratello

The funerary services provided by the Scalzo dovetailed nicely with their
obligations to care for sick members, and the capitoli of 1456 state that it was the
responsibility of the Infermieri to notify the governor of the death of a confratello.
Certainly the Infermieri would be on hand for the brother’s demise, making sure that he
was confessed and ready to die well, and would have been among the first to know when
one of their own left this world.115 The governor then arranged with the deceased’s family

114 Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988), 162-164 notes that charitable giving to confraternities increased over the course of the sixteenth century “from 7.9 percent to over one-fourth of all pious gifts.” In Siena, this increase is linked to an expanding number of companies that offered funeral services and tombs located in prestigious churches. See also page 43 n. 63.

for the brothers of the Scalzo to arrive and carry the body—dressed in a confraternal robe—to its tomb on the company’s bier (*chataletto*), accompanied by confratelli bearing processional candles. The procession made its way from the deceased’s home to his chosen resting place, where each brother recited eight Penitential Psalms (*vogliamo che ciascheduno de frategli dicha infino i otto di isalmi penitentiali*), and if he did not know the psalms, he was to say fifteen Pater Nosters and fifteen Ave Marias instead. If a brother arrived at the home of the deceased not wearing his robes, he was fined five soldi, which had to be paid directly into the Scalzo’s charity box. At the next meeting, an Office of the Dead was said to benefit the deceased, and the governor had to arrange for the masses of Saint Gregory to be said—also in honor of the deceased—within two months, all at the expense of the company (*alle spese della signoria*). The masses of Saint Gregory were a series of masses, one said each day for the thirty days following a person’s death, that were a popular means of providing for the salvation of the deceased. If the Governatore failed to arrange the masses of Saint Gregory, he was fined five lire, payable to the company’s collection box for the poor (*chasetta de poveri*). Such a steep fine signals the importance of these masses for the departed to the company and its members.

The funerary rituals described in the statutes from 1579 do not differ significantly from those of 1456. The confraternity provided the bier, with a cushion of black cloth

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(col guanciale di tela nera) and four candles of yellow wax (quattro torce gialle).\textsuperscript{117} The statute expressed the Scalzo’s desire that the confratello be buried in the company’s habit, but acknowledged that if the deceased was already dressed for burial, the confraternal robe, decorated with the emblem of the Scalzo, was to be folded and placed at his feet.\textsuperscript{118} A representation of these practices can be found in a predella panel, contemporary with the Scalzo’s second set of statutes, that Santi di Tito painted for the company of the Misericordia in 1579-1580 (fig. 11). One of the main activities of the company of the Misericordia was to provide a proper burial to those who would otherwise be deprived of one. Frequently, the company interred those who were poor or who had died from the plague. In the predella, two brothers of the Misericordia—clearly identifiable by the emblems on their robes—lower the deceased into an open sepulchre, while their confratelli kneel around the tomb, still holding the four large candles and processional cross that they carried in the funeral cortège.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{117} ASF, CapCRS 86, 13v. For a schedule of fees charged for similar services by beccamorti in 1376, see Raffaele Ciasca, ed., Statuti dell’Arte dei Medici e Speziali (Florence: Olschki, 1922), 290-292.

\textsuperscript{118} “Et se il defunto harà in dossio vesta di rascia, ò d’altro, all’hora e in tal caso se la debba mettere à piedi una vesta della compagnia, col segno di quella sul petto. In tutti i modi vogliamo che la veste della compagnia segli metta in dossio,” ASF, CapCRS 86, 13v. Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 159 sees the dressing of the deceased in a confraternal habit as an example of men in the confraternity entering the domestic space, which had been typically reserved for the lamentations of female family members.

On the day following the death of the confratello, the Provveditore was required to arrange for a mass to be said at the privileged altar (all’altar privilegiato) in the church of Santissima Annunziata, and the Scalzo made a charitable offering to the Servites in exchange.\footnote{“Per suffragio dell’anime passate all’altra vita de nostri fratelli ordiniamo, et deliberiamo che la mattina seguente al giorno che il fratello sarà defunto il nostro Provveditore subbito faccia dir una messa all’altar privilegiato de servi dando quelle elemosina, che parrà al Padre Governatore,” ASF, CapCRS 86, 13v-14r. Performing the mass at a privileged altar provided a plenary indulgence for the deceased.} In addition, the governor and Provveditore called the Servite friars to the Scalzo oratory, where they said an Office of the Dead with a sung mass. The by-law from 1579 stipulates that the Provveditore and the Governatore were to give each friar a candle as payment for his services.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 14r. A later addendum to the capitoli substitutes a single pound of yellow wax for the individual candles, ASF CapCRS 86, 24r.} Finally, the Servites received a payment of three lire piccioli to say the masses of Saint Gregory.\footnote{ASF, CapCRS 86, 14r.} Any confratello not in arrears of more than four lire was entitled to these services. If his heirs desired more extensive or elaborate rituals, they could pay an additional fee of seven lire to the Camarlingo.\footnote{“Et tutto detto suffragio di che di sopra si faccia solamente à quelli, che non haranno debito più di lire quattro, Et se li heredi del morto volesino, che si facesino detti suffragij, et altro di che di sopra si debbino fare in caso però che paghino al nostro Camarlingo lire sette per satisfare, come si conviene dal canto nostro à gl’oblighi soprascritti,” ASF, CapCRS 86, 14r.}

These small fees and donations (elemosina) of cash and wax to the Servites from the Scalzo are typical of the economic exchanges that grew up around the burial rituals of early modern Florence, in which the family of the deceased offered funeral goods (funeralia) to the burial church.\footnote{Strocchia, \textit{Death and Ritual}, 34-35.} As time progressed, these offerings came to be
expected, thereby forming part of what Sharon Strocchia has called “the complex, reciprocal commerce between churches and patrons, in which goods and revenues were exchanged for prestige and spiritual protection.” An indication of the demands this economy placed on the confraternity can be found in the amendments made to the Scalzo’s funeral benefits in a revision appended to the capitoli of 1579. Citing the costs of burial, the company decided to levy a fee of 22 lire on any brother who wished to be buried in the company’s tombs at Santissima Annunziata and to receive the benefits described in chapter twelve of the company’s by-laws.

Burial of Wives and Children

Members of the Scalzo could also bury their wives in the company’s tombs, and although the confraternity provided the funeral cortège with its cataletto, the number of candles was reduced from four to two. It was customary for married women to be buried in their husband’s tomb, and in the case of members of the social class that

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125 Ibid., 35.
126 “Havendo l’occhio all’utile della Compagnia i medesimi, e considerando le spese, che occorrono in sotterrare i morti, e altre considerationi, consultorno, vinsano, e determinorno che gl’huomini della nostra Compagnia che fussino al libro de morti, quando muorano habbino à pagare lire 22 volendo esser sotterrati nella nostra Sepoltura, e habbino tutti è suffragij che gl’altri capitolo 12.” Another entry on the same page, but in a different hand, increases the fee from 22 lire to 28. ASF, CapCRS 86, 24r-24v. The motion to increase the fee to 28 lire was carried by a vote of fifty-one for and three against on 30 November 1604, ASF, CRS 1195.15, 40r.
127 ASF, CapCRS 86, 14r. According to Sharon Strocchia, the opportunities for funeral pomp were reduced for women, and the only official insignia available for their corteges—outside of family arms—were the emblems of confraternities. Strocchia, Death and Ritual, 38.
comprised the bulk of the Scalzo’s membership, were it not for the confraternity’s tomb, these women would have had few other options for the site of their burial.128 The confratello’s children were also eligible for interment in the Scalzo’s vaults, provided the males were younger than eighteen (the age at which they could join the organization themselves) and the females were not married.129 On the unhappy occasion of the death of a confratello’s young child, its corpse was also entitled to burial in the tombs at the Annunziata. In such a case, the bier was not necessary, for the child was to be carried to its final resting place in the arms of the Scalzo’s becchini (gravediggers) without the use of a coffin (senza servirsi di bara).130

The Tombs of San Giovanni Battista in San Piero del Murrone and Santissima Annunziata

The emphasis that the capitoli of 1579 placed on the role of the Servites in the Scalzo’s funerary rituals suggests that the confraternity had forged important ties with the friars of Santissima Annunziata. The statutes from 1456 had no specific instructions as to the location of the Gregorian masses, and allowed the governor to have the services said wherever it pleased him (fare dire dove a lui piascie).131 Although it has been suggested

128 Strocchia, Death and Ritual, 198-199.
129 ASF, CapCRS 86, 14r-14v.
130 “[E]t li figluoli piccoli de nostri fratelli possino esser sepolti dalli becchini nelle nostre sepolture quelli però, che possono portare in braccio senza servirsi di bara,” ASF, CapCRS 86, 14v.
131 ASF, CapCRS 152, 8v.
that the confraternity used its atrium as a burial ground, this seems unlikely when one considers that the company had a tomb in the church of San Piero del Murrone at least by 1522, and that the atrium itself was not constructed until after 1487. Most likely, the Scalzo secured a tomb in San Piero del Murrone around the time that they first took up residence in the monastery’s garden at the end of the Trecento. In light of the relationship between the Scalzo and the Celestines, it is not surprising that the confraternity would have had the Celestines oversee the company’s rituals in both the small oratory as well as San Piero. In fact, a motion passed on 21 January 1537 shows that the confratelli were still paying the Celestines to perform masses and offices well into the 1530s, and an entry in the Scalzo’s Quaderno di Ricevute records a payment of twelve lire for three offices that was received on 14 April 1552 by Fra Giuseppe, prior of

132 Inferring from the “mortuary symbols” (simboli mortuari) sculpted on the bases of the atrium’s columns, Barducci, “Compagnia dello Scalzo,” 174 concluded that the atrium “used to serve as the sepulchre for deceased members” (serviva alla sepoltura dei fratelli defunti). In her testament of 29 January 1522, Bartolomea, wife of Domenico di Giovanni, corriere, who left all of her goods to the Scalzo in exchange for memorial masses for her and her husband, was buried in the Scalzo’s tomb in San Piero del Murrone (fu soterata nella nostra sepoltura di san Piero de Murone) on January 31 of that same year. ASF, CRS 1198.26, verso of title page. Several entries throughout the Scalzo documents refer to Bartolomea’s burial in “nostra sepoltura” in San Piero del Murrone, see for example, Raccolta, B13, C55. O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 266 n. 67 locates the tomb to the left of the church’s high altar. On the church of San Piero del Murrone, now known as San Giovannino dei Cavalieri, see Paatz and Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, 2: 299-318.

133 Two documents provide a terminus post quem and terminus ante quem for the Scalzo’s move from San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini to the garden of San Piero del Murrone. The Bull of Archbishop Oleari placed the company in the church of San Jacopo in 1386, while a testament from 1401 put the Scalzo at San Piero. These documents and the construction history of the Scalzo oratory are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.
San Michele in Visdomini, the church to which Duke Cosimo I had moved the Celestine monks in that same year.\textsuperscript{134}

The new relationship between the Scalzo and the Servites—as well as deteriorating relations with the Celestines—probably grew out of negotiations in the 1540s for burial rights and tombs near the high altar of the Annunziata.\textsuperscript{135} A contract drawn up by Scipione di Ser Alessandro Braccesi on 17 December 1550 reveals that the confraternity had already paid the Servites for perpetual rights to three tombs, which were located in front of (\textit{inanzi}) and close to (\textit{appresso}) the high altar, near the tomb of the \textit{Illustre Signore Marchionne di Mantova}.\textsuperscript{136} Furthermore, the company agreed to assume

\textsuperscript{134} The vote, which was carried by a tally of thirty-three in favor and two against, arranged to pay the friars of San Piero del Murrone 30 lire for performing the masses and offices required by the Scalzo (\textit{che frati di san piero del murrone ci abino asservire delle messe e di nostri ufizi}). ASF, CRS 1197.21, 19r. The Quaderno di Ricevute consists of entries made by the confraternity’s creditors upon receipt of payment. The entry for Fra Giuseppe is found at ASF, CRS 1208.53, 66r.

\textsuperscript{135} On 4 February 1543, the brothers voted twenty-seven for and five against to have tombs made either in the church of San Marco or Santissima Annunziata. ASF, CRS 1197.21, 36r. On 28 October 1549 the brothers voted twenty-five for and two against to authorize Antonio di Giovanni Butasassi and Piero di Girolamo, \textit{legnaiolo}, to negotiate the purchase of a tomb that the Servites had already promised to the confraternity (\textit{abino alturita di potere convenire co[n] frati de servi comperare da loro una sepoltura la quale ci [h]anno promessa}). In this entry, the name of Santi di Michele, scultore, has been struck out and replaced with that of Piero di Girolamo, ASF, CRS 1197.21, 56r. Andrea Corsini, “Un ritratto di Antonio Cocchi eseguito da Domenico Tempesti,” \textit{Rivista d’arte} 10 (1917-1918): 163 published an exact description of the Scalzo’s \textit{chiusini} in Santissima Annunziata from Stefano Rosselli’s \textit{Sepoltuario} of 1652. See also O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 266-267 nn. 70-73.

\textsuperscript{136} For a partial transcription of this document, found in ASF, CRS 1189.2, 6r-7v, see O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 267 n. 73.
the costs of having an elaborate carved pavement of colored marble made for the location of the Scalzo tombs.\textsuperscript{137}

The Charitable Services of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo

In addition to funeral services, burials and the provisions for the souls of departed confratelli and their family members, the Scalzo, like many other confraternities, offered other valuable social services, including dowries for the daughters of its members, and care and assistance for the sick and impoverished.

Dowries

In the chapter that describes the procedure for receiving bequests of property or cash, the statutes of 1456 require the election of an advisory committee consisting of five confratelli over the age of 30 (\textit{si debba eleggiare cinque uomini della chompagnia detta danni trenta o piu}) that would consult with the governor, his counselors and one of the three correttori to ensure that all bequests were administered according to the wishes of the testator.\textsuperscript{138} There seems to have been no provision in the capitoli of 1456 for a dowry

\textsuperscript{137} “[F]are fare el pavimento di marmo scolpito et intagliato di varie opere et colori a tutte spese et fatiche della huomini di essa Compagnia,” ASF, CRS 1189.2, 7r. The Scalzo’s sixteenth-century account books contain numerous entries to various scarpellini (stonecutters) for work on their sepulchers at the Annunziata.

\textsuperscript{138} ASF, CapCRS 152, 13v.
fund that was administered by the confraternity itself, but if a testator attached specific demands to a bequest, the company pledged to fulfill the wishes of the deceased (che detto testatore espressamente dicessio io lascio alla champaignia chotanto se ne faccia la tale chosa, in quello chaso vogliamo se ne facci la vontà del testatore). 139

The provision of dowries was a central feature of the social services offered by confraternities, and as important to its members as funerary benefits. 140 Scholars have shown that modest artisans, unlike Florence’s elite families, were often only able to provide small dowries for their daughters. 141 Furthermore, these artisans frequently relied on charitable contributions—such as those made from the Scalzo’s dowry fund—as well

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139 ASF, CapCRS 152, 13v.
140 Dowries were not only distributed by many companies, but there was also intense competition for the funds themselves. Black, Italian Confraternities, 178-184.
141 Much of the literature on dowries addresses the fifteenth century and the public dowry fund, the Monte delle Doti, and tends to emphasize the role the fund played in the marriage strategies of elite Florentine families. This is attributable in part to the structure of the fund itself, which tended to have larger numbers of affluent and powerful families than of skilled artisans, although they, too, had investments in the Monte. Anthony Molho, Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 99 pointed out that the Monte had an “unusually large number of investors with surnames,” which would indicate wealth and status, and that the average investment of those with surnames was worth almost twice as much as those without (433.6 florins as opposed to 241.7 florins). Needless to say, those without surnames were more likely to be skilled artisans. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 225 n. 45 remarked that the “size of dowries among the poorer classes is not well known. To judge from entries in the Catasto, dowries ranged from 25 to 60 florins among rich peasants and the petty bourgeois, and from 6 to 15 florins for a servant.” On the Florentine dowry market in general, see also Julius Kirshner, Pursuing Honor while Avoiding Sin: The Monte delle Doti of Florence (Milan: Giuffrè, 1978); Julius Kirshner and Anthony Molho, “The Dowry Fund and the Marriage Market in Early Quattrocento Florence,” Journal of Modern History 50, no. 3 (1978): 403-438; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento,” in Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 214-224.
as personal investments to assemble a respectable sum for their daughters.\textsuperscript{142} From the perspective of the father of a young girl, the Scalzo’s contribution to his daughter’s dowry not only made finding a suitor for her an easier task, but also relieved some of the financial pressures associated with assembling a suitable dowry. The dowries provided by the confraternity of San Giovanni Battista also benefited the men that these young women married. At the socioeconomic level of the skilled artisan, a dowry might provide the capital necessary for a newly-married man to leave the master’s bottega and open his own shop.\textsuperscript{143} When one considers the likelihood that the daughter of a member of the Scalzo would marry someone from the same socioeconomic class, it becomes clear that the dowry fund of the Scalzo was yet another source of assistance for the artisanal class. In other words, the company’s dowry had a dual benefit for the city’s skilled artisans. On the one hand, the funds helped fathers to assemble respectable dowries, and on the other, the funds themselves were redistributed to younger artisans in the form of dowry payments that could be used to subsidize the young man’s trade.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{142} Molho, \textit{Marriage Alliance}, 105 n. 56 cites the example of Simona Zenobii Bastiani Antonii, who, when she married Matteo Antonii Dominici in 1501, brought a dowry of 188 lire (approximately 26 florins), 50 lire of which she received in contributions of 25 lire each from two different confraternities. In the dowry confession Molho cited, both Simona and Matteo were described as “testor drapporum,” and it is not surprising that one of the contributions came from the Societas testorum drapporum et filiatorum et torcitorum siricis (cloth and silk weavers confraternity).


\textsuperscript{144} Confraternities tended to distribute charity first to their members and their immediate dependents before providing alms for those not affiliated with the company. Black, \textit{Italian Confraternities}, 168-170.
The Bequest of Arrigo Cortigiani (1507)

At the end of 1507, Arrigo di Giovanni Cortigiani della Magna left the Scalzo a house on Via della Vergine Maria da Teri (now Via del Campidoglio and previously Via degli Zuffanelli), which ran from Via dei Vecchietti to Via dei Pescioni (figs. 12 and 13). The confraternity was to use the proceeds from renting the property, which included a small shop at the ground level (una stanza terrena, o magazzino) and a dwelling upstairs, to fund a dowry (con l’obbligo d[e]ll’entrate di dare dote) for the daughters of the Scalzo’s confratelli (figliole degli homini di detta compagnia). To judge from the confraternity’s account books, the Scalzo assumed full responsibility for the property’s maintenance, paying for such things as the emptying of its cesspool (fare votare 1.o [uno] pozo nero nella n[ostr]a chasa da teri), street cleaning (avere fato netare la strada da teri), and a carved stemma of Saint John the Baptist that marked the building as property of the Scalzo (un’ S[an]to giovanni di pietra bigia di basso rilievo per metter

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145 A significantly deteriorated and largely illegible copy of Cortigiani’s testament can be found in ASF, CRS 1190.7.A. Details about the bequest and its obligations are listed in the Raccolta, A7, C11, C92, C122, D1. This property is no longer extant, having been demolished during the renovations of Florence’s ancient center from 1885 to 1893. An entry from 1 November 1602 records a payment “per la pigione della casa dreto a S. Donato da vechietti,” ASF, CRS 1200.31, 49d. The Via della Vergine Maria da Teri took its name from a tabernacle on the street located at the corner with Via dei Pescioni, see Chiara Cecchi, “Isolato V: Case dei Vecchietti e dei Teri e chiesa di San Donato,” in Il centro di Firenze restituito. Affreschi e frammenti lapidei nel Museo di San Marco, Maria Sframeli, ed. (Florence: Alberto Bruschi, 1989), 139-142; for the history of the street, see Stradario storico e amministrativo del Comune di Firenze, vol. 1 (Florence: Polistampa, 2004), 121; Guido Carocci, Il Mercato Vecchio di Firenze: Ricordi e curiosità di storia e d’arte (1884; reprint, Florence: Istituto Professionale “Leonardo da Vinci”, 1975), 66-67. On the nineteenth-century destruction and renovation of the urban fabric around San Donato see the plan of Florence’s center in Edoardo Detti, Firenze scomparsa (Florence: Vallecchi, 1977).

146 Raccolta, C122, D1.
alla nostra casa da teri). This stemma is most likely the heavily weathered emblem of the Baptist preserved today in the lapidarium of the Museo di San Marco (fig. 14).

The Dowry Fund of San Giovanni Battista

In addition to funds provided by benefactors such as Arrigo Cortigiani, the statutes of 1579 reveal that the Scalzo began disbursing its own dowry, a charitable activity not discussed in the by-laws from 1456. At least once during his four-month term, the governor announced the distribution of the dowry funds of eight florins (ciascun Governatore nel tempo suo, et mentre sarà in uffitio, et à suo beneplacito publichi di voler dare una dote, la quale sia di fiorini otto di moneta). The confratelli then

147 On 19 July 1559, the confraternity paid three lire to have the cesspool emptied, ASF, CRS 1199.30, 26 destra; on 3 July 1564, they paid twelve soldi to have the street cleaned, ASF, CRS 1199.30, 64 sinistra; on 16 February 1579, the company paid thirteen lire for the installation of the stemma, ASF, CRS 1199.30, 162 sinistra.

148 Sframeli, Centro di Firenze, 466, no. 537.

149 ASF, CapCRS 86, 13r. The decision to increase the amount of the Scalzo’s dowry to eight florins, or fifty-six lire, from forty lire, was approved on 5 September 1574 by a decision of thirty-one for and eight against. At that time, the confraternity had 150 florins invested in the Monte della Pieta di Lungarno at an annual rate of five percent, or seven and a half florins per year. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 74r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 44r. Eight florins seems to have been a typical amount for a dowry administered by a confraternity in central Italy at the end of the sixteenth century. The Perugian company of San Francesco offered dowries of ten florins in the late sixteenth century, and the company of San Domenico, also in Perugia, distributed dowries varying in value from six to eleven florins from 1565 to the early seventeenth century. The largest confraternal dowries—valued at 50 scudi—seem to have been distributed by the Roman company of Santissima Annunziata alla Minerva, which received substantial investments from Pius V in 1566 and Urban VII in 1590 that made it “the most significant contributor of dowries, at least publicly.” Black, Italian Confraternities, 181-182. Cohn, Death and Property in Siena, 123 reveals that individual testators also tended to distribute dowries worth around
nominated any eligible females for the dowry by writing their names on a slip of paper and giving it to the governor (*le descriva in una poliza dandola al Governatore*), who would then put the nominees to a vote by the entire company (*le mandi tutte a partito in corpo di compagnia*).\(^{150}\) Preference was first given to women who had received marriage proposals, and then to those who had made arrangements to join a convent. Finally, women who had not received proposals or joined a convent would be considered.\(^{151}\) To be eligible, all the women had to be legitimate daughters (*figluole legittime*) of debt-free confratelli who had belonged to the confraternity for at least three years. If the woman’s father was deceased, she was still eligible for the dowry provided his account was not in arrears. The statute states clearly that no dowries are to be given without following the voting procedures outlined above (*la detta dote non si di senza partito in modo nessuno*).\(^{152}\)

By 1590 the confraternity had drawn up a new statute to govern the distribution of dowries. Appended to the book of capitoli drawn up in 1579, the new rule outlined the eligibility requirements for young women seeking funds from the Scalzo. The statute cited abuses and improprieties in the way the dowry funds had been distributed, and

25 florins. For example, the tanner Gelius Petri left 300 florins to provide dowries for twelve girls in 1508, and the master oven-builder, Magister Albertus f. q. Stephani Stampinelli, bequeathed 300 florins to dower fifteen poor girls in 1554.

\(^{150}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 13r.

\(^{151}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 13r.

\(^{152}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 13r. Although numerous entries in the Scalzo’s books of Partiti e Ricordi record the distribution of the confraternity’s dowry funds, they provide little information beyond the woman’s name, her father’s name and the date of disbursal. A typical entry, this one from 16 April 1559, is found at ASF, CRS 1197.22, 7r, “E piu in detta matina anno datto ne modi chosueti la dotta alla lisabetta figluola di Zanobi di mariotto calzolaio.”
argued that the pious aims of the confraternity’s charity had been subverted and that the alms were no longer being distributed to the needy (fu introdotto un’ nuovo modo di distribuire le sopradette limosine e Doti, ordinando ch[e] non solo i Fr[attelli] poveri, ma i ricchi etiam Dio che non hanno bisogno di limosine le potessino godere). On 21 September 1591, the Scalzo voted sixty-seven for and sixteen against to enact a provision barring all women with a dowry of over 200 scudi from eligibility for the confraternity’s dowry (tutte q[ue]lle fanciulle de n[ostri] fratelli che passeranno la detta somma di V° dugento siano del tutto ascluse da q[u]esto benef[i]zio). In determining the value of a woman’s dowry, the statute considered the sum of both cash and the trousseau (danari e donora). Finally, because the company wanted to help those who served God, the Scalzo made an exception for those women who were entering a convent or dedicating

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153 ASF, CapCRS 86, 25r-25v.
154 ASF, CapCRS 86, 26r. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families, 204 noted that few heads of families of modest means bothered to amend their 1427 Catasto declaration following the marriage of a daughter, because they would lose the 200-florin deduction allowed for each household member. Wealthy families were more likely to make such a declaration because they could deduct the value of the dowry from their taxable goods. This suggests that modest families tended to provide dowries worth less than the 200-florin deduction. Speaking of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Kirshner and Molho, “The Dowry Fund,” 414 remarked that the “fairly substantial number of individuals who did not have family names, whose occupations were most often those of notary, skilled artisan, or small-time entrepreneur” had investments in the Monte that “would yield dowries amounting to 300 florins or less.” These estimates are in keeping with specific examples of artisan’s dowries in the sixteenth century. For example, the Florentine painter, Giovanni di Lorenzo Larciani, received his wife’s 150-florin dowry in 1522, while his brother-in-law, the painter Giovambattista del Verrocchio (nephew of Andrea), received 180 florins from his wife, Lucrezia, daughter of the sculptor Baccio da Montelupo. Louis Alexander Waldman, “The ‘Master of the Kress Landscapes’ Unmasked: Giovanni Larciani and the Fucecchio Altar-Piece,” Burlington Magazine 140, no. 1144 (1998): 462. 
155 ASF, CapCRS 86, 25v-26r.
themselves to serving the poor (*si facessino Monache Velate, o servigiali per poverta*),
declaring them still eligible even if their dowries exceeded the limit of 200 scudi. \(^{156}\)

**Assistance for the Poor and the Sick**

In addition to the dowering of their daughters, the brothers of the Scalzo also pledged to assist the sick and the impoverished, two charitable strategies that were often linked in early modern Italy. \(^{157}\) According to the statutes from 1456, the Limosinieri were to seek out the poorest and most needy, and distribute alms to them (*debba diligentemente cierchare quegli poveri a quali secondo la loro dioscretione chome a piu bisogniosi si debba distribuire le dette limosine*). \(^{158}\) Having identified the neediest, the

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\(^{156}\) ASF, CapCRS 86, 26r. The votes are recorded at ASF, CRS 1195.14, 142r and ASF, CRS 1197.22, 86v. The 1590 amendment also stated that the fathers of the women had to have been in the confraternity for five years (*i PADRI delle quali siano stati cinque anni della n[ost]ra Compagnia*) and have their accounts completely paid. ASF, CapCRS 86, 26v.

\(^{157}\) Commenting upon the activities of Bologna’s Compagnia dei Poveri Vergognosi, Giovanni Ricci, “Povertà, vergogna e povertà vergognosa,” *Società e storia* 2, no. 5 (1979): 324, linked the distribution of dowries to the confraternity’s wider mission of providing relief for the poor.

\(^{158}\) ASF, CapCRS 152, 5r. Although precise definitions of poverty have proved difficult for historians, the *poveri vergognosi* are generally considered distinct from beggars, or the *poveri pubblici*. This explains why the Scalzo sought out the recipients of its alms; they were not public beggars, but rather those families too ashamed to ask for charity. Amleto Spicciani, “The ‘Poveri Vergognosi’ in Fifteenth-Century Florence: The First 30 Years’ Activity of the Buonomini di S. Martino,” in *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Riis (Florence: Le Monnier, 1981), 120-121 found that the Buonomini’s assistance—at least from 1442 to 1472—often “went in large measure to a particular sector of the population comprising master craftsmen in the ‘Arti Minori’.” It should be noted that the bulk of the Scalzo’s members also belonged to this sector. For more on the Buonomini, see Dale Kent, “The Buonomini di San Martino: Charity for ‘the
Limosinieri then went to the homes of these “shame-faced poor” (verghogniosi) and left tickets (politie) that the poor were to present at the confraternity’s oratory at dawn (alluogho la mattina levato el sole) in exchange for bread.\textsuperscript{159}

To subsidize this service to the needy, the almoners solicited donations from their confratelli at each meeting, presenting each member with the alms box and urging him to make a contribution (a ogni tornata i vadino cholla taferie a frategli nelluogho chi puo facci loro limosina).\textsuperscript{160} In addition, the newly-elected officers of the company were expected to contribute a specific amount to the cassetta before assuming their posts. The Governatore had to pay five soldi (ongni officio di ghovernatore alla sua entrata non

\textsuperscript{159} ASF, CapCRS 152, 5r-5v. The practice of distributing to the poor polizze that could be exchanged for alms was common and was used by the Buonomini di San Martino and the company of Orsanmichele. Spicciani, “Poveri vergognosi,” 125, 164 n. 25. This procedure was also outlined in the statutes from 1486 of the company of Sant’Antonio Abbate, the statutes from 1410 of San Jeronimo, and the statutes from 1472 of San Paolo. Henderson, “Charity in Late Medieval Florence,” 71, 81 n. 42. The ticket system had several advantages. It allowed the Scalzo to be selective in its distribution of alms, since only those with tickets received charity. This, in turn, discouraged random beggars and the assembling of crowds, which ensured that the distribution remained orderly.

\textsuperscript{160} ASF, CapCRS 152, 5v.
posso pigliare detto chi officio se prima non pagha soldi cinque a detta chasetta), each Consigliere put in three soldi (chonsiglieri soldi tre), while the Limosinieri, Infermieri, Scrivano, Camarlingo, Maestri de' Novizi and Sagrestani all contributed one soldo. By linking the contributions to the electoral cycle of the company, the Scalzo ensured that money would flow into the charitable fund on a regular basis, as well as reinforced the notion that service to the company was also a form of service to the greater community.

In addition to providing alms for the poor, tending to the sick members of the company was another significant aspect of the Scalzo’s charity, one that the statutes of 1456 urged the confratelli not to neglect (essere fervente o non pigri nella charita visitare e provedere alla infermo). The assistance provided to the ill came in the form of medical and financial assistance. First the Governatore and the Infermieri ensured that the needs of the infirm were met (el ghovernatore e infermieri siena solisciti a provedere a bisogni di detti infermi), and if necessary, two confratelli went to attend to the stricken brother, staying with him through the night (dua de frategli debino stare ongni notte a

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161 ASF, CapCRS 152, 5v.
162 Although the statutes from 1579 do not go into the distribution of alms to the needy in great detail, they do cite the procedure described in the statutes of 1456 (quell’ordine, di che nel capitolo vecchio chiaramente si dice). The sixteenth-century capitoli, however, are explicit about the mandatory attendance requirements for the Limosinieri (sia ancora obbligo loro, che tutte le tornate di nostra compagnia venghino alla casa, e alla messa), as well as their role in soliciting donations from the other confratelli (uno di loro pigli la cassetta delle limosine, e vadia à tutti i fratelli, e li preghi per l’amor di Giesù Christo che ha portato à tutti noi faccino limosine a tal cassetta). ASF, CapCRS 86, 19r.
163 ASF, CapCRS 152, 7v. On the types of care provided by confraternities, see Terpstra, “Death and Dying,” 179-182.
ghoverno di detto infermo se bisongnia fusse). The confraternity’s doctor was sent to the sick man to make a diagnosis, and if the doctor found that the man was ill, then the governor and the Infermieri began to make weekly donations of 30 soldi to the infirm (e mandarvi el medicho e sel medicho vi trova febre sia tenuto detto ghovernatore e ifermieri portare ogni settimana soldi 30). If the ill confratello owed the Scalzo more than eight soldi, he could not receive the charity or the services (non possino avere limosina ne beneficio di nostra chasa che passa di debito de soldi 8).

Unlike the funds distributed to the poor, the alms for the sick were not collected from the officers upon their investiture, but rather during collections called and overseen by the Infermieri (debino detti infermieri pigliare loferta) whenever a brother fell ill. Each member of the Scalzo was expected to make an offering of one quattrino (four denari), and was fined eight denari if he missed the collection and did not make an

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164 ASF, CapCRS 152, 7v-8r. According to the capitoli of 1579, the Infermieri should perform their duties cordially, as though they were doing them for God and not for men, for it was God who would reward them (tutto quello che voi fate, fateo cordialmente, come se voi servissi à Dio, e non a gl’huomini, sapendo che da lui ne riceverete la retributione). ASF, CapCRS 152, 19r. This, of course, echoes Christ’s words in Matthew 25:35-37, and is made explicit in a predella panel Santi di Tito painted for the company of the Misericordia in 1579-1580 (fig. 15). Here the stricken man is crowned with Christ’s halo, rendering visible the link between helping the needy and serving God. On this picture, see Comunità Cristiana, 211-212; Black, Italian Confraternities, 258. For another representation of confraternal charity — feeding the hungry — that Santi di Tito painted for the company of Saint Thomas Aquinas, see Silvia Meloni Trkulja, “Due opere di misericordia rettamente interpretate,” Paragone 41, no. 479-481 (1990): 111-112.

165 ASF, CapCRS 152, 8r.

166 Terpstra, “Death and Dying,” 181 notes that giving alms to sick members “had the potential of draining the purse of less established brotherhoods, so a number of Quattrocento statutes required that the brothers hold special collections for this purpose either from first need or when the brotherhood’s resources had come to their limit.”
offering (*chi mancha a puntarlo in denari otto*). The amount of each of the fines levied against the officers who missed the collection reflected their importance within the organization. The governor was charged four soldi; any absent Infermiere had to pay three soldi; the counselors were fined two soldi, while the rest of the officers were charged one soldo. Furthermore, if the Infermieri failed to visit the sick man at least once (*visitare detto infermo una volta pello meno*) they were fined an additional two soldi.¹⁶⁷

**Fines, Expulsions and Prohibitions**

The practice of fining confratelli for violating the statutes of San Giovanni Battista was common. Fines not only provided a system of penalties that encouraged the confratelli to follow the company’s rules, they also acted as a source of revenue for the confraternity.¹⁶⁸ The statutes of 1456 declared that a member of the Scalzo should not play nor watch games of chance (*non debba gugare [proposed reading: *giocare*] alchun*

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¹⁶⁷ ASF, CapCRS 152, 8r. If for any reason there was not enough money in the charity box (*quando danari non infusse nella chasetta de poveri*) to pay out the alms that the confraternity agreed to provide to its sick members, then the Infermieri and the governor were authorized (*abino altulita e sopradetti infermieri chol governatore*) to sell any of the Scalzo’s property, with the exception of the oratory itself (*potere vendere de beni [hole, proposed reading: *di detta]* chonpagnia chosi mobili chome i[m]obili accieto illuogho o parte desso ove si raghuna detta chompagnia). In this circumstance, the statutes give the Infermieri and the governor the authority normally invested in the entire confraternity, so that the needs of its sick members could be met (*in questo avendo tanta altulita quanto a tutto [i]l corpo della chompagnia acio che frategli sieno atati nella loro infermitade*). ASF, CapCRS 152, 8r.

¹⁶⁸ The forbidden activities—usury, adultery, sodomy, gambling—outlined in the Scalzo’s statutes resemble those found in the by-laws of other Italian confraternities. See, for example Banker, *Death in the Community*, 157; Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 88.
giuocco ne stare a vedere), nor frequent taverns, unless he were travelling, when such a stay would be necessary, and he was to leave immediately ([non debba] andare a taverna se none chaso di neciescita cioe per viaggio. E da quella si parta i tosto). 169 Each brother was not to curse, spread rumors or blaspheme (non sia guratore ne mormoratore ne bestematore). He was not to take a concubine because, as a member of the company, he was expected to serve chastity; if married, he was to perform his duty as commanded by the Church (non debba alchuno tenere choncubina ma debba ongni fratello di nostra chnopagnia s[er]vare chastita. E chi e l[n] matrimonio lo servi si chome chomanda la santa chiesa). Each confratello was not to make, nor have made, contracts forbidden by the Church, nor to associate with those who made such contracts (non possa fare o far fare chontratto vietato della santa chiesa ne stare con chi faciesse simile chontratti). 170 Furthermore, membership in San Giovanni Battista precluded joining any other flagellant company (ordiniamo che niuno possa essere di nostra chnopagnia il quale sia daltra chnopagnia diciprina simile a questa). 171

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169 ASF, CapCRS 152, 10r.
170 ASF, CapCRS 152, 10r. The vague wording of the statutes makes it difficult to determine which types of contracts forbidden by canon law were also prohibited by the confraternity. A prohibition against usurious contracts would have pleased Archbishop Antoninus. For a discussion of usury generally, and of Antoninus’s views in particular, see John T. Noonan, Jr., The Scholastic Analysis of Usury (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 70-81.
171 ASF, CapCRS 152, 9v. The effectiveness of these prohibitions can be questioned, however, as Andrea del Sarto seems to have had overlapping memberships in two disciplinati companies, San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo and San Sebastiano, thereby violating the statutes of both confraternities, which forbade membership in any other group. O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 262. In his Ricordanze, Bartolomeo Masi, calderaio, kept track of his confraternal memberships—eight in all—in a series of dated entries. Of his eight affiliations, two were with disciplinati companies: San Benedetto and
Unlike the previous activities, which were listed as a series of behaviors that the confratelli were to eschew, sodomy was strictly forbidden, and the penalties for engaging in the “abominable and cursed and dissolute vice” were clearly spelled out in the statutes. Anyone who committed the crime would be expelled from the Scalzo at the very next meeting (E se alchuno e sopra detti chomettesi labominevole e maladetto e disoluto viçio a pecchato di sodomia di fatto sia raso e privato alla prima tornata di nostra chompagnia). So serious was the issue that failure to enforce the rule was punished with the identical sentence: expulsion. If the governor did not uphold his responsibility to make public the expulsion of the sodomite at the next meeting, the governor himself would be expelled (E se il ghovernatore nollo pubrichassi raso alla prima tornata seghuente sintenda essere raso detto ghovernatore).\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{172} ASF, CapCRS 152, 10r. The prohibitions against sodomy are not found in the statutes from 1579. It is difficult to know if they were not included because they were no longer in force, or simply because they did not need to be reiterated. Previously unpublished records reveal that Benvenuto Cellini was accepted as a novice by the Scalzo on 17 January 1557, exactly one month before he was captured in Scarperia while fleeing a sodomy charge, for which he was convicted on 27 February 1557 and sentenced to four years in the Stinche (commuted to house arrest), and 34 years after his first conviction as a sodomite in 1523. Entered in the records as “Be[n]venuto di g[iovanni]c e[iijn]ooraf” and “Be[n]venuto di G[iovanni]colijn orafice,” his bid for membership was sponsored by Ruberto di Filippino Lippi, pittore, and was passed with forty-two votes in favor and four against. ASF, CRS 1195.13, 125r; ASF, CRS 1197.21, 80v. If Cellini followed through on his membership—which seems unlikely given his legal troubles—he could not have been an active member of the company, for I found no other references to him in the Scalzo’s records. For more on Cellini’s 1557 trial, see Margaret A. Gallucci, \textit{Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 26-27.
Suspension was a common punishment for confratelli who violated the major rules of the company or were excessively delinquent in their account with the confraternity. In fact, if a member’s debt exceeded 4 lire, the confraternity declared itself free of all obligations to him, in life and in death, as though he had never been a member of the company (*come se mai fussino stati di nostra compagnia*). Each May, the Scrivano posted a list with the names of all the company’s debtors in the oratory, and if they did not settle their accounts within two meetings, they were expelled from the organization. If the debtor had fallen on hard times, he could appeal to the governor and his counselors to be absolved of his obligations. Expelled members were expected to undergo another novitiate, to pay another entrance fee and, for the first four months of their new membership, were ineligible for benefits or offices.

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173 Because it was possible to petition for readmission, suspension is a more accurate term than expulsion to describe the punishment meted out to confratelli in violation of the company’s statutes, and even suspension seems to have been used sparingly. On expulsions and readmissions, see Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 86-87; Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 126-128.

174 ASF, CapCRS 152, 9r.

175 “Ordinando che lo scrivano sta tenuto ogn’anno del mese di Maggio publicar tutti quegli che saranno caduti in detto debito in corpo di Compagnia, et se infra due tornate non saranno venuti à cancellare detto debito, s’intendino non esser più di nostra Compagnia.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 9r-9v. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, 128, remarks that the bulk of the expulsions enacted by the company of San Paolo between 1434 and 1494 took place during a spring membership review scheduled for the first meeting after Easter. Any brother “who had not been in attendance for the previous 4 months or who had been negligent in partaking of the sacraments” was considered to be in violation of San Paolo’s by-laws and subsequently expelled.

176 “Et se alcuno per povertà non potessi pagare tal debito, humiliandosi al seggio lo possa assolvere.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 9r.

177 “Et se poi volessino tornare habbino à havere il partito come Novitij, e habbino à pagare per loro tornata lire una, e soldi diciotto, e habbino à stare quattro mesi senza offitio e benefitio.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 9v.
Other prohibitions included a ban on lending the keys of the oratory to anyone, including those who wanted access to the cloister to make drawings from Sarto’s frescoes, a rule which was enshrined in its own chapter in the by-laws. Before access to the oratory was granted, the request had to be approved by a two-thirds majority, with at least thirty confratelli present at the vote (Non si possino in alcun modo prestare le chiavi ad alcuno, che volesse disegnare ne nostri chiostri, se prima non sene fa partito secondo il solito per li duoi terzi delle fave nere, et sieno à detto partito trenta de nostri fratelli). Another statute forbade the removal of the book of capitoli from the oratory, unless it was being carried in procession or was accompanied by the governor, his counselors and the Provveditore (Ordiniamo che 'l presente libro de capitoli e ordinationi di nostra compagnia non si possa mai per alcun tempo cavare di co[m]pagnia, se non alle processioni, e fuori de q[uest]i te[m]pi non si cavi mai senza la presenza del P[adre] Governatore, Consiglieri e Prov[v]editore, tutti insieme, e chi contra farà, sia privato d’ogni offitio).

Bequests

Although Arrigo Cortigiani was not the only testator who left a provision in his will to assist the Scalzo in the dowering of the daughters of its members, more frequently

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178 ASF, CapCRS 86, 15r.
179 ASF, CapCRS 86, 22r.
a bequest required the confraternity to say memorial masses on behalf of the departed.\textsuperscript{180} In fact, the institutional stability of confraternities probably encouraged testators to make such bequests. Families could let internecine jealousies and power struggles obscure their obligations to their predecessors, or the line might become extinguished, but a confraternity entered a contractual agreement to care for the soul of the deceased \textit{in perpetuo}. Moreover, a small company like the Scalzo had a reasonable number of obligations and was perhaps seen by both its members and its benefactors as being more capable of perpetuating their memory than a priest who might have many more such obligations.\textsuperscript{181}

Even though flagellant companies tended not to accumulate as much wealth as the laudesi, the Scalzo statutes of 1456 and 1579 each included a chapter to deal specifically with bequests to the company.\textsuperscript{182} The statute from 1456 called for the creation of an advisory board consisting of five confratelli over the age of thirty, the governor, his counselors and one of the three Correttori that would ensure the requirements of the bequest were met.\textsuperscript{183} Furthermore, the confraternity reserved the right to transfer donated goods to “pious places” (\textit{luoghi piatiosi}) and needy persons (\textit{persone bisogniuose}) and, in

\textsuperscript{180} Cohn, \textit{Death and Property in Siena}, 166-169 found that Sienese testators increased their requests for memorial masses significantly in the late Cinquecento and early Seicento. 
\textsuperscript{182} “By 1495 almost a third of all confraternities recorded in the Decima tax were flagellants, even if their holdings were small in comparison to those of the laudesi and charitable societies.” Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 147. 
\textsuperscript{183} ASF, CapCRS 152, 13v.
extreme cases, to consider such goods as charity and to liquidate them as necessary to
fund the costs of its rituals and charitable missions.\textsuperscript{184}

By 1579, the statute governing bequests to San Giovanni Battista had been
simplified, perhaps as a result of the inclusion of a new chapter concerned specifically
with the distribution of dowries. Liquid assets left to the confraternity without specific
requirements could be used to meet any of the Scalzo’s immediate needs, and would be
disbursed immediately by the governor and his counselors according to the rules set out
in the statute on \textit{stanziamenti} (allocations).\textsuperscript{185} In the case that the company had no
pressing needs, the money would then be used to dower the young daughters of the
members of the Scalzo; if the bequest entailed immoveable goods (\textit{beni immobili}) then
the profits (\textit{li usufrutti}) would be used to fund the company’s charitable activities.\textsuperscript{186}
Finally, the statute closes with an admonition to the brothers of San Giovanni to always
follow the rule of transferring any wealth to the poor and needy or using it to defray the
company’s own costs, rather than accumulating it.\textsuperscript{187}

\textsuperscript{184} “Veramente fusse dichiarato fussi bisogno pella chompagnia pel altare o
pianete o chose neciessarie pel luogo le quali cose fussino giudichate essere bene
dispensate allora e in quel caso si possa torre de sopradetti lasci in fatti per limosina
quello bisongnasse per detta chonpagnia,” ASF, CapCRS 152, 13v.
\textsuperscript{185} “Inoltre dichiariamo, et ordiniamo, che caso, che da alcuno fusse lasciato
qualsivoglia sorte, ò quantita di danari alla nostra casa, senza alcuno carico, che il
Governatore, et Consiglieri vegghino, se la compagnia ha bisogno d’ornamento alcuno, et
subito fatto secondo che dispone il capitolo delli stanziamenti.”ASF, CapCRS 86, 22r.
\textsuperscript{186} “E non havendo la compagnia bisogno, si debbino dare à fanciulle figliuole de
fratelli della casa nel modo, che dice il capitolo delle dote, et se sarà lasciato beni
immobili li usufrutti si dieno per limosine.” ASF, CapCRS 86, 22r.
\textsuperscript{187} ASF, CapCRS 86, 22r.
**Real Estate**

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Scalzo seems to have followed this command. Most of the testaments in the company’s records—like that of Arrigo Cortigiani discussed previously—grant the usufruct of various properties in and around Florence in exchange for services, be they dowering young women or performing memorial offices.

**Agnolo Nuti della Sambuca, doctor (1401)**

For example, one of the Scalzo’s earliest surviving documents is a bequest that required the confraternity to perform an annual memorial mass in exchange for the profits from a farm located outside of the city.\(^{188}\) In the codicil added to his two testaments (dated 27 and 28 January 1401) on 3 February 1401, Maestro Agnolo Nuti della Sambuca, *medico*, willed a farm that he had received as part of his wife’s dowry to the Scalzo.\(^{189}\) The testaments and codicil obligated the Scalzo to pay the laudesi company of

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\(^{188}\) In the Catasto of 1427, San Giovanni Battista was one of only four flagellant companies to make a tax declaration, in which was counted among its assets Agnolo Nuti’s farm (valued at 257 gold florins) and a pair of bulls (worth 18 gold florins). Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 146 n. 105.

\(^{189}\) Extracts from and comments upon the testament appear in several places in the Scalzo documents: *Raccolta*, A4, A18, C6, O8, O11, P1, P9 and U2 address the bequest and its corresponding obligations and include paraphrases and transcriptions of the testaments and codicil; ASF, CRS 1189.2, Libro di Testamenti e Contratti, includes a rental agreement for the farm between the Scalzo and the brothers Francesco and Fruosino di Domenico de Maffeo da Forsoli drawn up on 14 August 1465; ASF, CRS 1190.6, Memorie della Ve[ne]ribile Comp[agni]a di S[an] Gio[vanni] Bat[tist]a detta lo
San Zanobi eight gold florins each year (*debeant solvere quolibet anno in perpetuum Societatis S. Zenobij Florenos octo aurī*) from the farm’s income, as well as to have an annual mass performed in his memory in the church of San Piero del Murrone (*et celebrare facere in die mortij dicti testatorij in Eclesia S. Petri*), obligations which the confraternity upheld until its suppression in 1785.¹⁹⁰

**Giovanni di Matteo Ciorbi (1527)**

With the exception of Agnolo Nuti’s farm, the Scalzo’s modest real estate portfolio was comprised mostly of small buildings that housed a few properties, such as a shop or an apartment or some combination of rental and commercial space. The house on Via Laura (now Via della Colonna) left to the company by Giovanni di Matteo Ciorbi in Scalzo, an account of the company’s annual obligations, lists the mass for Agnolo Nuti under the month of February (5v) and the payment to the company of San Zanobi under December (19v); ASF, CRS 1190.7, Testamenti e Contratti e Scritte, 1400-1783, folio 78 1/2 transcribes the obligations outlined in the codicil; ASF, CRS 1198.26, Libro di Benefattori e Ricordi 1400-1780 lists Agnolo’s bequest alongside the company’s other benefactors. On the bequest of Agnolo Nuti, see O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 259-260, where she examines the confusion in the historical literature that resulted from differing interpretations of the various manuscript copies of the testaments and codicil. See, for example, Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 139-140 n. 274, and Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 456, no. 65.

¹⁹⁰ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 78 1/2. ASF, PE 44, no. 53 lists the farm as an asset of the Scalzo and includes the annual payment of five scudi four lire and four soldi to the company of San Zanobi as one of the Scalzo’s recurring expenses in an analysis of the company’s finances drawn up on 28 March 1785, during the suppression of the lay companies. In the summary of San Zanobi’s finances, this payment from the Scalzo appears as a credit. ASF, PE 43, no. 27.
his testament dated 14 April 1527 is a typical example (fig. 16).191 At the time of the testament, Ciorbi was living in the house with his wife Lucia, his brother-in-law Stefano, and the married couple Piera and Frosino di Bartolomeo Favilli.192 In order to keep them all together, the bequest granted Ciorbi and his extended family the right to live out their natural lives (durante la vita naturale di loro, e di Ciascuno di loro solamente, et non altre, sicche tutti insieme possino stare, et dimorare, et habitare nella detta casa), and only upon the death of all those named in the will would the house become the property of the Scalzo.193

In exchange for the eventual rights to the house, San Giovanni Battista was to give two-thirds of the annual profits from the property to Ciorbi’s nephews, Niccolo and Piero (con il carico di pagare et dare ciascun anno, due terzi della Rendita di detta casa ... a Niccolo et Piero Nipoti di fratello dl detto Testatore).194 When the Scalzo had Ser Raffaello Baldesi draw up a rental contract with Giuliano di Piero di Sancti del Nibbio, merciaio, on 24 August 1545, they agreed upon an annual rent of fifteen scudi of seven lire, ten of which they distributed to Ciorbi’s heirs. The company was also obligated to

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191 Drawn up by Ser Clemente di Giovanni Battista Ruffoli, several copies of Ciorbi’s testament appear in the Scalzo records at ASF, CRS 1190.7.A and ASF, CRS 1191.8.N.
192 ASF, CRS 1191.8.N.
194 ASF, CRS 1191.8.N.
perform an annual mass in Ciorbi’s memory in their oratory (con il Carico di fare ciascun anno un Uff[izi]o per l’anima dl detto Testatore, nella detta Comp[agni]a).\textsuperscript{195}

According to his testament of 1527, Ciorbi’s house was located on Via del Rosaio (posta della via detta dl Rosaio di Firenze), while the rental agreement from 1545 situates the house on Via Laura, with Via del Rosaio to its rear and adjacent houses on its other two sides (in via laura alla quale a primo la detta via, à 2.0 Zanobi di Pagnio fonditore, à 3.0 gli heredi di Marco di Tendi legnaiolo à 4.0 via chiamata del Rosaio).\textsuperscript{196}

On 27 December 1583, the Scalzo paid Pietro Pagolo di Nichodemo, intagliatore, twenty-four lire for three stemmi to mark some of the properties they owned in the city.\textsuperscript{197}

On 30 November 1584, the company paid Ristoro di Piero, muratore, two lire, thirteen soldi and four denari for the installation of these three emblems, one of which was put on the house in Via della Colonna (per metere 3 segni di nostra compagnia u[na] ala chasa dela via del cholonna).\textsuperscript{198}

In 1623, a record of a vote also places the house on Via della Colonna (la chassa che tenghano a livello Giuliano di piero nibio posta nella via della

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\item The two women, Ciorbi’s widow, Lucia, and Piera, were still alive when the rental agreement was written (aged 65 and 45, respectively) and the contract was not to come into force until after their deaths ([La] Compagnia si aspetta e appartiene una casa . . . poste in firenze in via laura . . . la quale tengano al presente e tenere hanno a loro e ciaschuna di loro vita Mona Lucia moglie gia di Giovanni . . . di eta danni 65 et Mona Piera . . . di eta di anni 45 e doppo le quali ciaschuna di loro vita si aspetta et appartiene alla detta Compagnia), ASF, CRS 1189.2; a summary can be found in the Raccolta, C14.
\item Payments to Ciorbi’s heirs are recorded in several places in the Scalzo’s records, including a sixteenth-century quadernuccio of payments made by San Giovanni Battista’s Provveditori, ASF, CRS 1208.54, the file dedicated to the Ciorbi bequest, ASF, CRS 1191.8.N, and a list of the confraternity’s annual obligations from 1746, ASF, CRS 1190.6, 13v.
\item ASF, CRS 1191.8.N, ASF, CRS 1189.2.
\item ASF, CRS 1203.40, 335v.
\item ASF, CRS 1203.40, 341v.
\end{itemize}
Colonna di Forenze), as do all of the eighteenth-century notices.\textsuperscript{199} Despite the fluctuating street names and inconsistencies in the early documents, Ciorbi’s house can be definitively identified with the property at 16 Via della Colonna, which still bears the heavily weathered \textit{stemma} sculpted by Pietro Pagolo di Nichodemo (fig. 7).\textsuperscript{200}

\textbf{Lisabetta Pesci (1591)}

At the southeast corner of Via dell’Agnolo and Borgo Allegri, another modest property also bears a heavily eroded \textit{stemma} of Saint John the Baptist (figs. 8 and 17). In her testament drawn up by Ser Tommaso Perini on 25 July 1591, Lisabetta Pesci, widow

\textsuperscript{199} ASF, CRS 1197.23, 43r. The eighteenth-century records include a description of the annual obligation to perform a mass in memory of Ciorbi, “quale lasciò la casa di via della Colonna a 14 Ag[osto] 1527,” and the confraternity’s real estate tax obligations, both from 1746, ASF, CRS 1190.6, 4r, 10r. On 13 May 1786, when the house in Via della Colonna was liquidated after the suppression of the lay companies, it was described as “una casa posta in Via della Colonna nel Popolo di San Piero proveniente dal Patrimonio della Soppressa Compagnia di San Giovan Batta detta dello Scalzo segnata sopra con lo stemma di detta Compagnia,” PE 71, no. 151.

\textsuperscript{200} In the early sixteenth century, the house was positioned between Via Laura and Via del Rosaio. The name of Via Laura, constructed upon the orders of Lorenzo de’ Medici in 1491, changed to Via della Colonna at some point in the middle of the sixteenth century, as the Scalzo records clearly show. The name of Via del Rosaio changed to Via della Crocetta before finally receiving the name Via Laura. The eighteenth-century contract for the sale of the house describes its location as “à primo à mezzo Giorno via della Colonna, secondo à Levante Domenico Allegri, terzo à Tramontana Via della Crocetta, quarto à ponente Beni di Cappella,” ASF, PE 71, no. 151. For more on the naming of the streets in this area, see Caroline Elam, “Lorenzo de’ Medici and the Urban Development of Renaissance Florence,” \textit{Art History} 1, no. 1 (March 1978): 43-46; \textit{Stradario storico e amministrativo del Comune di Firenze}, vol. 1 (Florence: Polistampa, 2004), 155, 248.
of Giovanni Battista Pesci, bequeathed the house to the confraternity. Lisabetta also named a beneficiary, Cicilia, who was to receive an income of ten scudi annually from the property, which at the time of the bequest was already being rented for eighteen scudi per year. After Cicilia died, the Scalzo were to use the ten scudi to dower a young woman of good reputation, and to spend two additional scudi each year to celebrate a mass in memory of Lisabetta and her relatives. On 1 November 1595, the confraternity commissioned Antonio di Domenico Giovanlorenzi to sculpt the stemma for the house, and on 28 October 1597, the Scalzo rented the house to one of their own, Iacopo di Bartolomeo Chiti, libraio (bookseller), for fifteen scudi per year, plus one lire, eleven soldi and eight denari and two pounds of yellow wax (con obrigho di pagare ogni anno

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201 Two copies of Lisabetta Pesci’s testament are collected in ASF, CRS 1190.7.A; a summary of the bequest appears in the Raccolta, L7 1/2.

202 It is not entirely clear from the will how Lisabetta was related to “Cicilia figl[a]ia del Cap.o Salici dal Ponte a Sieve.” Lisabetta was the daughter of Dino di Ser Simone dal Ponte a Sieve, but the testament fails to elucidate how Cicilia and Lisabetta were connected, ASF, CRS 1190.7.A. According to the bequest the house was rented to “Girolamo familiare dell IIs.tro Sg.r Don Giovanni pagando ogn’anno di pigione di detta casa scud. diciotto d’oro,” ASF, CRS 1190.7.A.

203 “Et morta detta Cicilia detta Compagnia, et Huomini d’essa sien tenuti ogn’anno in perpetuo impiegrare scudi dieci simili per maritare o monacare una delle figlie povere di detti huomini di detta Compagnia lo qual figluola sia di buona fama et conditione, et con carico ancora et seguita la morte di detta Cicilia detti huomini di detta Compagnia sien tenuti, et devino far celebrare in detta loro Compagnia un’ ufficio de morti ogn’anno in perpetuo per l’anima di essa testatrice, et suoi predecessori del quale ufficio si deva spendere scudi dua ogn’anno,” ASF, CRS 1190.7.A. The dowry of ten scudi was still being distributed at the time of the company’s suppression in 1785, and appears in a list of the Scalzo’s recurring expenses as “Per una Dote imposta per Legato sopra la Casa di via della Salvia 10.-.-.-,” ASF, PE 44, no. 53; see also ASF, PE 231, no. 134. On 29 August 1781, the dowry was given to Maria Margherita Caterina Angiola “secondo la diposizione delle nostre Costituzioni, e del Legato di Madon. Lisabetta figliuola di Dino di Simone dal Pont’ a Sieve,” ASF, PE 107, no. 75.
quindici di moneta di lire sette per V.o e lira una soldi 11 d[enar]i 8 p[iccio]li e libbre
dua di cera gialla in falchole). 204

Chiti’s close association with the Scalzo and partial payment in wax that could be used for Lisabetta’s obligatory memorial office probably account for the reduction of the rent from eighteen to fifteen scudi, and demonstrates how the confraternity maximized its returns on the bequeathed property. 205 Certainly having ten scudi available each year to dower the daughters of the company was an attractive benefit to members—especially those of modest means who would have had difficulty providing a substantial dowry. But membership in the company also offered the chance to forge relationships that would allow access to the organization’s less obvious benefits, such as the opportunity to rent one of the confraternity’s properties. It seems unlikely that Chiti would have secured the rental in Borgo Allegri had he not been such a prominent member of the Scalzo. Of course, this type of arrangement was mutually beneficial: Chiti received a slightly reduced rental fee and the confraternity acquired a trustworthy tenant. The house, therefore, provided two benefits to the company, the more obvious advantage being the

204 The payment for the stemma is entered at ASF, CRS 1200.31, 24 destra and 1203.41, 292. The details of the rental agreement are recorded along with the first year’s payment at ASF, CRS 1200.31, 33 sinistra.

205 Before renting the house, Chiti had served twice as Governatore (in 1591 and 1597: ASF, CRS 1195.14, 149r and ASF, CRS 1195.15, 15v) as Maestro de’ novizi (in 1592, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 150v, ASF, CRS 1195.15, 2v), and once each as Camarlingo (1592: ASF, CRS 1195.15, 1v), Infermiero (1597: ASF, CRS 1195.15, 17r), Limosiniere (1593: ASF, CRS 1195.15, 4v), and Sagrestano (1588: ASF, CRS 1195.14, 131r), and two one-year appointments as Provveditore (in 1594 and 1595: ASF, CRS 1195.15, 5v, 7r, 8r, 9r, 9v, 12r). After renting the house Chiti continued his service to the Scalzo, holding office at least ten more times. For more on Chiti and his role as sponsor and patron of art within the confraternity, see pages 116-117.
dowry set out in Lisabetta’s testament. The other more subtle advantage was the possibility of rewarding its own members through the administration of its holdings—in this case, forging an agreement to rent one of its properties to an active and trusted member of the company.

Cash and Credits

Not all of the bequests to the confraternity took the form of real estate, and it is clear from the wording of the statutes that the Scalzo also received cash, Monte credits, and moveable goods from its benefactors. Often these bequests came with stipulations similar to those attached to gifts of property: obligations to perform masses on behalf of the deceased or to provide dowry funds, or both.

Iacopo Saltini, spice merchant (1511)

On 18 May 1511, Iacopo Saltini, speziale, left a verbal bequest to the Scalzo, granting them the interest on an investment of 100 florins in the Monte Comune that had an annual rate of return of seven percent.206 According to his testament, Iacopo’s son,
Domenico, was to see that the requirement of the will—an annual memorial mass to be performed by the Scalzo on behalf of Domenico’s father on the 25th of July, the feast day of Iacopo’s patron, St. James the Greater—was carried out.\textsuperscript{207} The mass for Iacopo Saltini does not appear in the register of monthly obligations compiled in 1746, and an entry in the \textit{Raccolta} claims that San Giovanni Battista only collected the interest from the investment until 1528, after which, the payments reverted back to Domenico, Iacopo’s son.\textsuperscript{208} Although it is not clear why the confraternity lost the rights to the interest from the Monte credits, it seems as though the obligation to perform masses was voided when the Scalzo stopped receiving the annual payment of seven florins.

\textbf{Giovanmaria di Michelangelo, broker (1569)}

Upon his death on 29 March 1569, the testament of Giovanmaria di Michelangelo, \textit{sensale}, which had been drawn up by Ser Filippo di Bastiano Camporsevoli on 11 July 1567, came into effect, and left forty florins of seven lire to San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo.\textsuperscript{209} The confraternity was required to perform a mass in

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more lucrative than investments in the dowry fund. Molho, \textit{Marriage Alliance}, 68-70, 156.
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\textsuperscript{207} ASF, CRS 1190.7.A.
\textsuperscript{208} The 1746 register does contain, however, the obligations to testators such as Agnolo Nuti, who left a farm in 1401, and Lisabetta Pesci, who left a house on Borgo Allegri in 1591. ASF, CRS 1190.6, 5v, 10r. For the termination of payments from Saltini’s testament, see \textit{Raccolta}, D22, I16, M38.
\textsuperscript{209} Two transcriptions of Giovanmaria’s bequest to the Scalzo are found in ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 12 and a summary is included in the \textit{Raccolta}, G28. The registers of San Giovanni Battista’s officers contain only one Giovanmaria di Michelangelo, who is
honor of the deceased Giovanmaria, as well as to carry his body to its resting place in the church of the Ognissanti according to the funerary customs of the organization (detti confrati siano tenuti et oblighiati portar il suo corpo asepellir nel monasterio d’ognisancti sec[ondo] il costume et consuetudine di di[ct]a confraternita). The Scalzo did not require that a confratello be buried in the company’s tombs to receive his funerary benefits, and Giovanmaria must have had access to a sepulchre in the Ognissanti. The testament gives Giovanmaria’s place of residence as the parish of San Paolo, and it is likely that a tomb in the Ognissanti, near to Giovanmaria’s home, was preferable to that of the Scalzo’s across town in the Annunziata. There was no perpetual obligation to perform masses for Giovanmaria, and the confraternity received the payment of forty florins from his estate on 27 May 1569.

Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, sculptor (1626)

When he died on 23 August 1626, Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci, scultore, left forty scudi to the Scalzo to be paid out in annual installments of four scudi over a decade. The confraternity was obligated to spend eighteen lire of the annual payment on a described as a cimatore (shearer), and not a sensale (broker). Giovanmaria di Michelangelo, cimatore, appears once as a limosiniere in the list dated 3 January 1546. ASF, CRS 1195.13, 68v.

210 ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 12.
211 ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 12. The church of San Paolo is now called San Paolino and is located in Via Palazzuolo, one block north and east of the Ognissanti. For the parochial churches of Florence, see Stradario storico e amministrativo della città e del comune di Firenze (Florence, 1929), xxv-xxviii.
212 Raccolta, G28.
memorial mass for Andrea, while the remaining sum of ten lire was to be received by the company as a donation, two lire of which were earmarked for the Scalzo’s Servo. By the time he was laid to rest in the Scalzo’s tombs in Santissima Annunziata, Andrea had been a member of the confraternity for thirty years. He served five terms as Consigliere from 1608-1623, and three as Camarlingo in 1610 and 1620; he was an Infermiere five times between 1604 and 1624; he served eight terms as a Limosiniere from 1599 to 1619 and was twice a Maestro de’ Novizi in 1614 and 1617. It is not surprising that a man such as Ferrucci would want to enjoy one of the principal benefits of membership in the Scalzo, namely burial in the company’s tomb, nor that he would leave a small bequest, the proceeds of which were split between the cost of caring for his eternal soul and the needs of the confraternity. Andrea Ferrucci, however, left more to the Scalzo than a legacy of service and forty scudi. On 27 December 1595, the brothers assembled in corpo di compagnia and voted unanimously to exempt Andrea from membership fees and taxes for the rest of his life. In exchange, he donated a statute of an apostle to the sculptural

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214 For his service as Consigliere, see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 52v (09-07-1608), 60v (04-17-1611), 99 (01-03-1616), 120 (05-06-1618), 157 (09-01-1623); as Camarlingo see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 56v (01-03-1610), 59r (09-05-610), 134 (09-20-1620); as Infermiere see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 39r (05-02-1604), 40v (01-02-1605), 67 (05-06-1612), 116 (09-03-1617); as Limosiniere see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 20v (01-03-1599), 29r (09-02-1601), 32v (09-01-1602), 54v (05-03-1609), 71 (01-06-1613), 87 (09-04-1614), 124 (01-06-1619), 129 (12-15-1619); as Maestro de’ Novizi see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 84 (05-04-1614), 112 (01-01-1617).
program that the confraternity was installing in its oratory. As we shall see, Ferrucci was not the only member of the Scalzo to enter into this type of agreement.

This chapter has examined the Scalzo’s autonomous system of government as embodied in its statues and procedures, and has also delineated how its officers and members engaged the company’s devotional rituals and obligations. An analysis of the benefits enjoyed by the confratelli—from medical care to dowries to all-important funeral and burial services—explored their significance for the artisans who made up the bulk of the Scalzo’s members. This, in turn, led to an analysis of how the company underwrote the costs of those services—either through income from dues, fees and collections within the membership, or from investment properties and endowments left by the confraternity’s benefactors. It is time now to turn to the physical structure of the oratory and to its decoration, for it was within this complex that the brothers of the Scalzo gave life to the rituals and services outlined in their statutes and attested to in their surviving documents.

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215 ASF, CRS 1197.23, 5v. The donation by Ferrucci—which was augmented by similar donations made by other sculptors in the Scalzo—is discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Four.
CHAPTER 3

“Le maraviglie della Pittura, e della Scultura”:
A Reconstruction of the Art and Oratory of the
Company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo, Florence

The Chiostro dello Scalzo Today

Just north of the church of San Marco in Florence, on the western side of Via Cavour, stands the small doorway through which the confratelli of the company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo entered their oratory (fig. 4). This unobtrusive portal—marked by a glazed terracotta tympanum depicting a half-length figure of St. John the Baptist flanked by two kneeling figures in black robes (fig. 9)—leads to a small cloister, where Andrea del Sarto (and, to a lesser extent, Franciabigio) painted a monochrome fresco cycle depicting the life of the Baptist (figs. 4 and 18). Several scholars have

1 Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:205.
remarked that this space—far from the crowds gathered at the Duomo and the noise of
the Uffizi loggia—still evokes a bit of the spirit and atmosphere of Renaissance
Florence.\textsuperscript{3} It is true that the Chiostro dello Scalzo, constructed by the confraternity at the
end of the fifteenth century, provides an intimate and quiet space for the contemplation of
the frescoes that adorn its walls. Furthermore, this serenity is in keeping with the
historical function of the atrium, which was situated halfway between the bustle of Via
Cavour (called Via Larga in the Renaissance) and the sacred space of the company’s
chapel. In the cloister, the members of the lay brotherhood could gather before entering
the main chapel—which they referred to as the \textit{compagnia}—and again after their
meetings and masses.\textsuperscript{4} The atrium was a liminal space: not the chapel, but also not the
street. It was an area that was not open to a broader public, but also not exclusively
sacred, and allowed the confratelli to fraternize under the auspices of the organization,
without having to follow the codes of conduct associated with the mass or the rules
governing their official meetings.\textsuperscript{5}

\textbf{italiane, antiche e moderne}, 244, \textit{Volgarizzamento delle vite de’ Santi Padri}, 6 vols., ed.
D. M. Manni and A. Cesari (Milan: Silvestri, 1830), 4:259-369. For more on the
relationship between Cavalca’s “Life of the Baptist” and Florentine art, see Marilyn

\textsuperscript{3} Antonio Paolucci, “Introduction,” in Proto Pisani, \textit{Chiostro dello Scalzo}, 4;
Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}, 150.

\textsuperscript{4} In the records of the confraternity, the word “\textit{compagnia}” is used to describe
both the corporate body of the confraternity and the chapel in which it met. See also

\textsuperscript{5} A bench originally ran around the walls of the atrium, providing ample seating
for the \textit{confratelli} who would have gathered there. Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,”
The Aftermath of the Leopoldine Suppression

Although the Chiostro dello Scalzo might appear to be an authentic remnant of early modern Florence, the oratory of the company of San Giovanni Battista as a whole has been substantially altered over the course of the intervening centuries. Like almost all of the Florentine confraternities, the company of the Scalzo was suppressed on 21 March 1785 by the decree of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo. In accordance with this decree, the organization was disbanded and its property was seized. Within a year of the motuproprio, more than half of the oratory had been cut off from the cloister, deconsecrated and sold at auction. The door leading into the rooms beyond the atrium was walled up and the rooms themselves no longer exist in any recognizable form (fig. 1). Works of art were transferred to the Ducal collections, sold at auction or went

216-218. That the cloister was not a space to which the public had free access is made clear by the statute prohibiting access to the cloister without corporate approval, as well as by the strict language in the description of the Servo’s duties regarding lending the keys, see page 40. A vote in the Scalzo’s records reveals that the confraternity was concerned about controlling access to the oratory and its furnishings as early as February 1534, when they passed a unanimous motion (fifty-seven in favor, none against) to force any member who lent keys or robes or anything else (chiave o veste o altre chose d[ì] nessun sorte) without the permission of the Governatore and his Consiglieri to pay a fine of two pounds of wax. ASF, CRS 1195.13, 4v; ASF, CRS 1197.21, 7v. The success of this action can perhaps be judged by the fact that a similar motion was passed again on December 4, 1558, stating that no one shall loan the keys nor let anyone into the cloister to draw (nesuno posa p[r]estare chiave ne metere nesuno ne nostri chiostri adisegniare). Instead of paying a fine, anyone caught violating this rule would be expelled from the organization. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 4r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 4v. On October 17, 1574, the brothers voted to post the rules established in 1558 on a sign that was installed above the box used for the collection of alms. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 74v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 44v.

6 See page 17 n. 11.

7 The records in the Archivio di Stato of Florence of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico (hereafter PE), the agency that oversaw the suppression of the lay companies and the
Liturgical furnishings often met the same fate if they were not first distributed to parish churches in the Florentine *contado*. In order to gain some sense of how the entire complex belonging to the Scalzo might have appeared, one has to turn to historical descriptions, the appearances of extant confraternal oratories, and the archival records of the Scalzo and of the eighteenth-century suppression.

Unfortunately, most confraternal oratories in Florence have also undergone significant renovations since the eighteenth century. To cite only a few examples, the former rooms of the Compagnia di Santissima Annunziata on Via Capponi are now the site of a language school and previously housed a cinema (fig. 19). So it was with the seizure and transfer of their property, contain a bill from Luigi Romoli, *muratore*. Dated 5 December 1785, this bill charged the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico for “Lavori fatti da me Luigi Romoli M[aestr]o muratore Alla Soppressa Compagnia dello Scalzo d[ett]a di S Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a,” which included sealing up the doors between the cloister and the rest of the oratory. ASF, PE 111, no. 103. On the *fondo* of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, see Diana Toccafondi, “La comunicazione imperfetta: Riforma, amministrazione e tenuta della scrittura nell’archivio del Patrimonio ecclesiastico di Firenze (1784-1788),” in *Istituzioni e società in Toscana nell’età moderna: Atti delle giornate di studio dedicate a Giuseppe Pansini, Firenze, 4-5 dicembre 1992*, (Florence: Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1994), 912-941.


9 For example, a chalice from the Scalzo was transferred to the small church of Santa Maria a Cintoia in the countryside south of Florence. A letter dated 19 October 1785 from Giovanni Andrea Leoni to the *scrittoio* of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico confirmed receipt of the chalice from the Scalzo—as well as other furnishings from various sources, such as a silvered copper reliquary, a white chasuble, a copper censer, and eighteen silvered wooden candlesticks. ASF, PE 183, no. 193. On this chalice, see also Sebregondi, “Tracce”, 231 n. 12.

10 According to Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 461, a fresco by Bernardino Poccetti was damaged when a hole was cut in the wall to accommodate the projector. As compared to other oratories, however, that of the Annunziata remains mostly intact. Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 219 n. 31 remarked on the conversion of the oratory into a cinema, while Henderson, 150 n. 115 noted its most recent incarnation as a
seat of the company of San Martino degli Osti (fig. 20), which became for a time the Cinema Astro.\textsuperscript{11} The former site of the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello della Scala has been incorporated into the Albergo Minerva on Piazza Santa Maria Novella; the oratory of the Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento on Piazza d’Ognissanti holds an upscale maiolica shop, having formerly housed a bar (fig. 21).\textsuperscript{12} Some of the confraternal spaces were incorporated into museums. The Compagnia di Santa Maria della Pietà, detta “Buca” di San Girolamo, one of nine organizations exempted from the suppression, still had to relinquish its rooms in the Spedale di San Matteo to make way for the new Accademia delle Belle Arti, and the oratory of the Compagnia del Nicchio was incorporated into the Museo Archeologico.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 461. Since the publication of Sebregondi’s article, the building has reverted to the use of the church of Santi Simone e Giuda. When I visited this oratory on Via Torta on 2 December 2005 it was the site of a flea market to benefit the parish, but the movie screen was still installed above the entrance door.

\textsuperscript{12} For the oratory of the company of the Scala, see Eisenbichler, \textit{Boys of the Archangel Raphael}, 56-71; Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 461. For that of the Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento, see Henderson, 150-151.

\textsuperscript{13} Ludovica Sebregondi, \textit{Tre confraternite fiorentine: Santa Maria della Pietà, detta “Buca” di San Girolamo, San Filippo Benizi, San Francesco Poverino} (Florence: Salimbeni, 1991), 9-10 and 84; idem, “La soppressione,” 461 nn. 25, 26. Interestingly, the Buca di San Girolamo was offered the Scalzo oratory in exchange, which they turned down, opting instead for the former seat of the Compagnia di San Filippo Benizi in the Loggia dei Serviti on Piazza della Santissima Annunziata, because they claimed that the rooms of the Scalzo were damp and in poor repair. Historically, the confraternity experienced problems with drainage and water damage—the cause of several disputes between the Scalzo and its neighbors—and many eighteenth and nineteenth-century descriptions of the cloister note its dampness, as is shown later in this chapter. Even today the floor of the cloister is noticeably below street level. On 22 June 1786, the Grand Duke’s architect, Bernardo Fallani, described the cloister as “pieno di umidità” and suggested that if the damp plaster was not repaired, it could damage the frescoes.
The portion of the Scalzo oratory that was not preserved and turned into a museum was sold in 1786 and today contains a private dwelling and part of a post office. In 1915, Guido Carocci wrote that the oratory had served for many years as a state-owned warehouse. It is clear that sections of it have been completely destroyed, and other portions changed so substantially as to render them lost (fig. 22). For example, to provide access to the post office—the entrance of which is on the other side of the oratory, in the former garden of San Piero del Murrone (now called San Giovannino dei Cavalieri)—a tunnel was cut through the middle of the Scalzo’s main chapel (fig. 23). Fortunately, plans and documents held in the Florentine archives can provide a rough building history of the oratory and give some idea of its appearance at the beginning of the Seicento.

Land Purchases and the Construction of the Oratory of San Giovanni Battista

After its foundation in 1376, the company of San Giovanni Battista held its first meetings in the church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini. At some point between 1386 and 1401, the confraternity moved its meetings to a house situated on the northeastern

16 On San Giovannino dei Cavalieri, see Paatz and Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, 2:299-318; Richa, Notizie istoriche, 8:328-346
17 On the church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini, see page 23 n. 6.
edge of the garden of San Piero del Murrone, bordered to the north by the property of the Pandolfini family and to the east by Via Larga (fig. 24). The move into the garden of the Celestines only temporarily met the needs of the growing confraternity, and on 6 April 1407, the Scalzo entered into an agreement with the monks of San Piero. In exchange for rebuilding a crumbling section of the wall between the monastery and the Pandolfini property (occupied at that time by the nuns of San Salvestro), the company would acquire a parcel of land measuring twenty-five by twelve braccia south of the house where the confratelli were already holding meetings and practicing their devotion. By 1409, the Scalzo had met the conditions set forth in the contract and the confraternity’s new oratory was consecrated on 30 June 1476.

On 15 June 1487 the Scalzo again sought to increase the size of its oratory and purchased another parcel of land south of its small chapel. In the contract between the

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18 For the Bull, see page 23 n. 6. The codicil to Agnolo Nuti’s will dated 3 February 1401 states that the Scalzo meets “in eclesia S. Petri de Murrone,” thereby placing them in the garden of the church by that time. For the confraternity’s obligations to the testator, which included an annual mass in San Piero del Murrone, see pages 85-86 and O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 258-260.

19 ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 85; Raccolta, C2; Ristretto, 22-23. All measurements are converted according to the current norm of 1 braccio = approximately .584 meter.

20 Raccolta, C2. Although references to the consecration of the oratory appear in the Scalzo’s records, little specific information is provided other than that the presiding bishop was Monsignore Alessandro, vescovo. According to Baccioni’s text from 1708, no more is known of the bishop or the consecration because of the “ricordi laceri.” Ristretto, 24. Two later entries in the records, from the Raccolta of 1745, assert that Monsignore Alessandro was the bishop of Mossa. Raccolta, S14 and S18. The entry in the Libro di Benefattori e Ricordi, ASF, CRS 1198.26, title page recto, leaves a blank where Alessandro’s bishopric should be recorded, “Ricordo come adi 30 di gugnio 1476 fu sagrato il luogo vecchio da M[onsignore] Alessandro vescovo di [blank].” Considering that this entry appears at the beginning of the book and is in the same hand and ink as others in a long list that continues until 1594, it was most likely written at the end of the sixteenth century, long after the consecration had taken place.
Scalzo and the Celestines, the confraternity agreed to pay forty large gold florins and to make a payment of two pounds of white wax in four *falcole* annually on May 20, the vigil of San Piero del Murrone, in exchange for a parcel of land sixty-five braccia long and thirteen braccia wide. The Scalzo now possessed a long, narrow lot that extended north-south along the western edge of Via Larga, and was bordered to the west by the garden of San Piero del Murrone, to the north by the Pandolfini property, and to the south by the garden of Clarice de’ Medici (*ad murum horti Domine Lucretis [sic] Uxoris Laurentis de Medicis*). The northern and southern boundaries of this plot of land have remained fixed.

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21 ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 96; *Raccolta*, C2; *Ristretto*, 24; ASF, PE 537, n.p. On this contract see also O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 260. In his *Ricordanze*, Bartolomeo Masi describes several parcels of land in Via Ventura (now Via Laura) that his father, Bernardo, bought in the late 1490s, and which can provide some context for the agreement between the Scalzo and the Celestines. Bernardo’s least expensive plot was a ten by thirty-eight braccia parcel purchased from Filippino Lippi on 13 March 1495 [o.s.] for seventeen large gold florins. On 22 March 1495 [o.s.], he paid thirty-three large gold florins for a plot twelve by thirty-eight braccia contiguous to the first parcel. Finally, on 7 December 1497, Bernardo entered into a slightly more complicated payment arrangement with Baldassare di Giovanni, *fabbro*, paying a total of fifty florins in installments for a parcel of land eighteen and two-thirds by thirty-eight braccia that was to be used as an *orto* for the adjacent house. Masi, *Ricordanze*, 30-32, 36-37. Annual obligations of wax also seem to have been common between confraternities and the religious organizations that granted them space. For example, in 1599, when the Servites of Santissima Annunziata conceded space in the Loggia dei Serviti to the Compagnia di San Filippo Benizi, the confraternity agreed to an annual payment of three pounds of white wax on the feast of San Filippo Benizi. Sebregondi, *Tre confraternite*, 26.

22 ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 96. Copies of the contract with slight variations are found in ASF, CRS 1192.9.A, 22v-26v. The scribe’s substitution of Lucrezia for Clarice is troubling, but should be attributed to a clerical error and not taken as evidence of Lucrezia’s ownership of the garden, which remained in Clarice’s possession until her death in 1488. For the garden of Clarice de’ Medici, see Ludovico Borgo and Ann H. Sievers, “The Medici Gardens at San Marco,” *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 33, no. 2/3 (1989): 237-241; for further clarification of Medici land holdings along the Via Larga near Piazza San Marco, see Caroline Elam, “Lorenzo de’ Medici’s Sculpture Garden,” *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 36,
since the fifteenth century (fig. 25).\textsuperscript{23} Today the wall that separates the Pandolfini property from the former garden of San Piero still marks the northern edge of what was once the Scalzo oratory. The garden of Clarice de’ Medici became the site upon which Bernardo Buontalenti built the Casino Mediceo di San Marco in the 1570s, a portion of which still adjoins the extant ingresso at the southern end of the oratory of the Scalzo (figs. 26, 27).\textsuperscript{24} The modern distance between the wall marking the Pandolfini property and the southern edge of the ingresso to the Chiostro dello Scalzo is sixty-seven meters, or approximately 115 braccia.\textsuperscript{25}

Two different plans—one sketched around 1580 in the Taccuino, or notebook, of Alfonso, Giulio and Alfonso il Giovane Parigi, and one drawn up in April of 1785 by Bernardo Fallani, the architect who oversaw much of the transfer and sale of the seized confraternal properties—provide insight into the relationship between the parcel of land owned by the Scalzo and the oratory that they built upon it (figs. 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32).\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{23} The scholarship on the Pandolfini Palace is chiefly concerned with questions of dating and authorship; for a brief discussion of the Pandolfini property and the oratory of the Silvestrini which once occupied a portion of it, see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, “Palazzo Pandolfini: problemi di datazione e di ricostruzione,” in \textit{Studi su Raffaello: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Urbino-Firenze, 6-14 aprile 1984} (Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1987), 198-199; Carla Sodini, \textit{Il Gonfalone del Leon d’Oro: Nel quartiere di S. Giovanni a Firenze} (Florence: CLUSF, 1979), 88 n. 175.

\textsuperscript{24} On Buontalenti and the Casino Mediceo, see Amelio Fara, \textit{Buontalenti: architettura e teatro} (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1979), 3-5; idem, \textit{Bernardo Buontalenti} (Milan: Electa, 1995), 59-60.

\textsuperscript{25} As measured by the author on 18 December 2005.

\textsuperscript{26} The \textit{Taccuino}, a manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Palatino 853), has been published with illustrations as Mazzino Fossi, ed., \textit{Taccuino di Alfonso, Giulio, Alfonso il Giovane Parigi} (Florence: Gonnelli, 1975). The plan of the
Fallani’s plan confirms that the oratory occupied the entire parcel of land between the orto of Clarice de’ Medici and the Pandolfini property, since the complex (as measured along the slightly longer second story) is 115 braccia long, exactly the distance between the Casino Mediceo and the southern boundary of the Pandolfini garden. The ground floor, as measured on both plans, is 108 braccia long. The second story of the oratory is slightly longer than the first as a result of a rear entrance to the garden of San Piero del Murrone, visible on the plan of San Giovanni, where it is labeled “Ingresso per i contadini” (fig. 33). In 1609, the Scalzo were compelled to sell this small parcel of land to the nuns who, in 1553, had been installed in the church of San Piero del Murrone (which was renamed San Giovanni dei Cavalieri).27 The nuns paid the Scalzo forty-seven scudi for the land, and the confraternity was obligated to turn over ten scudi to the Celestines, who had been moved to the church of San Michele in Visdomini.28

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27 These nuns, of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, had been without a permanent seat since the razing of their hospital near the Porta di San Pier Gattolini in 1529. Cosimo I moved the Celestines in San Piero del Murrone to the other Celestine monastery in Florence, San Michele in Visdomini on Via dei Servi. Arnaldo D’Addario, Aspetti della Controriforma a Firenze, Pubblicazioni degli archivi di Stato 77 (Rome, 1972), 396-397.

28 On 24 July 1609, the Scalzo voted to allow four members of the company, Iacopo di Domenico Massini, Simone di Ugho Ughi (Provveditore), Alessandro di Luca Bracci, and Sabatino di Giovanni Fenci to enter into the transaction on its behalf. ASF, CRS 1195.15, 56r; ASF, CRS 1197.23, 23v. That the Scalzo had to make a payment to the Celestines suggests that they did not possess exclusive rights to the land. Perhaps when the confraternity took up residence in the orto of San Pier at the end of the fourteenth century, the Scalzo and the Celestines had forged a mutual agreement about the passageway that required the confraternity to share a portion of the proceeds from the parcel’s alienation with the Celestines. Detailed information on property disputes between the Scalzo, the Celestines and the nuns of San Giovannino—including the 1609 transaction—can be found in ASF, CRS 1192.9.A.
The room built above the service entrance accounts for the discrepancy between the length of the ground floor and the second story, which extends the full length of 115 braccia and abuts the Pandolfini property. This arrangement is spelled out in the contract for the sale of the oratory to Giuliano Guglielmi drawn up on 29 March 1786. In the contract, the property Guglielmi purchased—and which did not include the cloister or the ingresso—was described as being bordered to the east by Via Larga, to the south by the portion of the oratory not for sale, to the west by the nuns of San Giovannino and to the north by both the nuns of San Giovannino (the garden entrance), and the Pandolfini heirs.²⁹

Because the two land transactions, one from 1407 for a parcel twenty-five braccia long and the other from 1487 for a tract sixty-five braccia long, only account for ninety braccia of the Scalzo’s property, some confusion has arisen regarding the dimensions of the oratory itself. Richa, for example, stated that the complex measured ninety by fifteen braccia, figures he must have derived from the land contracts, and which are not supported by the plans.³⁰ Fossi notes that Parigi’s plan shows a complex 108 braccia long, but then goes on to suggest that the “prima chiesa” rose on a site called “il luogo vecchio” that was “un terreno lungo braccia 90 e largo braccia 13.”³¹ The discrepancy


³⁰Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7: 205.

³¹Fossi, Taccuino, 48. According to Fossi, this “prima chiesa” included the entrance-chapel, the cloister, the ricetto, the main chapel and “il luogo vecchio”. Fossi seems to have reversed the process and direction of the construction of the Scalzo complex, which was dictated by the progressive accumulation of land in three separate
between the length of the oratory as shown on the plans of Fallani and Parigi and the ninety braccia long parcel of land the Scalzo purchased from the Celestines can be accounted for when one remembers that the confraternity was already resident in the orto of San Piero when they secured the twenty-five by twelve braccia plot. Most likely the remaining twenty-five braccia are not accounted for in the two contracts from the real estate transactions because they were occupied by the house first possessed by the Scalzo after the move to the garden of the Celestines, and which they expanded upon when they built their first oratory (fig. 34).³²

When they secured the sixty-five by thirteen braccia plot in 1487, the Scalzo had acquired a substantial tract of land and they moved forward with an ambitious construction project. Although no evidence exists to shed light on what their oratory looked like before the late fifteenth-century building campaign, it seems likely that the confraternity would have expanded the original house into a small oratory after they purchased the twenty-five by twelve braccia parcel in 1407. This original building at the northern end of the property was then renovated and expanded to the south until the oratory stretched the entire 115 braccia along Via Larga from the Pandolfini garden to the Medici property. On this plot of land, the confraternity built a long, narrow series of rooms that included an ingresso, the cloister, a spogliatoio (changing room, also called ricetto dello scrivano) the new chapel, a small sacristy, a dispensa (pantry) and finally a stages. I have found no evidence that the confraternity referred to anything other than the secondary chapel as the luogo vecchio.

³² That the first parcel of land was adjacent (iuxta) to the house is clear in the 1407 contract, “concedatur de gratia Speciali tantum terreni de dicto horto esistenti iusta dictam domum quod ipsam Domum dilatare, et crescere possint, et valeant ad Sufficientiam ita quod comode in dicto loco.” ASF, CRS 1190.7.A, no. 85.
small passage (andito) leading to an exit and the original chapel (figs. 28-31). From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the original chapel came to be called the luogo vecchio, and was the site of the confraternity’s rituals of self-flagellation. \(^{33}\) Without accompanying documentation it is impossible to know precisely when the building campaign began or ended, or even who the architect might have been. \(^{34}\) Certainly the date

\(^{33}\) See pages 45-49 for a description of the company’s rituals. Parigi’s plan (fig. 28) labels this room “divozione”, a euphemism for flagellation. An entry from the eighteenth century in the Raccolta, L13, states “il luogo vecchio dove si fa la devozione”.

\(^{34}\) Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 1:53 compared the architectural features of the extant chiostro to other buildings from the late Quattrocento, and suggested that the cloister’s pietra serena columns and door surrounds “are equal in quality to the best of such work in the late Quattrocento.” Although he found similarities in the architectural details of the Palazzo Gondi, which was built by Giuliano da San Gallo in the 1490s, Shearman maintained that the modesty and simplicity of the forms in the cloister do not allow for stylistic comparisons. For a chronology of the construction of the Palazzo Gondi, see Andreas Tönnesmann, Der Palazzo Gondi in Florenz (Worms: Werner’sche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983), 17-20. Given the significant number of artisans in the confraternity, we should seriously consider Vasari’s description of the oratory’s building history, “Solevano ragunarsi in Fiorenza, in capo della via Larga, sopra le case del magnifico Ottaviano de’ Medici, dirimpetto all’orto di San Marco, gli uomini della Compagnia che si dice dello Scalzo, intitolata in San Giovanni Battista, la quale era stata murata in que’ giorni da molti artefici fiorentini, i quali fra l’alte altre cose vi avevano fatto di muraglia un cortile di prima giunta che posava sopra alcune colonne non molto grandi.” Vasari-Barocchi, 4:345. Vasari’s description fits with construction practices that Howard Saalman, Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 112 has suggested were overseen “not by architects creating in a frenzy of inspiration, but, rather prosaically, by the clergy and laymen involved, working routinely with builders trained to execute according to relatively established norms of design, materials and structural technique.” For more on the collective oversight of Florentine architectural projects, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 157-170. Vasari was known to have spent considerable time in the house of Ottaviano de’ Medici, and, by extension, in close proximity to the Scalzo oratory. From the 1520s to the 1540s, Ottaviano de’ Medici assembled a significant parcel of land out of several smaller properties—including Clarice de’ Medici’s garden—and built a large house that spanned the width of the block from Via Larga to Via San Gallo. It was this property that Francesco I purchased from Ottaviano’s sons in 1568 and 1577 and upon which he had Buontalenti construct the Casino Mediceo starting in 1574.
of the land purchase provides 1487 as a *terminus post quem*, and it can be assumed that construction was completed at some point before the Scalzo began to commission works of art to decorate their new oratory.

Unfortunately, the documentation for the works of art—including the tympanum, the altarpiece and several of the early frescoes—is missing as well, and many of these objects have been assigned dates purely on stylistic grounds. As such, these works do not provide a secure *terminus ante quem*; they can only suggest an approximate range of dates within which the oratory was probably erected. It is safe to assume that major works of art—such as the tympanum and the altarpiece for the main chapel—would have been commissioned upon, or at least very near to, the completion of the oratory, and it is clear that the cloister must have been built before it could have been frescoed.35

In his monograph on Benedetto and Santi Buglioni, Allan Marquand suggested that the terracotta tympanum was made between 1480 and 1490, while the date for the execution of the altarpiece, *The Baptism of Christ* by Lorenzo di Credi, has been situated at some point between 1495 and 1500 (figs. 9 and 35).36 Because the Scalzo’s extant account books only date back to 1514, there are no records of these works of art in the company’s documents. The earliest entries in the Scalzo records provide a picture of a decorative campaign that was already underway. In October of 1514, the confraternity paid Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio for a wooden crucifix that was placed in the main

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35 Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 207.
chapel. In November of 1515, Andrea del Sarto received payment for his fresco of Justice, the first of four personifications of virtues that were to flank the cloister’s portals. It has been shown that Justice was not the first fresco Sarto painted in the atrium, a distinction given to the Baptism of Christ (fig. 36). Based on the information in the account books, the construction of the new oratory, which began after June of 1487, was almost certainly completed by the end of 1514, when Sangallo was paid for the crucifix and Sarto’s decoration was already underway. Although no documents have been found for the tympanum or the altarpiece, the dates assigned to them on stylistic grounds seem to fit within the parameters of the building campaign. It is likely that as the oratory neared completion, the confraternity turned its attention and resources to

37 The payment of 35 lire to Sangallo is recorded on 10 October 1514 in ASF, CRS 1198.28, 7 destra.
38 As Shearman pointed out, the tonality of the frescoes on the north wall changes, allowing a reconstruction of the decoration’s chronology. Sarto first completed the Baptism and all of the architectural entablature in a warmer, orange monochrome before he painted Justice and the Preaching of the Baptist, which were done with a cooler, grayer tone. An entry in the Scalzo account books records the payment for these frescoes on 1 November 1515. Shearman, Sarto, 1: 392, doc. 34.
39 The fresco is typically placed at some point between 1507 and 1515. See Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 1: 56-57; Freedberg, Andrea del Sarto, 1: 15-16, 2: no. 8A; Natali, Andrea del Sarto, 28.
40 A reference in the Raccolta cites “una scritta, nella filza, di testamenti e contratti” that describes the installation of benches in the sacristy in 1510, which shows that although work was still progressing, it had presumably turned from heavy construction to the installation of furnishings. Raccolta, B4. I was unable to locate this document in ASF, CRS 1190.7 (Testamenti, Contratti e Scritte, 1400-1783).
41 Marquand might have placed the tympanum a bit too early in Buglioni’s oeuvre, although it is possible that the Scalzo commissioned it soon after the building campaign was underway. Considering the tympanum’s important function of marking the new oratory as the seat of the company of San Giovanni Battista, the confraternity would have wanted to install the tympanum soon after the oratory was complete, and it might have been executed early in the 1490s. Marquand, Buglioni, 18, no. 13. The date given to Lorenzo’s altarpiece seems to fit well within the probable period of the oratory’s construction. dalli Regoli, Lorenzo di Credi, 54.
procuring works of art of high quality from recognized masters. Along with their commodious new rooms, works such as the frescoes and the crucifix that the brothers carried in public processions not only increased the company’s visibility, but enhanced its prestige within the city. Commissioning them near the end or upon the completion of their ambitious building campaign would have been a priority for the brothers of the Scalzo.

The Oratory of San Giovanni Battista at the Beginning of the Seicento

Because some of the most important rooms of the oratory are no longer extant, including both the main chapel and the luogo vecchio, it is necessary to reconstruct these lost spaces before attempting any significant analysis of their decorative programs. My goal is to describe the oratory as it appeared around 1600, shortly after the last major decorative intervention in the oratory (the sculptural program of the apostles, completed at the beginning of the Seicento). It is impossible not to mention the significant renovations undertaken in the 1720s, or to ignore additions and modifications to the oratory’s decoration after 1600. These digressions, however, will be made with the objective of providing a more complete picture of the rooms of the Scalzo as they appeared at the beginning of the Seicento. Such a reconstruction is made possible not only by the plans of Parigi and Fallani discussed above, but also by documents that describe what the oratory looked like at different points in time (such as Richa, the Ristretto and an inventory compiled shortly before the suppression), and the entries

42 On the early eighteenth-century renovations, and especially as concerns the vaulting of the cloister, see Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 207-220.
concerning furnishings and works of art found in the Scalzo’s records. Certainly the plans are crucial pieces of evidence. Not only do they reveal how the various rooms related to each other, but they also provide the dimensions of the rooms in the oratory and shed light on the installed furnishings. At the bottom of Fallani’s 1785 plan of the ground floor, a small pencil sketch provides a cross-section of the ingresso, the cloister, and the spogliatoio (fig. 29), while Parigi’s drawing of 1580 includes at the lower right a diagram of the manganelle (choir stalls) of the main chapel (fig. 37).

**The Luogo Vecchio**

To begin with the ground floor as represented on Fallani’s plan (fig. 31) and at the northernmost end of the oratory, we see that the luogo vecchio is slightly more narrow than the rest of the complex, a feature also visible in the plan of the orto of San Giovannino (fig. 24). The width of the luogo vecchio probably matched that of the house in which the company first met, and which was most likely modified and extended to the south when the first chapel was built after the 1407 purchase. Although its dimensions match closely those of the 1407 parcel, a closer examination reveals that the luogo vecchio does not sit exactly within those boundaries. Recall that the 1487 parcel extended a distance of sixty-five braccia south from the confraternity’s existing holdings to the Medici garden. Conversely, the southern edge of the 1407 parcel must be located sixty-five braccia north of the Medici property. If one measures sixty-five braccia north from

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43 Another possible explanation is that the widths of the land parcels were themselves different, twelve and thirteen braccia respectively. The new portions of the oratory, however, seem more than a single braccio wider than the luogo vecchio: the cloister, for example, has a width of fifteen braccia on Fallani’s plan.
the south wall of the *ingresso*, one extends two-thirds of the length of the main chapel.

This marks the northern edge of the 1487 parcel, and, by extension, the southern edge of the 1407 parcel. If one continues to measure northward a distance of twenty-five braccia—the length of the 1407 parcel, which was also contiguous to the house where the confraternity first met—one does not take in the entire *luogo vecchio*, making it difficult for the boundaries of the first chapel to mark those of the 1407 land purchase. This is demonstrated by Figure 34, which shows the three parcels of land superimposed upon the plan of the oratory. Most likely, the confraternity expanded upon the pre-existing structure when they built the *luogo vecchio* after the 1407 land purchase. This would explain why the *luogo vecchio* extends north from the 1407 parcel into the area occupied by the Scalzo’s first meeting place. In other words, the confraternity secured a parcel of land twenty-five by twelve braccia in 1407 that extended their existing holdings to the south, and it was upon this new amalgamated plot (shown in blue and yellow in figure 34 and measuring approximately fifty by twelve braccia) that they built the *luogo vecchio*.  

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44 What becomes clear from this discussion is that a portion of the post-1487 construction was erected on land purchased in 1407 (fig. 34). It is tempting to speculate that perhaps the *luogo vecchio* was a longer structure that was shortened and incorporated into the late Quattrocento construction. If this were the case, the dimensions of the first chapel would have been closer to forty by twelve braccia, which is more in keeping with the longitudinal structures most confraternities maintained. For example, the main chapel of the Compagnia della Purificazione della Vergine Maria e di San Zanobi, built in the mid-Quattrocento, was thirty-eight by fourteen braccia. Ann Matchette, “The Compagnia della Purificazione e di San Zanobi in Florence: A Reconstruction of its Residence at San Marco, 1440-1506,” in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts: Ritual, Image, Spectacle*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 76-80, 101 doc. 2. Similarly, the rooms of the Buca di San Girolamo (which were arranged in a slightly more complex pattern) measured forty-five by eleven braccia. Sebregondi, *Tre confraternite*, 4. When the company of San Niccolò del Ceppo decided to build an oratory in 1562, the confratelli cast votes to determine what its width should be. They
The Renovations of the Late Cinquecento

There are a few discrepancies between the plans of 1580 and 1785. Fallani’s plan shows three altars in the *luogo vecchio*, with the main altar positioned on the north wall, and two smaller altars on the east and west.\(^{45}\) Parigi’s plan does not mark the position of an altar within the *luogo vecchio*. It seems unlikely that there would have been three altars in this room at the end of the sixteenth century. On 28 October 1580, around the time that Parigi drew up his plan, the brothers of the Scalzo approved a motion to remodel the *luogo vecchio*, reasoning that the improvements would provide an appropriate and inspiring setting for the company’s penitential rituals. From this description it appears that there was only one altar in the old chapel at the end of the sixteenth century.\(^{46}\) The campaign seems not to have gathered much momentum until ten years later, when the architect Alfonso di Santi Parigi donated the stone—including two


\(^{45}\) In addition to the altars, Fallani’s plan shows only a stair at the north end of the *luogo vecchio*, while Parigi’s plan situates three rooms adjacent to the chapel. The stair on Fallani’s plan must have been installed to provide access to the room above the garden entrance to San Giovannino, and its construction caused the removal of a small suite of service rooms. Labeled *cucina*, *destri* and *picjatojo*, the rooms were probably used when the company held its Maundy Thursday ceremony. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, church officials began to monitor more closely feasting in confraternities to ensure that the celebrations were not indecorous, and it is possible that as devotional priorities within the confraternity changed, these rooms were no longer necessary. For more on feasting and confraternities, see page 50 n. 85.

\(^{46}\) “Indetta mattina sevinto nemodi chonsueti che si debba rassettare eluogho vechio cioe laltare et altre chose accio un luogho chonsecrat nel quale siva afare la divozione getti piu spirito a frategli vinseoi p[er] fave 19 nere e 3 bianche.” ASF, CRS 1195.14, 100r. A less descriptive record of this vote is also in ASF, CRS 1197.22, 56v.
marble columns—for the chapel.\(^{47}\) Alfonso’s donation sparked new life into the project to renovate the luogo vecchio, and in 1591 Iacopo di Bartolomeo Chiti commissioned an altarpiece representing the flagellation of Christ from another member of the company, Giovanbattista di Bernardo Mossi (fig. 38).\(^{48}\) Chiti also stepped forward to underwrite the

\(^{47}\) “1590 M[aestr]o Alfonso di santi muratore dette p[er] l’amor di Iddio, e fece la cappella di tutte le pietre, e le due colonne di marmo del luogo vecchio,” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 3. Alfonso di Santi Parigi, the author of the 1580 plan of the Scalzo, appears several times in the company’s records. He was elected to be a Limosiniere twice, once on 4 May 1572 and again on 6 September 1573, and became an Infermiere on 1 September 1576, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 63r, 69v, 82r. He sponsored several novices, including the sculptor and architect Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini, and his own son, Giulio d’Alfonso Parigi, both of whom entered the company on 21 September 1589, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 138r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 83v. Two days after his death on 8 October 1590, the Scalzo performed a funeral office for him, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 142v. Although he was not especially active in the confraternity’s administration, Alfonso took a keen interest in the furnishing of the oratory, sponsoring several key features of the complex’s decoration. For more on Parigi, see Fossi, Taccuino, XI-XIII.

cost of gilding the new altarpiece’s frame, which, along with the wood used to make the panel, had been donated by Giovanbattista di Francesco Bandini, legnaiolo.49

The Altarpiece and Accompanying Statuary

Mossi’s Flagellation (fig. 38) was an ideal focal point for a chapel that was meant to encourage the brothers’ penitential devotion. The large picture (174 x 140 cm) presents the punishment of Christ in a dark space, lit by the flame from a lamp placed in the upper left. Because of the dim lighting the picture’s setting remains ambiguous, and it is difficult to determine if the flagellation is taking place in the loggia of Pilate’s praetorium. Christ turns away from the column to expose his back to the soldier on the spectator’s left, who prepares a blow from a scourge made of twigs, while the figure on the right, nude from the waist up, attacks Christ with a whip. In the foreground, the third soldier ties a scourge of twigs placed at the extreme bottom edge of the panel. Certainly such a picture would have presented an inspiring example to the confratelli of the Scalzo

as they extinguished the lights and sat in the gloom of the luogo vecchio, exposed their backs and began to whip themselves.

Two eighteenth-century accounts of this room describe the painting’s installation prior to the addition of the chapel’s side altars. The Ristretto, published in 1708, states that Mossi’s Flagellation was on the altar in the luogo vecchio between two niches that contained statues of John the Baptist and Saint Paul. Although Richa did not specifically place the panel by Mossi on the altar, he wrote that the Flagellation was between the statues of the Baptist and Paul, which—when coupled with the description in the Ristretto of the altar itself being between the two statues—means that the panel must have been on the altar on the north wall. Furthermore, the subject matter and size of Mossi’s panel—not to mention the willingness of figures such as Chiti and Bandini to subsidize its cost—suggest that it was meant to adorn the main altar in the chapel. Finally, as is clear from the descriptions in Richa and the Ristretto, the other altars were not added to that chapel until the late 1720s, at which point the Flagellation was removed from the main altar.52

52 An inventory drawn up on 15 December 1783 placed the Flagellation on one of the side altars, “Tre Altari, che uno con Tabernacolo entrovi un Immagina di Gesù Crocifisso, e ai due altari laterali sue tavole, che una rappresentante la Flagellazione di Gesù, e l’altra S. Sebastiano con suoi Paliotti, e Gradi,” ASF, PE 44, no. 53. The new altars were installed at some point in the 1720s. An entry in the Scalzo account books from 1725 provides a glimpse of the renovations, “altri ferramenti p[er] l’altare della
Of the two statues, the Baptist by Valerio di Simone Cioli is more easily traced in the Scalzo’s records. An entry in the Libro de Benefattori e Ricordi notes Cioli’s donation of the sculpture (along with a Virgin Mary and a Saint Bartholomew) and its installation in the luogo vecchio. On 1 July 1584, the company voted seventy-four to two to grant Cioli a lifelong exemption from confraternal dues and fees in exchange for his donation of the John the Baptist and of the Virgin Mary, both of which were done in unbaked clay (terra cruda) and had been installed in the main chapel, above the desks of Crocefisso nel Luogo Vecchio p[er] avervi adattata la mensola di pietra ch’era rotta,” and another from 1727 describes work done on the “alte delle reliquie.” ASF, CRS 1200.33, 209, 246. In the Raccolta, A23, an incomplete reference to the payment in 1727 places the altar with the relics in the luogo vecchio, “Altare per le Reliquie, nel luogo vecchio, fatto nel 1727: Vedi nel libr[0] Deb[ito]r e Cred[ito]re Seg[nato] G a [blank], nel conto di Raffaello Liccioli leg[naio]lo a [blank].” This seems to be the altar described in the inventory of 1783 with a tabernacle and an image of Christ crucified, which means that Mossi’s Flagellation was only moved to a side altar at some point in the 1720s.

53 Valerio di Simone Cioli entered the company of San Giovanni Battista on 18 November 1571, with a unanimous vote of thirty-one in favor. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 60r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 37v. Cioli seems not to have taken an active role in the organization, holding office only three times, serving as Limosiniere and Maestro de novizi in 1573 and as an Infermiere in 1575. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 65r, 69v, 78v. Cioli sponsored Bernardo di Francesco, libraio, as a novice on 4 May 1572. ASF, CRS 115.14, 62v, ASF, CRS 1197.22, 39v. Interestingly enough, a vote on 29 June 1547 places Cioli in the oratory. In response to his request for permission to draw from Sarto’s frescoes in the cloister, the confraternity voted twenty-four in favor and four against to grant him fifteen days of access, “Richordo chome socto di 29 di gugnio 1547 sivinse p[er] il nostro padre ghovernatore elle sua chonsiglieri uno partito et di poi in corpo di nostra chompagnia p[er] fave ventiguatro nere e quatro bianche ch[e] valerio di simone coli possa avere la chiave del chiostrò di nostra chompagnia p[er] guindici di prossimi avvenire p[er] potere ritrare e disegnìre di quelle storie chome appare perla poliza.” ASF, CRS 1197.21, 50r. This vote is also entered at ASF, CRS 1195.13, 75r. On Cioli see Billie Gene Thompson Fischer, “The Sculpture of Valerio Cioli, 1529-1599” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976).

54 “1573 Valerio di Simone Cioli scultore fece p[er] l’amor d’Iddio la Madonna che è sopra al desco à canto al Cristo, et il San Giov[ann]i che è nel luogo vecchio [added in a different ink] e san Bartolomeo Aposstolo.” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 2. Like many of the items in this list in the Libro de Benefattori e Ricordi, this entry seems to have been written in the early 1590s. See page 103 n. 20.
the Governatore and Correttore (sopra deschi di compagnia).\textsuperscript{55} Cioli’s Baptist, then, was in the main chapel in 1584, and not in the luogo vecchio. During the renovation of the luogo vecchio Cioli’s Baptist was removed from the niche in the main chapel and installed next to the altar, while the empty niche was filled with a replacement Baptist, commissioned from Carlo Terra by Battista di Girolamo da Frascoli in 1590.\textsuperscript{56}  

Very little documentation exists for the pendant Saint Paul. Richa gave the work to Cioli along with the Baptist, but there is no compelling documentary evidence to do so.\textsuperscript{57} The sculpture is absent from the Raccolta, and is only mentioned briefly in the Ristretto.\textsuperscript{58} The inventory from 1783 notes its presence, but provides no information as to its location, medium or author.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{55} ASF, CRS 1195.14, 118v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 69r. On 17 October 1578, before he was granted the exemption, the company voted eighteen in favor and eight against to fine Cioli two lire. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 90r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 52v. Cioli’s exemption was renewed by a vote of thirty-two in favor and one against on 20 September 1592, after he had donated yet another work, the Saint Bartholomew. ASF, CRS 1195.15, 2r. The entry from 1592 describes the Baptist and the Virgin as “di terra cotta” and the Bartholomew as “di terra”.


\textsuperscript{57} See page 118 n. 51.

\textsuperscript{58} The Ristretto, 48 calls the work a “S. Paolo Apostolo di professore incognito.”

\textsuperscript{59} ASF, PE 44, no. 53. The inventory also lists three pictures in the luogo vecchio: a Pietà, a Saint Anthony, and a Saint Francisc. The Pietà, by Maso da San Friano, was
Despite the lack of information for the statue of Saint Paul, it is possible to get some idea of how the altar in the luogo vecchio might have appeared in the 1590s, shortly after the new altarpiece and statuary had been installed. It is clear from the description in the Ristretto that the altar in the luogo vecchio was flanked by niches that contained the statues of the Baptist and Saint Paul. There are several contemporary chapels in Florence with a similar arrangement that offer suggestions as to how the brothers of the Scalzo had furnished the luogo vecchio. In fact, one of the best known examples, which had only been finished in 1588, is just down the street from the Scalzo oratory in the church of San Marco. In the Salviati Chapel (fig. 39), Giambologna decorated each of the three walls with a large painting flanked by statuary in niches.\textsuperscript{60} The oratory of San Sebastiano (fig. 40) is an example of how this type of design appears in a more intimate scale. Designed by Giovanni Caccini from 1604 to 1608, this chapel, adjacent to the Chiostro dei Voti at the church of Santissima Annunziata, is more opulent than San Giovanni Battista’s auxiliary chapel—thanks to a generous budget provided by the Pucci family—but it is tempting to speculate that Caccini’s design might have been partially inspired by the luogo vecchio. Caccini entered San Giovanni Battista on 21 September 1589, just as the

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decorative campaign in the *luogo vecchio* was gearing up. His sponsor was Alfonso di Santi Parigi, the donor of stone and marble to the project, and in 1593 Caccini made a contribution of two apostles to the decorative program in the Scalzo’s main chapel.⁶¹ Rather than a precise series of sources and derivations, however, these examples illustrate the prevalence of this particular design solution at the end of the Cinquecento in Florence, and suggest that the *luogo vecchio* in the Scalzo oratory had a similar appearance—albeit without the impressive vaulting of these other chapels—upon the conclusion of its decorative campaign.⁶²

**The Sacristy, Andito, and Dispensa**

Between the *luogo vecchio* and the main chapel there was a small passage (*andito*) that led to an exit to Via Larga, as well as to two small rooms, one immediately behind the altar in the main chapel that functioned as a pantry or a storeroom (*dispensa*) and another which served as the company’s sacristy (figs. 27 and 29). Access to the main chapel was provided by two doors, one leading from the *luogo vecchio* through the *andito*, and another leading from the sacristy. The sacristy itself could only be entered

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⁶¹ For the record of Caccini’s entry into the confraternity, see page 116 n. 47.
from the *dispensa* or the main chapel; it did not communicate with the *luogo vecchio*.

According to the inventory of 1783, the sacristy contained two benches (*banchi*) and a chest that could also serve as a bench (*cassapanca*) in which the confraternity kept its liturgical furnishings (including two gilded copper chalices and patens, a pyxis and a censer), vestments, and liturgical books (missals, a breviary and the ritual).\(^63\)

**The Main Chapel**

The main chapel, both in plan and in textual descriptions, was a large, commodious space. On both plans (figs. 27 and 31), the space measures approximately forty-five by fifteen braccia, which is in agreement with the description of the space in the contract documenting its sale at auction on 29 March 1786.\(^64\) Unlike the *luogo vecchio*, there is no reason to doubt that the main chapel always possessed these dimensions. The structure was simple, with a truss roof that would only be replaced by vaulting in the renovations of the 1720s. Like most confraternal chapels, that of the Scalzo was long and narrow and the long sides—here the east and west—were lined with double-tiered choir stalls, shown in cross-section on Parigi’s plan (fig. 37). On the south

\(^{63}\) The inventory from 1783 also notes “una lunetta di terra della Robbia” in the sacristy. I have found no other reference to this work in the Scalzo’s records. ASF, PE 44, no. 53. One of these chalices was transferred to the church of Santa Maria a Cintoia after the suppression, see page 100 n. 9.

\(^{64}\) According to Parigi’s plan, the distance between the south wall and the altar step was thirty-eight braccia, with an additional seven braccia between the step and the north wall of the chapel. Parigi listed the width of the chapel as fifteen and one-fifth braccia. When Giuliano Guglielmi purchased all of the Scalzo’s rooms north of the cloister for 625 scudi, the main chapel was described as forty-five braccia long and fifteen and two-thirds braccia wide (*è lunga Braccia quarantacinque, larga Braccia quindici, e due Terzi*). ASF, PE 71, no. 70.
wall, the stalls (scanni) became large desks (banconi) where the Governatore and Correttore sat to the left and right of the door respectively. The banconi were slightly elevated, and commanded a view over the heads of the rows of confratelli to the altar on the north wall.\footnote{An indication of the comfort of the bancone and the amount of time the Governatore spent sitting there can be found in a payment of three lire six soldi and eight denari made on 4 July 1574 to Niccolò Antifassi for a cushion for the governor’s desk (\textit{u[n]o guancale p[er] el desco del governatore}). ASF, CRS 1199.30, 140 destra.} The brothers themselves were arranged in tiers in the stalls facing each other across the chapel’s narrow dimension, which allowed the confratelli to shift their attention from one end of the oratory to the other simply by turning to their left or right. With a turn of the head, they could either face the altar at the northern end of the chapel or turn and look at the Governatore and Correttore, positioned on either side of the door leading south to the cloister, all the while never turning their back on the altar.\footnote{Matchette, “Compagnia della Purificazione,” 80; Sebregondi, “Religious Furnishings,” 144-145; eadem, \textit{Tre confraternite}, 151-152; eadem, \textit{San Niccolò del Ceppo}, 63-65.}

The stalls at the Scalzo were probably similar to two later examples of this type of seating, still preserved in the chapels of the companies of San Niccolò del Ceppo (fig. 42) and of San Filippo Benizi (fig. 43). At the front of the stalls there is a kneeler (inginocchiatario) for the first tier of seating. The first tier consists of a bench with a straight back that also forms the inginocchiatario for the second tier of seats (fig. 37). In the examples at San Niccolò and San Filippo the first row of seats has three breaks to allow access to the top row.\footnote{Sebregondi, \textit{Tre confraternite}, 151-152.} The back of the top row consists of tall wooden panels (spalliere) that were, in the case of the Scalzo, capped by a cornice, visible in Parigi’s cross-section (fig. 37).
The desks of the Governatore and Correttore were often topped with a lectern, and on 1 January 1576, the Scalzo paid Giovanbattista di Francesco Daronta twenty-seven lire for a leggio of walnut to go on the governor’s desk (che va sul desco del governatore). The lectern was carved with cherubs on the sides (tutto d’intaglio con due cherubini su canti) and the company’s emblem (arme) and another cherub on the front, surrounded by vegetal motifs (con piane che ricascono).\(^{68}\) It was upon this lectern that the Governatore placed the company’s book of capitoli during their meetings and services.\(^{69}\)

When not in use, the statutes were kept inside the cabinets beneath the governor’s desk, along with any of the company’s other valuable or important items. The inventory from 1783 lists a book of statutes as well as the objects for the confraternity’s voting procedures—including a box containing the bags for the election (una cassetta con le borse dello squittino), and four urns for collecting beans, one of brass and three of wood (quattro bussolotti, che uno d’ottone, e 3 di legno)—inside the desk, which also held reliquary busts representing John the Baptist, Saint Anne, Saint Joseph, and Saint Joachim. Attached to the side of the governor’s desk was a small metal collection box.\(^{70}\)

The Correttore’s desk was on the other side of the door, and contained furnishings such as candlesticks for the desks (6 candeglieri p[er] i Banchì) and for the lectern (2 Viticci

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\(^{68}\) The elaborate description of the lectern is found in the Quaderno de Ricevute, written by the legnaiolo himself, Giovanbattista di Francesco Daronta, when he received his payment. ASF, CRS 1208.54, 30r [page misnumbered in manuscript, actually 34r].

\(^{69}\) The entry for Daronta’s payment in the Scalzo accounting records is explicit about the purpose of the leggio, “[lire] xxvij pagati a giovannbattista di franciescho daronta lengniaiuolo sono per j.o legio che stane su jl descho dinazi al governatore lavorato di taglio che vi stane sue elibro de chapitoli,” ASF, CRS 1199.30, 150 destra. A corresponding entry for this payment can be found at ASF, CRS 1203.40, 295v.

\(^{70}\) ASF, PE 44, no. 53.
p[er] il leggio), as well as various textiles and two round Bernardian monograms (n[umer]o 2 segni Rappresentanti il SS.mo Nome di Gesù). Most likely, the company carried these emblems in procession along with their crucifix, sculpted by Antonio da Sangallo. On 22 June 1585, the Scalzo paid Dionigi di Matteo, legnaiolo, eight lire for a Bernardian monogram carved out of wood; on the same day, they paid Giovanni di Pagolo, dipintore, eight lire for gilding the tondo. By the time of the 1783 inventory, there are no fewer than four of these monograms in the oratory: two in the Corretto’s desk and two more in storage rooms upstairs. It is impossible to know which of these—if any—was made by Dionigi.

The Tabernacle for the Wooden Processional Crucifix by Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio

Above the spalliere of the chapel’s manganelle, the confraternity installed a series of niches to hold sculpture. On the south wall there was a niche above each desk and a tabernacle above the entrance to the spogliatoio. On the east and west walls there were six niches each, and two more niches flanked the altar on the north wall. The installation of the architectural features on the south wall preceded those of the east and west walls. In 1581, Alfonso di Santi Parigi gave two marble columns and, along with other members of the confraternity, donated the funds to defray the tabernacle’s total cost of 212 lire, 16

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71 ASF, PE 44, no. 53.  
72 ASF, CRS 1199.30, 206 sinistra; ASF, CRS 1203.40, 344v.
soldi and 8 denari. On 7 and 8 September 1582, the Scalzo made two payments totaling thirty-five lire to Giovanni di Salvestro Cioli for a triangular pediment (frontespizio) he made for the tabernacle above the entrance to the main chapel (che si fa sopra lu[s]cio di Compagnia). An entry in the Quaderno de Ricevute from 16 January 1583 records Giovanni Cioli’s withdrawal from his account in the amount of forty-five lire and ten soldi for this same pediment. The tabernacle, then, was most likely a niche framed by the two marble columns donated by Parigi and capped with the pediment carved by Cioli. Inside this niche the company placed one of their most valued possessions: the wooden processional crucifix by Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio.


74 ASF, CRS 1199.30, 201 destra; ASF, CRS 1203.40, 329v. Giovanni di Salvestro Cioli, scarpellino, entered San Giovanni Battista on 3 May 1577, sponsored by Michele di Simone Cioli. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 84r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 48v. Michele Cioli, the brother of Valerio Cioli, entered the confraternity on 1 May 1574, sponsored by Girolamo di Zanobi Portigiani and enjoying a benefizio del fratello. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 72v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 44r.

75 “Io giovanni di salvestro c[i]oli ho rice[v]uto [lire] quarantacinque [soldi] 10 p[er] chonto dun frontespitio fatto sul tabernacholo che sop[r]a la porta della chompagnia da lorenzo benucci proveditore della chompignia di san giovanni detto lo schalzo,” ASF, CRS 1208.54, 45v [misnumbered in manuscript, actually 49v]. One of two marble chairs (this one with a lectern) at the Certosa del Galluzzo, carved by Giovanni Cioli and Jacopo Piccardi at the end of the 1590s (fig. 44), provides an example of the little-known stonecutter’s work. Caterina Chiarelli, Giovanni Leoncini, eds. La Certosa del Galluzzo a Firenze (Milan: Electa, 1982), 255.

76 Several other entries related to the tabernacle appear in the records. For example, on 17 October 1582, the Scalzo purchased 150 pounds of marble from the Opera del Duomo to further ornament the tabernacle (libbre 150 di marmo a[v]uto dal opera di s[an]ta maria del fiore p[er] fare u[n]o vaso sopra lu[s]cio della compagnia).
The Wooden Processional Crucifix by Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio

According to Vasari, Giuliano da Sangallo returned to Florence to discover that his brother, Antonio, had become expert in the production of large wooden crucifixes, and had executed those in the church of Santissima Annunziata (fig. 45), San Iacopo tra’ Fossi (now also at Santissima Annunziata) (fig. 46) and the oratory of the Scalzo. Modern scholars have taken issue with Vasari’s account, and have shown that the Santissima Annunziata crucifix is a work by Giuliano, while it has been suggested that the crucifix from San Iacopo tra’ Fossi was the result of a collaboration between the brothers. Vasari also seems to have been mistaken about the size of the Scalzo’s crucifix.

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77 “Ritornato Giuliano a Fiorenza, trovò che Antonio suo fratello, che gli serviva ne’ modegli, era divenuto tanto egregio che nel suo tempo non c’era chi lavorasse et intagliasse meglio di esso, e massimamente Crocifissi di legno grandi, come ne fa fede quello sopra lo altar maggiore nella Nunziata di Fiorenza, et uno che tengono i frati di San Gallo in San Iacopo tra’ Fossi, e uno altro nella Compagnia dello Scalzo, i quali sono tutti tenuti bonissimi.” Vasari-Barocchi, 4:139.

78 My purpose is not to explore questions of authorship, but rather to shed more light on the Scalzo’s crucifix as an object in its own right. On these crucifixes and their attributions, see Giancarlo Gentilini, “Giuliano Giamberti, detto Giuliano da Sangallo (Firenze, 1443/45-1516): Cristo crocifisso,” in Per la storia della scultura: Materiali inediti e poco noti, ed. Massimo Ferretti (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1992), 22-31; Margrit Lisner, Holzkruzifixe in Florenz und in der Toskana von der Zeit um 1300 bis zum frühen 1500, Kassel, 1991, 34-44."
crucifix, which is described in the company’s records as one and two-thirds braccia (97 cm) tall, a size which is in accord with other processional crucifixes owned by confraternities. An illumination from the chronicles of Giovanni Sercambi shows a procession of flagellants—called Bianchi for their white robes—carrying crucifixes of this type as they enter Prato, and demonstrates how these objects were put to ritual uses (fig. 47). Understandably, a processional crucifix could not be so large as to be unwieldy or too heavy to carry—in fact, a similar crucifix sculpted by Verrocchio for the Buca di San Girolamo (fig. 48) is almost the same size (87 cm) as the Scalzo crucifix. To further lighten this work, Verrocchio made the figure of Christ from a hollowed-out block of limewood, and fashioned the figure’s head out of cork, all of which he covered with finely modelled layers of stucco before applying the finishing coat of paint.

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That the members of the Scalzo carried the crucifix in procession is clear from the records.\(^82\) In fact, it was the habit of the cross-bearer of San Giovanni Battista to walk barefoot that gave the company its nickname, Scalzo, or unshod. The objects that confraternities carried in procession tended to be works of art and relics of which they were especially proud, the types of possessions that they could display to the city not only as emblems of their company’s piety and wealth but also as objects that contributed to the spiritual well-being and cultural preeminence of Florence itself.\(^83\) It is not surprising that the prized crucifix was installed in its own tabernacle facing the altar, nor that the Scalzo adorned the niche with marble columns and a stone pediment.\(^84\)

To get some idea as to how the Scalzo crucifix might have appeared, one can turn to a crucifix in a private collection attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo (fig. 49).\(^85\) This small crucifix (82 x 44.5 cm, figure 41.8 x 41.8 cm) is close to the size of the Scalzo crucifix as reported by the *Raccolta* (97 cm) and small enough to have been easily carried.

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\(^82\) *Raccolta*, C10; *Ristretto*, 48.

\(^83\) Sebregondi, “Religious Furnishings,” 150-152.


\(^85\) Lisner, *Holzkruzifix*, 88 draws on formal similarities to the Santissima Annunziata crucifix in order to assign the work to Giuliano. Gentilini, “Giuliano Giamberti,” 24-28 accepts Lisner’s attribution and suggests further that the formal similarities between the two works are strong enough to date the crucifix to the 1490s. Gentilini then argues that the crucifix in the private collection is the same as one for the church of the Innocenti documented in a payment made to Giuliano on 9 September 1495. On this payment, see Lisner, *Holzkruzifix*, 86.
in procession. Furthermore, the patterns of wear on this crucifix—especially the thinning of the paint on the lower part of the back where it would have been inserted into a base—suggest that it was held in a niche or a tabernacle. A woodcut from Savonarola’s *Predica del arte del bene morire* (ca. 1500) (fig. 50) shows how a small crucifix would have been displayed in a niche, and although the woodcut represents a domestic setting, it provides an idea as to how the tabernacle above the door in the Scalzo might have appeared with the crucifix installed.

In his article on Sarto’s frescoes in the Scalzo cloister, Shearman asserted that the Sangallo crucifix was positioned on the company’s altar in the main chapel and that it had been destroyed by rubble that fell from the *ricetto dello scrivano* into the main chapel during renovations to the company’s oratory carried out in the 1720s. But descriptions of the oratory after the renovations—including those found in Richa, the *Raccolta*, and the 1783 inventory—describe the crucifix in its tabernacle, suggesting that it was not

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86 See page 129 n. 79. It seems probable that the author of the *Raccolta*, when he reported the height (*altezza*) of the crucifix, was including the cross and not just measuring the figure.


89 “The *Compagnia*, when referred to thus as a place rather than as the brotherhood, means the main room beyond the atrium, which contained the altar, with Lorenzo di Credi’s *Baptism* and the Sangallo crucifix upon it; this identification seems certain from Richa’s description not very much later.” In a note appended to this sentence, Shearman wrote, “During building operations the demolition got out of hand, and there was a fall of masonry from the ‘ricetto’ into the ‘Compagnia’, on 6th September, 1722. The altar-table was damaged, the crucifix ruined, and the salvation of the *Baptism* was held to be miraculous (Libro ‘G’, c. 256).” Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 214-215 n. 15.
damaged during the renovations. An entry from 6 September 1722 describes the mishap as having taken place in the *ricetto dello scrivano*, also known as the *spogliatoio*, or the room between the cloister and the main chapel. Although a cross from a crucifix was damaged (*hà rotto la Croce dell’Crocifisso*), it is not clear whether this was the Sangallo crucifix. The full account of the collapse in the *ricetto dello scrivano* describes the damage and abrasion to the altarpiece that was attached to the wall, the destruction of the cross from the crucifix that was positioned in front of the window that looked into the garden of the nuns of San Giovannino, damage to three pictures hanging in the room, and the breaking of the cornice of the choir stalls beneath the same window. Perhaps Shearman assumed that the rubble fell into the main chapel because of the presence of the altarpiece. Earlier in the passage, however, the *tornate* are described as taking place in

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90 Although Shearman was correct that Richa’s description from 1778 placed both the crucifix and the *Baptism* in the main chapel, Richa was explicit about the location of the crucifix in the tabernacle on the south wall, that is, facing the altar (*addirimpetto a questo altare*), rather than upon it, “All’altare avvi il Battesimo di Cristo, dipintura eccellente di Lorenzo di Credi.... Addirimpetto a questo Altare, sulla Porta, collocato in una nicchia, si venera un Crocifisso di legno al naturale, il quale è uno de’ tre, che fece il maraviglioso Artefice Giuliano da S. Gallo.” Richa, *Notizie istoriche*, 7:206. Two entries in the *Raccolta* of 1745, A8 and C10 both place the crucifix by Sangallo above the door. The inventory of 1783 also describes a wooden crucifix above the door, but—as is the case with all of the works of art listed in the inventory—it makes no mention of the author, “Sopra alla Porta di Compagnia un SSmo Crocifisso di Legno il quale è quello che si porta alle Processioni con suo Viticcio, e lucentorio d’Ottone.” ASF, PE 44, no. 53. Lisner, *Holzkruzifixe*, 104 n. 112 also notes that Richa describes the crucifix after the renovations that supposedly destroyed it, and suggests that it might still be extant, albeit extensively repaired.

91 ASF, CRS 1196.17, 256.

the *ricetto* (*si faceva la tornata nel ricetto d[e]llo scrivano*); it is possible that
construction rendered the main chapel inaccessible or otherwise unfit for the company’s
meetings and that they resorted to the smaller space of the *ricetto*. Furthermore, by 1722
the company had more than one cross—including one commissioned in 1568 for use on
the altar—and it is impossible to know from this passage if it was, in fact, the Sangallo
crucifix that was hit by the falling rubble. If the Scalzo already had a crucifix for use on
the altar, and if they had installed a temporary altar in the *ricetto* during the renovations,
it seems likely that the cross from the altar in the main chapel would have been placed on
the temporary altar, and not the processional cross, which was kept in a difficult to reach
tabernacle above the door.

At this point, it is impossible to know what happened to the Scalzo crucifix. If—as
Richa and the *Raccolta* suggest—it was not destroyed in the mishap of the 1720s, it
would have certainly become the property of the Grand Duchy in 1785. No records in the
Patrimonio Ecclesiastico account for its seizure, sale or transferral. It is tempting to link it
to the aforementioned crucifix now held in a private collection and attributed to Giuliano

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93 ASF, CRS 1196.17, 256.
94 On 6 June 1568, the company decided by a vote of forty in favor and seven
against that they would have a cross made for their altar (*si facessi una crocie p[er]
insulaltare di nostra compagna*). ASF, CRS 1195.14, 43r. In August of that year, Dionigi
di Matteo, legnaiolo, received twenty-two lire for a carved wooden crucifix to be placed
on the altar (*una croce intagliata p[er] insulaltare*), two candlesticks, and a box to hold
the crucifix (*una casetta p[er] tenere detta croce*). ASF, CRS 1199.30, 96 destra; ASF,
CRS 1208.54, 20v. At the same time, the confraternity paid Tommaso di Zanobi,
dipintore, forty lire and ten soldi for painting and gilding the crucifix and the candlesticks
(*dipintura e oro e fattura duna [cross] di legnio intagliati e i.° [uno] p.° [paio] di
candelliieri di nocie grandi intagliati*). ASF, CRS 1199.30, 96 destra; ASF, CRS 1208.54,
20r.
da Sangallo, but until more information about this object’s provenance becomes available, the association between the two must remain purely speculative.\textsuperscript{95}

**The Statues of John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary**

On 1 July 1584, just as the project for the tabernacle was drawing to a close, the Scalzo granted Valerio Cioli a life-long exemption from dues and fees in exchange for his donation of two clay sculptures (\textit{di terra cruda}) of John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary that were placed above the desks of the Governatore and Correttore (\textit{sopra deschi di compagnia}).\textsuperscript{96} It seems that once the tabernacle was complete, the confraternity turned its attention to other decorations for the main chapel, and that those members of the company in a position to donate items continued in the footsteps of figures like Alfonso Parigi. The Scalzo, in turn, expressed its gratitude by granting free access to the benefits of membership to benefactors such as Cioli.

The two figures were positioned in niches on each side of the tabernacle for the crucifix. The \textit{Madonna} was installed above the desk of the Correttore on the west side of the entrance, while the Baptist was placed above the Governatore’s desk on the east side of the door.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{95} Finally, it is interesting that Migliore and Richa (who was probably following Migliore’s description) attribute the Scalzo crucifix not to Antonio, but to Giuliano da Sangallo. Migliore, \textit{Firenze}, 230; Richa, \textit{Notizie istoriche}, 7:206.

\textsuperscript{96} The tabernacle was gilded in early 1584. See page 127 n. 76. For the vote on Cioli’s exemption, see ASF, CRS 1195.14, 118v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 69r. The \textit{Raccolta}, M8, S2 gives a date of 1573 for the \textit{Madonna} and the \textit{Baptist}, but this is not supported by the documents and I have been unable to determine from where this information derived.

\textsuperscript{97} The \textit{Ristretto}, 48 places the \textit{Madonna} to the left of the tabernacle and the \textit{Baptist} to the right ([L]e due altre, che da una parte, e dall'altra del vago Tabernacolo
There is little information about the *Madonna*. The first entries in the voting records, from 1584, describe the donation of a *Virgin Mary* and a *John the Baptist* of clay (*di terra cruda*), but the second vote, cast on 20 September 1592, states that the two statues were of baked clay (*un’ san giovanni, e una vergine di terracotta*) in contrast to the statue of Saint Bartolomew that Cioli had donated most recently, which was unbaked clay (*un san bartolomeo di terra*). It is impossible to know if the works had been fired at some point between 1584 and 1592, or if the *scrivano* just made a mistake in his description. The *Madonna* stayed in the niche above the desk of the *Correttore* well into the eighteenth century. The *Ristretto* and the *Raccolta* place the figure in that exact location in their descriptions of the Scalzo oratory, while Richa includes it in a list of sculpture from the main chapel without specifying in which niche it was installed. The inventory from 1783 does not list the *Madonna* in its cursory description of the statuary in the oratory of San Giovanni Battista, stating that the sixteen statues are comprised of twelve apostles and four angels (*sedici statue, cioè dodici Apostoli, e quattro Angioli*). The only statue of the Virgin Mary listed in the inventory was found in the *andito* and

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98 For the exemption granted on 1 July 1584, see ASF, CRS 1195.14, 118v; ASF, CRS 1197.22r; for that of 20 September 1592, see ASF, CRS 1195.15, 2r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 93r. On the use of clay to make statuary in the Renaissance, see page 194 n. 27.


100 ASF, PE 44, no. 53.
was made of papier-mâché (Una Madonna di Cartapesta con sue corone di Latta in capo) and does not seem to match the other descriptions of Cioli’s Madonna.\textsuperscript{101}

The history of Cioli’s Baptist is slightly more complicated than that of his Madonna. In 1590, as has been discussed above, the Baptist was moved to the luogo vecchio and placed next to Mossi’s altarpiece of the Flagellation.\textsuperscript{102} A replacement figure was commissioned from Carlo Terra and installed in the niche above the Governatore’s desk, and it is to this figure that the later documents refers.\textsuperscript{103} Indeed, the installation of figures on the south wall concluded shortly after the installation of the new Baptist, when, on 17 June 1590, the confraternity paid a painter, identified only as Martino, thirty-nine lire for painting a cornice in the chapel and gilding the inscriptions at the bases of the Madonna and the Baptist (p[er] avere meso anzi dipi[n]to el chornicione ch[e] rigira la cho[m]pagnia e le letere doro mese a piedi di S. G[iovan]ni e dela madona sopra deschi).\textsuperscript{104}

The inventory from 1783 presents the same problem for Terra’s Baptist as it does for Cioli’s Madonna, namely the substitution of two angels for the figures of the Virgin and Saint John that had traditionally been installed above the banchi. Unlike the situation with the Madonna, which seems to have disappeared from the oratory altogether, the inventory still lists two figures of the Baptist as might be expected. One of them is

\textsuperscript{101} ASF, PE 44, no. 53.
\textsuperscript{102} See pages 119-120.
\textsuperscript{103} The Ristretto, 48 calls the figure “il Precursor’ S. Giovonbatista di Carlo Terra”. The Raccolta, G5, S5, S16 also gives the statue to Carlo Terra, as does Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:206. I have been unable to find any information on Carlo Terra.
\textsuperscript{104} This painter, Martino, is identified solely by the location of his shop, which was across from the Bargello (martino dipitore diripecto al palazo del bargielo). ASF, CRS 1203.40, 369v.
located in the *luogo vecchio* and, although not explicitly identified as such, would seem to be Cioli’s figure, still occupying the niche into which it was placed at the end of the Cinquecento. The inventory places the other sculpture of Saint John in the *ingresso*, above the door to the oratory (*Sopra alla porta di Compagnia*).\(^{105}\) If, in fact, Terra’s *Baptist* was moved to make room for an angel in the niche in the main chapel, then it must be this figure—the only other statue of the Baptist to be found in the oratory—that was installed above the door in the *ingresso* at some point in the late eighteenth century.

There is a terracotta statue of San Giovanni still on the premises of the Scalzo today—now installed above the sealed door on the north wall of the cloister (fig. 1)—that could very well be the figure by Carlo Terra that was removed from its niche in the main chapel and placed in the *ingresso* (fig. 51). It has been dated and attributed on stylistic grounds to a late fifteenth-century follower of Benedetto da Maiano, but there is nothing to be found in the Scalzo’s records that would support such a claim.\(^{106}\) It is evident from account books and the eighteenth-century descriptions of the oratory that the two figures of the Baptist accounted for in the 1783 inventory were both commissioned at the end of the Cinquecento, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the *Baptist* still on display at the Chiostro dello Scalzo is one of these figures. In this case, it is more likely that the *Baptist* in the cloister is Terra’s figure that was removed from the niche in the main chapel, and not Cioli’s *Saint John*, which seems to have remained in its niche in the *luogo vecchio*. Having tracked the movement of Terra’s statue from its niche to the *ingresso*, it

\(^{105}\) ASF, PE 44, no. 53.

\(^{106}\) Proto Pisani, *Chiostro dello Scalzo*, 35-36. Proto Pisani puts forward the dating and attribution of this work without providing an accompanying citation.
becomes evident that the Baptist became the property of the Accademia delle Belle Arti when it assumed ownership of the ingresso and the cloister after the suppression. At the time of the suppression there was another sculpture in the ingresso, a bust of Saint Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence who approved the confraternity’s statutes in 1456. This is certainly the same figure as the bust of Antonino that is displayed in the cloister today (figs. 4 and 52). That the two sculptures located in the ingresso are still on the Scalzo premises suggests that when the property came into the possession of the Accademia, it also received the statuary installed in the two rooms it was granted, namely the ingresso and the chiostro.

The Baptist by Terra, then, is at the present time the only known extant sculpture from the Scalzo’s main chapel, and provides crucial information about the size of the works installed there. The Baptist stands seventy-five centimeters, or roughly one and a half meters.

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107 Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci, Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze (Florence: Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1873), 102 states that the works of art were sent to the gallery of the Accademia, “Pietro Leopoldo la soppresse nel 1785, e ne vendè il locale ad eccezione, delle opere di arte (che furono mandate alla Galleria dell’Accademia) e del Chiostro....” Cavallucci’s vague description is misleading, for not all of the works of art from the Scalzo oratory made their way into the galleries of the Accademia.

108 See pages 171-172.

109 The only other piece of sculpture in the Chiostro dello Scalzo today is the bust of Andrea del Sarto above the cloister’s south door (fig. 53). The 1783 inventory made no mention of the bust of Sarto, and even omitted the cloister from its sequence of inventoried rooms, perhaps because it was an outdoor space with few or no furnishings. The bust of Sarto, however, is described by the other eighteenth-century sources. Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:208-209 gives a short history of the terracotta bust above the door (sulla Porta), made by Alessandro Geri to replace its predecessor by Cosimo Salvestrini, which was broken (fu infranto) during the renovations of the 1720s. The Raccolta, B23 gives a different account. The replacement of Salvestrini’s work was necessary because the previous bust had been damaged by water (l’acqua lo guastò), which was why the confraternity commissioned a new one of terracotta (e però questo si è fatto cuocere). For more on the busts of Sarto, see page 170.
one-thirds braccia, tall, making the figure only slightly smaller than the Sangallo crucifix (97 cm, or one and two-thirds braccia) installed in the adjacent tabernacle. If, as seems likely, the rest of the statuary in the chapel was of similar dimensions, then the Madonna and the apostles would have been between seventy-five centimeters and one meter tall.

**The Niches for the Apostles**

On 21 September 1589, the confraternity appointed a four-member panel to organize the funding and execution of the niches that were to hold the sculptural program of the apostles. Giovanni d’Antonio, legnaiolo, Luca di Niccolò Alegroni, Francesco di Battista Squilli and Domenico di Zanobi Pandolfini were to find a way to have the niches made and to bring the project to a conclusion (*trovare el modo di fare ch[e] si facia e vadia asichuzione la op[er]a dele nichie*). Slightly over one month later, on 28 October 1589, the Scalzo heard the opinion of the advisory panel and acted on the suggested plan. As it turned out, the situation was grave. The costs of the construction and decoration of the oratory had been accumulating, and had reached the amount of 320 scudi without taking into account the price of the statues of the apostles (*decta spesa aciende ala soma di V treciento venti e di paso senza gli apostoli*). The advisory board then put forward a suggestion as to how to raise funds to pay down the company’s debt, as well as to underwrite the additional costs of completing the decoration. There were, at this point in time, around 200 people enrolled in the company (*nostri frateli sono circha la 200*), and it was decided that each member would be required to pay a one-time fee of six lire (*gli*  

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110 Proto Pisani, *Chiostro dello Scalzo*, 35.  
111 ASF, CRS 1195.14, 138v; 1197.22, 83v-84r.
uomini abino a paghare [lire sei] in order to raise some of the necessary funds. Each confratello had to pay within three months (c[i]aschuno sia ubrighato a paghare la sudeta [lire sei in fra tre mesi prosimi]); any member who did not pay the fee would have his account placed in arrears (chi manchasi decti paghamenti dele dextra [lire 6 come sopra vadia a specchio) and would no longer be eligible for the benefits of his membership (no[n] posa ghodere ne ufizio ne benefizio). Furthermore, this sum was never to be erased from the brother’s account unless it was paid in full (mai se li posa fare grazia p[er] tale soma). If there were any members who were too poor to pay even a portion of this additional fee, they could appeal to the advisory panel to be freed from the obligation (se ci fusi achuni de nostri frateli ch[e] no[n] potesino paghare tal soma o tucta o in parte sabino da dichiarare dali sopranominati e farne quella grazia ch[e] para loro).  

If the Scalzo had collected 6 lire from each of its 200 members, it would have amassed 1200 lire, or 160 scudi at the rate of 7 lire 10 soldi per scudo that was standard throughout the end of the Cinquecento, or half of the 320 scudi that the company owed.  

It seems, however, that not only did some members never pay the fee, but also that the company relented on its threat not to forgive the individual confratelli this particular debt. In early 1592, the governor of the company, Iacopo Chiti, decided to forgive the accounts that remained outstanding (avendo il nostro padre ghovernatore gratiati tutti quegli che

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112 ASF, CRS 1195.14, 138v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 84r.

113 For the relative values of Florentine money, see Carlo M. Cipolla, Money in Sixteenth-Century Florence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 27-32; on Grand Duke Francesco de’ Medici’s insistent policy of maintaining the value of the scudo at 7 lire 10 soldi, see ibid., 74-75.
avevan’ debito). This decision was challenged, and the denunciation of Chiti’s move made its way to the archbishop’s palace, where the monsignor urged the brothers to settle the controversy by putting Chiti’s action to a vote by the membership (e cosi risolve di detto Monsigniore vicario che si dovesse metter a partito la p[ross]ima tornata). The vote required a two-thirds majority to be carried, and on 16 February 1592, the confratelli cast eighty-seven black beans in favor of the governor’s decision to erase the debt, and twenty-seven white beans to hold the debtors responsible.\textsuperscript{114}

Despite the controversy and the mounting costs, the Scalzo’s Libro de’ Benefattori reported that the niches had been installed in the chapel by 1593, and that they had been commissioned by the men of the company (gli huomi di d[ett]a compagnia feciono fare le nicchie).\textsuperscript{115} Made by Spondio di Bastiano, scarpellino, from pietra serena, the niches encircled the walls of the main chapel.\textsuperscript{116} It seems that the twelve niches that contained the apostles were made according to two distinct designs provided by two

\textsuperscript{114} ASF, CRS 1195.14, 150r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 92r. My extensive survey of the Scalzo’s voting records revealed that the bulk of the company’s motions were passed with fewer than fifty votes cast. Only in a few cases did the total ever exceed 100, and one of these was put before the company on the same day as this vote on the 6 lire debt. Chiti’s decision to forgive the outstanding debts is interesting when viewed in the light of his own generosity towards the confraternity. It is difficult to reconstruct the controversy surrounding the fee, or Chiti’s motives for pushing for its erasure, but his own experience as a benefactor of the company did not keep him from advocating the forgiveness of these debts.

\textsuperscript{115} ASF, CRS 1198.26, 4.

\textsuperscript{116} “Sedici nicchie di pietra serena ricorrono intorno alle pareti,” Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:206; “[I]l Corpo di Compagnia è adornato da 16 belle nicchie di Pietra serena vago disegno disposte,” Ristretto, 47; Raccolta, N1. A partial payment for Spondio di Bastiano’s work on six of these niches was entered on 5 January 1591, “A spese adi 5 detto [gennaio] lire cento quindici e soldi dua tanti pagati a spondio di bastiano Scarpellino p[er] resto di lire otto cento cinquantasette e soldi dua p[er] sei niehie fatto inostra compagnia e altri lavori e ristauramenti porto lesandro di lucha bracci [lire] 115.2”. ASF, CRS 1203.40, 372r.
different members of the Scalzo. Six of the niches had triangular pediments (con il frontespizio), which were drawn up by Giovanbattista Bandini, legnaiolo, while Filippo Baglioni supplied the template for those with segmental pediments (con arco). These niches were most likely arranged in the alternating pattern common to much of Florence’s sixteenth-century architecture. An example near to the Scalzo oratory in time and place can be found in the facade of the Casino Mediceo built by Buontalenti just south of the Scalzo oratory in 1574 (fig. 27). A design by Francesco da Sangallo for extending the Loggia dei Lanzi on the Piazza della Signoria from a few decades earlier provides an example of how alternating surrounds could be used with niches holding apostles or prophets (fig. 54).

117 “1593 Gli huomi di d[ett]a compagnia feciono fare le nicchie attorno, e le sei nicche con il frontespizio son di disegno di Gio[van]ba[tista] di francesco bandini legnaiuolo, e le sei nicche con arco sono di disegno di filippo baglioni,” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 4. As is discussed above, Giovanbattista di Francesco Bandini also donated the wood to make the panel for the altarpiece in the luogo vecchio, as well as the picture’s frame. Filippo di Giuliano Baglioni is the grandson of Baccio d’Agnolo, and although I found no evidence that he ever served as an officer of the confraternity, he was inducted on 9 July 1589 by a vote of fifty-one in favor and four against. Filippo’s sponsor was Lorenzo di Domenico, battiloro (goldbeater), and he entered the company col benefizio. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 138r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 83r. For more on Filippo di Giuliano, see Sebregondi, Tre confraternite, 178. The benefizio probably derived from his uncle of the same name (and with whom he should not be confused), Filippo di Baccio d’Agnolo, who was also enrolled in San Giovanni Battista. Filippo di Baccio entered the company on 22 March 1534 with a unanimous vote of thirty-four in favor of his membership. ASF, CRS 1195.13, 7r; ASF, CRS 1197.21, 9v. Membership in the Scalzo seems to have been a tradition in the Baglioni family that dates back to the earliest extant records, where Baccio d’Agnolo, legnaiolo, appears as Consigliere in a roster of officers from 1534, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 1v. A concise summary of the Baglioni clan can be found in DBI 5:202-205.

118 On the Casino Mediceo see page 105.

119 For this project, see Andrew Morrogh, Disegni di architetti fiorentini, 1540-1640 (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 20-22. Francesco da Sangallo, son of Giuliano, held various offices in San Giovanni Battista from 1542 to 1553: Maestro de’ novizi, 1541 and
The Sculptural Program of the Apostles

On 14 May 1591, the Scalzo paid a brass maker (*ottonaio*) named Giovanni five lire six soldi and eight denari for two brass pans (*dua padelle dottoone*) and two drip bowls (*dua boccie*) for two candlesticks that were to be installed along with the apostles (*p[er] 2 candellieri de gli apostoli*).\(^{120}\) This suggests that even as the stone for the niches was being carved and installed, other aspects of the decoration were also being commissioned. Later that same year, on 8 September 1591, Domenico di Zanobi Landini received four lire for gilding two candlesticks for the apostles (*adi 8 di 7embre lire quattro a domenico di zanobi landini p[er] doratura di dua candellieri p[er] li apostoli*).\(^{121}\)

The Scalzo account books record a payment of thirteen lire two soldi and eight denari made to Giovanbattista Bandini on 24 August 1592. A portion of the remuneration, five lire six soldi and eight denari, was for two *vasi di noce*, while the remainder of seven lire sixteen soldi was compensation for transporting and installing the figure of Saint Bartholomew (*p[er] la portatura e mettere nella nicia lapostolo di S[an]to bartolomeo*) that had been donated by Valerio Cioli.\(^{122}\) A vote on 20 September 1592 recorded Cioli’s donation of the apostle, as well as his gifts of the *Madonna* and the *Baptist*, and reconfirmed his exemption from the company’s fees and fines.\(^{123}\) Early in

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1542, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 42v, 50r; Limosiniere, 1548 and 1553, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 76r, 98v; Infermiere, 1549, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 81v.  
\(^{120}\) ASF, CRS 1199.30, 231 *destra*; ASF, CRS 1203.40, 370r.  
\(^{121}\) ASF, CRS 1199.30, 232 *destra*; ASF, CRS 1203.40, 378v.  
\(^{122}\) ASF, CRS 1200.31, 12 *destra*; ASF, CRS 1203.41, 283r.  
\(^{123}\) “Ricordo questo di 20 di 7embre 1592 ne modi consueti se vinto che Valerio di simon[e] c[i]oli schultore sia esente di tasse, e ungni spesa corrente cominciando questo
1593, the program moved closer to completion when the Scalzo paid Cioli for another statue, *Saint James the Greater*.

Several other figures were executed at around the same time as Cioli’s *James* and *Bartholomew*. Some of these works are more extensively documented than others. According to the Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi, the *Saint Simon*, for example, was sculpted in 1593 by Giulio d’Alfonso Parigi at the behest of a group of confratelli who then donated the statue to the confraternity. Unfortunately, no other references to this

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The first payment, in the amount of 84 lire, is dated 3 January 1593, “E adi detto [lire] ottanta quattro a valerio di simon coli scultore p[er] uno apostolo auscita [blank] [lire] 84.-.-,” ASF, CRS 1200.31, 17 sinistra. A longer entry for this same payment describes the statue as a clay apostle, “j.o [uno] apostolo di tera p[er] la nostra compagnia.” ASF, CRS 1203.41, 284v. On 16 October 1594, another payment for 16 lire 6 soldi appears in the records, “E addi 16 detto [lire] sedici [soldi] 6 pagati a valerio cioli p[er] resto dl apostolo di s[an]to Jacopo maggiore come aus[c]ita di simone nostro camarlingo @ 291 [lire] 16.6.-,” ASF, CRS 1200.31, 24 destra; ASF, CRS 1203.41, 291r. Finally, on 16 April 1594, Cioli signed a receipt for a payment of 39 lire 14 soldi for the figure of Saint James that he made for the company of the Scalzo, “Io Valerio Cioli scultore ho rice[v]uto q[ues]to di 16 daprile 1594 [lire] trenta nove e soldi quatordici a buon chonto delapostolo ch[e] io [h]o fato p[er] la compagnia dello schalzo che un san iachopo e detti danari gli [h]o rice[v]uti da m[aestr]o iachopo di bartolomeo chiti proveditore di deta compagnia [lire] 39.14.-.” The *Raccolta*, S15 adds these payments together to reach a sum of 140 lire for the statue. Although they combine to form a round figure, it is not entirely clear how the receipt for 39 lire 14 soldi relates to the other entries from the books of Debitori e Creditori and Entrate e Uscite.

work have come to light. Of course, if the account of this gift is accurate, it would explain why the sources of information on most of the Scalzo’s decorations—namely the account books and the voting records—remain silent about the apostle Simon. As a gift to the company, the statue would not have required a financial transaction or its accompanying documentation, and since none of the donors seems to have petitioned for an exemption from fees in exchange for the donation, there are no corresponding entries in the voting records.

On 24 June 1594, the feast of San Giovanni, two more apostles, Saint Matthias and Saint John, were delivered to the Scalzo’s chapel. According to the eighteenth-century sources, the Saint Matthias was sculpted by Piero di Domenico Rotilenzi. The which would appear to be ASF, CRS 1198.26. Arthur R. Blumenthal, Giulio Parigi’s Stage Designs: Florence and the Early Baroque Spectacle (New York: Garland, 1986), 28 claimed that this work was a relief of Saint Simeon and doubted its existence. Giulio Parigi, the son of Alfonso di Santi Parigi, entered the Scalzo on 21 September 1589, sponsored by his father. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 138r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 83v. Parigi is perhaps best known for the stage designs he executed for Grand Duke Cosimo II and for the design school he ran out of his home on Via Maggio (which Cosimo II attended as a youngster). Giulio seems not to have been an active member of the confraternity as his name is not listed on any of the rosters of officials from 1539 to 1629. For more on Parigi, see Fossi, Taccuino, XIII-XV; Blumenthal, Giulio Parigi’s Stage Designs, 24-58. "E addi 24 detto [lire] quattordici soldi cinque e quattro tanti sono p[er] portatur[a] adi dua apostoli s[an]to mattia e s[an]to giovanni come a uscita di detto a 89 [lire] 14.5.4.” ASF, CRS 1200.31, 24 sinistra.

126 The Ristretto, 47, printed in 1708, is certainly the source that Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:206 consulted, and was most likely also used by the compiler of Raccolta, M9, S9. Piero di Domenico Rotilenzi does not appear in any of the Scalzo records that I examined. A sculptor by that name was enrolled in the Accademia del Disegno on 20 November 1594, and in that same year he “fu una fiura de l’elemento de la terra in ne la nostra Accademia.” Luigi Zangheri, ed., Gli Accademici del Disegno: Elenco alfabetico (Florence: Olschki, 2000), 282. For more on the allegorical figures sculpted for the Accademia, see Karen-edis Barzman, The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 202-203.
other apostle brought to the Scalzo oratory on that day, Giovanbattista Mossi’s *Saint John the Evangelist*, was procured in the same manner as the *Saint Simon* by Parigi; a group of brothers underwrote the cost of the figure’s production and then donated the statue to the confraternity. As is the case with the *Simon*, there are few references to this work other than the record of its donation and the payment for its delivery. At the same time as the *Evangelist* and the *Simon* were commissioned, a group of confratelli had Giovanni di Michelangelo Caccini make a *Saint James the Less* and a *Saint Thomas*, which were then donated to the Scalzo.

According to the Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi, Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci donated a *Saint Matthew* to the program and received an exemption from fees and fines in return. The Scalzo’s account books tell a different story, however, and

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128 The Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi notes the donation, “1593 Parecchi huomini fecono fare à Gio[van]b[attist]a di Bernardo Mossi il S[an] Gio[vanni] Evangelista, e lo dettono p[er] l’amor d’Iddio a d[ett]a Compagnia.” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 4. It is puzzling that an entry in the Salzo’s voting records from 19 July 1626 records an exemption granted to Antonio Novelli upon the commissioning of a clay statue of Saint John the Evangelist (*e nel medesimo modo visano il [l] parctito che antonio di chremencte noveli facesi lapostolo di s[an]ta giovani di tera*), ASF, CRS 1197.23, 46r. Because the statue by Mossi was installed in the chapel on 24 June 1594, the work by Novelli must have been a replacement. For the installation of Mossi’s statue, see page 145 n. 126. Unfortunately, the Scalzo’s documents do not shed much light on this matter.

129 “1593 Parecchi huomini della Compagnia fecono fare à Gio[vanni] di Mich[el]Agno Caccini S[an] Tommaso e S[an] Iacopo minore, e gli dettono p[er] l’amor d’Iddio à d[ett]a Compagnia.” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 4. Caccini entered the company on 21 September 1589. Caccini was sponsored by Alfonso di Santi Parigi and did not receive a *benefizio*, indicating that he was the first member of his family to join the Scalzo. See page 116 n. 47. Johann Karl Schmidt, *Studien zum statuarischen Werk des Giovanni Battista Caccini* (Cologne: Wienand, 1971), 177-178 suggested that the statues were marble, but there is little evidence to support this claim.

show that Ferrucci received a payment of eighty-four lire on 30 November 1595 for the sculpture.\textsuperscript{131} On the same day, the confraternity also made two payments totaling eight lire thirteen soldi and four denari for the transport and installation of the \textit{Matthew}.\textsuperscript{132} The Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi notes that at the same time he made the \textit{Matthew}, Ferrucci also donated a statue of \textit{Saint Peter}.\textsuperscript{133} There are no payments entered in the Scalzo’s records regarding this work, which suggests the possibility that Ferrucci received an exemption for the \textit{Peter}, but was paid for the \textit{Matthew}. Unfortunately, no record of a vote to grant Ferrucci an exemption for the \textit{Peter} survives in the documents. The entry in the Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi presents the only evidence for Ferrucci’s donation of the statue.

A vote cast less than a month after the Scalzo paid Ferrucci for the \textit{Matthew} records an agreement between the sculptor and the confraternity for the donation of a different work, a \textit{Saint Thaddeus} (\textit{Andrea di Michela[n]giolo ferucci s[c]ultore abia a fare ala n[ostr]a Conpaglia lapostolo S[an]to tadeo}). Ferrucci was to make the \textit{Thaddeus} at his own expense with the exception of the armature, which would be provided by the confraternity.

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\textsuperscript{132} The payment of eight lire went to Giuseppe, \textit{facchino} (mover), while the thirteen soldi and four denari were earmarked for Pagolo, \textit{manovale} (laborer). ASF, CRS 1200.31, 26 \textit{destra}; ASF, CRS 1203.41, 296v.

\textsuperscript{133} See page 146 n. 130.
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confraternity (a tute spese aceto che la conpag[n]ia gli abia a fare losatura), and he was to deliver the statue on or around the feast of San Giovanni in exchange for a life-long exemption from dues and fees (e celo promete dare a S[an] G[iovan]ni prosimo o incir[c]ha e la n[ostr]a conpagnia gli promete falo esente di sua tasa e punti tuto el tempo di sua vitta). 134

It appears that Ferrucci never delivered the promised figure, however, since a unanimous vote entered on 24 February 1602 records the granting of an exemption to Raffaello di Francesco Petrucci in exchange for his donation of a statue of Saint Thaddeus. 135 The confraternity had apparently learned its lesson from the agreement with Ferrucci, and waited until the sculpture had been installed in the chapel before voting to approve Petrucci’s exemption. 136

References to the statues of the last two apostles, Andrew and Philip, appear only in the eighteenth-century documents, where they are hesitantly attributed to Antonio Susini. 137 Without the works themselves to consult, and absent any contemporary

134 ASF, CRS 1197.23, 5v.
136 Petrucci himself received the six lire “p[er] la portatura dello apostolo s[ant]o taddeo” on 17 February 1602. ASF, CRS 1200.31, 44v; ASF, CRS 1203.41, 246r. Raffaello di Francesco Petrucci entered the Scalzo on 1 November 1580, when he was twenty years old. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 100r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 56v. He was sponsored by his father, Francesco di Iacopo Petrucci, who had joined the confraternity five years previously, on 20 February 1575, at the age of fifty. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 76r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 45r.
137 In its list of sculpture in the Scalzo oratory, the Ristretto, 47 states “il S. Andrea, e S. Filippo si credono di mano di Antonio Susini.” Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:206.
documentation, it is impossible to prove or disprove these attributions. Susini’s association with the Scalzo has also yet to be conclusively demonstrated, although circumstantial evidence suggests that he was probably a member. For example, on 3 August 1534, an Antonio di Niccolò del Susina entered the confraternity with the sponsorship of Domenico di Cosimo, fabbro (blacksmith).\textsuperscript{138} This is not Antonio Susini, the well-known caster of bronzes from Giambologna’s workshop, who died in 1624, but it seems likely that it is one of his ancestors. Antonio di Niccolò entered the Scalzo with a benefizio, indicating that he already had relatives in the company. If the Susini family had a tradition of membership in the Scalzo, it is not outside the realm of possibility that Antonio the bronzecaster joined at some point. Until more evidence can be found, however, the question of whether he participated in the oratory’s furnishing remains unanswered.\textsuperscript{139}

The Decoration of the Altar Wall

The chapel’s altar was positioned on the north wall, directly across from the entrance from the spogliatoio and the desks of the Correttore and Governatore. On the west side of the altar, a door opened into the sacristy, while on the right side a door led

\textsuperscript{138} ASF, CRS 1195.13, 6v; ASF, CRS 1197.21, 9v.

\textsuperscript{139} With the exception of Antonio Susini and Piero di Domenico Rotilenzi, all of the sculptors who provided works for the Scalzo’s chapel have been shown to be documented members of the confraternity. Antonio Susini’s connection to the decorative project is a tenuous one, based on eighteenth-century assertions, and it is not surprising that contemporary documents shed little light on his presence or participation in the company of San Giovanni Battista. For more on Susini and his role in Giambologna’s shop, see Katharine Watson, “Giambologna and his Workshop: The Later Years,” in \textit{Giambologna 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici}, ed. Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 37.
into the *andito*, and beyond to the *luogo vecchio* (figs. 28, 31). The altar itself was adorned with *The Baptism of Christ*, a panel painted by Lorenzo di Credi near the end of the Quattrocento (fig. 35), and which is now displayed in the church of San Domenico in Fiesole.\(^{140}\) The altar was flanked by two niches—perhaps above each door—that held statues of angels.\(^{141}\) Little information is available about these angels, but they appear to have been an early feature of the chapel’s decoration. On 20 November 1564, Battista da Frascoli was paid for supplying two predellas for the angels above the altar (*p[er] 2 ip[re]dele p[er] gli agnioli sop[r]a al altare*).\(^{142}\) Beneath the altar table the Scalzo installed a *paliotto* made and donated by Lorenzo di Tommaso Galestruzzi in 1626. In exchange for his donation of the terracotta relief representing the *Pietà*, Galestruzzi received an exemption from the company’s dues and fees.\(^{143}\)

\(^{140}\) See page 110 n. 36. On San Domenico, see Lodovico Ferretti, *La chiesa e il convento di San Domenico di Fiesole* (Siena: Cantagalli, 1992).

\(^{141}\) Both Richa, *Notizie istoriche*, 7:206 and the inventory from 1783, ASF, PE 44, no. 53, counted sixteen niches in the main chapel. The description in the *Ristretto*, 47-48, is more precise, “Il vaso poi di tutto il Corpo di Compagnia è adornato da 16 belle nicchie di Pietra serena vago disegno disposte; in dodici delle quali vi è distribuito il Collegio tutto Apostolico, in statue d’altezza proporzionata tutte parti di buoni professori di quei tempi.... Vi sono oltre alle dodici nicchie di sopra descritte altre due, che con una Statua di un’ Angiolo per ciascheduna pongono in mezzo l’Altar’maggiore ... anco le due altre, che da una parte, e dall’altra del vago Tabernacolo sopra la porta di Compagnia, risiedono, in una la Vergin’ Santa del citato Valerio Cioli dalla parte destra, ed alla sinistra il Precursor’ S. Giovanbatista di Carlo Terra.”

\(^{142}\) ASF, CRS 1199.30, 66 *sinistra*. The predellas for the angels seem to have been part of a campaign to embellish the area around the altar. One month earlier, the Scalzo paid 15 lire 5 soldi for twenty-seven braccia of cloth to make a curtain for the altar. “E adi 16 dotobre [lire] quindici [soldi] cinque p[er] Br[acci]a 27 di tela p[er] fare 1.a chortina alaltare aucita di deto 137 [lire] 15.5.-.” ASF, CRS 1199.30, 64 *destra*.

\(^{143}\) The *Ristretto*, 47-48 does not name Galestruzzi as the author of the *Pietà*, which it describes as “il Cristo morto colla Madre Santis[sima] di positura molto esprimente, sotto il medesimo Altare.” The inventory from 1783 states that “sotto la Sudd[etta] Altare” is “una Pietà di terra cotta,” ASF, PE 44, no. 53. The motion granting
The Baptism of Christ by Lorenzo di Credi, ca. 1495

The altarpiece, showing John baptizing Christ in the Jordan, is indebted to the version by Verrocchio and Leonardo now in the Uffizi (fig. 55). Lorenzo di Credi was a pupil in Verrocchio’s shop, as was Leonardo, and he would have been familiar with the Uffizi Baptist. That he used this picture as a model for the Scalzo Baptist is not surprising in light of the fact that he took over Verrocchio’s shop upon the master’s death, and, in the case of the Madonna di Piazza in Pistoia, has been credited with the execution of works commissioned from Verrocchio. The Baptist stands to Christ’s left

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Galestruzzi’s exemption was carried by fifty-four votes in favor and two against on 19 July 1626. “che M[aestr]o Lorenzo di tomaso galestruzzi facia i christo al naturale e una madona d[i] tera p[er] soco laltare grande per esere esente da tasa e altro,” ASF, CRS 1197.23, 46r.

For a discussion of the Baptist’s authorship in light of technical studies performed during a recent restoration, see David Alan Brown, Leonardo da Vinci: Origins of a Genius (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 138-145. Brown argues that Verrocchio and Leonardo painted the panel and rejects the presence of a third artist. Although Vasari, following the information in the books of Antonio Billi and the so-called Anonimo Gaddiano (from around 1520 and 1540 respectively), placed Verrocchio’s Baptist in the monastery of San Salvi, no documents concerning its commission have come to light. As Brown, Leonardo, 175 n. 12 points out, the Anonimo Gaddiano wrote that Verrocchio painted “una tauola del baptesimo del Nostro Signore, laquale poi fu posta in San Salui,” which, according to Brown, implies “perhaps, that Verrocchio painted the altarpiece for another church.” The Uffizi Baptist was transferred to another Vallombrosan convent after the publication of Vasari’s Vite, and was not rediscovered until 1810, despite mid-eighteenth century attempts to find the picture at San Salvi. Ibid., 167-168.


On Credi’s execution of the Madonna di Piazza, see Brown, Leonardo da Vinci, 151; Dalli Regoli, Lorenzo di Credi, 11-17, 111-114. The similarity between the two pictures of the Baptist led O’Malley, Business of Art, 246 to posit that “Lorenzo di Credi’s altarpiece of the Baptist of Christ, painted for the Florentine Confraternity of
while the dove of the Holy Spirit descends from above. In the distance, beneath John’s outstretched arm, is a representation of Florence, with a recognizable view of Brunelleschi’s cupola. To the right of Christ are three angels. Two of these gaze upon the baptism, while the third turns to look backwards, out of the picture. In the middle ground to either side of the main group are two smaller scenes. The scene on the extreme left edge of the panel shows the Baptist preaching, while that on the right side has been cut so significantly that it is difficult to determine its iconography. The lone figure seems to be Christ, and in a picture of this type it would not be unusual for there to be a representation of Christ meeting John in the wilderness.

Dalli Regoli, drawing on Shearman’s description of the construction mishap of 6 September 1722, concluded that the picture was cut down by Niccolò Vaiani as part of a campaign to repair the damage it received. Shearman’s account and the document he cited describe a campaign to clean the picture and repaint its damaged sections; both stop short of suggesting that the picture was cut down by Vaiani, who is credited as a

John the Baptist, is an undocumented work based on a model. It is similar to Verrocchio’s altarpiece of the subject, and was probably produced for the Florentine monastery of San Salvi. ... This would also have linked the confraternity with the monastery.” I have found no evidence of any connection between the Scalzo and the Vallombrosans of San Salvi, which suggests that Credi probably had other reasons for using Verrocchio’s picture as a model. For more on the copying of well-known pictures, see Lisa Venturini, “‘Copie’ da dipinti illustri,” in Maestri e botteghe: Pittura a Firenze alla Fine del Quattrocento, ed. Mina Gregori, Antonio Paolucci and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Milan: Silvana editoriale, 1992), 165-167.

Dalli Regoli, Lorenzo di Credi, 148, gives the approximate measurements of the altarpiece as 175 by 165 centimeters and notes that it has had at least five centimeters on each side removed.

These iconographic features of the altarpiece have implications for the fresco cycle, and are discussed below.

Dalli Regoli, Lorenzo di Credi, 148.
It is obvious from the appearance of Lorenzo’s picture that it was cut down at some point, and other documents in the Scalzo’s records shed more light on the trimmed altarpiece. On 24 February 1723, with the renovations to the oratory having been brought to a close (la fabbrica di nostra Compagnia ora a buon’ termina), the company turned its attention to the decoration around the altarpiece (l’ornato intorno la tavola dell’Altare di Compagnia), which showed little grace (con dimostrazione poco vaga) owing to the fact that it was the color of stone (a causa massima di essere di color di pietra). The company decided to embellish the altar with a surround painted to resemble colored marble (l’ornato intorno alla tavola dell’Altare si faccia di colore di marmo misto) and decorated with stucco reliefs and ersatz gilding (si dia per ora di colore di

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150 Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 216. The entry in the Scalzo’s records, dated 8 December 1722, reads, “Sentito da Giuseppe Baccioni che rappresentava come la tavola tanto rinomata dell’Altare di nostra Compagnia, Pittura di Lorenzo di Credi, stante l’accidente che seguì alle settimane passate della rovina della stoa di ricetto dello scrivano, per la quale si era sfregata assai, fu risoluto farla ricondizionare dal P.re Sig.re Niccolò Vaiani sacerdote fiorentino che possiede alcuni segreti per ripulire le pitture in ogni genere, ed avendocela ressetta a meraviglia, in forma tale che non si riconosce in modo alcun dove era guasta, essendola anco rilavata con somma diligenza, e ridotta in grado che pare si ce dipinta di fresco, e stante la qualcosa, ed anco per che si è ridotta la Compagnia nello stato di sontuoso ornato pareva conveniente il fargli ripulire anco le Piture tanto celebri del nostro Chiostro....” ASF, CRS 1196.19, 119. According to this passage, Vaiani, who was skilled in cleaning pictures of every type, did such an excellent job with the restoration that it was impossible to see where the picture had been damaged. He cleaned the picture with such diligence and brought it back to such a state that it seemed it had been freshly painted, and because the oratory’s state of sumptuous ornament had been reduced, it seemed advantageous to have him clean the frescoes in the cloister as well. I do not read the first “ridotta” to mean “reduced” in the sense of “cut down”, but rather as “brought back” or “returned”; see, for example, the definition in the Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, where the entry for “riducere, e ridurre” gives a meaning of “ricondurre, far ritornare.”

151 ASF, CRS 1197.20, 1.
During this renovation of the high altar Lorenzo di Credi’s panel was probably cut down to fit its new surround. Niccolò Vaiani, however, was not responsible for modifying the Scalzo’s altarpiece. On 31 March 1734, the company granted an exemption to Francesco Conti for donating a picture of Saint Anne to the oratory and for reducing the altarpiece to a good size (ridusse in buona proporzione la Tavola d[el]’Altar Maggiore) when the Scalzo constructed a larger architectural ensemble for its altar (quando si fece la fabbrica dell’altare in più gran possitura che era prima).  

The panel remained on the altar in the main chapel until the suppression, when it was seized along with several other pictures from the Scalzo oratory. In a list of pictures turned over to the Reale Galleria and the Accademia delle Belle Arti by the Amministrazione del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico drawn up on 20 May 1786, the Scalzo’s altarpiece appears as “Il Battesimo di Nostro Signore, del Maestro di Leonardo da Vinci della Compagnia dell’Altare Maggiore”. The Baptism did not enter the Ducas collection, however. On 14 July 1786 a trade was organized between the Accademia and the Marchese Donato Guadagni that exchanged the Scalzo altarpiece for a picture by Perugino, The Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Sebastian, now in the

152 ASF, CRS 1197.20, 1-2.  
153 ASF, CRS 1197.20, 69.  
154 ASF, PE 507.3. The records in the PE are duplicated in the Archivio dell’Accademia delle Belle Arti [hereafter AABA], and it is these records that most scholars have consulted concerning the fates of the pictures seized in the suppression. For a transcription of the list in the AABA, see Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 467-468. On the Baptism of Christ by Lorenzo di Credi, see Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 471; Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 229.
Uffizi (fig. 56). The Scalzo Baptism can still be seen today in the Guadagni Chapel in the church of San Domenico in Fiesole.¹⁵⁵

Through a combination of inexpensive materials and a mutually beneficial system of exchange and donation, the members of the Scalzo not only outfitted their main chapel with a large sculptural program, but also provided necessary furnishings such as choir stalls and architectural features. It is fitting that as the confratelli assembled in their chapel, the apostles—a group of men who answered a call to a higher purpose and who put their lives in service to Christ—stood over their shoulders and looked down upon their endeavors. It is especially appropriate that the sculptural program was itself the result of a collaborative effort and that the group of the apostles as a whole stood as a testament to the ability of the members of the confraternity to accomplish their goals when they worked together and drew upon their strengths.

The Spogliatoio, or Ricetto dello Scrivano

Between the main chapel and the cloister was a rectangular room measuring seven and three-fourths braccia by fifteen braccia (figs. 28, 31).¹⁵⁶ This room, referred to variously as the spogliatoio (changing room) or the ricetto dello scrivano (vestibule of

¹⁵⁵ Dalli Regoli, Lorenzo di Credi, 148-149; Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 471; Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 211, 218, 229; Ferretti, San Domenico, 34, 68-69. It is interesting to note that in the letter describing the trade, Lorenzo di Credi’s panel, having already been mistakenly attributed to Leonardo, is called “il quadro in tavola di Domenico Ghirlandaio rappresentante il Battesimo di Nostro Signore.” For Domenico Ghirlandaio’s employment in Verrocchio’s shop, see Brown, Leonardo, 34. On Perugino’s panel, see Vittoria Garibaldi, Perugino: Catalogo completo (Florence: Octavo, 1999), 113.

¹⁵⁶ The ricetto dello scrivano now occupies Via Cavour, 71 and on the side fronting Via Cavour forms a small private dwelling (figs. 22 and 57).
the scribe), served two different purposes. As its names suggest, this was where the confratelli changed from their regular clothes into their confraternal robes, as well as where the Scrivano kept his records. On 15 April 1557, the Scalzo paid Francesco di Zanobi, legnaiolo, 190 lire for the fabrication and installation of the maganelle (choir stalls) in the ricetto. Francesco received ten lire per braccio, and therefore installed nineteen braccia of seating along the walls of the room. In the fall of 1564, the confraternity paid two more woodworkers, Giovanni, called “lo Spagna”, and Battista da Frascoli for spalliere for the same room. The manganelle, then, were backed with wooden panels that were capped by a cornice, beneath which ran a gilded inscription in Latin derived from the Vulgate:

PER HUMILITATEM, MODESTIAM, PATIENTIAM SUPPORTANTES
INVICEM, SUPER OMNIA AUTEM HAEC CHARITATEM HABETE QUOD
VINCULUM PERFECTIONIS EST, IN QUA CORPORE IN UNO VOCATI
ESTIS. ESTATE ERGO IMITATORES DEI, SICUT FILII CHARISSIMI,
DEAMBULANTES IN DILECTIONE SICUT ET CHRISTUS DILEXIT NOS
ET TRADIDIT SEMET IPSUM PRO NOBIS, OBLATIONEM, ET HOSTIAM
DEO IN ODOREM SUAVITATIS.

156 The youth confraternity dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin had a similar arrangement in their rooms at San Marco, where the main chapel was preceded by a smaller room that contained small scrittoi, one of which was used to store some of the company’s more valuable objects and therefore kept locked, while the other was outfitted for use as a study. Matchette, “Compagnia della Purificazione,” 78.

157 ASF, CRS 1199.29, 146.
158 ASF, CRS 1199.30, 64 destra; ASF, CRS 1199.30, 66 sinistra.
159 Raccolta, M37. On 2 January 1725, Niccolò Vaiani was paid for cleaning the frescoes in the cloister, as well as the gilded letters beneath the Apostles, and those on the
(Show mutual support through your humility, moderation and patience, but above all these things have charity, because it is the bond of perfection, in which you have been called in one body. Therefore be imitators of God, like very dear sons, walking in love just as Christ too loved us and handed himself over on our behalf, as an offering and sacrifice to God with the savour of sweetness.)

The first part of the inscription, drawn from Colossians 3:12-15, emphasized the collective and charitable aspects of the organization. The confratelli supported each other through their humility, modesty and patience. Above all, they were urged to have charity, which formed the perfect bond that united them in one body. The second portion of the inscription, derived from Ephesians 5:1-2, addressed the focus of the confraternity’s devotional life, the imitation of Christ. It exhorted the brothers to be imitators of God, like dearest children, and to walk in love just as Christ did, who turned himself over for us as a sacrifice to God with the savour of sweetness.161

The ricetto was also decorated with paintings, including a Pietà by Maso da San Friano. According to the eighteenth-century sources, the Pietà, which had been paid for with funds raised through donations made by the brothers themselves, was installed in the manganelle of the ricetto dello scrivano (ripulire le parole d’oro sotto gli apostoli, di Compagnia, e quelle che sono nelle Manganelle d[el] Ricetto d[el]lo scrivano). ASF, CRS 1198.27, 25.

161 The passage from Colossians reads “3:12 Induite vos ergo sicut electi Dei sancti et dilecti viscera misericordiae benignitatem humilitatem modestiam patientiam 3:13 Subportantes invicem et donantes vobis ipsis si quis adversus aliquem habet querellam sicut et Dominus donavit vobis ita et vos 3:14 Super omnia autem haec caritatem quod est vinculum perfectionis 3:15 Et pax Christi exultet in cordibus vestris in qua et vocati estis in uno corpore et grati estote.” The passage from Ephesians reads “5:1 Estote ergo imitatores Dei sicut filii carissimi 5:2 Et ambulate in dilectione sicut et Christus dilexit nos et tradidit se ipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis.”
ricetto before it was moved to the luogo vecchio. Although no contemporary documents directly pertaining to the commission of this picture have come to light, several entries for items related to its installation corroborate the later descriptions. For example, on 16 February 1578, the company purchased several bolts of cloth, one of which, six braccia of “tela azura,” was to make a curtain for the Pietà in the ricetto. A few months later, on 29 June 1578, Lorenzo di Tommaso, fabbro received two lire for the iron rod to hold this same curtain (lire dua p[er] il ferro della cortina della pieta).

The Pietà was probably removed from the spogliatoio during the renovations of the early eighteenth century. It was also at this time that other pictures listed in the accounts from the Settecento were installed in the room. A small picture of the Padre Eterno by Carlo Dolci (fig. 58) had hung above the altarpiece by Lorenzo di Credi before being installed above the door leading to the main chapel from the ricetto dello scrivano. Above the Baptism, Dolci’s God the Father would have become part of the

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162 Richa, Notizie istoriche, 7:205 put the Pietà in the luogo vecchio. The Raccolta, Q3 provides a bit more information about the picture and states that it was first in the ricetto but had been moved to the luogo vecchio, “Quadro dipinto sull’asse d[e]lla Pietà, che prima stava nel ricetto, et ora nel luogo vechio pittura di Tommaso da S[an] Friano fatto con limosine di molti fratelli nel 1531.” The date given for the picture cannot be correct, for Maso was born at around that time. On Maso, see Philippe Costamagna, “Continuity and Innovation: The Art of Maso da San Friano,” in Continuity, Innovation, and Connoisseurship: Old Master Paintings at the Palmer Museum of Art, ed. Mary Jane Harris (University Park, PA: Palmer Museum of Art, 2003), 39. This picture does not appear in the lists of works of art seized by the PE and transferred into the Ducal collections, ASF, PE 507.3. See also Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 467-468; Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 215-217.

163 “…et braza sei di tela azura p[er] fare la chortina ala pietta delo spogliatoio,” ASF, CRS 1203.40, 305v.

164 ASF, CRS 1199.30, 165 destra.

165 In the late seventeenth century, when Baldinucci wrote his biography of Dolce, the Padre Eterno was still above the main altar (Per la compagnia dello Scalzo, colori la
narrative action of the altarpiece; leaning forward and pointing down, He dispatches the
doof the Holy Spirit that breaks through the clouds in a blaze of celestial light in
Lorenzo’s panel (fig. 35). In addition, God’s downturned finger also acts as a signal to
the spectator to direct his attention to Christ’s baptism. It was probably this downward
emphasis that made the picture’s new location—above the door to the chapel—so
appealing. In its new installation, God gestured to the confratelli and beckoned them into
the compagnia. This picture, which was transferred to the Dukal collections during the
suppression, can be found today in the Cappella delle Reliquie in the Galleria Palatina.166

Another work of art, also originally installed in the main chapel, was moved to the
ricetto after the renovations to the oratory. The painting, a representation of The Dream
of Saint Joseph, was bequeathed to the Scalzo along with 20 scudi by Biagio Mandorli on
18 September 1649 with the stipulations that the confraternity recite an office in his
memory each year on the date of his death, and another on the feast of Saint Joseph, and
that the picture be hung in the main chapel, between the first two apostles on the right

\[\text{figura del padre Eterno, che è sopra l’Altar maggiore). Baldinucci, Notizie, 5:351. In}
1708, however, the Ristretto, 46 located the picture above the door to the main chapel in
the spogliatoio (sopra la Porta del luogo Nuovo nel Ricetto). Richa, Notizie istoriche,
7:207 also noted its presence in the spogliatoio. Dolci’s picture might have been installed
in the room shortly after 1 May 1692, when its frame was gilded at the expense of the
Scalzo’s Correttore, Fra Giovanni Alfonso Garzini. ASF, CRS 1196.16, 125v. The
Raccolta, O27, without giving precise dates, traced the panel’s movement from its
position above the altar to its location above the door in the ricetto, “stava sopra la tavola
d[e]ll’altare in compagnia, e ora si tiene sopra la porta di ricetto di compagnia.”
166 In the list of seized pictures, the small painting by Dolci is described as, “Un
Padre eterno, di Carlino dolci, d[e]lla compagnia dello Scalzo.” ASF, PE 507.3. See
this picture, see Francesca Baldassari, Carlo Dolci (Turin: Artema, 1995), 145-146, no. 118.
side.\textsuperscript{167} Even though the confraternity agreed not to move Mandorli’s painting, the installation of windows on the east wall of the chapel left no room for the picture and it was moved to the \textit{spogliatoio}.\textsuperscript{168} Most likely, it remained in this room until it was removed shortly after the suppression, when it appeared on the list of transferred pictures as “Il Sogno di S[an] Giuseppe, di Guido [Reni], della Comp[agni]a dello Scalzo”.\textsuperscript{169}

According to the inventory from 1783, the \textit{ricetto dello scrivano} also contained “diverse cartelle d’aggregazioni,” which must have been rosters of the Scalzo’s officers and members.\textsuperscript{170} It was common for confraternities to have such tablets, which were typically made of wood and divided into vertical columns into which small name plates

\textsuperscript{167} “Ancora per ragione di legato, lassò e lego alla Compagnia di San Giovambatista d[ett]a lo Scalzo un suo ovato con ornamento tutto dorato entrovi dipinto di buona mano un San Giuseppe dormiente con l’Angelo, che gli’Apparisce in sogno ... e q[ue]llo allora lo devino collocare in detta Compagnia a’ man’ diritta tra li duoi primi Apostoli et ivi affiggerlo, acciò non si possi levare; Et in oltre lassò, e lassa alla med[esim]a Compagnia scudi venti, da conseguirsi come sopra, con obbligo alli fratelli di detta Compagnia di recitare ogni anno in d[ett]a Compagnia del mese di Marzo l’Uffizio à onore di San Giuseppe et in suffragio dell’anima sua.” ASF, CRS 1189.2. The confraternity entered the bequest into their Libro di Partiti e Ricordi on the date of Mandorli’s death, 21 November 1649. ASF, CRS 1196.16, 18v-19r.

\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Raccolta}, Q23. Several entries for payments for work and materials related to the three new windows on the east side of the main chapel appear in the records of the renovation project, including this one for the stonework surrounding the openings, “Per avere fatto tre Archi morti alle finestre in su la strada a con B[racci]a 3 di vano grosse 1/2 B[racci]o muratovi le sue pietre di Cardinaletto con Arco appiano spallette, e sdrucio, e intonacato al pitto in [u]tto [lire] 28 l’una [z] 84-.,” ASF, CRS 1198.27.

\textsuperscript{169} ASF, PE 507.3. See also Sebregondi, “Soppressione,” 468, 499; Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 216, 241 no. 40. Lapucci’s suggestion that this picture be identified with a \textit{Death of Saint Joseph} now in the Museo del Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto a San Salvi is unconvincing, and without being able to identify and examine the picture it is impossible to verify the eighteenth-century attributions to Jacopo Vignali in Richa, \textit{Notizie istoriche}, 7:207 and the \textit{Raccolta}, Q23.

\textsuperscript{170} ASF, PE 44, no. 53.
would have been inserted.¹⁷¹ The company of San Giovanni Battista had several of these
rosters that not only maintained a list of its members, but also a record of its obligations.
For example, on 21 October 1571, the Scalzo paid “Zanobi, legnaiolo” twelve lire to
increase the size of the tablet holding the names of the men in the confraternity (p[er]
*averre chrexiuta la tavola degliomini*), and on 7 and 21 June 1573, Dionigi di Matteo,
*legnaiolo*, received payments totaling four lire for painting a tablet to keep track of ill
members (*u[n]a tavaletta p[er] li infermi*).¹⁷²

Finally, the *ricetto dello scrivano* also displayed a marble tablet with an
inscription recording the consecration of the Scalzo oratory on 7 May 1590:

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SIXTO V. P. M. ET FERDINANDO MED. ETRVRIAE MAGNO DVCI
ALEXANDER MED. ARCH. FLOR. ET S. R. E. CARD. SACELIVM HOC ET
ALTARE DEO ET B. VIRGINI DIVOQVE IOHANNI BAPTISTAE DICATVM
INCLVSIS IN EO DIVORVM BARTHOLOMEI ET BASTIANI ET GREGORII
RELIQVIIS SOLITIS ARCHIEPP. SVFFRAGIIS QVOTANNIS
ENCENIORVM DIE ADVENTIBVS IMPERTENDO SOLEMNITER
CONSECRAVIT AN. DOM. MDLXXXX. NONAS MAII.¹⁷³
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¹⁷¹ Few of these tablets survive, but an example from the seventeenth century can
still be found at the seat of the Florentine Misericordia. Sebregondi, “Religious
Furnishings,” 148-149.

¹⁷² ASF, CRS 1199.30, 122 sinistra; ASF, CRS 1199.30, 136 sinistra.
Unfortunately these items—and the wealth of information they contained—are lost,
including one held in an upstairs storage room that the inventory from 1783 described as
“una Cartella lunga dove esistono i nomi de fratelli del quattrocento.” ASF, PE 44, no.
53.

¹⁷³ A transcription of the inscription can be found in Richa, *Notizie istoriche*,
7:207 and the *Raccolta*, S73.
(On May 7th in the year of our Lord 1590 Alexander Medici, Archbishop of Florence and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, solemnly consecrated to Pope Sixtus V and to Ferdinand Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany this shrine and altar, dedicated to God and to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist; within it are enclosed the relics of Saints Bartholomew, Bastianus and Gregory, and it benefits from the customary promises from the Archbishops to come every year on the day of commemoration.)

In the summer and fall of 1594, the confraternity made several payments to Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci for the marble to make the commemorative tablet (epitaffio della sagra), and paid him to carve the inscription as well (per avere fato le letere della sagra). At the same time, Ludovico, scarpellino was paid for carving a frame for the plaque, while Francesco di Michele da Quinto received three lire for its installation (per avere murato il [e]pitassio della sagra).

The Cloister

South of the ricetto is the first surviving space from the oratory of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo. The cloister, decorated with frescoes by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio, was separated from the rest of the complex after the Leopoldine suppression and became the property of the Accademia delle Belle Arti (figs. 4 and 18).

174 Payments to Ferrucci were entered on 25 July, 20 August and 15 October 1594. ASF, CRS 1200.31, 24 destra, 26 sinistra; ASF, CRS 1203.41, 290r-291r, 295r-296r. Ferrucci had only entered the company on 18 June 1594; on his novitiate see pages 42-45.

175 ASF, CRS 1200.31, 24 sinistra.
The cloister is rectangular, being longer in its north-south dimension than it is from east to west. This can be seen more easily on the plan by Fallani (fig. 30) than on the one by Parigi (fig. 28). The south wall measures 9.54 meters (sixteen and one-third braccia), while the north wall is slightly narrower at 9.29 meters (just under sixteen braccia); each wall on the east and west measures 11.6 meters (just under twenty braccia). In addition to being shorter than the side walls, the north and south walls also contain the doors to the cloister, further reducing the mural surface available for decoration. As such, the shorter walls each have four major frescoes on them: paired figures personifying various virtues and two larger narrative scenes from the life of the Baptist. Each side wall presents four large scenes from the life of Saint John, for a total of twelve narrative scenes and four figures of the virtues (fig. 59).

Along with the rest of the oratory, the cloister underwent renovation in the 1720s and received the vaulted roof that remains today. Other smaller additions include the broken pediments above each door (figs. 4 and 18), although the door surrounds themselves were part of the original construction. Above each door is an inscription. The legend INTROIBO IN DOMUM TUAM (I will enter your house) is carved above the north portal that once gave access to the ricetto dello scrivano, while above the south door the lintel carries a painted inscription that reads LAUDATE DOMINUM IN ATRIO SANCTO EIUS (Praise the Lord in His holy atrium). Drawing on documents and the

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178 Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2:294. The inscriptions are derived from passages in the Vulgate. The first is from Psalms 5:8, “Ego autem in multitudine misericordiae tuae introibo in domum tuam adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo.” (But as
visual evidence present in the frescoes, Shearman suggested that the cloister had a significantly different appearance prior to the eighteenth century. Rather than the rhythmic and airy vaulting that evokes the *cortile* of a *palazzo,* the cloister’s architecture before the renovation was rectilinear, horizontal and low. The original painted decoration extends up the wall approximately four meters and presumably marks where the wall met the truss roof, which would have sloped down from that point towards the center of the courtyard (fig. 60). As part of the new vaulting, the cloister walls were built up an additional six braccia (3.5 m) on each side. The additional weight of the vaults required the installation of four new columns, one added to each corner, to carry the load. A
stone bench encircled the space, set 53 centimeters above the floor. These benches provided the base upon which Andrea built the fictive architecture—a series of pilasters supporting an entablature and an attic zone—that frames his scenes (fig. 61). The frieze contains a continuous band of grotesque ornament featuring angels displaying the *sudarium*, while the attic story is decorated with swags, cherubs and strap-work behind an illusionistic shelf upon which are strewn skulls and bones, penitential emblems that echo the carved features on the cloister’s columns. Immediately above the benches and below the pictorial fields, Sarto painted a series of *basamenti*, now almost completely effaced. Below each narrative scene, these *basamenti* contained geometric decorations that framed passages from the Vulgate that corresponded to the scene above. In the space below each of the virtues on the end walls, Sarto painted figures of a saint or saints that embodied the virtues personified above.

columns as Parigi’s plan suggests, the painted architecture and the real structure would have been at odds, with the structure impeding views of the decoration. Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 210-213. Furthermore, if there had been a dozen columns in the cloister at the end of the Cinquecento, the confraternity would have hardly needed to commission four more in the Settecento to complete a plan that required only ten. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 53; idem, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 215-216; Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2:29. In the records of the renovation, the bench installed is described as a replacement for an earlier one, “Per aver messo la Panchina nuova ove era la vecchia.” ASF, CRS 1198.27, 76 [not numbered in manuscript]. This bench can be seen in the plans for an unrealized project by Filippo Nini from 1821 for a roof that would have protected the frescoes from further deterioration and alleviated the dampness of the cloister (figs. 62, 63 and 64). ASF, Scrittoio FL 2077.19.

The frescoed lunettes above the attic, with urns and more skulls, were a requirement of the 1722 vaulting, which exposed a portion of the wall previously hidden by the horizontal roof treatment. Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 210-211.

The poor condition of the dado level can be accounted for by the presence of the bench, the users of which would have rubbed against the wall and degraded the surface, as well as the fact that its lower position made it more susceptible to weather, damp, and flooding.
The Frescoes of the Life of John the Baptist

Although the frescoes were not painted in narrative order, a description of the decorative cycle is more easily followed if it proceeds in that manner, rather than according to the date of the execution of the frescoes. The cycle begins on the south wall, to the right of the entrance, with the personification of Faith (fig. 65) painted around 1523. Below the personification of this virtue is a small tondo, hardly visible, representing Saint John the Evangelist, holding his attribute of a cup containing a serpent. The Evangelist’s attribute is not only a visual echo of the chalice held by Faith above, but is also an emblem of the saint’s faith, which, according to the *Golden Legend*, was strong enough that he agreed to drink poison in order to demonstrate to Aristodemus the power of the Christian God. The next fresco opens the cycle of the Baptist’s life, which reads counterclockwise, with the scene of the Annunciation to Zacharias (fig. 66), also painted in 1523. Turning the corner to the east wall, the next scene is the

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Finally, Carocci “La Compagnia e il Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 69 reported in 1915 that the Accademia, in order to decrease “la grave spesa del restauro di tutte le parti decorative al disotto delle storie, preferì di coprirne i resti con una volgare coloritura.”

Scholars have long suspected that *Faith* is a portrait of Sarto’s wife, Lucrezia del Fede, that not only pays her homage but also puns on her name. No payment entry for this fresco has been found in the Scalzo account books, leading Shearman to suggest that Sarto, as a member of the confraternity, had presented the work free of charge. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2:304-305; Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, 1:122; Natali, *Andrea del Sarto*, 164; Proto Pisani, *Chiostro dello Scalzo*, 25. For the documentary evidence of Sarto’s membership in the Scalzo, see O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 261-263.


The counterclockwise arrangement of the frescoes in the Chiostro dello Scalzo recalls the disposition of fresco cycles in monastic cloisters. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches*, 431-1600 (Chicago:
Visitation, painted in 1524 (fig. 67), followed by the Birth of the Baptist, Sarto’s final contribution to the cloister’s decoration, and for which he received his payment on 24 June 1526—the feast of San Giovanni Battista (fig. 68).  

Franciabigio, Andrea’s friend and sometime collaborator, painted the final two scenes on the east wall while Sarto was away at the court of François I. These two scenes present apocryphal episodes from the life of the young Baptist. The Blessing of the Baptist, painted in 1519 (fig. 69), shows John leaving for his life in the desert as a hermit, where he will later encounter Christ, as represented in the Meeting of Christ and Saint John in the Desert, painted one year earlier in 1518 (fig. 70).

Upon entering and approaching the center of the cloister, the spectator immediately takes in the scenes from John’s life that represent his mission and his interaction with Christ, which are positioned on the north end of the atrium. The fresco on the right side of the north wall, The Baptism of Christ (fig. 36), was Sarto’s first effort in the cloister, painted before 1514. This scene—arguably the crux of the Baptist’s life,

University of Chicago Press, 1990), 245, 331 n. 59. On the Annunciation to Zacharias, see Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 2:304-305; Freedberg, Andrea del Sarto, 1:122-123; Natali, Andrea del Sarto, 162; Proto Pisani, Chiostro dello Scalzo, 25-26; Hirdt, Barfuß zum lieben Gott, 55-63.

187 Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 2:305-307; Freedberg, Andrea del Sarto, 1:130-131, 139-140; Natali, Andrea del Sarto, 161, 173; Proto Pisani, Chiostro dello Scalzo, 27-28; Hirdt, Barfuß zum lieben Gott, 65-80.

188 Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 1:57; Freedberg, Andrea del Sarto, 2:47; Natali, Andrea del Sarto, 120.

189 Proto Pisani, Chiostro dello Scalzo, 30-32; McKillop, Franciabigio, 63-65, 159-163, 249-251.

190 No payment entry for this fresco can be found because its execution predates the Scalzo’s extant accounting records. Scholars have relied on stylistic analysis to assign a date to this work, but these efforts have produced results that vary from 1507 to 1515. For summaries, see Shearman, Andrea del Sarto, 2:297; Natali, Andrea del Sarto, 199 n.
the moment when he fulfills his role as Christ’s forerunner—is given the place of honor to the right of the door.\textsuperscript{191} Around 1514, Sarto painted the personification of Charity (fig. 71) between the \textit{Baptism} and the door to the \textit{ricetto dello scrivano}.\textsuperscript{192} An entry in the Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi states that Domenico di Giovanni, \textit{cocchiere} (coachman), had Andrea paint the figure of Charity in the cloister in 1520 (\textit{1520 Domenico di Giovanni Chocchiere fece fare la carità ne nostri chiostri à Andrea del sarto}), but this record—like many others at the beginning of the Libro de’ Benefattori—was written in the 1590s and it is possible that the date is incorrect.\textsuperscript{193} In the dado below, the representation of Saints Francis and Dominic, the mendicant founders appropriate to this virtue, has been completely destroyed.

On the left side of the door, Sarto painted \textit{Justice} (fig. 72) and the \textit{Preaching of the Baptist} (fig. 73) in 1515.\textsuperscript{194} Scholars have noted that the frescoes on the north wall are out of narrative sequence, which prompted Shearman to suggest that the project was

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105. On this fresco, see also Freedberg, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 1:15-17; Proto Pisani, \textit{Chiostro dello Scalzo}, 32-33; Hirdt, \textit{Barfuß zum lieben Gott}, 81-89.

\textsuperscript{191} Lavin, \textit{Place of Narrative}, 247 calls the perspective of the spectator entering a space the “view from the door,” and argues that in the Chiostro dello Scalzo “this dispositional concept ... caused the \textit{Baptism} to be painted first.”

\textsuperscript{192} Shearman, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 2:298-299; Freedberg, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 1:42-43; Natali, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 63-65; Proto Pisani, \textit{Chiostro dello Scalzo}, 33-34.

\textsuperscript{193} ASF, CRS 1198.26, 1. On this entry see Shearman, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 2:298.

\textsuperscript{194} The incised outlines of two bishop saints in conversation are barely visible in the dado below \textit{Justice}. Payments for these two frescoes are the first to appear in the Scalzo’s account book, ASF, CRS 1198.28. Many of these entries were first published by Milanesi, and can be found in Shearman, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 2:387-403 and in Freedberg, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, at the page numbers cited for each of the works below. On the \textit{Justice} and the \textit{Preaching} see Shearman, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 2:299-300; Freedberg, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 1:47, 49-50; Natali, \textit{Andrea del Sarto}, 68-69; Proto Pisani, \textit{Chiostro dello Scalzo}, 36-38; Hirdt, \textit{Barfuß zum lieben Gott}, 99-106.
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modified after it had begun. Lavin sees the transposition of the frescoes as deriving from the gospel of John the Evangelist (John 1:29-36), where the Biblical text does not directly describe Christ’s baptism, but has the Baptist himself recount the event to a group of listeners. Thus, for Lavin, the **Baptism of Christ** does not represent the event as it happened. Instead it functions as a vision conjured by the Baptist as he stands before the assembled crowd to tell them what he saw.

In 1517 Sarto was paid for painting the **Baptism of the People** (fig. 75) and the **Arrest of the Baptist** (fig. 76), the two frescoes on the north side of the west wall. These were the last two frescoes Andrea finished before he left Florence for the court of François Ier. When Franciabigio made his contributions to the cycle, he did so on the east wall— which in 1518 was still blank— perhaps as a way of minimizing the disjunction between his work and Sarto’s. Sarto returned to the cloister in 1521 and continued the decoration where he left off on the west wall with the **Dance of Salome** (fig. 61), which was followed in 1523 by the completion of the **Beheading of the Baptist**

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195 Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 1:56
196 Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, 246-247. Up to now, no one has remarked on the fact that the disposition of the frescoes on the east and north walls follows that of Lorenzo di Credi’s altarpiece (fig. 35), with the meeting of Christ and John in the desert on the right side, the Baptism occupying the central scene, and the representation of John preaching on the left. It is possible that Sarto looked to the Scalzo’s altarpiece as he laid out the sequence of scenes in the cloister. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2:298 noted the similarity between the figures of the Baptist in both representations of the Baptism, although he claimed that the altarpiece “is not necessarily the earlier work.”
198 Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 1:57; McKillop, *Franciabigio*, 63 notes that Franciabigio painted all of the fictive architecture on this wall and, had Sarto not returned when he did, Franciabigio would probably have painted all four narrative scenes as well.
(fig. 77), the *Feast of Herod* (fig. 78) and the personification of Hope, with two more bishop-saints in the tondo below, on the west side of the south door (fig. 79).\(^{199}\) Although Sarto himself went on to complete the cycle by painting one more virtue and three large fields, the narrative ends here on the other side of the door from where it began.

Presiding over the cloister from above the south door is a bust of Sarto by Alessandro di Domenico Geri (fig. 53) that was commissioned shortly after the renovations to the cloister and replaced a previous bust of Andrea sculpted by Cosimo Salvestrini in 1623 that had been damaged.\(^{200}\) The bust by Salvestrini was, in turn, modeled on an earlier bust by Giovanni Caccini installed in 1606 in another important site decorated by Andrea, the Chiostro dei Voti at Santissima Annunziata (fig. 80).\(^{201}\)

**The Ingresso or Primo Ricetto**

South of the cloister is the *ingresso* or *primo ricetto*, a small, barrel-vaulted space that serves today, as it did in the past, as the main entrance to the Scalzo oratory. At the end of the Cinquecento, this room contained an altar and what were probably modest choir stalls. The stucco relief of Saints John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, Jerome, and the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross (fig. 81) replaced a painting destroyed in the renovations of the 1720s—most likely of the same subject—that itself had been restored.

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\(^{200}\) For Geri see page 138 n. 109. On the bust by Salvestrini, see the *Raccolta*, A3, B15, S51.

\(^{201}\) Schmidt, *Caccini*, 170.
in 1564 by Salvadore di Giuliano.\textsuperscript{202} Some eighteenth-century sources suggested that the painting restored by Salvadore was a work by Paolo Uccello—or at least one of his followers—but such a claim cannot be substantiated.\textsuperscript{203} The choir stalls in the \textit{ingresso} (2 pezi di sederi cole spaliere fatoci dreto al usci da via cioe ne receto de crocifiso), were purchased from Battista di Girolamo da Frascoli on 3 July 1564 for 105 lire.\textsuperscript{204} On 1 January 1623, Paolo d’Antonio Laurentini, \textit{orefice}, donated a bust of Saint Antoninus, the beloved Florentine Archbishop who approved the Scalzo’s first set of statutes in 1456—a fact reiterated by the bust’s inscription: HIC DEDIT REGULAM (figs. 4 and 52).\textsuperscript{205} According to the \textit{ricordo} from 1623, the bust was installed above the door to the street in the \textit{ingresso}, and it was listed in this location by the \textit{Raccolta} of 1745 and the inventory

\textsuperscript{202} Salvadore received twelve lire on the Feast of Saint John, 24 June 1563, for repainting the wall with the crucifix \textit{(p[er] avere ridipita 1.o rachonco fato di nuova nel muro dove e crocifiso)}, as well as painting an arch above the mural and gilding a Bernardian monogram \textit{(e p[er] avere dipito larcho e mesa a oro 1.o nome di gieso tuto va sopra ala tela)}. ASF, CRS 1199.30, 60 sinistra. See also Richa, \textit{Notizie istoriche}, 7:211.

\textsuperscript{203} “...nell’Altare del primo Ingresso la Vergine Santa, con S. Gio. Evangelista, S. Girolamo, e la Maddalena a piè della croce, pittura pure nel muro, si crede di allievo di Paolo dell’ Uccello.” \textit{Ristretto}, 47; “Pittura nel muro dll’altare dl primo ingresso si crede di Paolo Uccelli.” \textit{Raccolta}, P11. It is impossible to evaluate these claims for several reasons. Not only does the restored fresco not survive, but the records are not precise as to what kind of painting Salvadore restored. Clearly if it was a fresco, it could not have been by Uccello, whose death in 1475 predated the construction of the Scalzo oratory by at least twelve years. However, if the picture was moveable, there is a possibility that it had been painted before the Scalzo made their second land purchase in 1487 and significantly expanded the oratory. Unfortunately, with no visual or documentary evidence, Uccello’s presence cannot be confirmed.

\textsuperscript{204} ASF, CRS 1199.30, 64 sinistra.

\textsuperscript{205} Laurentini’s donation is recorded in the Libro de’ Benefattori e Ricordi, “Addi p[ri]mo di Gennaio 1622 Ricordo come Pagolo d’Ant[onio] Laurentini orefice dono alla nostra Comp[agnia] una testa al naturale de s[ant’] Antonino che si e messo sopra all uscio della strada.” ASF, CRS 1198.26, 18r.
taken in 1783. Most likely it remained in this position—along with the other statue in the *ingresso*, the terracotta *Baptist*—even after the suppression. In fact, Carocci claimed in 1915 that he had only recently discovered the bust, which had been long since forgotten in its dark niche above the door.

On 5 July 1626, the Scalzo decided unanimously (*con il consenso di tutti i fratelli*) to grant permission to build a room above the *ingresso* to Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici (*noi gli concedissimo il luogo sopra il p[rim]o Altare p[er] fare quivi una stanza*). For his part, the cardinal promised to make certain that the building project would not damage the oratory (*promettendo il d[ett]o Sig[no]re Card[ina]le di haver sempre l’occhio di non far danno alla Compagnia*).

This room, shown clearly in Fallani’s cross-section of the *ingresso*, cloister and *ricetto dello scrivano* (fig. 30), was connected to the Casino Mediceo by a passageway visible on Fallani’s plan of the oratory’s second floor (fig. 32). Shortly after receiving the air rights to the *ingresso*, Carlo donated a set of blue wall hangings (*tende turchine*) on 20 August 1626 to protect the recently cleaned frescoes in the cloister.

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206 *Raccolta*, A6, T2, T12; ASF, PE 44, no. 53.
207 “È il busto del pio arcivescovo, che ebbe tanta parte nelle vicende cittadine e che fu vero padre de’ poveri, venne pochi anni addietro ritrovato da chi scrive questo ricordo, in una nicchia al disporia della porta d’ingresso, dove la mancanza assoluta di luce lo aveva fatto dimenticare.” Carocci, “La Compagnia e il Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 66.
208 ASF, CRS 1195.15, 172.
209 The *ricordo* of the cardinal’s gift can be found in ASF, CRS 1195.15, 173; see also the *Raccolta*, P34. T7. On 29 August 1617, the confraternity carried a motion to have the frescoes cleaned by a vote of forty-seven in favor and three against. ASF, CRS 1195.15, 115. For a summary of restoration campaigns in the cloister, see Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2:295.
The Entrance to the Oratory of San Giovanni Battista

The entrance to the oratory of San Giovanni Battista is marked by a small glazed terracotta tympanum representing a half-length figure of Saint John the Baptist flanked to either side by kneeling confratelli wearing the black robes of the Scalzo and holding flails made of knotted cords (figs. 3 and 9). Like the other items—Sarto’s *Baptism of Christ* and Lorenzo di Credi’s altarpiece, for example—commissioned and executed before 1515, the date of the earliest extant accounting records from the Scalzo, the tympanum is a work for which no documentation has been found. Marquand gave the lunette to Benedetto Buglioni and assigned it a date of 1480 to 1490. In 1985, however, Gentilini tentatively suggested that the tympanum might have come from the workshop of Giovanni della Robbia—a descendent of the family from whom, according to Vasari, Benedetto Buglioni illicitly obtained the secret for glazing terracotta. Recently, this attribution was reiterated with more certainty by Proto Pisani, although the Scalzo documents seem to support Marquand’s attribution.

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211 “Sul portale della Confraternita di S. Giovanni Battista o ‘dello Scalzo’ (Via Cavour) lunetta con *S. Giovanni Bat. fra due confratelli*, attribuita a Ben[edetto] Buglioni, ma forse della bottega di Giovanni d[ella] R[obbia] (1510c.).” Giancarlo Gentilini, *Le Robbiane 3.1*, Itinerari: Associazione intercomunale n. 10, Area fiorentina (Florence: Conti, 1985), n.p. At the end of the biography of Verrocchio, Vasari wrote that Buglioni received the secret techniques for glazing from a woman who left the house of Andrea della Robbia, and that he went on to do many works in this manner in and around Florence (Fu ne’ tempi d’Andrea Benedetto Buglioni, il quale una donna che uscì la casa Andrea della Robbia ebbe il segreto degl’invetiati di terra, onde fece di quella maniera molte opere in Fiorenza e fuori). Vasari-Barocchi, 3:545.
Consider, for example, that Santi di Michele Buglioni, Benedetto’s ward and pupil—whose relationship with Benedetto was so close that for years some scholars considered him to be Benedetto’s son—was an active member of the company of San Giovanni Battista for most of his adult life. Santi was elected to office on thirty separate occasions between 1534—the date of the earliest extant records—and 1570, and served eight terms as Governatore, three as Consigliere, six as Infermiere, six as Limosiniere, four as Maestro de’ Novizi, and three as Sagrestano. Not only did Santi sponsor at least seven novices between 1550 and 1569, but in May of 1576 the confraternity agreed to provide him with all of the customary funerary benefits—burial in the Scalzo’s tombs in Santissima Annunziata in the confraternal habit, a funeral procession with falcole and a commemorative mass—free of charge. On 12 December

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213 Marquand, Buglioni, xxxii-xxiii.

214 For Santi di Michele Buglioni’s terms as Governatore, see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 52r (01-07-1543), 70r (05-02-1546), 83v (01-05-1550), 104v (01-05-1555), 135v (01-02-1558), 1195.14, 16r (01-04-1562), 27r (09-03-1564), 44r (09-05-1568); as Consigliere, see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 117v (05-01-1556), 1195.14, 32r (09-01-1565), 37v (05-04-1567); as Infermiere see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 24v (05-05-1538), 57v (09-02-1543), 76r (01-01-1548), 79v (08-19-1548), 1195.14, 20v (01-03-1563), 40r (01-04-1568); as Limosiniere see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 1v (01-01-1534), 72v (01-02-1547), 81v (05-05-1549), 1195.14, 24v (01-02-1564), 47v (05-01-1569), 54v (09-02-1570); as Maestro de’ Novizi see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 20v (05-06-1537), 68v (01-03-1546), 71v (09-05-1546), 85v (09-07-1550); as Sagrestano see ASF, CRS 1195.13, 26v (01-01-1539), 90r (09-06-1551), 91v (01-03-1552).

215 For the novices Santi sponsored, see ASF, CRS 1197.21, 57r (01-19-1550), 58r (02-23-1550), 1197.22, 19v (02-02-1564), 23v (11-04-1565), 27v (07-06-1567), 32v (04-03-1569); the motion to waive burial fees for Santi was passed on 1 May 1576, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 80v.
1576, the Scalzo had the Servites of Santissima Annunziata recite the mass of Saint Gregory for Santi’s departed soul.\(^{216}\)

When one considers that the company of the Scalzo encouraged the sons, grandsons and nephews of its members to join the confraternity by offering reduced membership and entrance fees, it seems likely that Santi might have been encouraged to join the company and be active in its administration had his legal guardian and workshop master, Benedetto, done the same.\(^{217}\) Unfortunately, Benedetto’s death on 8 March 1521 predates the surviving records of the Scalzo’s officers and novices, so it is impossible to prove that he was enrolled or to determine what type of role—if any—he might have played in the organization and oversight of the confraternity. Two documents in the extant records, however, suggest that Benedetto was a member. The first is a copy of the testament of Iacopo Saltini from 18 May 1511, where one “Benedicto Joannis Scultore” was listed among the members of the company who witnessed the bequest.\(^{218}\) Marquand demonstrated that Benedetto’s full name was rendered as Benedetto di Giovanni di Bernardo d’Antonio di Migliore, although he was often referred to in documents—including the record of his marriage to Lisabetta Mori on 21 August 1489—as Benedetto di Giovanni, *scultore*.\(^{219}\) Buglioni makes a definitive appearance in the Scalzo’s account book on 2 February 1515, where “Benedetto di Giovanni buglioni” received a payment of

\(^{216}\) ASF, CRS 1195.14, 82v.
\(^{217}\) On the fee structure see pages 44-45.
\(^{218}\) ASF, CRS 1190.7.A. On the testament of Iacopo Saltini, see page 92.
\(^{219}\) Marquand, *Buglioni*, ix, xxvi.
fifty-three lire from the confraternity. Although the payment to Buglioni does not prove his membership in the Scalzo, when coupled with the appearance of a “Benedicto Joannis Scultore” in a list of the confratelli appended to a legal document and the enthusiastic participation of Santi, his adopted son, it makes a compelling case for his involvement in the company.

Careful study of the records has turned up no mention whatsoever of any member of the della Robbia family. A clear pattern of relying on the skills of members to furnish the Scalzo oratory emerges from a study of the documents, and it is difficult to imagine that the confraternity would have turned to the della Robbia workshop for their tympanum if Benedetto Buglioni was a member of the company. Although the evidence that points to Buglioni remains circumstantial, it strengthens Marquand’s original stylistic assessment. Seen in this light, the recent attempt to move the tympanum into Giovanni della Robbia’s oeuvre seems misguided.

The Scalzo Complex after the Suppression of 1785

A proposal to preserve the entire Scalzo complex intact was considered shortly after the lay companies were suppressed and their property seized by the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico in 1785. Bernardo Fallani, the architect assigned the task of estimating the value not only of the oratories, but also of the other properties owned by the suppressed confraternities, suggested in a letter dated 1 April 1785 that the oratory be purchased by

ASF, CRS 1198.28, 26 destra. It is difficult to determine from the entry why Benedetto was being compensated, but it does not appear to be a payment for the tympanum.
the Archduke and attached to the Casino Mediceo (*Sua Altezza Reale farebbe nella disposizione di acquistare la fabbrica d[e]ll la Compagnia dello Scalzo per unirla al Casino di S. Marco*). The letter notes that the purchase of the oratory would not only provide a commodious chapel for the Casino, but also prevent the destruction of the frescoes (*La Chiesa dovrebbe restare per una Cappella di commodo d[e]ll d[ett]o Casino anco per conservarne le Piture*). 221 Another letter written four days later included plans of the oratory and the Casino Mediceo (figs. 29 and 32) and demonstrated that a passageway between the Casino and the oratory already existed and would be easy to reopen, even though the passageway above the cloister was more narrow than it appeared on the plan, thanks to the slope of the roof. 222

Although the plan to convert the oratory into a chapel for the Casino Mediceo was eventually abandoned, the interest in the conservation of the cloister and its frescoes remained. Along with the Chiostro dello Scalzo, the consultants for the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico also earmarked the oratory of Gesù Pellegrino for preservation (fig. 82). Situated on the corner of Via San Gallo and Via degli Arazzieri, the oratory contains a fresco cycle painted around 1590 by Giovanni Balducci, called il Coscia, as well as the

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221 ASF, Scrittoio FL 1998, no. 721.
222 “[E] ciò ad oggetto di rilevare se possa riescire l’accesso dal detto Palazzo alla Surriferita Compagnia, che servir potrebbe di Cappella per il medesimo; e quanto a questo non sembra dover esservi difficoltà come potra rilevare dalle Piante medesime, mediante un Corridore che esiste Lungo il giardino e sulla muraglia della Strada detta Via larga; e questo passo pare che sia stato ancora ne tempi Scorsi; Sebbene nel punto che resta sopra il Loggiato del Chiostro ove Sono Le Pitture a chiaro Scuro di Andrea del Sarto, è praticabile solo p[er] la terza parte della sua Larghezza a motivo del pendio del tetto.” ASF, Scrittoio FL 1998, no. 721.
celebrated tomb marker of il Piovano Arlotto. Unlike the oratory of Gesù Pellegrino, the entire oratory of the Scalzo was ultimately not considered to be worth saving, and the decision was made to separate the cloister and the *ingresso* from the rest of the complex, which could then be stripped of its furnishings, deconsecrated and sold.

On 12 October 1785 the oratory appeared in a list of other confraternal properties along with its estimated value of 680 scudi. On 31 December 1785, Bernard Fallani submitted a bill to the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico for services rendered. On the fifth of that month, Fallani went to the Scalzo cloister to repair water damage it had suffered, most likely from a faulty drain (*Andato alla Compagnia dello Scalzo, a rilevare il danno recato dalle acque che avevano inondato il Chiostro detto delle Pitture di Andrea dl Sarto*). On the thirteenth of December he returned to inspect the progress of the work required to seal off the cloister from the rest of the oratory (*Andato a vedere i Lavori che si facevano alla Compagnia dllo Scalzo per separare il Chiostro delle pitture dal Vaso della Compagnia*), and on the next day he estimated the value of the oratory without the cloister and the *ingresso* to be 480 scudi (*Rimessa La Nuova Stima della Compagnia di S. Gio Batta dell Scalzo, avendo Smembrato il Chiostro dipinto, e il p[ri]mo atrio, e tutto

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221 On the oratory and its frescoes, see Renzo Ammannati, *Firenze: La chiesa di Gesù Pellegrino, dei Pretoni, o del Piovano Arlotto* (Florence: Giorgi & Gambi, 1977), 50-62. The decision to conserve the oratory of Gesù Pellegrino did not guarantee that all of its furnishings and decorative items would remain intact. On 30 July 1785, eighteen lots of items that included small framed prints, a terracotta *Ecce Homo*, benches, armoires, panel paintings and a plaster statue of an unidentified saint were auctioned off to Carlo Ganberini for a total of four hundred lire. ASF, PE 106, no. 215.

224 ASF, PE 109, no. 87.

225 ASF, PE 113, no. 116.
quello che rimane sopra detto Chiostro, e Atrio Stimata [scudi] 480). On 15 December 1785, presumably to clear out the oratory and prepare it for sale, nine lots of items from the Scalzo were sold at auction. These included furnishings such as chests (Diverse Cassapanche), two benches and six choir stalls (Due banchi, sei manganelle, e sue prospere di noce), two confessionalis and a kneeler (Due Confindonali d'albero, un’inginocchiatoio) and several armoires.

Like Fallani, the muratori who performed the work at the cloister also submitted a series of invoices to the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico in the month of December 1785, which shed a little light on the fate of some of the decorative features of the Scalzo oratory. On 5 December 1785, Luigi Romoli wrote up a bill for various jobs performed at the cloister, including repairs to the roof beams and tiles (rimessi alchuni Correnti a d[ett]a tettoia ... e rimesso molte terre cotte nove), the pavement (alzato alcuni pezzi di lastrico in d[ett]o Chiostro), cleaning out clogged drains (ripulite tutte le fogne che erano Ripeine) and sealing up the doors between the cloister and the rest of the oratory (Rimurate tre Porte di muro). Romoli, along with Giuseppe Boccini, was also assigned the demolition of the altars in the suppressed oratories (La demolizione di tutte le mense, e imbasamente di Altari et altro d[e]lle Soppressse Compagnie), and on 17 December 1785, the two removed the four altars from the oratory of the Scalzo (Alla Soppressa Compagnia d[e]llo Scalzo p[er] avere Levato Le pietre Sacrate a quattro altari).

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227 ASF, PE 111, no. 67.
228 ASF, PE 111, no. 103.
229 ASF, PE 114, no. 206.
Later, on the same invoice, the two *muratori* itemized expenses incurred on 25 February 1786 for the removal and transfer of works of art from three suppressed confraternities. From the company of Sant’Antonio in Pinti they removed three glazed terracotta tabernacles and three statues (*levato no. 3 tabernacoli d[ella] Robbia e no. tre Statue*); they also removed a statue of a saint from its niche in the oratory of San Sebastiano (*à S. Bastiano, dietro la SS.ma Noziata, Levato ill’ Santo della Nicchia*). At the oratory of the Scalzo, they took away two statues of apostles (*e allo Scalzo levato i due Apostoli*). These works were transported to the church of San Gaetano (*il tutto portato alla Chiesa di S. Gaetano*), which was being used as a storage depot for other, similar items at the time.\(^{230}\) It is not clear what happened to the sculptures after they arrived at the church. Eight months later, on 3 October 1786, Fallani visited the storage facility and painted a grim picture of the very few works of art—primarily terracottas from suppressed confraternities—that he found there.\(^{231}\) Fallani described only a few items—a Madonna, a Saint Elisabeth, a Virgin and Child, an Annunciate Virgin, and a statuette of Saint Paul—and remarked that many of them were broken or spoiled.\(^{232}\) Fallani then estimated that the entire group was not worth more than forty lire, and, as if

\(^{230}\) ASF, PE 114, no. 206.


\(^{232}\) “Le predette Immagini di terra consistono, in una Madonna, e S. Elisabetta, altra col Bambin Gesù, assai piccola, una Annonziat[...], una Statuett[...], ed altri pezzi di festorni, che formano vari contorni; ma La maggior parte di dette terre sono rotte, e Sciupate.” ASF, PE 117, no. 119.
to underscore their lack of value, he suggested that the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico require the purchaser to pay the costs of moving the items.233

Fallani’s short list of sculptures implies that after they were removed to San Gaetano, the more valuable and more intact works of art were then sold or transferred to other destinations. It is possible that all of the statues of the apostles from the Scalzo oratory made their way to the church at some point, but the documents only mention the two that were transferred on 25 February. Unfortunately, no records that provide any further information about the fate of the statuary brought to San Gaetano have come to light, and with the exception of the two statues removed by Romoli and Boccini, no other references to the sculptures from the oratory of San Giovanni Battista have been found in the documents of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico.

The Sale of the Rooms North of the Cloister

On 29 March 1786, slightly more than a month after Romoli and Boccini removed the two Apostles from the Scalzo oratory, a contract was drawn up to record the sale at public auction of the rooms north of the cloister—the ricetto dello scrivano, the main chapel, sacristy, andito, luogo vecchio, and all the accompanying rooms upstairs—to Giuliano Guglielmi for 625 scudi.234 A few months later, on 19 June 1786, Pietro Pedroni

233 “Considerato pertanto quello che sono, e quanto possa essere il valore delle medesime, a mio sentimento sarebbe, che non oltre passassero la Somma di Lire quaranta, a tutte spese di trasporto per il Compratore.” ASF, PE 117, no. 119.

234 ASF, PE 71, no. 70. It is not clear what Guglielmi did with the oratory, or how long he owned it. According to Carocci, writing in 1915, the space north of the cloister had long served as a government warehouse, which would explain its later conversion into a post office. See page 102 n. 14.
confirmed the receipt of works of art transferred from the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico to the Accademia delle Belle Arti. The Chiostro dello Scalzo was included in the list (L’Atrio della Soppressa Compagnia dello Scalzo, separato dal rimanente della Fabbrica di detta Compagnia, per ragione delle Pitture a fresco, che vi sono) and Pedroni noted that he had already received the keys to the cloister (ho ricevuto le chiavi dell’Atrio della soppressa Compagnia dello Scalzo). A few days later, on 22 June 1786, Fallani returned once more to the cloister and found it excessively damp (pieno di umidità). He also noted that the deterioration of the plaster in the lower portions was threatening the narrative scenes above.236

In the years following the suppression, the Accademia seems to have allowed visitors to see the frescoes. In his guide to the Accademia published in 1817, Carlo Colzi included a section on the cloister, where he not only described the frescoes, but also deplored their poor state of preservation and the dampness of the space.237 According to William Blundell Spence, writing in 1852, visitors had to ask a custodian from the Accademia to accompany them to the cloister, which he would unlock so that they could see the frescoes. Spence also noted that the Accademia had installed a printmaking studio

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235 ASF, PE 507.3. For a transcription of a copy of this record in the archive of the Accademia, see Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 215-217.
236 “[N]el basso l’intonaco è rotto in più luoghi, e questa rottura può estendersi e può attacar ancora le figure.” This document was transcribed by Lapucci, “Storia di alcuni dipinti,” 221.
237 “È veramente deplorabile lo stato in cui si trovano al presente per colpa dell’umidità delle muraglie, e dell’ingiuria delle stagioni; la loro perdita và giornalmente avvicinandosi malgrado le premure di chi presiede alla conservazione delle medesime.” Carlo Colzi, Descrizione dell’I.e e R.e Accademia delle belle arti di Firenze (Florence: Niccolò Carli, 1817), 78-82.
in the space. The Chiostro dello Scalzo is also mentioned in C. J. Cavallucci’s book on the Accademia, where it appears in a list of properties entrusted to the institution that included the cenacolo of San Salvi, the chapel of the Company of Saint Luke and the Chiostri de Voti, both at Santissima Annunziata, among others. In 1890 a short notice in Arte e storia announced plans to open the cloister as a proper museum, and it started to receive visitors at some point before 24 June 1915—the feast of San Giovanni—when Guido Carocci wrote that the “chiostro è oggi un piccolo museo.”

The cloister still functions today, close to a century later, as a small museum. It is all that remains of a much larger and mostly forgotten complex that belonged to the confraternity of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo. In this chapter I have reconstructed from my own close reading of the surviving documents the original appearance and layout of the oratory, from its architecture to its works of art and furnishings. But this reconstruction, even at its best, can only present an incomplete picture. Consider, for example, the glazed terracotta tympanum. It is unfortunate—and perplexing—that there are no references to the lunette in the records from the confraternity, the eighteenth-

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238 “Domandate a custode di accompagnarvi allo Scalzo, una piccola corte appartenente ad una cappella dipinta a chiaroscuro da Andrea del Sarto e di cui il custode ha la chiave; essa contiene dieci affreschi che rappresentano eventi della vita di San Giovanni Battista eseguiti da Andrea, e due dal Franciabigio nei quali San Giovanni si accomiata dal padre e incontra il Signore: qui si trova anche una scuola di incisione diretta dal Professor Perfetti.” William Blundell Spence, Firenze: Guida alla capitale dei granduchi (Siena: Nuova Immagine, 1986), 34.

239 Cavallucci, Notizie storiche, 102-103.

240 “A proposito di musei e di locali da aprire al pubblico, tempo addietro fu annunziato che si pensava di aprire anche il celebre chiostro dello Scalzo posto in Via Cavour, dove sono gli affreschi di Andrea Del Sarto. Crediamo che il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione promuoverà quanto prima il decreto che autorizza tale apertura.” “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” Arte e storia 9 (1890): 182; Carocci, “La Compagnia e il Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 64.
century suppression, or even in the nineteenth-century guidebooks. If the relief itself had not survived, there would be no chance of knowing that it had existed. Even with these caveats and qualifications, however, I believe that my study of the documentary evidence has answered many longstanding questions about how the oratory of San Giovanni Battista appeared and what types of objects it contained. Perhaps more importantly, the records have also revealed the innovative patronage strategies employed by the company. On the one hand, the confraternity became a source of patronage for its members, providing work to goldsmiths, stonecutters and muratori and paying them for their services. On the other hand, the Scalzo employed a system of barter and exchange that not only tapped into the skills possessed by its members, but also allowed those same members to enjoy the benefits of membership at reduced or waived fees. The next chapter examines this process more closely, and scrutinizes the company’s role as patron, as well as how the members of the Scalzo maximized the return on the objects that they donated.
CHAPTER 4

“Per l’amor d’Iddio”:
The Commission for a Sculptural Program of the Apostles for the
Company of San Giovanni Battista dello Scalzo, Florence

Patterns of Patronage within the Scalzo

When, at the end of the Cinquecento, the company of San Giovanni Battista
turned its attention toward the completion of the sculptural program of the apostles for
the main chapel of its oratory, the organization already had a history of acting as a
corporate patron to the artists and artisans in its ranks. For images that ranged from the

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1 Many of the entries from the late Cinquecento that record donations of works of
art to the confraternity in the Libro de Benefattori e Ricordi state that the gift was made

2 The company’s patronage did not have a discernible political component—
indeed few of its members held the social station necessary for political patronage—and
seems to have consisted solely of the purchase of goods and services. Some scholars have
argued that the principal strains of patronage—artistic patronage, or mecenatismo, and
political patronage, or clientelismo—should be treated as essentially separate and distinct
phenomena. See, for example, Tracy E. Cooper, “Mecenatismo or Clientelismo? The
Character of Renaissance Patronage,” in The Search for a Patron in the Middle Ages and
the Renaissance, ed. David G. Wilkins and Rebecca L. Wilkins (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen
Press, 1996), 19-32, and Gary Ianziti, “Patronage and the Production of History: The
Case of Quattrocento Milan,” in Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy, ed. F.
Dale Kent, Cosimo de’ Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron’s Oeuvre
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 8, and Jill Burke, Changing Patrons: Social
Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence (University Park: Pennsylvania
State University Press, 2004), 4-5 have downplayed this distinction. The literature on
patronage in the Renaissance is substantial; good introductions can be found in Alison
Wright and Eckart Marchand, “The Patron in the Picture,” in With and Without the
Medici: Studies in Tuscan Art and Patronage, 1434-1530, ed. Eckart Marchand and
Alison Wright (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 1-18; Cooper, “Mecenatismo or
Clientelismo?”, 19-32; Kate Lowe, “The Progress of Patronage in Renaissance Italy,”
“Renaissance Patronage: An Introductory Essay,” in Patronage, Art, and Society in
Renaissance Italy, ed. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987),
monumental fresco cycle of the life of its patron saint by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio to the hundreds of company emblems Ruberto di Filippino Lippi painted on candles, the Scalzo almost always turned to the skills of its members to meet its needs.  

In this respect, the Scalzo was not alone. Karen-edis Barzman has demonstrated that the  

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3 On Sarto as a member of the Scalzo, see O’Brien, “Andrea del Sarto,” 261-262. Ruberto, the son of Filippino Lippi, was elected to office six times, serving twice as Governatore, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 11v (09-01-1560), 20v (03-01-1563); twice as Infermiere, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 135v (0-02-1558), 1195.14, 33r (01-06-1566); and once each as Maestro de’ novizi, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 117v (05-01-1556) and as the guarantor (mallevadore) for the Sagrestano, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 22r (05-02-1563). Ruberto was also the sponsor of Benvenuto Cellini’s novitiate on 17 January 1557, ASF, CRS 1195.13, 125r; ASF, CRS 1197.21, 80v. From the late 1550s until the early 1570s, Ruberto received several payments from the Scalzo for painting the company’s emblem on processional candles distributed to the confratelli; he was also paid to paint insignia for the company’s robes. The entries for the candles are in ASF, CRS 1199.30, 13 destra (03-14-1558), 23 sinistra (02-11-1559), 31 sinistra (02-02-1560), 54 sinistra (02-22-1562), 56 destra (09-08-1562), 124 sinistra (02-17-1572); for the robes, see ASF, CRS 1199.30, 16 destra (06-19-1558), 39 destra (1561; no precise day or month given in manuscript). Finally, the confraternity said an office in his memory on 19 July 1574. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 73v. For more on the candles, see page 57 n. 109. For Ruberto, see Jonathan Nelson, “Aggiunte alla cronologia di Filippino Lippi,” *Rivista d’arte* 43 (1991): 50-51.
Accademia del Disegno used a similar strategy to decorate the candles that its members carried in procession on Candlemas, and either paid the painter a small fee or granted him a reduction in his membership dues.\textsuperscript{4} Nicholas Eckstein has shown that in the first half of the Quattrocento, the company of Sant’ Agnese turned to the artists in its ranks to produce sets and machinery for the dramatic performance of Christ’s Ascension that the confraternity staged annually in the Carmine.\textsuperscript{5} Eckstein has also argued that confraternities were an important source of employment “not just for artists, but for anyone who could provide a service or a product that the company needed.”\textsuperscript{6}

It is true that the Scalzo’s patronage of its members was not limited to works of art, but it must be noted that the confraternity often employed the same strategy of offering exemptions from fees in lieu of remuneration for work performed. In September of 1584, for example, the Scalzo made several payments to a member of the company, Ristoro di Piero, \textit{muratore}, for the labor and materials he provided to repair the roof of the oratory’s cloister.\textsuperscript{7} It seems that Ristoro acted as the \textit{capomastro} on the job and was himself not actually paid. In an agreement identical to those that would be forged between the Scalzo and the sculptors of the apostles, the confraternity had already passed a motion on 7 December 1572 to exempt Ristoro from fees and fines (\textit{ristoro di piero}

\textsuperscript{4} Barzman, \textit{Florentine Academy}, 200.  
\textsuperscript{5} Eckstein, \textit{Green Dragon}, 50-51.  
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., 51.  
\textsuperscript{7} On 20 September 1584, the Scalzo paid Ristoro 27 lire 15 soldi for work performed on the cloister’s roof (\textit{p[er] tante opere di maest[ri] e manovali p[er] rasetare il teto del chortile di n[ostr]a chompagnia}). ASF, CRS 1199.30, 210 destra. Ristoro’s membership is confirmed by his election as an Infermiere in 1572 and 1586, and as a Limosiniere in 1573. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 63r, 69v, 124r. Ristoro also received the commission to install the Scalzo’s \textit{stemmi} on three of the company’s rental properties in November of 1584. For more on these emblems, see pages 88-89.
muratore sia esente della tassa e punto) in exchange for inspections and maintenance of the oratory’s roof (detto Ristoro sia tenuto ogni anno almanco dua volte rivedere etetti di nostra compagna e bisognando racconcere e nettare detti tetti). Although these types of arrangements have gone largely unnoticed by scholars, their prevalence in the books of the Scalzo and their occasional appearance in the published scholarship would suggest that such barter systems were common.

Individual Confratelli Acting as Patrons

Within the complex web of relationships between the confraternity and its members, the company was not always the sole source of patronage. As we have seen in the previous chapter, individual members often made contributions to the company, thereby casting themselves in the role of patron and making the organization the beneficiary of their generosity. These contributions were often made by people in a

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8 ASF, CRS 1195.14, 65v; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 41r. The tradition of arranging for a member to inspect and repair the oratory’s roof was maintained into the Seicento. On 18 February 1590, the company voted unanimously to exempt Cosimo di Piero Fantini, muratore, from dues and fines in exchange for his upkeep of the roof. This record cites the precedent of the arrangement with Ristoro, Cosimo’s brother, “R[icor]do chome q[ues]ta matina adi 18 di febr[aio] 1589 e n[ostr]o padre governatore e p[er] lui e sua venerabili consiglieri di sua comesione e tuto el [c]horpo della compagna feciano [u]no partito vinto p[er] n[umer]o 30 fave tute nere che m[aestr]o Cosimo di Piero fantini muratore sia esente di sua tassa chome era ristoro suo fratello parere lobrigo di rivedere e nostri tetti.” ASF, CRS 1197.22, 84v. This vote is also entered at ASF, CRS 1195.14, 139v, where it states that Cosimo must perform the inspection twice each year and when necessary (rivedere e nostri tecti di chopagni 2 volte lano e quando ano bisognio). On 22 March 1609, the Scalzo entered an identical arrangement with Piermaria d’Antonio Pierati, muratore. ASF, CRS 1195.15, 54r; ASF, CRS 1197.23, 23r.

9 Black, Italian Confraternities, 237 noted that when the Perugian Sodalizio di San Martino needed a new oratory in the late 1570s, “the then Prior of the fraternity bought the site and amore Dio presented it to his co-brothers. His reward was to have the benefits of the fraternity for life, without any expenses or duties.”
position to exploit their access to materials or objects useful to the confraternity. This was certainly true in the case of Alfonso Parigi, who donated stone for the renovation of the *luogo vecchio* and the construction of the tabernacle for the Sangallo crucifix, as it was with several of the sculptors who donated figures of the apostles to the decorative program in the main chapel.\(^{10}\) Of course, even these donations were not always gifts; the exemptions some of the sculptors received in exchange for their statuary acted in their own way as a form of payment.

At other times, however, members of the Scalzo assumed a more traditional role as patron, as did Iacopo Chiti when he commissioned the altarpiece for the *luogo vecchio* from Giovanbattista Mossi (fig. 38).\(^{11}\) But even this case is complicated by Giovanni Bandini’s donation of the wood for the panel and its frame. What becomes clear, from a thorough perusal of the records, however, is that the decoration of the Scalzo oratory allowed individuals who—owing to their relatively modest economic or political stations—were not often able to act in the role of benefactor to underwrite at least some of the cost of an altarpiece or a sculpture.\(^{12}\) Barzman argued that the members of the Accademia del Disegno subsidized the cost of decorating their residences by donating works of art and making small monetary contributions.\(^{13}\) This suggests that the type of modest art patronage carried out by the middle-class artisans at the Scalzo was probably

\(^{10}\) On the tabernacle for the Sangallo crucifix, see pages 126-128.
\(^{11}\) For the commissioning of the altarpiece from Mossi, see pages 116-117.
\(^{13}\) Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 12.
more common to the corporate organizations of Renaissance Florence than scholars have previously considered.

The Commissioning of the Apostles for the Main Chapel

Valerio di Simone Cioli not only inaugurated the program of the apostles but also set the precedent for the donation of statuary in exchange for exemptions from fees and fines when he gave the Scalzo a statue of Saint Bartholomew in 1592.\textsuperscript{14} The documents show that two other sculptors, Raffaello di Francesco Petrucci and Antonio di Clemente Novelli, also received exemptions in exchange for their donations of Saint Thaddeus and Saint John the Evangelist, respectively.\textsuperscript{15} The documents also suggest that Andrea Ferrucci donated at least one figure, probably of Saint Peter.\textsuperscript{16} These four sculptures were not the only items donated to the decorative program in the main chapel, however. Four others—Saint Simon by Giulio Parigi, Saint John the Evangelist by Giovanbattista Mossi, Saint Thomas and Saint James the Less by Giovanni Caccini—were purchased for the confraternity not by individuals, but by groups of members (parecchi uomini) who apparently pooled their resources in order to make the donation possible.\textsuperscript{17} Of the five statues that remain, Saint James the Greater by Cioli and Saint Matthew by Andrea Ferrucci were purchased outright by the Scalzo, while no information as to how the Saint

\textsuperscript{14} See page 143 n. 123.
\textsuperscript{15} For Petrucci, see page 148; on Novelli, see page 146 n. 128.
\textsuperscript{16} See pages 146-148.
\textsuperscript{17} See pages 144-146.
Matthias by Piero Rotilenzi or the Saints Andrew and Philip by Antonio Susini were commissioned has turned up so far in the Scalzo documents. Of the securely documented sculptors who contributed to the program, only Cioli and Caccini had established their professional reputations before making their donations to the Scalzo. By the time of his first donation in 1584, Cioli was fifty-five years old and had produced works for the Boboli gardens (figs. 83 and 84) and had worked on the tomb of Michelangelo in Santa Croce (fig. 85). It was also in 1584 that Raffaello Borghini called Caccini the hope for the future success of Florentine sculpture (speranza di far gran riuscita nella scultura). By the time he made his contributions to the Scalzo program in 1593, Caccini had executed statues of Saints Bartholomew and Zanobi for the Carenesecchi Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, as well as a series of marble busts in

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18 For the slim documentary evidence on these figures, see pages 145 n. 127, 148-149.
19 On Cioli’s statues of the dwarves Morgante and Barbino installed in the Boboli gardens in the 1560s, see Litta Maria Medri, “Il Cinquecento. Le sculture e le fontane. Allegorie mitologiche e ‘Villani’ nel giardino,” in Il giardino di Boboli, ed. Litta Maria Medri (Siena: Banca Toscana, 2003), 110-112; Vanessa Montigiani, “Nano Morgante sopra la tartaruga,” in ibid., 189; Litta Maria Medri, “Cat. 117: Nano Barbino,” in Palazzo Pitti: La reggia rivelata, ed. Gabriella Cappecchi and others (Milan: Giunti, 2003), 568. Cioli received a commission for a statue in the Cappella di San Luca, but it appears that he did not make much progress with the commission before it was turned over to another sculptor, possibly Giovanni Vincenzo Casali. On this and the sculptural program of the chapel generally, see David Summers, “The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata,” Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz 14 (1969): 67-90. On Cioli’s contribution to Michelangelo’s tomb, see Fischer, “Valerio Cioli,” 80-104.
various locations, including one of Christ that was installed in a corner niche on Via de’ Cerretani (fig. 86), and his career was well underway.\footnote{For Caccini’s career before 1593, see Caterina Caneva, “Giovanni Battista Caccini, Firenze 1559/1562-1613,” in Il Seicento Fiorentino: Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III (Florence: Cantini, 1986), 3:44-45; Schmidt, Caccini, 140-158. On the marble bust of Christ on Via de’ Cerretani, see Arjan de Koomen, “De Christus van Caccini,” Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 49, no. 4 (2001): 329; Schmidt, Caccini, 145-146. Agostino Lapini described the installation of this bust in his diary, “A’ di 28 di marzo 1587, che fu il Sabato Santo, si scoperse quel bel ritratto di marmo, e bella testa di Cristo, insieme con la bella nicchia, posta su la cantonata della casa de’ Cerretani dal Canto alla Paglia, fatta fare per Pagolo e Francesco fratelli Cerretani, e condotta e fabricata per mano di maestro Giovanni di Michelagnolo Caccini scultore di età d’anni 28. Fu tenuta per lo universale cosa rara e bella. Spesano in tutto scudi 100 incirca, che così mi disse in padre proprio di detto maestro Giovanni.” Agostino Lapini, Diario fiorentino di Agostino Lapini dal 252 al 1596, ed. G. O. Corazzini (Florence: Sansoni, 1900), 257-258.}

Giulio d’Alfonso Parigi, who went on to become an important stage designer and architect, was, at the age of twenty-two, a relatively untested figure when he was commissioned to sculpt the Saint Simon for the oratory.\footnote{Giulio had only matriculated in the Accademia del Disegno a few years earlier, on 2 February 1590, and in that same year he—along with other giovani—had been assigned as a pedagogical exercise the completion of a canvas upon which he was to represent Arithmetic. For Parigi’s entrance into the Accademia, see Zangheri, Gli Accademici, 245. On the painting of Arithmetic, see Barzman, Florentine Academy, 74-75. On Parigi’s early career, see Blumenthal, Giulio Parigi’s Stage Designs, 24-58, and especially 40-41 for his work as an assistant to his father, Alfonso, and his great-uncle, Bartolomeo Ammannati.} The same is true of Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci. Both of these sculptors came from established artistic families, but were just beginning to shape their reputations.\footnote{On the advantage enjoyed by a young artist with an established family tradition, see Anabel Thomas, The Painter’s Practice in Renaissance Tuscany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 45. For the way professional, familial and confraternal bonds often overlapped, see Elizabeth Pilliod, Pontormo, Bronzino, Allori: A Genealogy of Florentine Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 81-95.} Andrea, who had been a student in Cioli’s workshop, only began to garner his own individual commissions in 1590, when he
sculpted a no longer extant Medici coat of arms for the side of the Palazzo Vecchio on Via dei Leoni. Of the other three lesser-known figures, Giovanbattista Mossi is the most extensively documented. Piero Rotilenzi and Raffaello Petrucci are more shadowy figures, but in spite of the dearth of documentation, it is clear that both Mossi and Rotilenzi were at the start of their careers when they produced their apostles for the Scalzo chapel.

The commissions for the Scalzo apostles came at the point when many of these artists were making the transition from apprentice to independent master. The chance to sculpt one of the Scalzo apostles could have provided them with a valuable opportunity to demonstrate their abilities to potential patrons. It is worth noting that the membership of

24 Bellesi, “Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci,” 50. Andrea was a member of the Accademia a few years earlier than Parigi, at least by 9 September 1587, when he appears in the rosters as a festaiuolo. Zangheri, Gli Accademici, 129. On the Ferrucci family, see DBI 47:217-256.

25 Mossi first appears in the records of the Accademia in 1590, and in 1593 he lost the competition to paint a Saint Luke for the Accademia’s seat in the Scala chapel in the monastery of Cestello on Borgo Pinti (now called Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi) to Jacopo Ligozzi. For Mossi’s appearance in the records of the Accademia, see Zangheri, Gli Accademici, 226. On the competition for the picture of Saint Luke, see Colnaghi, Dictionary of Florentine Painters, 187. According to Piero Pacini, Le sedi dell’Accademia del Disegno al “Cestello” e alla “Croccetta” (Florence: Olschki, 2001), 25, this picture ended up being painted by Domenico Passignano in 1602-1603. In 1595 Mossi executed—with assistance from Donato Mascagni—two large (three by eight braccia (175 x 467 cm) and three by five braccia (175 x 292 cm) respectively) chiaroscuro drawings of architectural vistas to be affixed to the walls of the Accademia’s seat in Cestello. Ibid., 25-26, 134. For more on Mossi see pages 116-117. On the Cestello monastery on Borgo Pinti, see Alison Luchs, Cestello, a Cistercian Church of the Florentine Renaissance (New York: Garland, 1977).

26 For the documentary evidence on Rotilenzi, see page 145 n. 127. Petrucci, who did not donate his figure of Saint Thaddeus until 1602, first appears in the records of the Accademia in 1605. Zangheri, Gli Accademici, 252. Only recently have a few sculptures, commissioned for the Boboli gardens, been attributed to him (figs. 87 and 88). On these, see Litta Maria Medri, “Il Seicento. Il giardino d’amore e la scena del principe,” in Il giardino di Boboli, ed. Litta Maria Medri (Siena: Banca Toscana, 2003), 130.
the confraternity included the peers and elders of many of these sculptors, and an excellent performance with one of the apostles could significantly further their reputations within this group and possibly open opportunities for more work on other projects.

The Medium of Clay

The documents rarely describe the material from which the statues for the Scalzo were made, but a few of the figures—notably the Virgin, the John the Baptist and the Saint Bartholomew by Cioli—are described in the records variously as “di terra cotta” or “di terra.”

27 Considering that the other surviving statues in the oratory—the two busts and the Baptist—are also made out of clay, it seems reasonable to assume that the rest of the sculpture in the oratory would have been fashioned from the same material. The statues of the apostles would most likely have been polychromed, according to the custom of the

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time. Although inexpensive, clay was an excellent choice for reasons other than its economy. Although the firing of clay requires considerable knowledge of the medium and a skilled kilnsman, clay is also easy to sculpt and to modify and therefore lends itself to the fashioning of bozzetti and other models for the training of apprentices. It was probably for these reasons that the Accademia del Disegno chose terracotta as the medium for the statuary produced by its giovani festaiuoli for the celebrations surrounding the Feast of Saint Luke in 1594. Each of the six participants—including Piero Rotilenzi and Andrea Ferrucci—were required to model an allegorical figure on an armature supplied by the Academy, which was then covered with a layer of gesso and painted. When one considers that these young sculptors were producing terracotta figures to fulfill their obligations to the Accademia, their use of the same materials to fashion the Scalzo apostles is less than surprising. These materials would not only have


30 Barzman, Florentine Academy, 202-203. The use of gesso and paint to provide the finish for these terracotta statues recalls Verrocchio’s use of the same for his wooden and cork processional crucifix for the Buca di San Girolamo. See page 129.
come readily to hand at a reasonable price, but were also familiar to the sculptors from their experience as apprentices.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{The Production and Use of Terracotta Models}

In the case of Cioli and Caccini, the terracotta figures donated to the confraternity might have been working models or even by-products of other commissions that found new life as finished works for the Scalzo oratory. Indeed, Caccini’s use of clay models is well-documented, and his full-scale terracotta mock-up (fig. 89) for the relief of the \textit{Trinity} on the facade of Santa Trinita (fig. 90) can still be found in the church’s cloister.\textsuperscript{32}

The fact that Caccini, in 1589, expressed in a letter his interest in carving an apostle for the series that had been commissioned by the \textit{Opera} of the cathedral of Orvieto, makes his sale of two apostles to his confratelli of the Scalzo more interesting.\textsuperscript{33} The \textit{Opera}

\textsuperscript{31} Gentilini, “Nella Rinascita delle Antichità,” 85, drawing on Vasari’s descriptions, has suggested that terracotta techniques were being taught in Lorenzo de’ Medici’s famous sculpture garden, and Magnolia Scudieri Maggi, “L’ispirazione devozionale,” in \textit{La civiltà del cotto: Arte della terracotta nell’area fiorentina dal XV al XX secolo}, ed. Antonio Paolucci (Florence: Coop. Officine Grafiche, 1980), 103 argued that terracotta was used in workshops because it helped students learn how to model.


\textsuperscript{33} Marietta Cambareri, “Ippolito Scalza and the Sixteenth-Century Renovation Projects at the Orvieto Cathedral” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998), 356, 785-
agreed to hire Caccini and by 1590 he was resident in the city working on an image of
Saint James Major, which was installed in the cathedral in 1591 (fig. 91). Although no
records concerning a model for the Saint James have come to light, documents for other
statues of the apostles sculpted for the Orvieto cathedral show that at least some of the
sculptors involved made terracotta studies of their works before executing them in
marble. It seems likely that Caccini would have at least explored his preliminary ideas
in clay—especially in light of his use of the medium to make a model for the Trinity—and
that these were then incorporated into the Saint James the Less he sculpted for the
Scalzo.

The marble Saint James that Caccini made for Orvieto stands 273 centimeters tall
and is much larger than the Scalzo statuary must have been. A fragment of one of the
extant models conserved in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo in Orvieto, however, sheds
some light on the difference in size between the models for the apostles and the finished
marbles. Sculpted by Giambologna, the terracotta fragment of Saint Matthew measures
fifty-six centimeters from the neck to just above the ankle (fig. 92). A comparison with

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786. On the apostles commissioned for the Orvieto cathedral, see ibid., 278-287; Giusi
Testa, “Le modifiche decorative,” in La cattedrale di Orvieto: Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo, ed. Giusi Testa (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1990), 108. For the
statues themselves, now in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo in Orvieto, however, see Annarosa Garzelli, Museo di Orvieto: Museo dell’Opera del Duomo (Bologna: Calderini, 1972),
65-69.

34 Cambareri, “Ippolito Scalza,” 357.
35 Ippolito Scalza employed clay models for his figures of Saint Thomas (for
which there is a clay head in the museum of the cathedral’s opera), Saint John, and Saint
Andrew. Later, in 1616, the Opera commissioned a series of competition models for the
36 For the measurements of the Orvieto apostles, see Garzelli, Museo di Orvieto,
65-69. On the probable size of the Scalzo figures, see pages 138-139.
the marble version (fig. 93), which measures 268 centimeters, suggests that before it was damaged the figure might have measured seventy or seventy-five centimeters, taking into account the missing head and foot. These measurements are close to those put forward for the Scalzo apostles based upon the size of Carlo Terra’s John the Baptist in the Chiostro dello Scalzo.

The Reuse of Similar Compositions

The Saint Matthew by Giambologna also illuminates several other crucial points about the production of sculpture at the end of the Cinquecento. Although Giambologna has been credited with the terracotta model, the marble apostle was carved by Pietro Francavilla, who inscribed PETRI FRANCAVILLE F. under Matthew’s right arm (even though the strap on his chest reads OPUS GIONIS BOLOGNE). Giambologna’s use of models and talented assistants is well-known, so it is not surprising to learn that Francavilla executed the marble apostle, or that there was a high level of collaboration in Giambologna’s workshop. Furthermore, the resemblance between the bronze Saint Luke that Giambologna cast for the niche of the Arte dei giudici e notai (Guild of Judges and Notaries) at Orsanmichele (fig. 94), and the marble Saint Matthew in Orvieto reveals that

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37 Herbert Keutner, “Il San Matteo nel Duomo di Orvieto: Il modello e l’opera eseguita,” Bollettino dell’Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano 11 (1955): 20, gave the fragment’s length as fifty-two centimeters and suggested that it was seventy centimeters long when complete.
39 For the structure of Giambologna’s workshop, see Watson, “Giambologna and his Workshop,” 33-41, for Francavilla in particular, see 37.
Giambologna was not averse to using the same compositional ideas in different media and sizes for different commissions.\textsuperscript{40}

The prevalence of these two tendencies in Giambologna’s oeuvre—a high level of collaboration within one atelier and the use of similar compositional ideas for distinct commissions—suggests that Caccini might have brought a model he had made for a different commission to an acceptable state of finish and then sold it to a group of his confratelli from the Scalzo.\textsuperscript{41} In so doing, Caccini could maximize his profit on a preparatory work that he had executed for a different job, and, at the same time, provide the brothers with a suitable work of art at a reasonable price for the decoration of their oratory. At the very least, it must be admitted that at the time the men of the confraternity purchased the \textit{Saint James the Less} and the \textit{Saint Thomas}, Caccini had recently completed a monumental carving of an apostle for the cathedral in Orvieto, and that any preparatory work he did for that commission—whether with his mind or his hands—would have been brought to bear on the Scalzo statues.


\textsuperscript{41} Gary M. Radke, “Benedetto da Maiano and the Use of Full Scale Preparatory Models in the Quattrocento,” in \textit{Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture}, ed. Steven Bule, Alan Pipps Darr and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1992), 218 has suggested that several clay models by Benedetto da Maiano—including a free-standing, 94.2 centimeter tall \textit{Saint John}—were sold after the sculptor’s death and probably saw “use as devotional works or collector’s objects after they passed from the sculptor’s studio.” On this work, see Anthony Radcliffe, “St John the Evangelist,” in \textit{Renaissance and Later Sculpture with Works of Art in Bronze}, ed. Anthony Radcliffe, Malcolm Baker and Michael Maek-Gérard (London: Sotheby’s Publications, 1992), 62-66.
The Advantages of the Scalzo Commissions for the Sculptors

The advantages to be obtained from a commission at the Scalzo varied according to the circumstances of the individual sculptors. In the cases of young, relatively untried figures such as Parigi, Ferrucci, Rotilenzi and Mossi, the commission provided a welcome opportunity to produce a work that could help to cement their reputations. Because so many of the members of the confraternity were themselves artists and artisans, these young sculptors were also submitting a demonstration piece of sorts that would allow others in the company—including established masters like Cioli or Caccini—to evaluate their skill. It should be noted that, starting with the celebrations for the 1539 wedding of Duke Cosimo I and Eleonora da Toledo, elaborate spectacles of statecraft became increasingly common in Tuscany, and significant numbers of artists were drafted to provide the visual, sculptural and scenographic materials for these events. Collaborative projects for the wedding festivities of Ferdinando I and Christine de Lorraine in 1589, of Maria de’ Medici and Henri IV in 1600, and of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena of Austria in 1608 required artists to assemble armies of assistants and

42 Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790: The Renaissance and its Heritage* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972), 209 suggested that while Tintoretto was still struggling to launch his career, the bulk of his commissions were confraternal in origin. David Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 159-161 argued that Tintoretto’s willingness to work for confraternities emerged from his *venezianità* and his sense of piety and communal obligation. Certainly both of these would have been motivating factors for Tintoretto’s life-long engagement with the Venetian lay companies.

to delegate responsibilities. If one of the young sculptors at the Scalzo impressed a more established figure such as Cioli or Caccini, that might lead to more commissions. At the very least, a well-executed sculpture would probably lead to an introduction to the Medici Guardaroba, a significant source of work for artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the case of more established figures, such as Cioli and Caccini, they might have donated or sold a work from another commission, and for which, in effect, they had already been paid, thereby maximizing their return on their labor. Of course, all of these transactions also had the immediately tangible benefit of payment—either in cash or confraternal exemptions.

A precedent for this type of collaboration between a group of sculptors can be found in the decoration of the Santa Casa in Loreto under the supervision of Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Sangallo took over the project from Andrea Sansovino and summoned a group of predominantly Florentine sculptors who made significant headway on the monument’s sculptural decoration from 1530 to 1533. According to Till

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44 At the 1589 wedding, Giulio Parigi probably participated as a young (eighteen years old) trainee, assisting his father, Alfonso, whom Blumenthal, Giulio Parigi’s Stage Designs, 100 has called “Buontalenti’s right-hand man.” For more on these festivities and useful bibliography, see James M. Saslow, The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

45 To suggest the extent of this patronage, Miles Chappell, “Renascence of the Florentine Baroque,” Dialoghi di storia dell’arte no. 7 (1998): 62 commented that “probably every painter, sculptor and architect active in seventeenth-century Florence did at some time some service for the Guardaroba Medicea.”

Verellen, Sangallo’s choice of sculptors “was determined largely by kinship and regional patriotism,” and it was in this spirit that he summoned Francesco da Sangallo, Tribolo, Raffaello da Montelupo, Simone Cioli, Simone Mosca, Raniere da Pietrasanta, Francesco del Tadda, and Girolamo Ferrarese to work with him in Loreto.47 Three of these artists, Sangallo, Tribolo and Montelupo, worked together as a unit and subordinated their personal styles to such an extent that individual attributions have been difficult to establish.48 This confusion has been exacerbated by the fact that the group, referred to as a “società” or “compagnia” in the documents, “shared responsibility for the projects undertaken by them as a team, and that they were paid jointly for a variety of often overlapping tasks.”49 Although the commission for the Scalzo apostles never achieved this high level of coordination, it is interesting to note that both Tribolo and Francesco da Sangallo were members of the Scalzo, and that around 1544 Valerio Cioli became Tribolo’s apprentice, and by 1549 he was working in the Roman shop of Raffaello da Montelupo. These affiliations were probably arranged by Simone Cioli, Valerio’s father, who worked alongside Tribolo and Raffaello in Loreto.50 The close associations shared

47 Verellen, “Patterns of Patronage,” 288.
48 Ibid. Summers, “Cappella di San Luca,” 70 noted a similar “submersion of individual effort in the schema of the program” of the apostles executed for the chapel of San Luca at Santissima Annunziata from 1570 to 1575.
49 Verellen, “Patterns of Patronage,” 288.
50 For Francesco da Sangallo’s membership in the Scalzo, see page 142 n. 119. Tribolo entered the confraternity on 25 December 1549, only to die the next year. The record of his entrance is found in ASF, CRS 1197.2, 57r. See also Emanuela Ferretti, “Architetti e architettura del Palazzo di Cerreto,” in Il Palazzo di Cosimo I a Cerreto Guidi: La Villa Medicea dalla fabbrica di Davitte Fortini alla corte di Isabella, ed. Emanuela Ferretti and Giovanni Micheli (Vinci: Museo ideale Leonardo da Vinci, 1998), 82. According to Vasari, Tribolo was interred in the Scalzo’s tomb in Santissima Annunziata. Vasari-Barocchi, 5:226. On Tribolo, see Elisabetta Pieri and Luigi Zangheri,
by the members of the Loretan “società” are not dissimilar to those that the young Scalzo sculptors sought to further their careers. By joining the confraternity and contributing to the decoration of the main chapel, these sculptors gained access to the company’s networks of patronage and widened their pool of contacts. In so doing, they forged bonds with their peers and possibly increased opportunities for work.51

The Advantages of the Scalzo Commission for the Confraternity

An obvious benefit of the system of exchange that the company fostered was a decrease in its own expenses, whether the matter at hand was making repairs to its roof or new statues for its chapel. But there were other benefits as well. Having a well-outfitted and spacious oratory would have helped the Scalzo to attract and keep members. The oratory provided a more intimate and more controlled space than the facilities of a parish church or the huge mendicant churches could offer. Unlike these larger churches, where the altars and works of art could be obscured by architecture, furnishings or even the worshippers themselves, who often knelt on the floor or ambled around inattentively, the oratory had fixed seating from which the confratelli had clear views of the works donated

eds., Niccolò detto il Tribolo tra arte, architettura e paesaggio, Quaderni di ricerche storiche 7 (Poggio a Caiano, 2001). Tribolo’s son, Raffaello, joined the company on 4 August 1560. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 11r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 56v. Simone Cioli, Valerio’s father, does not seem to have been a member of the Scalzo, as Valerio entered the confraternity senza benefizio. ASF, CRS 1195.14, 60r; ASF, CRS 1197.22, 37v. For more on Valerio’s affiliations with Tribolo and Montelupo, see DBI 25:672; Fischer, “Valerio Cioli,” 2, 6.

51 Barzman, Florentine Academy, 61-62 has argued that the Accademia del Disegno followed a strategy of currying the favor of the ducal Guardaroba collectively, often by giving works of art executed by the giovani festaiuoli for the organization’s annual celebrations of the feasts of Saint Luke and the Most Holy Trinity to court officials that could work to secure commissions on behalf of the Academy’s members.
by the membership.\footnote{52} By keeping costs down, the Scalzo was able to furnish the oratory in a manner that would make its members proud, and that was befitting the locus of their devotional and fraternal activities. The oratory, once properly decorated and nobly outfitted, could take its place as yet another glittering jewel in Florence’s richly ornamented crown of sacred and secular edifices. Of course, the furnishings of the complex were also intended for the spiritual enlightenment and betterment of the confratelli, but, as Black has noted was often the case with Renaissance devotion, “philanthropy and vainglory were intertwined.”\footnote{53}

The other less obvious benefit of the Scalzo’s practice of commissioning work from its members was that it strengthened the sense of obligation between the maker and donor of the work and the organization itself. By turning to the confratelli for its needs, the confraternity reinforced the bonds that existed between the organization and its members.

\footnote{52}Black, \textit{Italian Confraternities}, 241-242 made this point about confraternal oratories in general, and it certainly holds true for the rooms of the Scalzo. See also Marcia B. Hall, \textit{Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce, 1565-1577} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 2-3. Burke, \textit{Changing Patrons}, 120-121 cautioned against making generalizations about accessibility, especially as concerns private chapels, but confraternal oratories offered a more intimate relationship with the mass than did larger and more public churches. Evidence of the unruliness of Florentine churches can be found in an epistolary exchange between Monsignor Guido Sergudi and Francesco de’ Medici in 1564. The Monsignor wrote a letter to protest the local practice (\textit{in questa [...] città}) of walking through churches—and especially around the cathedral’s choir—during mass, calling it a sign of a lack of devotion (\textit{segno di pochissima religione}) and contempt for the divine cult (\textit{dispregio del culto divino}). For his part, Francesco allowed the Monsignor to issue an edict, but, citing previous attempts, expressed doubts that it would have any effect on the customs of the Florentines, “molt’altri volte s’è volsuto fare questo, et non ha avuto luogo.” These letters, conserved in the Carte Stroziane at the ASF, were published in \textit{Comunità Cristiana}, 53.

members. Ronald Weissman has argued that patronage in Florence was closely related to the obligatory ties of kinship and friendship, and that it shared with them “the personalized, intimate, hard-to-disentangle sense of loyalty and obligation that permeated social relations more generally.”

Thus, it is worth emphasizing that for the confraternity to function effectively, the individual confratello needed to feel an obligation to the organization. If the members lost interest in the activities of the company and stopped attending meetings or paying their dues, the organization would not be able to support the brothers spiritually or financially. One way of maintaining the members’ interest was to provide a complement of benefits, but the company’s patronage should also be seen in the context of its more explicit goals of providing assistance for its individual members through a collective effort. In fact, the confraternity’s patronage of its members dovetailed nicely with the society’s charitable missions; by providing work for painters, woodworkers, wallers and other artisans in its ranks, the company helped these men to make a living, and in so doing, cultivated their interest in the organization.

The ties between the individual and the collective were not only enshrined in the confraternity’s statutes, but also figured in the daily life of the company and its members in more subtle ways. Consider, for example, the lectern carved for the desk of the

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54 Ronald Weissman, “Taking Patronage Seriously: Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society,” in Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy, ed. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 30-31. Weissman also noted that “the culture of patronage was not limited to the political classes alone,” and cited corporate and fraternal organizations as contexts within which “Florentines of most social classes regularly participated in ritual patron-client celebrations.” See also Black, Italian Confraternities, 271.

55 Kent, “Buonomini di San Martino,” 52-53, drawing on evidence found in fifteenth-century letters written to the Medici, has suggested that Florentines “conflated patronage, charity, and mercy.”
Governatore by Giovanbattista di Francesco Daronta.\textsuperscript{56} Certainly Giovanbattista must have been happy to receive the commission, and, to judge from the extensive description he wrote in the Scalzo’s Quaderno de Ricevute, he was proud of his work. Each time Giovanbattista attended a meeting and the Governatore placed the company’s treasured book of capitoli on the lectern to read, his pride in his work would have been renewed. This constant affirmation would, in turn, strengthen Giovanbattista’s sense of duty and obligation to the Scalzo, even as it emphasized the benefits—most immediately in the form of the commission for the lectern—that his membership in the confraternity afforded him. One can imagine that these feelings reached a crescendo when Giovanbattista himself assumed the post of Governatore in 1588 and led the company in its devotions from behind the lectern he had made.

**The Iconographic Significance of the Apostles**

The end of the Cinquecento saw a renewed interest in the lives of the apostles and the early martyrs of the church. This renewal has often been considered as one aspect of the Papacy’s attempts to combat Protestantism by invoking the antiquity and sanctity of

\textsuperscript{56} For the lectern, see page 125. Giovanbattista was an active member of the Scalzo in the 1570s and 80s, holding office on thirteen separate occasions, once as Governatore, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 131v (05-01-1588); Consigliere, ASF, CRS 11955.14, 109v (09-02-1582); Camarlingo, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 98r (05-01-1580); Infermiere, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 78v (09-01-1575); four times as Limosiniere, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 73r (05-02-1574), 75v (01-02-1575), 101r (01-01-1581), 119r (09-01-1584); once as Maestro de’ Novizi, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 85v (09-01-1577); three times as Sagrestano, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 63r (05-04-572), 79v (01-01-1576), 83r (01-01-1577); and once as Provveditore, ASF, CRS 1195.14, 89r (01-03-1578).
the early days of the church. The apostles are fitting embodiments of the church’s antiquity, for they not only knew Christ, but received from Him their charge to spread His word, and therefore provided the first links in a chain that formed a continuous connection across the centuries from Christ and His ministry to the sixteenth-century church. It is not surprising, then, that decorative programs that emphasized the apostles or the Early Christian martyrs became popular at the end of the Cinquecento, especially in Rome, where several monumental fresco cycles illustrated the martyrdoms of many of the church’s early saints in explicit detail. Decorative programs of the apostles were not an exclusive feature of the late sixteenth century, however. The cathedral in Siena boasted a medieval example of this type of program, and the series of marble sculptures of the apostles for the Florentine Duomo, initiated by Michelangelo’s commission for a Saint Matthew in 1503, was conceived as a replacement for an earlier program in fresco that dated from the Quattrocento. The sculptural program of the apostles for the


58 These fresco cycles have been seen in the context of the reforms of the late Cinquecento, and especially in terms of the aims of the Jesuits. Scholars have also noted that the discovery of the catacomb of Priscilla in 1578 led to an increased interest in Early Christian painting that may have played a part in these decorations. For more on these fresco cycles, see Leslie Korrick, “On the Meaning of Style: Nicolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome,” *Word and Image* 15, no. 2 (1999): 170-189; Alexandra Herz, “Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context,” *Storia dell’arte* 62 (1988): 53-70.

59 On the Siena apostles, see Enzo Carli, “Le statue degli Apostoli per il Duomo di Siena,” *Antichità viva* 7, no. 6 (1968): 3-20. For the replacement of Bicci di Lorenzo’s
cathedral in Orvieto began in 1564 with the installation of Saints Peter and Paul next to the piers of the nave and gathered momentum in 1578 with the addition of Saint Thomas by Ippolito Scalza; by 1644 all but two figures had been installed (fig. 95). There were many other examples from which the brothers of the Scalzo could draw inspiration as well—and Caccini’s participation in the project in Orvieto is evidence of the knowledge of at least one member of the confraternity of such programs.

There are, however, still more examples closer to the series in the Scalzo oratory in both time and place. Between 1585 and 1590, the Compagnia della Santissima Annunziata, a flagellant confraternity founded before 1454, decorated the small cloister in its oratory on Via San Sebastiano (now Via Gino Capponi) (fig. 19) with a series of frescoes representing the martyrdoms of the apostles (fig. 96). The cycle, painted by several artists—including Bernardino Poccetti, Bernardino Monaldi, Andrea Boscoli and Giovanni Balducci—consists of three lunettes on each of the four walls, with grisaille representations of virtues between each narrative scene (fig. 97). The decoration of the cloister of the company of the Annunziata—indeed the cloister itself—owes a debt to the example in the oratory of the Scalzo, and it is not surprising that the flagellant companies frescoes in the Florence cathedral, see Timothy Verdon, “‘Tunsionibus, pressuris...’: Decoro e dramma negli Apostoli del Duomo,” in La cattedrale come spazio sacro: Saggi sul Duomo di Firenze, ed. Timothy Verdon and Annalisa Innocenti (Florence: Edifir, 2001): 25-26. On the dating of the Saint Matthew, see Michael J. Amy, “The Dating of Michelangelo’s St Matthew,” Burlington Magazine 142, no. 1169 (2000): 493-496.

60 The program was completed in 1722 with two apostles by Bernardino Cametti. Cambareri, “Ippolito Scalza,” 278-287.

of Florence drew from a common architectural and decorative vocabulary. The emphasis on the martyrdoms of the apostles fits nicely with the same late-Cinquecento reformist tendencies that spawned similar programs in Rome. In the context of the flagellant company of the Annunziata, however, the suffering of the apostles takes on a more specific meaning. Understood typologically in terms of Christ’s sacrifice, these images of apostolic martyrdom served as examples to the confratelli, and exhorted them to ever greater levels of ritual devotion in order to expiate their personal sins.

There is yet another contemporary example of a decorative scheme commissioned for a confraternity that features the apostles. From 1588 to 1590, as he was working on the fresco that he contributed to the cycle at the company of the Annunziata—the Martyrdom of Saint Andrew (fig. 98)—Giovanni Balducci was also decorating the oratory of the company of Gesù Pellegrino (fig. 82) with a fresco cycle representing scenes of the risen Christ. Between each narrative panel Balducci painted illusionistic niches containing apostles (fig. 99), the figures to whom Christ appeared most frequently, often to buttress their wavering faith (Mark 16:12-13; Luke 24:13-35). Just as the martyrdoms represented in the cloister of the company of the Annunziata evoked a response specific to their confraternal context, Balducci’s frescoes also took on additional meaning within the walls of the oratory of Gesù Pellegrino. The confratelli, like the apostles themselves, came together to do the work of the Lord, and in this respect, the

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62 As Shearman, “Chiostro dello Scalzo,” 219 n. 31 pointed out, however, the vaulting of the cloister of the company of the Annunziata dates from the sixteenth century, and therefore acted as the model for the Scalzo vaults, which were raised in the eighteenth century.

63 Sebregondi, “Compagnia della Nunziata,” 44.
apostles could be seen as the first confraternity, a group that was galvanized by the death and resurrection of Christ.

There is some evidence that fraternal organizations cultivated the association between the apostles and themselves. John Henderson, for example, has shown that although the numbers varied from one confraternity to the next, a preponderance of them elected a group of twelve officers to oversee the organization. Although the Scalzo’s total number of elected officials was much greater than twelve, that number does appear several times in their administrative rituals. Recall that twelve men were drawn at random to nominate men for the position of governor. The Governatore, his two Consiglieri and nine arroti (men drawn especially for this purpose) combined to form a panel of twelve confratelli who met with the Maestri de’ Novizi to evaluate individuals that had been nominated for membership. Perhaps most significant, the groups of Provveditori degl’ Infermi and Limosinieri each had six members that together formed an apostolic twelve. It was these twelve men who were called upon to perform the Scalzo’s charitable activities outside the walls of the oratory.

The apostles, then, were the prototypical group devoted to serving Christ and perpetuating his ministry and were invoked as exemplars for members of early modern confraternities. Certainly the almost simultaneous appearance of these three programs

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64 Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 66. Eisenbichler, *Boys of the Archangel Raphael*, 26 noted that sixteen years after the foundation of the youth confraternity of the Archangel Raphael in 1411, another group—the company of the Purification of the Virgin Mary—was formed in 1427 when twelve youths left Arcangelo Raffaello to start their own confraternity.
65 See pages 30-31.
66 See page 43.
67 See pages 39, 74-78.
must be seen in the broader context of the Catholic Reformation, with its renewed emphasis on the early church and an apostolic mission to combat Protestantism. The representations of the apostles on the walls of these oratories served to remind each confratello of the supreme sacrifices the apostles had made to spread the faith, and, by extension, of the responsibility of each Christian to do the same when called upon in the present. Placed within the immediate context of the confraternity, however, this more general apostolic theme took on an added resonance. Like the apostles, the confratelli came together in support of each other and Christ’s mission. Each member of the company had a responsibility to his brothers and to the organization that he fulfilled by paying dues and participating in the confraternity’s rituals. It was through collective action that the company prospered, in both an economic and spiritual sense. The resources of the individuals, when pooled by the organization, could then be used to address the needs of individual members through an act of collective goodwill—be it alms for the sick or needy, or the guarantee of a proper and fitting burial, or the performance of memorial masses to care for a departed soul. Finally, the contributions of the individual confratelli and the actions of the confraternity as a whole could be seen as an extension of the original mission of Christ and the apostles: to help those in need and to spread the word of God.

Despite the many similar themes present in all three series of the apostles in the oratories of San Giovanni Battista, Gesù Pellegrino and the Annunziata, the decoration in the Scalzo oratory is distinct in one important respect. The frescoes at the company of the Annunziata each have the coat of arms of the patron painted in the *basamento* of the
lunette (fig. 100). Although scholars have yet to explore the identities of these
benefactors, or the extent of their affiliations with the company, it seems that the
decoration was funded in a typical fashion, with a single patron underwriting the cost of
the fresco, which was then adorned by his family crest.  

At the oratory of Gesù
Pellegrino, the decoration was carried out at the behest of the cardinal Alessandro de’
Medici.  

In contrast, there is no evidence for the presence of stemmi identifying the
patrons of the Scalzo statuary, despite the abundance of information in the account books
for the niches and their furnishings. Indeed, in the cases where a group of the Scalzo’s
brothers pooled their resources to commission an apostle, their names do not even appear
in the company’s Libro de benefattori, where they are instead described simply as quite a
few men (parecchi huomi).  

In this respect, the extent to which the members of the
Scalzo collaborated in order to complete its decorative program—either as benefactors

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68 Bruno Santi and Magnolia Scudieri, “L’affresco tra manutenzione e restauro: L’esperienza delle lunette di ‘San Pierino’,” in La Compagnia della Santissima
Annunziata: Restauro e restituzione degli affreschi del chiostro (Florence: Centro Di, 1989), 23. For the complex and often competing claims to the right to display coats of
arms in churches, see Patricia Simons, “Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel, Santa
Maria Novella, Florence,” in Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy, ed. F. W.

69 The completion of the decoration was recorded by Lapini, Diario fiorentino,
249, “Et a’ di 6 febbraio, in giovedì a ore 15 1/2, si gittò il fondamento della prima
colonna dell’ornamento dello altare grande dello Spedale de’ Preti della Via S. Gallo,
qual spedale è de’ preti della Congregazione del Pellegrino, e fu quella di verso la via; e
tutto per commessione de l’illustrissimo e reverendissimo cardinale Alex
andro de’ Medici arcivescovo di Firenze: e così si andrà seguitando ogni altro acconcime che in
essa si farà. Et a’ dì 1° di giugno 1590 si finì di dipignere tutta la chiesa di detta
Congregazione.”

70 This notation appears, with one slight modification (parecchi altri amorevoli
uomini), in the three entries that record the donations of Caccini’s Saints Thomas and
James the Less, Mossi’s Saint John the Evangelist, and Parigi’s Saint Simon. ASF, CRS
1198.26, 4.
who pooled resources to fund works of art, or as sculptors who worked in concert—sets it apart from other similar confraternal commissions. Indeed, even Tintoretto’s pious pledge in 1577 to provide three paintings to the Scuola di San Rocco each year on the saint’s feast day was made with the understanding that the Venetian confraternity would pay him 100 ducats per year in salary. This arrangement, even though it represented a discount on the painter’s services, was much more lucrative for the artist than the remission of fees and fines that the sculptors who donated statues to the Scalzo received.

The program of the apostles installed in the Scalzo oratory stood as a concrete demonstration of how the confratelli could achieve their goals through a collective effort. The suppression of the identities of individual sponsors should be seen as an extension of the organization’s attempt to do good works without seeking credit for same. In this respect, the program of the apostles not only presented a model to which the brothers were encouraged to aspire, but also served as an example of what they could achieve. Certainly the statues of the apostles acted as exemplars in an iconographic sense; their presence evoked the stories and deeds of the apostles themselves, which the confratelli interpreted as a paradigm for their own actions. But the statues also provided material evidence of what the company could achieve by working as a collective. By relying on cooperative effort and tapping the skills inherent in its membership, the company of San

71 The Scuola di San Rocco approved Tintoretto’s annuity on 28 November 1577, with a few members opposing the motion. In February of 1578, a motion passed clarifying that the 100 ducats was to be paid from the members’ donations and not the general fund of the confraternity. Logan, *Culture and Society*, 208. For more on Tintoretto’s work at the Scuola di San Rocco, see Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, 159-164; Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 246-248; Terisio Pignatti, “Scuola di San Rocco,” in *Le scuole di Venezia*, ed. Terisio Pignatti (Milan: Electa, 1981), 151; Maria Agnese Chiari and Annalisa Scarpa Sonino, “Catalogo delle opere,” in ibid., 162-185.
Giovanni Battista was able to build, decorate and maintain its oratory. By taking a glance around their premises, from the cloister with its famous fresco cycle of their patron saint, to the much-admired processional crucifix by Antonio da Sangallo, to the splendid altarpiece of the *Baptism*, to the statues of the apostles, the confratelli could see for themselves the results of the company’s efforts, devotion and piety. Indeed, the entire construction and decoration of the Scalzo complex was a physical testament to what the *amorevoli uomini* could achieve when they worked together and made the most of each other’s skills. Seen in this light, the oratory provided a constant reminder not only of each brother’s obligations to the company, but also of the benefits it provided him, and thereby became not only the locus of the organization’s identity and purpose, but its very embodiment.
CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

In a prescient essay published in 1981, Werner L. Gundersheimer mapped possible avenues for future studies of patronage. He suggested that the boundaries between individual and corporate patronage were more fluid than scholars believed, and that future analyses should take this into account.¹ Gundersheimer also urged historians of art and culture to minimize an “elitist bias that has been imposed [...] by the accidents of survival and by the preferences of connoisseurship” through “a broader awareness of the effects of patronage throughout society.”² If future scholars chose to follow this course, Gundersheimer speculated that they would discover “a quantity of less wealthy and prestigious patrons teaming up with minor clients or sponsoring the less ambitious works of major ones, further down the scale,” and suggested that although these objects might not possess the highest aesthetic value, “they can be most enlightening on many aspects of social and religious history, the history of taste, the history of organization of work in the arts, and related subjects.”³

In several instances, scholars who have addressed the task outlined by Gundersheimer have succeeded in broadening our view of Renaissance art patronage. Megan Holmes and Rosi Prieto Gilday have shown that the people who commissioned works of art from Neri di Bicci came from many different strata of Florentine society and

¹ Gundersheimer, “Patronage,” 19.
² Ibid., 21.
³ Ibid., 21-22.
included a significant number of female patrons. In her essay, Holmes argued that the bulk of Neri’s patrons came from “the middle ranks of society” and were attracted by Neri’s ability to deliver a good product at a reasonable price, and were not necessarily concerned with artistic prowess or avant-garde style. Thus, careful study of Neri’s personal records has illuminated exactly the type of mid-level patronage that Gundersheimer described. My study of the patronage of the Scalzo has also shed light on a similar strain of patronage in the Cinquecento. Working in the same vein as these analyses of Neri di Bicci’s output, I have hopefully demonstrated the historical significance of some of these “less ambitious works,” which may not attain the first rank of aesthetic importance, but whose histories reveal much about the processes and expectations surrounding their creation, installation and use.

In his review of a monograph on the frescoes in the oratory of the Roman confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, Loren Partridge took the book’s author to task for approaching the works of art in terms of “connoisseurship and style, not patronage and history.” Rather than limiting his study to the hands of the individual painters who contributed to the fresco cycle, Partridge suggested that the author should have examined the “members of the confraternities, their incomes, social class, occupations, duties

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5 Ibid., 218-220.

within the confraternity, etc.” In my dissertation, I have attempted to do just that. My research has focused above all on the identities of the members of the Scalzo and explored their roles in the confraternity. I did not have to choose between an emphasis on the authors of the Scalzo decoration or an analysis of its patrons, because they were, by the confraternity’s own design, collapsed into one corporate body. Before turning my attention to the commission for the apostles, for example, I had to establish its immediate contexts in the membership and activities of the confraternity at that time. On the one hand, a reconstruction of the community’s administrative, devotional and charitable goals was necessary for me to develop a historically valid interpretation of the chapel’s decoration. On the other hand, the particulars of the decoration itself, as well as its relation to the original setting, had to be reconstructed from the archival records because it had been largely lost or destroyed.

In Chapter Two, I outlined the Scalzo’s administrative and devotional rituals as presented in the company’s books of statutes in order to understand more fully the objectives of the organization. These by-laws clarified the confraternity’s emphasis on collective behavior, its democratic structure of self-government and its charitable mission. My examination of the company’s finances demonstrated that the organization relied on fees and charitable contributions it collected from members and modest bequests to fund its activities. From these sources I was able to conclude that the Scalzo offered its members three principal benefits. The confraternity provided a suite of charitable services—including medical assistance, dowries for the members’ daughters,

7 Ibid. This task was taken up by Jean S. Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).
and funerals and burials in the company’s tomb. The confraternal oratory facilitated a more intimate relationship between the worshipper and the mass, and the company’s quasi-monastic rituals appealed to many members of the laity. Finally, the Scalzo also functioned as a source of patronage for its members, many of whom worked for the confraternity as artists or artisans.

In Chapter Three I reconstructed the architectural layout and decorative programs of the Scalzo oratory through an extensive reading of the surviving sixteenth-century documents of the confraternity, as well as the eighteenth-century records of the government’s suppression of the lay companies. In addition to sacred relics, the Scalzo oratory contained both celebrated and obscure works of art—most famous among these are the still-extant frescoes by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio in the cloister—and as such was a source of pride for the members of the company as well as the locus of their corporate identity. My discovery of a series of unpublished documents and plans helped to answer longstanding questions regarding the original layout of the oratory as well as the extent of its decoration. Finally, my work with these records shed light on the specifics regarding a significant but largely forgotten commission for a sculptural program of the apostles for the Scalzo’s main chapel.

I was able to establish the extent of these and many other lost or missing works of art and architecture from the Scalzo oratory through extensive archival research. My time spent in the archives not only facilitated the reconstruction of the oratory presented in Chapter Three, but also illuminated the identities of many of the Scalzo artists. Some of these artists—including Mossi, Petrucci and Ferrucci—are shadowy figures whose
careers have, for the most part, eluded art historical inspection. But now, thanks to this study, they can be positioned more firmly within the context of late-Cinquecento Florence. In more expansive terms, it is my hope that through this dissertation I have been able to shed new light on how familial and occupational bonds—already tightly woven in Renaissance Florence—augmented the ritual kinship fostered by the confraternity. The Scalzo actively encouraged its members to sponsor their relatives by offering them reduced fees, and I have shown how the sons, grandsons and nephews of individuals like Baccio d’Agnolo and Alfonso Parigi continued to appear in the company’s rosters in the years to come.

In Chapter Four I placed the Scalzo’s patronage of the series of the apostles firmly within the reconstructed contexts—decorative and architectural as well as devotional and administrative. The commission for the apostles sheds more light on how the confraternity acted as a patron to its members, as well as what types of strategies the organization used to procure works of art. These methods, based largely on a system of donations and exchanges, represent a little-studied aspect of Renaissance art patronage that has only recently come to the attention of scholars. Nicholas Eckstein has shown that companies in the Oltrarno offered numerous opportunities for work to the local artists and artisans, some of whom counted themselves as members of confraternities. Karen-edis Barzman demonstrated that in the Cinquecento the Accademia del Disegno received donations from its members to decorate the organization’s residences, as well as offered

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8 Eckstein, Green Dragon, 50-51.
reductions in fees in exchange for the painting of emblems on its processional candles.\textsuperscript{9}

These two examples are evidence that these types of arrangements between the artists and artisans of Florence and the corporate organizations to which they often belonged were far more common than their presence in modern scholarship would suggest. In the particular case of the Scalzo, however, this patronage model—which offered obvious economic benefits to both the patron and the artist—also added a layer of meaning to the sculptural decoration that was especially germane to the members of the company.

The iconography of the apostles appealed to Renaissance confraternities in general because it dovetailed with these organizations’ ideas about fraternal piety and charity, but the Scalzo apostles also functioned on a deeper level. The manner in which the company decorated its oratory demonstrated to the confratelli what they could achieve as a group, and added a layer of meaning to the sculptural program that did not reside solely in the iconography of the figures. In other words, it seems clear to me that the iconography of the statues of the apostles themselves, although central to the program’s meaning, was not the only source of its significance to the confratelli. In the case of the Scalzo, the specific manner in which the works of art were commissioned also contributed a layer of meaning to the spectators seated in the oratory’s main chapel. This auxiliary message—that the organization achieved its goals through a collaborative effort—was relevant to all aspects of the company’s activities. In this way the decoration of the oratory epitomized the collective aims of the confraternity. My recognition of this

\textsuperscript{9} Barzman, \textit{Florentine Academy}, 12, 200. It should be noted that the sculptors of the apostles for the Scalzo oratory were all associated with the Accademia, and that several of them also made donations of their work to that organization as well. See pages 192 n. 22, 193 n. 25, 195.
added dimension was made possible only by my archival examination of the Scalzo’s patronage model. Through these documents, the members of the confraternity of the Scalzo may be said to speak across the centuries to the present day. Without them, the very distinct and even personal meaning that these statues must have had for the confratelli of San Giovanni Battista would have remained—much like the figures themselves—lost.
APPENDIX A

Glossary

arroti: members drawn to vote on a specific measure, especially the acceptance of novices

Camarlingo: the company’s treasurer; responsible for maintaining the account books

capitoli: the by-laws that formed the framework for a confraternity’s administrative and ritual practices

confratello: a member of a confraternity

Consiglierie: one of two counselors to the Governatore, also a member of a specially-appointed group of electors who, along with nine randomly drawn members (arroti) voted on measures in an executive session

Correttore: priest hired by the company to provide official ecclesiastical oversight of the company’s devotional and administrative activities

Depositario delle Doti: official who maintained and oversaw the distribution of the company’s dowry funds

Festaiuolo: member of the confraternity who assisted with the preparations for the rituals associated with major feast days

Governatore: elected confraternal official who presided over the company’s devotional and administrative activities

Limosiniere: one of a group of six men who oversaw the collection and distribution of alms

Maestro de’ Novizi: one of two officials who oversaw the induction of new members into the company

Provveditore degli’Infermi: one of a group of six men who tended to the needs of ill members

Provveditore: elected confraternal official who received and disbursed payments, oversaw the company’s charitable activities and maintained the equipment used in its elections
Sagrestano: one of two sacristans who were responsible for opening and preparing the oratory for the company’s meetings

Scrivano: the company’s scribe; responsible for maintaining a written record of the company’s meetings, often in the form of minutes and votes in the Libri di Partiti e Ricordi
APPENDIX B

Figures

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Black, Christopher F. “The Development of Confraternity Studies over the Past Thirty Years.” In *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in*


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Douglas Nelson Dow was born in Presque Isle, Maine in 1973. He received a B.A. in Art History and English from the University of Maine (Orono) in 1995, where he graduated with Highest Distinction and Highest Honors. In 1995 Dow was awarded a Mellon Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and in 1997 he completed his M.A. in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University. His thesis, entitled “‘Facility Causes the Greatest Wonder’: Parmigianino’s Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror and Sixteenth-Century Artistic Conventions,” interpreted the panel not as a Mannerist caprice, but instead as a tour-de-force designed to impress a potential patron in the form of Clement VII.

In 2002-2003 Dow was a Graduate Lecturing Fellow at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and in 2002 he was recognized with a Graduate Assistant Award for Outstanding Teaching. In 2000 he received a Creative Achievement Award from the College of Arts and Architecture at Penn State University.

The research and writing of Dow’s doctoral dissertation was facilitated by a number of grants and fellowships that allowed him to work in Florence for an extended period of time. In addition to grants from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Renaissance Society of America, he received funding from the Department of Art History, the Alumni Association and the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at Penn State University.

Dow has delivered papers addressing many aspects of Italian Renaissance art and culture at various conferences and symposia. These include the Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1996), the Philadelphia Symposium on the History of Art (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1998), as well as at the annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America (Florence, 2000; Miami, 2007), the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference (Pittsburgh, 2003) and the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, 1998). For the 2006-2007 academic year, Dow is an instructor in the Department of Art History at Penn State, teaching the history of Italian Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture.