

THE ARTICULATION OF ACTUAL AND ILLUSIONISTIC SPACE IN TUSCAN FAMILY
CHAPELS AND FRESCOES, IN THE TRE- AND QUATTROCENTO.

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PART II : FOOTNOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS (PLATES)

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

NOTES

- 1 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany. From Cimabue to Andrea de Sarto, second edition, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p. xviii.
- 2 Ibid., p. xix.
- 3 Ibid., p. xx.
- 4 Ibid., p. xxii.
- 5 Ibid., p. xviii.
- 6 Ibid. Important Bulls implementing lay burial within the cloisters and churches of the Mendicant Orders include those of Gregory IX in 1229 and Alexander IV in 1255.
- 7 Ibid., p. xix, note 1.
- 8 Ibid., p. 8.
- 9 Ibid., p. 7.
- 10 D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici. Faction in Florence 1426 - 1434, Oxford, University Press, 1978, p. 1.
- 11 Ibid., see also, G. Cavalcanti's Istorie Fiorentine, ed., G. di Pino, Milan, 1954, p. 268 and D.V. and F.W. Kent, Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence. The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century, Villa i Tatti, Florence, The Harvard University Centre for Renaissance Studies, 1982, pp. 2, 8, and F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence. The Family life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 98, 128.
- 12 D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici. Faction in Florence 1426 - 1434, p. 130.
- 13 Ibid., p. 183.
- 14 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in its Iconography and History", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 40, 1977, pp. 75-76.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 77-79. Felice was condemned by the Capitano de Popolo, first for conspiring with Palla Strozzi to overthrow the Medici regime, then for maintaining close relations with other exiles seeking to raise large armies to attack Florence. Not only was Felice's property confiscated in 1435 but he had to repay numerous creditors, among whom Cosimo de' Medici figured prominently. They allowed his wife Maddalena to receive a sum

equivalent to her dowry but do not seem to have permitted any of Felice's lands or other property to pass into the hands of his relatives. There is no trace of Felice's wealth in any tax declaration filed by various members of the Brancacci, Strozzi or Rucellai families in 1442.

- 16 P. Bargellini, Il Ghirlandaio del Bel Mondo Fiorentino, Firenze, Del Turco editore, 1936, p. 114.
- 17 D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici. Faction in Florence 1426 - 1434, p. 187. Palla di Nofri Strozzi's net capital dropped from 101,422 florins in 1422 to 39,192 florins in 1433 as most of the Strozzi money was in real estate. With the imposition, in 1427, of a new and efficient system of catasto Palla was forced to sell up his land. Palla's kinsman Lionardo d'Antonio Strozzi wrote to his cousin Matteo di Simone reflecting with resignation that God himself must have willed "the misfortunes which have beset our house in the last four years". This was after the exile of Palla from Florence. The patricians of the anti-Medicean party were, on the whole, a more aristocratic group than their pro-Medicean counterparts which consisted of many gente nuova.
- 18 M.M. Bullard, Filippo Strozzi and the Medici. Favour and Finance in Sixteenth Century Florence and Rome, Cambridge University Press, 1961, p. 9.
- 19 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, University of Pennsylvania, University Press 1976, pp. 100-101. The splendid Trecento Strozzi chapel was dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas and still occupies a place of honour in the Church of Santa Maria Novella, elevated as it is at the end of the west transept.
- 20 Ibid., p.29. This sum reached 9,000 florins.
- 21 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, New York, J.J. Augustin, 1968, pp. 85-86.
- 22 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 92.
- 23 Ibid., p. xix, note 1.
- 24 J. Sauer, Symbolik der Kirchengebäude und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters, 2nd edition, Munster, 1924, p. 279.
- 25 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 93.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., p. 124.
- 28 Ibid., p. xviii.

- 29 P. Burke, The Renaissance Sense of Past, London, 1967, p. 19.
- 30 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. xxv.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., p. xxvi.
- 34 Ibid., p. xxviii.
- 35 Ibid., p. 119.
- 36 Ibid., p. 124.
- 37 Ibid., p. 125, Spolveri are visible on the arriccio on the ribs of the vault, in the frieze on the right wall separating the lunette from the scene below, in the figure of Charity on the altar wall, and in the fictive stone reliefs near the artist's signature in the Raising of Drusiana.
- 38 Ibid., The size of Filippino's giornate testify to his speed and assurance. It seems that the further away the paintings were from the beholder, the more boldly did Filippino work. For the lower scenes, the giornate tend to be somewhat smaller.
- 39 K. Clark, Piero della Francesca, London, 1951, pp. 16-17.
- 40 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. xlix.
- 41 Ibid., p. 93. In a similar way after Masaccio's death in c. 1428/9, Masolino was too busy with other commissions from Cardinal Branda Castiglione ever to complete the Brancacci frescoes before 1435, when the Brancacci, considered opponents of the Medici, were sent into exile lasting 40 years. Piero della Francesca also accepted commissions outside Arezzo during the painting of the Legend of the True Cross in the Bacci Chapel. At various times in Sansepolcro (1445-1454), the Misericordia altarpiece, 1454, the contract for the San Agostino altarpiece, Perugia, and at Rome in 1459. See M. Salmi, San Domenico e San Francesco di Arezzo, Rome, 1951, pp. 10-11, cited by E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 92.
- 42 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 122.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality. Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting during the Renaissance, Uppsala, 1963, passim.
- 45 Ibid., pp. 18-19.
- 46 Ibid. These terms are used by Sandström throughout his analysis.
- 47 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, 2nd edition, London, Faber and Faber, 1972, p. 54.
- 48 Ibid.

- 49 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 3.
- 50 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, pp. 40-41,
cited in S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 22.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 58.
- 53 Ibid. p. liv.
- 54 Ibid., p. xliv.
- 55 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, p. 75.
- 56 Ibid., p. 76.
- 57 Ibid.

CHAPTER 2 : GIOTTO'S UNITARY SPACE IN THE ARENA CHAPEL

NOTES

- 1 G. Collier. Form, Space and Vision. Discovering Design Through Drawing, 2nd ed., New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 69.
- 2 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, 1963, passim.
- 3 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980
- 4 J. Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, New York-London, Rutgers University, W.W. Norton and Co., 1969.
- 5 M. Alpatoff, "The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes," Burlington Magazine, 29, 1947, pp. 147-157.
- 6 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 7 Ibid., p. 7.
- 8 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, 1972.
- 9 S. Sandström, Level of Unreality p. 7.
- 10 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 57.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 7.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid., p. 9.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., p. 10.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid., p. 9.

- 24 Ibid., p. 11.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., p. 16.
- 27 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 7, See also; A. Tolomei, La Chiesa di Giotto nell'Arena di Padova, 1880, pp. 29-31, cited by J. Stubblebine in Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, pp. 102-105.
- 28 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 7, p. 11 note 2, and L. Bellosi, Giotto, Scala, Harper and Row, p. 131. The dating of the chapel is put by Bellosi as early as 1305 which was that of the Consecration ceremony. Most authorities agree on the dates 1305-1309.
- 29 E. Borsook, Ibid.
- 30 C. Bellinati, "La Cappella di Giotto all'Arena e le miniature dell'antifornario Giottesco della Cattedrale," in Da Giotto a Mantegna, Venice, 1974, cited by E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 12, note 4.
- 31 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", in J. Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, p. 182.
- 32 Ibid., p. 8.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid., p. 182, note 17.
- 35 H. Quilter, Angiolotto Bondone called Giotto, London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co., n.d. p.65.
- 36 Ibid., see also, R.H. Rough, "Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Gaudenti, and the Arena Chapel in Padua", Art Bulletin, 62 March 1980, pp. 24-35. The Cavalieri Gaudenti was an alternative name for the Cavalieri di Santa Maria. Rough suggests that Enrico Scrovegni joined the Order to deceive Pope Benedict XI that he had built the chapel at his own expense. Rough cites the Paduan historian, Giovanni da Nono, who in his chronicle, Liber de Generacione Aliquorum Civium Urbis Padua, written before 1337, mentions the Order of the Cavalieri Gaudenti as the second donor of the chapel. According to this text there were legal documents to establish the Cavalieri's joint ownership of the chapel which meant that the Order made a contribution to the building of the Arena Chapel. On the west wall of the Last Judgement, Enrico kneels to offer a model of his chapel and a tonsured monk wearing the grey habit prescribed for the Order helps support the chapel. This re-inforces the evidence of the Gaudenti as co-donors. Enrico Scrovegni later had a disagreement with the Order but wished to suppress it, possibly because he did not renounce his usurious practices.

37. E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 9.
38. E. Panofsky, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books, 1968, p. 43.
39. S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 21.
40. Ibid., see also E. Bacceschi, "Giotto - I Suoi Capolavori : I Segreti della Sua Arte", in I Geni del Arte. Giotto, ed. Mondadori, Milano, 1975, p. 105. Nell'aprile 1334 un decreto pubblico nomina Giotto sovrintendente di tutti i lavori di architettura del Comune di Firenze..."

In speaking of the Arena chapel Bacceschi states :
 L'architettura e insomma pensata in funzione del
 rapporto tra lo spazio reale e lo spazio dipinto,
 con un impronta unitaria di gusto che riporta a
 Giotto; un attribuzione di cui non si può avere
 la certezza ma che appare possibile.

- 41 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 57.
- 42 Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 57.
44. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 15.
- 45 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 7.
- 46 Ibid., p. 58.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 58.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 25.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
- 55 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", in Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, p. 183.
- 56 D. Shorr, "The Role of the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgement", in J. Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, p. 170.
- 57 Ibid.

- 58 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", in J. Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, p. 187, note 15.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 191-192.
- 60 L. Hojem, "The Programme of the Arena Chapel Frescoes," Trecento Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981, p. 24.
- 61 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 26.
- 62 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 60, S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p.24
- 63 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 60.
- 64 Ibid., p. 59.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid, p. 60.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 60.
S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 37.
- 71 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 59,
S.Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 26.
- 72 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 59.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 37.
- 75 Ibid., p. 25.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid., p. 26.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid. p. 24.
- 82 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", pp. 195-196.

83 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 26.

84 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 7. Although Giotto drew on the Golden Legend of Jacopo da Voragine for much of his iconographical source material, Borsook maintains that the account of the Mission of Gabriel and the Annunciation were based on the Mediatationes Vitae Christi by the Pseudo-Bonaventura. Mary's crossed hands and her calm acceptance of the Word, appear, however, to reflect some aspects of da Voragine's account. See J. da Voragine, The Golden Legend, New York, Longmans, Green and Co, 1941, pp. 204-208. The Incarnation is seen to repair not only the fall of man but also the fall of the angels, hence the importance of Gabriel's mission.

And it was fitting that an angel should announce the Incarnation, because in this way the fall of the angels was repaired. The Incarnation in fact took place to repair not only the fall of man, but the ruin of the angels wherefore the angels were not to be excluded from it. Whence womankind was admitted to the knowledge of the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Resurrection, so likewise, was the angelic messenger: for God revealed the one ... to the Virgin Mary, and the Resurrection to the Magdalene.

See also, M. van Nagy, Die wand-Bilder der Scrovegni Kapella zu Padua, Bern-Munich, 1962, pp. 4-11.

85 M.A.P. Godby, Letter to the Editor on Piero della Francesca's Annunciation, Art Bulletin, 58, March 1976, p. 150. See also, M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 82, on the role of the Virgin in which he suggests that there are three levels of worship: latria, the ultimate worship due to the Trinity, dulia, for angels, saints and Fathers of the Church and hyperdulia, which is due to the Virgin alone. These distinctions were reflected in the pigments used for different areas, for example, latria was expressed in gold pigments, hyperdulia in blue, from lapis lazuli, hence the traditional blue robe of the Virgin.

86 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", p. 189.

87 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 59.

88 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting 1400 to 1465, Practice and Theory, Columbia University, Ph.D thesis, 1984, p. 126. This edition was reprinted by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Columbia, 1984, pp. 57-60.

89 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 60.

90 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 18.

91 Ibid.

- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid., p. 27.
- 95 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 65.
- 96 J. White, Studies in Late Medieval Art, Pindar Press, London, 1984, p. 302.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, P. 9.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 61.
- 103 Ibid., p. 62.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid., p. 59.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid., p. 63.
- 108 Ibid., p. 60.
- 109 R.H. Rough, "Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Guadenti, and the Arena Chapel in Padua," Art Bulletin 62, March 1980, pp. 29-30.
- 110 D. Denny, "Some Symbols in the Arena Chapel Frescoes", Art Bulletin, 55, 1973, pp. 205-206.
- 111 M.A.P. Godby, "Iconography of the Shell in Fifteenth Century Italian Art", De Arte 2, Journal of the Department of Art History and Fine arts, Unisa, April 1985, p. 154.
- 112 J. White, Studies in Late Medieval Art, London, Pindar Press, 1984, p. 304.
- 113 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 155.
- 114 H. Davis, "Gravity in the Paintings of Giotto" in Giotto e il Suo Tempo, Atti del Congresso Internazionale Per La Celebrazione del VII Centenario della Nascita di Giotto, de Luca editore, Assisi-Firenze-Padova, 1967, p. 375.

- 115 R. Offner, "Giotto, Non-Giotto", Burlington Magazine, 74, 1939, p. 260.
- 116 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 156.
- 117 Ibid., p. 60.
- 118 Ibid., p. 68.
- 119 Ibid., p. 83.
- 120 Ibid., p. 24.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 O. Sirén, Giotto and Some of His Followers, Vol I, New York, Hacher Art Books, 1975, p. 5.
- 123 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 5.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 H. Davis, "Gravity in the Paintings of Giotto", in Giotto e Il Suo Tempo, pp. 373-375.
- 126 Ibid., p. 374.
- 127 H. Martindale, ed., Giotto, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, p. 107.
- 128 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 9, and S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 24.
- 129 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 9.
- 130 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 24.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 O. Sirén, Giotto and Some of his Followers, p. 57.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", p. 197.
- 135 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 24.
- 136 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 57.
- 137 E. Panofsky, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, p. 29.
- 138 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 57.
- 139 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 15.

- 140 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 57,
S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 21.
- 141 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 58.
- 142 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 82.
- 143 Ibid., p. 23.
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 J. White, Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 59.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 86, note 15.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 M. Alpatoff, "The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes",
Burlington Magazine, 29, 1947, pp. 149-157.
- 150 A.T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes,
Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1980, p. 383. This edition
was reprinted by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan,
1980. A "stop" is according to Brown a motif interrupting the
runner of a band.
- 151 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 83.
- 152 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 58.
- 153 Ibid.
- 154 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 27.
- 155 The types of framework in the Arena Chapel include: the Gothic
acanthus styles of flower/leaf borders used to define the upper
scenes of the Virgin cycle, the arch surround on the chancel and
the arch surround of the fresco of the Last Judgement.
Variations on a freer-style acanthus form are used in the
iconographic borders on the narrative side-walls, within defined
areas. The use of the acanthus in areas which specifically
relate to the Virgin could be symbolic of the Virgin's chastity,
for da Voragine states in The Golden Legend, cited in J.
Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, p. 113:
"Nazareth means flower. Whence Bernard says that the Flower will
be born of a flower, in flower and in the season of flowers
..." Apart from the acanthus flower, several types of framework
are used in the Arena Chapel, such as Cosmati work which
simulates mosaic work. Giotto also used variations on the
quatrefoil type "stop" or medallion. The lattice-quatrefoil was
of a more complex type with a small point introduced between the
curves of the simple quatrefoil. This is seen specifically in
the tightly-packed busts of the Old Testament prophets in the
vault framework. The use of a rainbow border is significant in

the mandorla of Christ in the Last Judgement, and in the five roundels on either side of the central pictorial band which divides the vault. The largest of these roundels towards the west end of the chapel shows the Virgin and Child while that towards the east end shows Christ. These shimmering borders could indicate the high spiritual reality of the vault roundels and their relationship to Christ in Judgement. The Old Testament Prophets that surround the vault medallion of the Virgin and Child, include Daniel, Baruch and Isaiah. One of the saints surrounding the medallion of Christ, has been identified as St. John the Baptist. For a discussion of border types see, A.T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, 1980, pp. 20-50. The acanthus leaf appears throughout the Arena Chapel in its stylized form and could reflect its use, in the High Middle Ages, in representations of the Tree of Jesse, underlining its importance in the Crucifixion, see, L.M. Bongiorno, "The Theme of the Old and the New Law in the Arena Chapel", Art Bulletin, 50, March 1968, p. 12. E. Haig in Floral Symbolism of the Old Masters, London, 1913, p. 146, suggests that the reference to Mary as "the fruitful stem" occurs in the budding rod carried by the angel in Joachim's Vision and is taken up into the floral borders which surround the earthly life of the Virgin.

CHAPTER 3: THE ORGANIZATION OF SPACE IN THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL.

NOTES

- 1 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 190. There is a consensus of opinion that it was Filippo Brunelleschi who invented Renaissance perspective, but that the first painter to give it true pictorial expression was Masaccio. Although the first artist to express these ideas was, of course, Brunelleschi himself. See, M.N. Myers, Observations on the Origins of Renaissance Perspective: Brunelleschi, Masaccio, Petrus Christus, Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1978, p. 77.
- 2 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 15.
- 3 J. Beck, Masaccio. The Documents, with the collaboration of Gino Corti, New York, J.J. Augustin, 1980.
- 4 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, Part I and II, Ph.D thesis, University of Michigan, 1976. This edition reprinted by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976.
- 5 Ibid., p. 79.
- 6 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, 1980.
- 7 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Iconography and History", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 40, 1977, pp. 50-322.
- 8 G. Bacchi, "La Cappella Brancacci", Rivista Storica Carmelitana, I, 1929, p. 58, also, U. Procacci, "L'incendio alla Chiesa del Carmine del 1771", Rivista d'Arte, XIV, 1932, p.157, P. Meller, "La Cappella Brancacci: problemi ritrattistici ed iconografici", Acropoli, IV, 1961, pp. 210-211, H. Brockhaus, "Die Brancacci Kappelle in Florenz", Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, III, 1929-1930, pp. 160-182, and many others.
- 9 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space.
- 10 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 63.
- 11 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes, p. 7.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 63.
- 14 Ibid. See also, Note 2, p. 66.

- 15 U. Baldini, "La Cappella Brancacci nella Chiesa del Carmine a Firenze", Quaderno del Restauro I, preface L. Berti, Florence, 1987, pp. 23-24, see also, "The Brancacci Chapel", Olivetti News, Vol. XXVII, March 1987, p. 28.
- 16 U. Baldini, "La Cappella Brancacci nella Chiesa del Carmine a Firenze", p. 24.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
- 18 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Iconography and History", p. 83, note 108, see also, G. Bacchi, "La Compagnia di S. Maria di S. Agnese nel Carmine di Firenze", Rivista Storica Carmelitana, III, 1931, pp. 34-35.
- 19 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Iconography and History", p. 70.
- 20 Ibid., p. 72.
- 21 Ibid., p. 74.
- 22 J. Beck, Masaccio. The Documents, p. 58
- 23 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Iconography and History", p. 75.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 76-77.
- 26 Ibid., p. 79, note 93.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 63.
- 29 M. Salmi, Masaccio. La Cappella Brancacci a Firenze, Vol. I, Florence, 1945, p. 12.
- 30 L. Berti, L'Opera Completa di Masaccio, Milan, 1968, p. 93.
- 31 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes, Meaning and Use, pp. 26-27.
- 32 U. Baldini, "La Cappella Brancacci nella Chiesa del Carmine", pp. 23-24. The results of the restoration team, under Umberto Baldini, the Direttore dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro, show that the removal of the marble altarpiece, on either side of the original window area, covered new portions of fresco consisting of decorative framework with a vine motif and medallions containing unidentified bust-portraits of a man and a woman.

- 33 U. Procacci, "L'incendio alla Chiesa del Carmine del 1771", Rivista d'Arte, XIV, 1932, p. 157.
- 34 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 63.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes, Meaning and Use, p. 95. The evidence of Masolino working alone on the vault in 1425, is based on documentation of his presence in the Carmine on July 8 of that year, doing minor work for the Company of St. Agnes.
- 37 Ibid., p. 12. In July 1425, that is after Felice Brancacci's return from Egypt, and again in July 1427, when Masolino returned from commissions in Hungary, his position is documented in the Carmine. It is unknown whether Masaccio worked on the frescoes alone during the intervening period or from the beginning of the programme. Masaccio was in Florence during 1424-1425 and also in July 1427 when Masolino returned.
- 38 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 63.
- 39 U. Baldini, "La Cappella Brancacci nella Chiesa del Carmine a Firenze", p. 27.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., p. 27.
- 42 Professor Michael Godby discussed this hypothesis with the writer during a seminar session at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- 43 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 64, see also, J. Pope-Hennessy, Donatello's Relief of the Ascension, London, 1949, pp. 7-12.
- 44 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 68.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 L. Berti, Masaccio, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967, p. 96.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, A Primer for the Social History of Pictorial Style, p. 60.
- 49 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting, 1400 to 1465, Practice and Theory, Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1984, p. 117. This edition re-printed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Columbia, 1984.

- 50 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 48.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid., p. 82.
- 53 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 66, note 21. Debold-von Ritter, 1975, p. 186, notes that Peter's payment of the Tribute made access to Paradise again possible and in the sermon of St. Augustine, the Tribute is a symbol of Redemption frequently expressed by the gift of the keys.
- 54 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 92 et passim.
- 55 Ibid., p. 93.
- 56 Ibid., p. 94.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 S. Sandström, pp. 18-19. Sandstrom analyses the concept of three "levels of reality-degrees".
- 60 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 97.
- 61 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 91.
- 62 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 135.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 35.
- 65 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 90.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid., p. 81.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 J.White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 135.
- 72 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 84.

- 73 Ibid., p. 32.
- 74 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 137.
- 75 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, passim.
- 76 Ibid., p. 116.
- 77 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 136.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use, p. 85.
- 80 Ibid., p. 86.
- 81 Ibid., p. 88.
- 82 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 58, et passim.
- 83 And they, seeing him walking upon the sea were troubled, saying: It is an apparition. And they cried out for fear and immediately Jesus spoke to them saying : Be of good heart. It is I. Fear ye not. And Peter making answer said: Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee upon the waters. And he said. Come. And Peter going down out of the boat walked upon the water to come to Jesus. But seeing the wind was strong, he was afraid: and when he began to sink, he cried out saying: Lord save me. (Matthew 15: 24:31). U. Procacci, "Il Vasari e la conservazione degli affreschi della Cappella Brancacci al," Carmine e della Trinità di Santa Maria Novella, Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi, Rome, 1956, pp. 215-217.
- 84 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel. Studies in its Iconography and History", p. 59.
- 85 Ibid., p. 60.
- 86 Ibid., p. 61.
- 87 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel. Studies in its Iconography and History", passim. Also P. Meller, "La Cappella Brancacci: problemi ritrattistici ed iconografici", Acropoli, III and IV, 1960-1961, p. 210-211, cited in E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 65.
- 88 A. Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Iconography and History", pp. 52-65, et passim, see also, L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel Frescoes. Meaning and Use pp. 125-136. Watkins discusses several theories which could relate to the political orientation of the iconography of the Brancacci Chapel programme. The Catasto of 1427 is believed to be reflected in the Tribute Money, and relate to taxation. The war with Milan and the pro-papal policy of Florence, which was in pressing need

for papal support against Milan, is discussed at length by Watkins in his critical appraisal of Peter Meller's iconographic theories. The major lines of argument in the article, P. Meller, "La Cappella Brancacci: problemi ritrattistici ed iconografici", Acropoli, 1960-1961, pp. 210-211, are founded on the identification of portraits of persons engaged in contemporary events, and the correlation of dates with the development of the Petrine cycle.

- 89 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, pp. 65, 67, note 39.
- 90 U. Baldini, "La Cappella Brancacci nella Chiesa del Carmine, Firenze", pp. 26-27.
- 91 G. Collier, Form, Space and Vision. Discovering Design Through Drawing, 2nd ed., foreword by Herbert Read, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 52.
- 92 Ibid., p. 54, see also, J. Beck, "Masaccio's Early Career as a Sculptor", Art Bulletin, 53, 1971, pp. 177-195. The tactile quality of Masaccio's figures has convinced Beck that he had some sculptural training. Masaccio's style could have been influenced by both Brunelleschi and Donatello. They may have introduced Masaccio to a branch of sculpture, like terracotta. Although there are no records of any sculptural activity by Masaccio, terracotta work was often referred to as that of a pictor rather than a sculptor. Masaccio was a member of Bicci di Lorenzo's shop in 1421 and may have been involved in the terracotta relief of the Coronation of the Virgin, formerly over the portal of the Church of Sant'Egidio, Florence.
- 93 The restoration team working in the Brancacci chapel will not replace the marble altarpiece, detached to reveal sections of fresco attributed to Masaccio and Masolino, and the exact appearance of the altar wall is still in debate. The leaves covering the Temptation of Adam and Eve by Masolino and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve by Masaccio, on the entrance piers of the Brancacci Chapel, have been removed.

CHAPTER 4 : SURFACE AND DEPTH IN THE BACCI CHAPEL FRESCOS.

NOTES

- 1 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 7.
- 2 L.Schneider, The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Frescoes illustrating the Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Arezzo, Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1967.
- 3 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, New York, J.J. Augustin, 1968.
- 4 M.A.P. Godby, Letter to the Editor on Piero della Francesca's Annunciation, Art Bulletin, 58, 1968, pp. 150-151.
- 5 M.Baxandall, Painting and experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in Social Style, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972.
- 6 M.Salmi, Piero della Francesca. La Storia della Croce, Florence, 1967, see also M.D. Davis, Piero della Francesca's Mathematical Treatises, Ravenna, Longo editore, 1977.
- 7 H. Focillon, Piero della Francesca, Paris, Armand Colin, 1952, see also C. de Tolnay, Religious Conceptions in the Paintings of Piero della Francesca, New York, 1966.
- 8 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 9 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany. From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p. 92.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid, see also note 11, p. 98. For reference to the completion of the window in 1417, see M. Salmi, "I Bacci di Arezzo nel secolo XV e la loro cappella nella chiesa di S. Francesco," Rivista d'Arte, IX, 1916-1918, p. 223. The cost of the window came to slightly more than 460 florins.
- 12 There was, however, another contender for the patronage of the main chapel in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo, see E, Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 92. Lazzaro di Giovanni di Feo Bracci - also an affluent Aretine merchant, then resident in Florence, stipulated a burial site at the foot of the high altar. His testament on 10 November, 1410, provided 500 florins for mural and stained glass to be carried out within five years. He specified that one wall was to be painted with the Resurrection of Lazarus, Bracci's patron saint. On the opposite wall was to be the Stigmatization of St. Francis while the vault was to show Four Evangelists. There is no documentation to why Bracci's suit failed and nothing further is heard of his claims on the chapel's patronage. In September 1425 he was buried in the Pieve of Arezzo. See also G.B. Sezanne, Arezzo illustrata:

memorie istoriche, letterarie e artistiche, Florence, 1858, pp. 197-198.

- 13 C. Lazzeri, Aspetti e Figure di Vita Medievale in Arezzo, Arezzo, 1937, pp. 119-125.
- 14 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 92.
- 15 M. Salmi, "Un'antica pianta di S. Francesco in Arezzo", Miscellanea Francescana, XXI, 1920, p. 103, cited by E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, note 3, p. 98.
- 16 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 92.
- 17 Ibid. The amount of money realized by this sale was just over 69 lire, or about 16 florins, which could only have been intended as an instalment for the work.
- 18 Ibid. In the year of the Catasto of 1427 the walls of the choir were still bare and the priors elected a four-man committee to collect credits owing to the fabbrica of San Francesco so that work could proceed.
- 19 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, p. 86. Giovanni Bacci was on a visit to Arezzo in September, 1449, and Gilbert suggests that he could have applied a less old-fashioned theology to the family chapel than that expounded in the traditional interpretation of the Legend of the True Cross. He returned, however, to Rome and did not oversee the actual programme.
- 20 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 15.
- 21 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, pp. 93-94. The theme of the Legend of the True Cross was a favourite subject with Franciscans, because according to St. Francis's biographer, Bonaventura, the saint was crucified "circa festum Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis", and this feast day, celebrated, on the 14 September was instituted in Jerusalem for the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and also commemorates Heraclius' return of the True Cross there. See also K.A.H. Kellner and Angelo Mercati, L'Anno Ecclesiastico e le Feste dei Santi nel loro Svolgimento Storico, Rome, 1906, pp. 285-291, and, A. Frolov, La Relique de la Vraie Croix, Paris, 1961, pp. 161-164.
- 22 Ibid., p. 94, see also, H. Graber, Piero della Francesca, Basel, 1922, p. 22.
- 23 The identity of the two youths, on either side of the altar wall lunette, is still uncertain. The gaze of both is directed towards the right side of the chapel where the story begins. The figure on the left has no attribute at all, but that on the right bears a scroll, the attribute of prophets. One of the most appropriate prophets here would be Isaiah, not only because he alluded to the Incarnation and the Messiah's descent in the Tree

- of Jesse, but also because he described the types of wood used for the Cross. See E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 94.
- 24 M. Baxandall, Piero della Francesca. The Master, London, 1963, p. 3, cites Piero's statement: "Painting consists of three principal parts, which we call delineation, commensuration and colouring."
 - 25 M.D. Davis, Piero della Francesca's Mathematical Treatises, p. 2. Piero's two-sided interest in mathematics and art represented nothing out of the ordinary. The Renaissance witnessed a flourishing union between the fine arts and mathematics, such as arithmetic and geometry. By the mid-Fifteenth century the collaboration of artists and mathematicians was an everyday occurrence. Piero wrote two mathematical treatises the Trattato d'Abaco and the Libellus de Quinque Corporibus Regularibus".
 - 26 Ibid., p. 10. Piero was, according to Davis familiar with Euclid, Archimedes and Ptolemy, for he mentions them and quotes from their works. In this context Piero's treatises affect the union of mathematics and art as they are fundamental to his ability to measure solid objects pictorially and scientifically. Piero's attention to surface is cognisant of the function of solids in the pictorial displacement of space.
 - 27 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
 - 28 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 100, there is an axial alignment in the vanishing points of the two upper scenes which coincides with the centre of the wall.
 - 29 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, p. XIII, XIV. The years 1451-1458 are considered the first phase of the Arezzo cycle and Gilbert includes the Burial of the Wood in this.
 - 30 Ibid., p. 19. Gilbert points out that the fresco shows no interest in perspective or any kind of geometry, and also indicates a keenness of emotional stress in the fierce mourner in the centre with her wide-flung arms.
 - 31 P. Hendy, "Piero della Francesca and the Early Renaissance", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 28, 3, 1970, p. 397.
 - 32 G. Collier, Form Space and Vision, Prentice-Hall, 1972, p. 177.
 - 33 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 7.
 - 34 G. Collier, Form, Space and Vision, p. 69.
 - 35 C. de Tolnay, "Conceptions Religieuses dans la Peinture de Piero della Francesca", Arte Antica e Moderna, XXII, 1961, pp. 205-241, cited by L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Frescoes illustrating the Legend of the True Cross", Art Quarterly, XXII, 1969, p. 24.

- 36 Skira, (ed)., Piero della Francesca, Lausanne, Imprimeries Réunies, 1959, p. 72, for the story of the Legend of the True Cross.
 - 37 L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo", Art Quarterly, 32, No. 1, p. 24, 1969. The presence of "green and dry" symbolism link the leafless tree in the Death of Adam fresco links Adam's death to the Crucifixion while the seeds from the arbor vitae indicate the possibility of Redemption.
 - 38 G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. I, London, Lund Humphries, 1971, p. 134. Schiller notes that another important element in the Crucifixion image beside the typology of Adam, which identifies Adam's grave with the hill of Golgotha and uses the risen Adam to illustrate the Redemption of man, is the symbolism of Paradise with its two trees: the Tree of life and the Tree of Knowledge, of good and evil. Interpretation of the Cross as the Tree of Life was well known in the Quattrocento, not only through legends of the Cross but primarily through the liturgy of the Mass. Contrasting the two trees of Paradise, a hymn from the Holy Cross contains the following verse:
Grieving for the deception of the first man as he bit
the apple of sin and plunged us into deadly peril, God
had already shown him the tree that offered atonement
for the sins of that tree.
- The Tree of Life took on Eucharistic meaning.
- 39 L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo", Art Quarterly, XXII, 1969, p. 24. Schneider also suggests that the semantic link between the Hebrew gulgoleth and the Latin calvaria, both meaning skull refers to the sites of Adam's death and Christ's Crucifixion, see also, E.C. Quin, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life, Chicago, University Press, 1962, p. 75 and p. 100 in which he cites St. Jerome who records that Adam's sins were washed away by Christ's blood.
 - 40 G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol I, p. 5, western theological thought sees, according to Schiller, an extremely close connection between the Incarnation and soteriology, the doctrine of Redemption. In relation to the Legend of the True Cross the Incarnation of God and the Redemption of man through Christ's expiatory death are essential to a full interpretation of the implicit symbolism of the programme.
 - 41 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 20.
 - 42 G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. II, p. 133.
 - 43 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 5.

- 44 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 134.
- 45 M. Baxandall, Piero della Francesca. The Master, p. 4, see also L. Tintori and M. Meiss, "Additional Observations on Italian Mural Technique", Art Bulletin, XLVI, 1964, p. 377, in which they explain the technique of Piero della Francesca as buon fresco in which one area of colour falls into two or three patches and matches across the boundary of the patch. The paint also appears to have the thickness of tempera and becomes part of the actual wall. Tintori and Meiss suggest that Piero used, in some parts of the programme, the technique of secco su fresco which resulted in great luminosity, as with this technique Piero was able to work into the damp plaster. The light coloration of the programme is most apparent in the lunettes, and appeared, to the writer, as mostly a matter of pale priming and the graduated use of whites.
- 46 By the time of King David the Holy Wood had begun to work many miracles and Solomon used it to build a small bridge over the stream Siloan or Kidron, and when the queen of Sheba came to the bridge, knowing its miraculous nature, she knelt down and worshipped the Wood. see A. Skira (ed)., Piero della Francesca, Lausanne, Imprimeries Réunies, 1959, pp. 72-82 for the story of the Legend of the True Cross.
- 47 R. Longhi, Piero della Francesca, tr. L. Penlock, Rome, 1930, p. 10.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 W. Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style. Transformations in Art and Literature 1400-1706, New York, Doubleday and Co., Ltd., p. 83.
- 50 L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Frescoes illustrating the Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco at Arezzo", Art Quarterly, XXII, 1969, p. 27.
For she came from the uttermost part of the earth
to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Matthew 12:42,
just as the wise men from the Orient came to
Bethlehem to see the Newborn King.
- 51 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 95.
- 52 J. Chydenius, "The Typological Problem in Dante", Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Vol. 25, 1960, p. 80, cited by L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo", Art Quarterly, XXII, 1969, note 34, p. 46.
- 53 A. Skira, (ed)., Piero della Francesca, p. 74.
- 54 L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Legend

- of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco Arezzo", Art Quarterly, 32, No. 1, p. 27. Piero differs from pictorial tradition in the choice of a male figure as Schneider affirms that in earlier scenes of the Proof of the Cross, a female figure was used.
- 55 G. Collier, Form, Space and Vision, p. 27.
 - 56 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 10.
 - 57 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 93, Borsook links the two lower battle scenes to earlier work by Paolo Uccello and to the documented visit to Rome in 1459. The Victory of Constantine has been compared with Uccello's panels of the Battle of San Romano, painted to go high up in a room in the Medici Palace. Ulrich Middeldorf suggests that the composition of Piero's battle scenes could reflect those found on Tuscan cassone. Cassone landscapes have low horizon lines, like Piero's fresco of the Victory of Constantine, whereas Uccello's battles and other spalliere paintings have horizon lines which tend to be high. See, U. Middeldorf, "Giuliano da Sangallo and Andrea Sansovino", Art Bulletin, XVI, 1934, pp. 107-115.
 - 58 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 10.
 - 59 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 95, see also, C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, pp. 76-77. Gilbert points out that the two walls of the Bacci chapel are reciprocal as a whole: all the scenes to our right, the liturgical sinister side, deal with people sub lege, and not yet Christian (Adam, Sheba, Constantine). In the Golden Legend, Constantine was not converted by his battle but only later by St. Sylvester. All the left-hand people, on the dexter side, are Christians sub gratia (Helena, Heraclius, Mary).
 - 60 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 93.
 - 61 J. Hall, A History of Ideas and Images in Italian Art, (ed)., J. Murray, London, 1963, p. 203.
 - 62 A. Skira, (ed)., Piero della Francesca, for the story of the Legend of the True Cross, see pp. 72 - 82.
 - 63 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 95. It must be understood, in this context, that Jerusalem is equated with Calvary, the site of Adam's grave, Christ's Crucifixion and Constantine's great Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. The Feasts of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Stigmatization of St. Francis were also celebrated on the same day.
 - 64 M.D.Davis, Piero della Francesca's Mathematical Treatises, passim.
 - 65 M. Salmi, Piero della Francesca. La Storia della Croce, p. 68.

- 66 M. Salmi, Piero della Francesca. La Storia della Croce, p. 68.
- 67 C. Gilbert, Change in Piero della Francesca, pp. 76-77.
- 68 M.A.P. Godby, Paolo Uccello's Fresco of the Flood and the Recession of the Flood in the Chioostro Verde, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Ph.D Thesis, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p. 354.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 M. Salmi, La Pittura di Piero della Francesca, Novara, Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1979, p. 77.
- 71 G. Goldner, "Notes on the Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Annunciation at Arezzo", Art Bulletin, 56, 1974, p. 344. Goldner suggests that a link between the Burial of the Wood and the Annunciation occurs and that Piero chose to represent three bearers of the Cross, instead of one, and thereby to make reference to the "faith of the Trinity".
- 72 L. Schneider, "The Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Legend of the Cross in the Church of San Francesco Arezzo", Art Quarterly, XXII, 1969, p. 37.
- 73 Ibid., note 69, p. 47.
- 74 Ibid., p. 47.
- 75 E. Borsook, The Murial Painters of Tuscany, p. 94.
- 76 G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. I, p. 5.
- 77 R. Kahsnitz, "Zul Verkündigung im Zyklus Der Kreuzlegende bei Piero della Francesca", Schülerfestabe für Herbert von Einem, Bonn, 1965, pp. 112-137.
- 78 M.A.P. Godby, Letter to the Editor on Piero della Francesca's Annunciation, Art Bulletin, 58, 1976, pp. 150-151.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 F. Hartt, History of Italian Renaissance Art, New York, 1969, p. 241, cited by M.A.P. Godby, "Letter to the Editor on Piero della Francesca's Annunciation", Art Bulletin, 58, March 1976, p. 150.
- 82 Ibid., also D.M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries", Art Bulletin, 1936, p. 485.

- 83 M.A.P. Godby, "Letter to the Editor on Piero della Francesca's Annunciation" Art Bulletin, 58, 1976, p. 150.
- 84 M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, p. 34.
- 85 J.R. Spencer, "Spatial Imagery of the Annunciation in Fifteenth century Florence", Art Bulletin, XXXVII, 1955, p. 274, cited by Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 64.
- 86 L.B. Watkins, The Brancacci Chapel: Meaning and Use, p. 111.
- 87 M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, p. 61.
- 88 G. Goldner, "Notes on the Iconography of Piero della Francesca's Annunciation at Arezzo", Art Bulletin, 56, 1974, p. 303. Goldner suggests that there is a visual juxtaposition of meaning to parallel da Voragine's text which contrasts the two Judas' as implicit in the Legend of the True Cross. Whereas Judas Escariot betrayed Christ (with whom the Virgin was impregnated at the time of the Annunciation) and ended by committing suicide by hanging, the later Judas of the Legend, who at first would not aid in the recovery of the Cross, underwent a remarkable conversion. Just as mankind was redeemed through Christ, whose coming was heralded in the Annunciation, so the redemption of Judas originated in the revelation of the location of the True Cross. Goldner equates the rope and beam in the Annunciation fresco with the noose with which Judas Escariot killed himself.
- 89 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 95. In such a vision, historical chronology is of less importance than a demonstration of the recurrence and coincidence of similar types of events.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid., p. 92.
- 92 B.B. Walsh, The Fresco Paintings of Bicci di Lorenzo, Ph.D Thesis, Indiana University, 1977, p. 107.
- 93 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 94. Bicci di Lorenzo also began painting the Four Doctors of the Church, on the soffit of the entrance arch, he was entirely responsible for Gregory the Great on the upper left and his counterpart on the upper right. See also E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting, Ph.D Thesis, Columbia University, 1984, p. 105.
- 94 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 95 A.T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, passim.

- 96 W. Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style, p. 81.
- 97 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 95, see also P. D'Ancona, Piero della Francesca. Il Ciclo affrescato della Santa Croce nella Chiesa di S. Francesco in Arezzo, Milano, 1980, p. 23.
- 98 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 109.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 H. Osborne, (ed)., "Proportion", Oxford Companion to Art, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970.

CHAPTER 5 : THE "OPENED" WALL - CHRISTIAN AND ANTIQUE ALLEGORY IN
THE SASSETTI CHAPEL FRESCOES.

NOTES

- 1 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 91.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid., p. 92.
- 4 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence. History and Legend in a Renaissance Chapel, Doornspijk, Davaco Publishers, Holland, 1981.
- 5 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 6 F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, IV, 1940-1941, pp. 27-29, C. Botto, "Note e documenti sulla Chiesa di S. Trinità di Firenze", Rivista d'Arte XX, 1933, pp. 18-19, C. Clough, "The World of Grotesques", Apollo, 94, 1971, p. 77, N. Dacos, "La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation de Grotesques à la Renaissance", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1970, p. 6, J.A. Dobrick, "Ghirlandaio and Roman Coins", Burlington Magazine, 123, January-June 1981, p. 356, N. Dacos, "Ghirlandaio et l'Antique", Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, XXXIV, 1962, pp. 419-455, et al.
- 7 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, 1980, for general source material see also, A. Chastel, Art et Humanisme a Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique, Paris, 1959, M. Chiarini, Il Ghirlandaio alla Cappella Sassetti in Santa Trinita, Milan, 1961, and A. Warburg, Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig, Berlin 1932, pp. 89-126 for the political role of Sassetti in the Medici circle.
- 8 R.N.Vasaturo, Church of S. Trinità, Historical Notes and Artistic Guide, Translation by Santa Binazzi, Florence, Beccocci, 1973, p. 3.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid., p. 4.
- 14 Ibid.

- 15 C. Botto, "Note e Documenti sulla Chiesa di S. Trinità", Rivista d'Arte, XX, 1933, pp. 18-19.
- 16 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 117.
- 17 M. Wackernagel, The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist. Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market, Translated by A. Luchs, Princeton, University Press, 1981, p. 263.
- 18 N. Rubenstein, Florentine Government under the Medici 1434-1494, Oxford, 1966, p. 279, see also, E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 11.
- 19 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 11. Nera Corsi was, according to Borsook and Offerhaus, the daughter of a gonfaloniere di giustizia, the highest office a Florentine citizen could hold. The Corsi were a family with an aura of ancient Roman and Etruscan lineage who were held in high esteem by the Medici regime.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
- 22 Ibid., p. 11. Sassetti's library included copies of the Aeneid, a Suetonius, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Pliny's Natural History and, according to de la Mare, many others, see, A. de la Mare, "The Library of Francesco Sassetti", Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller, Manchester, C.H. Clough, 1976, pp. 160-201.
- 23 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, pp. 12-14. On the 11 February 1470, the Dominicans recognized Francesco Sassetti's claims to decorate the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria Novella's main chapel. Patronage of the high altar did not, according to Borsook and Offerhaus, involve similar privileges within the main chapel of the Church. Sassetti's subsequent quarrel with the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella remains obscure but may have concerned either a hoped-for share of rights of patronage to the main chapel, as the altar, or Sassetti's wish to paint the walls with the story of his patron saint, St. Francis. As the Dominican Church was a rival order this would have been unacceptable. See also, A. Warburg, Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig/Berlin, 1932, pp. 135-136 note 2.
- 24 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, pp. 14-15. Sassetti was not involved in the Pazzi conspiracy and remained among the most loyal supporters of the Medici. While Lorenzo de' Medici was negotiating a peace in Naples, Francesco Sassetti, as a member of the Florentine balìa, looked after domestic matters at home.

- 25 Ibid., p. 15. Borsook and Offerhaus note that branches of the bank failed in Milan, Avignon, Bruges and London and Sassetti was openly accused of incompetence. See also R. de Roover, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397-1494, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963, pp. 223, 239, 301.
- 26 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 16.
- 27 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 117.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid., p. 121, note 13. The inscription of the sibyls' scrolls reads : for the Eritrean sibyl IN VLTIMA AVTEM ETATE, for the Agrippan sibyl INVISIBILE VERBUM PALPABITVR GERMINABIT, for the Cumean sibyl HEC TESTE VIRGIL MAGNVS, and the fourth sibyl has nothing written on her scroll.
- 32 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 20. The tomb framework of pietra serena carved relief, must have been installed before the walls were plastered for the frescoes.
- 33 Ibid. This attribution is not, however, conclusive; for other theories see, A. Venturi, "Le Sculture dei Sarcofagi di Francesco e Nera Sassetti in Santa Trinità", L'Arte, XIII, 1910, pp. 385-389 and U. Middeldorf, "Giuliano da Sangallo and Andrea Sansovino", Art Bulletin, XVI, 1934, p. 107.
- 34 T.M. Troy, Classical Reliefs and Statues in Later Quattrocento Religious Painting, Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, University Press, 1980, pp. 121-122. This edition re-printed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1980.
- 35 C.H. Clough, "The World of Grotesques", Apollo, 94, July-December, 1971, p. 77.
- 36 N. Dacos, "La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des grotesques à la Renaissance", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London/Leiden, 1970, p. 6.
- 37 F. Saxl, : "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, IV, 1940-1, pp. 419-455.
- 38 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 21. Some of the reliefs allude to the happy marital relationship of Francesco and Nera and this is evident on the black porphyry, or pietra di paragone sarcophagus

of Nera Sassetti, with the inscription:

DEO OMNIP(OTENTI) NERAE CVRSIAE/CONGVG (I) DVLCISSI(MAE) CVM
QVA SVAVITER/VIVIT FRANCISCVS SAXETTVS POSVIT/.

- 39 J. Bialostocki, "The Sea-Thasos in Renaissance Sepulcral Art", Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art, presented to Anthony Blunt on his sixtieth birthday, London/New York, 1967, pp. 64-74, cited by E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 22.
- 40 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 44. Germanicus was a title of military honour and was, according to Borsook and Offerhaus, hereditary in the family of Nero Drusus to which Caligula belonged and the charioteer and horses were based on coins struck in Rome by Caligula.
- 41 Ibid., p. 43.
- 42 P. Décharme, Mythologie de la Grece Antique, Paris, 1886, pp. 596-597, cited by E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 24 note 77.
- 43 M. Wackernagel, The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist, p. 266.
- 44 This aspect could be the main reason for the inclusion of centaurs which function as allegories of immortality in terms of visual symbolism and aid Sassetti's soul in its journey to Salvation.
- 45 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 25. The frieze below Francesco's tomb has episodes referring to the past and future and the two sections are divided by the central portrait roundel.
- 46 The lid of Francesco's tomb bears the inscription, GEN(IO) SAXE(TVS) FR(ANCISCVS) T(HOMASI) F(ECIT) and a floor roundel within the chapel re-affirms the patronage of the Sassetti chapel with the words, POSTERIS SVIS FRANSICVS SAXETVS.
- 47 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, pp. 43-44.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 121.
- 50 Ibid., p. 117.
- 51 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 52.
- 52 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 27.

- 53 Ibid., p. 28.
- 54 Ibid., p. 33.
- 55 B. Berenson, "Nova Ghirlandajana", L'Arte, 1933, p. 166.
- 56 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 49. The frescoes were carried out during the years following the Pazzi conspiracy and Lorenzo de' Medici succeeded in maintaining Florence's independence in the face of crushing military odds and a hostile papacy. The pope commemorated peace in December 1482, on the steps of St. Peter's and a church was built in Rome called Santa Maria della Pace.
- 57 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
- 58 K. Simon, "The Dais and the Arcade: Architecture and Pictorial Narrative in Quattrocento Painting", Apollo, 81, January-June, 1965, p. 270.
- 59 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 36-37. The portraits include Lorenzo de' Medici and Antonio Pucci on his right, Francesco Sassetti and his twelve year-old son Federigo and, on the opposite side of the scene are three more of Sassetti's sons. In the centre foreground are Lorenzo de' Medici's sons led by Poliziano and their tutors Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco.
- 60 M.A.P. Godby, Paolo Uccello's Fresco of the Flood and the Recession of the Flood in the Chiostro Verde, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Ph.D. Thesis, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, p. 368.
- 61 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 53.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid., p. 22.
- 65 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 24.
- 66 Ibid., p. 28.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 64.
- 69 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 28.

- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid. This caused the entire scene to be mislabelled for more than a century as the Resuscitation of the Spini Boy.
- 72 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 53.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, pp. 38-39. There are many portraits in the fresco identified as, to the left, Sassetti's five daughters with their husbands and fiances. It is possible that the distraught mother kneeling behind the catafalque is also modelled on one of Sassetti's daughters. The group of men, on the opposite side of the fresco, consist of Neri Capponi, the hero of Anghiari whose grandson married Sassetti's daughter Violante and, on the outer fringe of the scene, are Ghirlandaio himself and his brother-in-law and collaborator, Sebastiano Mainardi.
- 75 Ibid., p. 28.
- 76 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 29.
- 77 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 19. This reference to life after death is taken up overhead in the miraculous resuscitation of the dead child by St. Francis in the Resuscitation of the Roman Notary's Son.
- 78 Ibid., p. 19, see also, C. de Tolnay, "Two Frescoes by Domenico and David Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinità in Florence", Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, XXIII, 1961, pp. 238-239.
- 79 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 34.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid., p. 32, note 107.
- 83 M.A.P. Godby, Paolo Uccello's Fresco of the Flood and the Recession of the Flood, p. 353.
- 84 Ibid., p. 357.
- 85 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 30.
- 86 Ibid., p. 31, note 100.

- 87 Ibid., note 102, see also, F. Costa, "Simbolismo Eucaristico in S. Bonaventura", Miscellanea Francescana, LXXIV, 1974, p. 194, note 115, for an analysis of the host as signum pace.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid., p. 34. The inscription on the manger-sarcophagus reads:
ENSE CADENS SOLYMO POMPEI. FVLVI (VS) AVGVR / NVMEN AIT. QVAE ME
CONTEG (IT).
- 90 A. Warburg, Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig/Berlin, 1932, pp. 132-136, note 2. This Fulvio may then not be the fruit of Fonzio's fantasy and his proclamation of Augustus' birth dominum terrarum orbi natum, calls to mind the words uttered by the Tiburtine sibyl regarding Christ's birth, cited by E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 34, note 114.
- 91 D. Weinstein, "The Myth of Florence", Florentine Studies, (ed)., N. Rubenstein, London, 1968, pp. 21, 24, 29, 32, see also N. Rubenstein, "The Beginning of Political Thought in Florence", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, V, 1942, pp. 198-227, and N. Rubenstein, "Il Poliziano e la Questione delle Origini di Firenze", in Il Poliziano e il suo Tempo : Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Settembre 1954, Florence, 1957, pp. 101-109, also E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, pp. 53-54. Confirmation for the Augustan foundation of Florence, was believed to have been discovered in the years when the Sassetti murals were in progress. Poliziano uncovered, in the Medici library, texts containing copies of ancient inscriptions including one which declared Augustus' leading role in the founding of Florence.
- 92 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 32.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid., p. 33, see also "Dies irae", Enciclopedia Italiana, Milan, 1931, XII, p. 782. According to Borsook and Offerhaus this passage was attributed to Tommaso da Celano;

Dies irae dies illa:
solvet saeculum in favilla
teste David cum sibilla.
Quantas tremor est futures
Quando iudex est venturus:
cuncta stricte discussurus.

- 95 Ibid., p. 32, the inscription on the top of David's pillar translates as "to the safety of the fatherland and Christian glory".

- 96 E. Borsook and J. Offerhaus, Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence, p. 29, note 96.
- 97 Clearly all these subjects belong to the Nativity theme to which the chapel was dedicated, together with St. Francis.
- 98 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 34.
- 99 Pictorial space and architectural space are no longer clearly defined and a certain merging of actual and illusionistic space occurs.
- 100 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 101 Ibid., preface, Sandstrom cites L.B. Alberti, Della Pittura, ed. L. Mallett, Turin, 1950. "Thus are all objects understood by way of comparison, for in comparison itself lies a power which immediately makes clear that which is more, that which is less and that which is equivalent."
- 102 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 27.
- 103 Ibid., p. 76.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 One of the ways in which the Church accommodated Paganism was through providential history in which God had a divine pre-ordained plan for Christianity in which certain Pagan writers are acknowledged as having an intuitive foreknowledge of the Coming of Christ. See T.M. Troy, Classical Reliefs and Statues in Later Quattrocento Religious Painting, Ph.D. Thesis, California, University Press, 1980, p. 173.

CHAPTER 6 SYMBOLISM AND MORTALITY - ILLUSIONISM GRISAILLE AND THE
PROSCENIUM IN THE STROZZI CHAPEL FRESCOS.

NOTES

- 1 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1976. This edition reprinted by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1976.
- 2 A. Scharf, Filippino Lippi, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1935, and K.B. Neilson, Filippino Lippi, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938.
- 3 F. Gamba, Filippino Lippi nella Storia della Critica, Florence, Arnaud, 1958, pp. 16-18, L. Berti and U. Baldini, Filippino Lippi, Florence, Arnaud, 1957, pp. 41, 50-51, 95. D. Friedman, "The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in Florence", L'Arte, IX, 1970, pp. 109-131, et al.
- 4 P. Halm, "Das unvolendete Fresko des Filippino Lippi in Poggio a Caiano", Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, III, 1931, pp. 413-420.
- 5 E. Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, London, Faber and Faber, 1967, pp. 166-184.
- 6 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, pp. 122-127.
- 7 E. Borsook, "Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e della Selve di Filippo Strozzi", Antichità Viva, IX, No. 3, May-June, 1970, pp. 3-20, see also, E. Borsook, "Documents for Filippo Strozzi's Chapel in Santa Maria Novella and other Related Papers-I," and "Documents for Filippino Strozzi's Chapel in Santa Maria Novella and other Related Papers-II: The Documents," Burlington Magazine, CXII, Nos. 812, 813, November-December, 1970, pp. 737-745, 800-804.
- 8 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 9 P. Ravaggi, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Scala, 1982, p. 2.
- 10 E. Borsook, "Documents for Filippo Strozzi's Chapel in Santa Maria Novella and other Related Papers-I", Burlington Magazine, CXII, No. 812, 1970, pp. 738, 800.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 122.
- 13 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 100.

- 14 Ibid., p. 101. see also, T.A. Trollope, Filippo Strozzi, London, Chapman and Hall, 1860, p. 5. Almost every year saw the burial of a Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella, as revealed by the death registers maintained by the monastery.
- 15 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 17. Already in 1446 Filippo had promised his mother to "rifare la nostra casa", and restore the patrimony of his family in Florence.
- 16 Ibid., p.7, see also, G. Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, 1963, p. 50. Matteo di Simone Strozzi left Florence on the 12 November 1434 and arrived in Pesaro on the 18th of the same month, Matteo di Simone and Palla di Nofri Strozzi had a common ancestor in Iacopo di Strozzi who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century.
- 17 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 7, see also, G. Bini and P. Bigazzi, Vita di Filippo Strozzi il Vecchio scritta da Lorenzo suo figlio, Florence, Cassa di Correzione, 1851, and R. Goldwaite, Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence, Princeton, University Press, 1968, p. 31.
- 18 R. Goldwaite, Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence, pp. 53-55, also, J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 9.
- 19 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 9.
- 20 Ibid., p. 17-19. Filippo is reported to have constructed, restored, or in some way embellished the following churches and oratories: in Florence, Santa Maria Novella and Santa Maria a Ughi; outside the city, the Dominican church of Lecceto, the Carmelite church of Le Selve, an oratory at Santuccio, and another on Monte Morello.
- 21 Ibid., p. 103.
- 22 Ibid., p. 104.
- 23 Ibid., p. 105.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 105-106. Before his death Bono fell on hard times and his three sons, to whom full rights to the sanctuary fell equally, also came into financial difficulties and could no longer maintain the chapel properly. Strozzi used most of his 300 florin credit with the monks of Santa Maria Novella to buy from them part interest in a shop they owned in the Mercato Vecchio. The rent provided the annual return necessary for the religious services in the Strozzi Chapel.
- 25 Ibid., p. 107.

- 26 E.H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art : A Survey of Primary Sources", in Italian Renaissance Studies, (ed). by E.F. Jacob, London, Faber and Faber, 1960, p. 284, this source suggests that Filippo's fortune was, however, acquired with less than perfect honesty.
- 27 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 122.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid., p. 123.
- 30 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 118. The decorations of Strozzi's chapel had hardly begun before Filippo's death and the only adornments of the chapel that were actually ready by 14 May 1491 were the rich liturgical robes and, possibly, a pair of candlesticks.
- 31 Ibid., p. 119. Because of the detailed directions for Strozzi's placement of his tomb it can be assumed that the ideological programme for the entire chapel existed by the time of his death.
- 32 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel: An Interpretation of Filippino Lippi's window wall in the Cappella Strozzi", in Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, pp. 166-167.
- 33 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 122, see also, E. Borsook, "Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e della Selve di Filippo Strozzi", Antichità Viva, IX, 1970, p. 238.
- 34 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 111, see also E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, pp. 122-123. Filippino promised to finish the paintings by March 1, 1490, but circumstances forced Filippo Strozzi to agree to a postponement while Filippino painted murals for Cardinal Carafa's burial chapel in Rome, Filippino was paid 75 florins larghi d'oro for unspecified work on the murals, possibly in the vault. After Strozzi's death a new deadline was set for the murals, 14 May 1498, which again was not met. After some litigation, Filippino received an extra 100 florins to complete the frescoes. This was accomplished in 1502.
- 35 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 111.
- 36 Ibid., p. 119.
- 37 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 123.

- 38 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 147, note III. A. Scharf, Filippino Lippi, p. 60, also believed that the vault of the chapel was completed during the campaign of 1489, and there remains some disagreement among the authorities.
- 39 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 192, also p. 170. The contract of 21 April 1487 does not specify Patriarchs, but Strozzi must have decided later to include them as they relate to the iconographic programme in relation to Death and Resurrection.
- 40 Ibid., p. 193. Adam disobeyed God by eating of the forbidden fruit, and for this first sin he, and all mankind, were punished by death. Romans 5:12.
- Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned.
- 41 Ibid., p. 194.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., p. 200. This Biblical tree of knowledge and of good and evil, was according to medieval legend, destroyed after the Fall because it served as an agent in man's first transgression. The denuded trunk in the Adam fresco points to his mortality.
- 44 Ibid., p. 201-202. The springing young branches transform the otherwise negative tree into an image of rebirth and renovation, a symbol which will be seen in the Strozzi eagle on the altar wall. The new shoots also allude to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, in the light of a lignum vitae; there may also be a reference to Holy Cross legends which identified the redemptive wood of the Cross with the very tree that had given occasion for the first sin.
- 45 It is the fundamental Biblical role of each figure as a Patriarch that is stressed in the vault. Taken as a group, the Strozzi fathers possess a funereal significance that is a major concern for the burial function of the chapel. At the same time Christians considered the Patriarchs as being among the first saved souls in heaven. See also, J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 178 and D.M. Lefebure, (ed)., Saint Andrew Daily Missal, Bruges, Biblica, 1962, p. 1794:

Deliver, Lord, the soul of Your servant,
as You delivered Noah from the Flood.

Deliver, Lord the soul of Your servant,
as You delivered Isaac from being sacrificed
by his father.

- 46 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 180. In Filippino's fresco Noah is shown after the Flood, for the ark is upon the ground and the door is open, the ark is a direct pre-figuration for the Cross of Christ and implies Redemption.
- 47 Ibid., p. 191. Jacob's vision of a heavenly ladder can be interpreted as a ladder leading to spiritual perfection and one of contemplation. Through his vision, according to Sale, Jacob was divinely inspired to know the way to heaven by knowledge of God's secrets.
- 48 Ibid. The emphasis on knowledge and spiritual absorption in the Jacob, is related to the other Patriarchs as possessors of wisdom, with of course, the exception of Adam.
- 49 Ibid., p. 226, see also M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, 2nd ed, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 439-453, for the early acts of St. Philip.
- 50 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 227.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid., p. 232. The candelabra held by a pagan to the right is an adaptation of the seven-branched menorah from the interior of the Arch of Titus. For exact derivations see, A. Scharf, Filippino Lippi, p. 66, and fig. 219.
- 53 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 236.
- 54 T. Troy, Classical Reliefs and Statues in Later Quattrocento Religious Painting, Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkely, 1980. This edition reprinted by Ann Arbor, University Microfilms International, 1980, p. 112. The setting as a whole probably reflects Roman wall paintings or grotesques, Filippino was familiar with these and his notebooks were famous for their Antique arabesques and drolleries; see also, N. Dacos, "La Decouverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques a la Renaissance", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London/Leiden, 1970, p.6.
- 55 T. Troy, Classical Reliefs and Statues in Later Quattrocento Religious Painting, p. 112.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 242.
- 58 Ibid., p. 243.

- 59 Ibid. The imprint of Christ's face on the cloth offered him by Veronica is recorded in the Legenda Aurea under the events of Christ's passion, see, J. da Voragine, Legenda Aurea, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1941, p. 233, for the relic's veneration in the fourteenth century see M. Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, Princeton, University Press, 1951, p. 36.
- 60 The Eucharistic connotations of this section of the frieze are evident in these symbols of the Mass as a transubstantiation of the flesh.
- 61 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 59.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 244.
- 66 Ibid., p. 290, note 55. The soldier to the left holds the military vexillum with the abbreviation SPQR, and a closer look at the letter "S" reveals the outline of a crescent, which is the Strozzi symbol. This could link Filippo Strozzi with the death of his name-saint and, by inference, reinforce his own hopes for Salvation. Mengin has identified a portrait of Filippo Strozzi in the fresco, see U. Mengin, Les deux Lippis, Paris, Librerie Plon, 1929, p. 187. This identification is repeated by K.Neilson, Filippino Lippi, p. 163.
- 67 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 58.
- 68 G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting, Florence, Sansoni, 1965, p. 564.
- 69 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 254.
- 70 P. Halm, "Das unvollendete Fresko des Filippino Lippi in Poggio a Caiano", Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, III, 1931, p. 416, note, 1.
- 71 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 267.
- 72 Ibid., da Voragine also mentions the goddess in the Golden Legend not in the account of the Drusiana miracle, but at a slightly later point in the narrative when St. John is invited to sacrifice at her altar.

- 73 Ibid., p. 85.
- 74 Ibid., p. 276.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 57.
- 77 Ibid., p. 58.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 This emphasizes the discontinuity between the two areas so that the back wall is not, in any way, illusionistically penetrable.
- 80 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 277.
- 81 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", in Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 166. Lippi made them flank and frame the window in the chapel, as they do the middle door in the Arch, and here, as there, they rise from massive pedestals and support large figures above their high entablature.
- 82 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 309.
- 83 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 124.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 All the marbles are depicted in relief.
- 86 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 317.
- 87 The skulls, in their illusionistic, fictive slot of space function as reminders, to the viewer, of his corporeal state, and act as a grim fact representative of his mortality once the body and soul are no longer united.
- 88 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 323.
- 89 F. Cumont, Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains, Paris, P. Guethner, 1942, pp. 360, 368, Sleep and death, Hypnos and Thanatos, are twin sons of night according to Hesiod, and they appear together carrying bodies of the dead in ancient art; see also, G. Berrefelt, A Study on the Winged Angel: The Origins of a Motif, Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968, p. 57.

- 90 These figures are, however, identified as angels by P. Halm, "Das unvollendete Fresko des Filippino Lippi in Poggio a Caiano", Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, III, p. 414, and by D. Friedman, "The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in Florence", L'Arte, p. 112.
- 91 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 319.
- 92 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", in Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 171.
- 93 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 328.
- 94 Ibid., p. 329.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid., p. 330.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", in Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 171.
- 99 Ibid., p. 173.
- 100 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, pp. 177-178. The Muses are intimately connected with the topic of immortality.
- 101 Ibid., p. 175, Poliziano's Fabula d'Orfeo describes the plectrum as having symbolic power when it rivals Pluto's sceptre. In the words of Pluto:

I' son contento che a sì dolce plettro
S' inchini la potenza del mio scettro.
- 102 Ibid., p. 178.
- 103 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 332. The predominant plectrum and the lyre she plays make the identification of the left Muse as Erato most probable, for she was the Muse and leader of lyric poetry and hymns.
- 104 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art. The gigantic lyre, on its painted marble pedestal, between the Deo Max figures, is non-functional.

- 105 The fact that many of the musical instruments cannot be played indicates that musica instrumentalis is less Filippino's concern than the musica umana that is synonymous with metaphysical truth, see M. Bukofzer, "Speculative Thinking in Medieval Music", Speculum, XVII, No. 2, April, 1942, p. 167.
- 106 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 368.
- 107 Ibid., p. 373.
- 108 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 178.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 369.
- 111 P. Halm, "Das unvollendete Fresko des Filippino Lippi in Poggio a Caiano", Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, p. 416.
- 112 M.A.P. Godby, "The Boni Chimney-piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A Fifteenth Century Domestic Cenotaph", De Arte 27, Journal of the Department of Art History, Unisa, September, 1982, p. 8.
- 113 M.A.P. Godby, "Iconography of the Shell in the Fifteenth Century Italian Art", De Arte 2, Journal of the Department of Art History and Fine Arts, Unisa, April 1985, p. 6.
- 114 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 384.
- 115 The Strozzi eagle and falcon were related to the Phoenix, the most widely used hieroglyph for rebirth. The moulting falcon was part of the Strozzi imprese and embodies the symbol of renewal, a conscious and deliberate regeneration.
- 116 E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 167.
- 117 The Virgin dominates the tomb area and the window as an intercessor for Strozzi's soul; she is also accompanied by the Christ-child. Hence the Virgin and Christ are both present on the altar wall. If the dedications of Parthenice and Deo Max are, in fact, only 'Antique allegories for the Virgin and Christ, this symbolism is reiterated on the grisaille wall itself.
- 118 The lines are from the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, but show a selection of phrases that seemed appropriate for the glorification of Filippo Strozzi, see E. Winternitz, "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel", Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p. 170.

119 D. Friedman, "The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in Florence", in L'Arte IX, p. 112.

CHAPTER 7 : A MURAL LANGUAGE

NOTES

- 1 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 7.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid., p. 26.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
- 5 U. Schlegel, "On the Picture Programme of the Arena Chapel", in J. Stubblebine, Giotto - The Arena Chapel Frescoes, pp. 182-190.
- 6 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 38. This chapel was also known as the St. Sylvester chapel.
- 7 Ibid., p. 39. Few painted burial niches from the first half of the Trecento survive in Florence, but when the donor appears in such painted areas, with or without a recumbent effigy below, there is always a clear distinction between the realm of the dead and the painted vision. One of the aspects which makes Maso's mural for the Bardi grave unique is its absence of this clear boundary between the two spheres (real and false). On either side of the niche Maso painted a Prophet on the left and a Saint on the right who address the beholder on the one hand and the painted scene on the other. Overhead, under the arch, are what appear to be two winged Virtues.
- 8 Ibid., p. 58.
- 9 U. Schlegel, "Observations on Masaccio's Trinity in Santa Maria Novella", Art Bulletin, XLV, 1963, pp. 19, 24. For a discussion of spatial aspects to the fresco see, S. Sandstrom, Levels of Unreality, p. 92.
- 10 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, pp. 57-59.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 4.
- 13 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 26.
- 14 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 23.
- 15 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 135.
- 16 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 69.
- 17 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 57. The prominent false architectural piers which articulate the four corners of the

Strozzi chapel, differ from those of the Brancacci chapel's shallow pilasters, because they have the same viewpoint as the pictorial space, thus achieving continuity. It is possible, for example, to see a symbolic intention in Filippino Lippi's false architecture in relation to his proscenium. The reason for the use of the proscenium (in its early and later examples in Filippino's frescoes in the Brancacci and Strozzi chapels) was, in both cases, to be understood as that part of the fresco that has the highest degree of reality. The proscenium is the closest area to the total reality in the observer's space. For more on the character of reality possessed by the proscenium, see Sandstrom, p. 70.

- 18 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 116.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 24.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 M. Battersby, Trompe L'Oeil. The Eye Deceived, London, Academy Edition, 1974, p. 53.
- 23 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 117.
- 24 This fictive relief casts shadows and has an effective illusionism while retaining an architectonic attachment to the structural diagonality of the actual Gothic ribs.
- 25 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 83. The most generic and widespread symbol of the Strozzi is that of the three crescent moons or the arme delle tre lune. Their origin can be found in the Strozzi family's desire to trace their origins to Fiesole, whose symbol is the crescent.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 83-84.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 91-92 for Strozzi's belief in the symbolism of plant imagery as "rejuvenation."
- 29 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting, 1400 to 1465: Practice and Theory, pp. 45, 46, 108.
- 30 Ibid. According to Sanders, Giotto used a mimetic viewpoint for framing features and idealized viewpoint for the sacred narrative. The reason for this dichotomy was to separate the religious from the secular i.e. indicate two different "levels of reality".

- 31 Ibid., p. 48, note 1.
- 32 A.T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, p. 13.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid. Brown uses the term "non-narrative" for all bands and framework as the basic decorative factor accompanying fresco decoration. A serious consideration of any fresco programme as a whole, whether a narrative series or an individual scene, has borders or peripheral effects which are integral to its mural language. See, A.T. Brown, "The Context of the Band and other Peripheral Ornament", in Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, p. 13.
- 35 The central band of the Arena chapel vault has lattice-quatrefoil iconographic stops alternating with diamond stops, all containing Prophets and Saints, with an outer border of Cosmati detail. The two outer bands have lattice-quatrefoil iconographic stops, but contained within diamond-shaped medallions. These are connected by small figures, surrounded by floreate detail. The outer border is also of floreate design, similar to the surrounding the upper register of the Virgin cycle.
- 36 A.T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, p. 29.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
- 38 Simone Martini also continues to use this type of Cosmati framework in the St. Martin chapel, in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, painted in the 1320's. Fictive mosaic occurs around the tracery of the windows. See, A. T. Brown, Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, pp. 149-150.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, p. 72, see also, A.T. Brown, "Fictive architectural features", Non-Narrative Elements in Tuscan Gothic Frescoes, pp. 54-57.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, pp. 82-83.
- 43 Ibid., p. 83. Sandstrom uses the terms "transition" and "invitation" as two ways of creating an impression of contact, transcending the boundaries of the picture. By their means, a channel of communication is opened between the picture and real space without negating the boundary as such.
- 44 A. Smart, "Reflections on the Art of Giotto", Apollo, 81, Jan-June 1965, pp. 262, 263.

- 45 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 254. The theme of death is prominent in the lower areas of the chapel, whereas in the upper parts an ascension to heaven through virtue is implied. The thematic content of each saint's life determined the placement of the episodes within the chapel. The emphasis given to divinely assisted resurrection scenes in the lower frescoes was surely meant to offer solace within a burial chapel. The St. Philip narrative moves chronologically upwards, whereas earlier cycles moved downwards. No such reversal of normal ordering takes place on the wall devoted to St. John the Evangelist; the scenes move downward from the top.
- 46 J. White, Duccio. Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop, London, Thames and Hudson, 1979, p. 160.
- 47 M. Jersky, "The Style of Giotto's Santa Croce Frescoes", History of Art Honours Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981, p. 2.
- 48 E. Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, p. 64.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, passim.
- 51 The Concise Oxford Dictionary, fifth edition, London, Oxford University Press, p. 977.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting, 1400 to 1465: Practice and Theory, p. 4. Early Renaissance painters employed two different modes of representation, one intensely realistic, illusionistic, imitating the real presence of the thing depicted, and one more abstract, idealized and pictorial, a step removed from the viewer's reality.
- 54 Ibid., p. 9.
- 55 S. Sandström, Levels of Unreality, p. 26.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting, 1400 to 1465: Practice and Theory, p. 10.
- 58 F. Bauml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy", Speculum, 55, 1980, pp. 237-264, especially, p. 262.
- 59 R. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, New York, 1980, pp. 110-111. The official doctrine of the Church was, what Trexler called a "healthy devotional realism": the doctrine of

Corpus Christi, the cult of the host, which instructed Christians that the Eucharist is the body of Christ, all affirmed the real and immediate presence of Christ's holy flesh in every Mass. Some images had to maintain a certain distance and inaccessibility or they "lost efficacy if besmirched by commonality"; others used illusionism to create contact. This duality of perception is part of the Tuscan mural language.

- 60 E.B. Sanders, Realism in Florentine Painting 1400 to 1465: Practice and Theory, pp. 9, 112, 140. Painting as "imitation" is selective, idealized portions of frescoes, or fresco cycles, are distanced from the viewer's reality and invited the viewer to locate himself, if not physically then mentally, in a direct confrontation with the representation: a conceptual leap to the image's level of reality. Conversely, Quattrocento Florentines enjoyed realism and wanted a strong sense of contact with the depiction of sacred narrative. This ambivalence is described by R. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, New York, 1980, pp. 55-57.
- 61 J.R. Sale, The Strozzi chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, p. 177. As a group the Patriarchs possess a funereal significance that is a major concern of the burial chapel and, being among the first saved souls in Heaven, according to Christian belief, illustrate the theme of Salvation. The oldest fathers of mankind were believed to be the first to be released to Heaven from the bonds of original sin when Christ descended into limbo following his death on the Cross.
- 62 St. Francis' torso floats above the scene and he gives a symbolic gesture to enact the miracle of the resuscitation of the dead boy.

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275-291.



Plate 1 : Exterior view of the Arena Chapel, Padua.

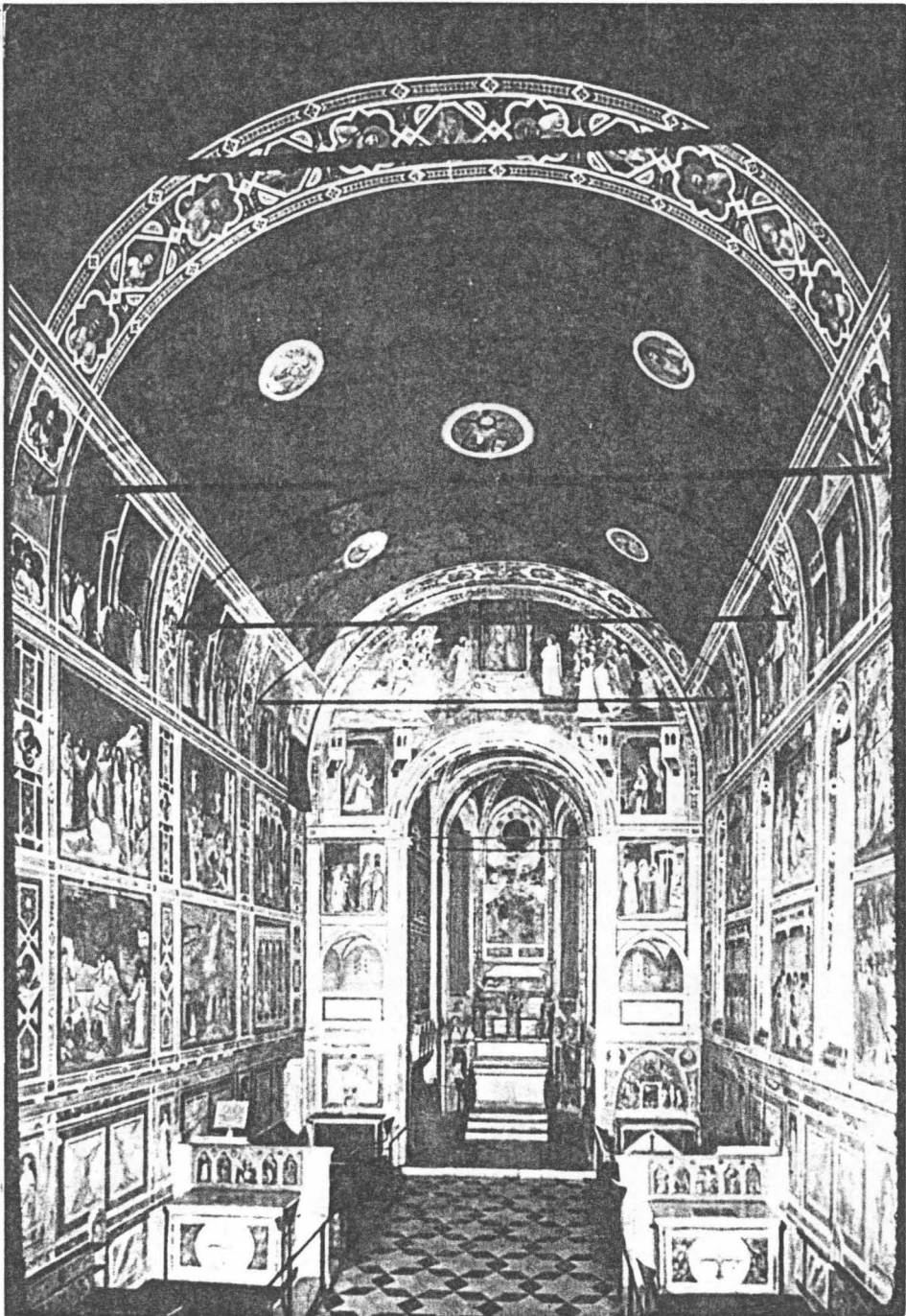


Plate 2 : Interior view of the Arena Chapel, Padua, towards the chancel arch.

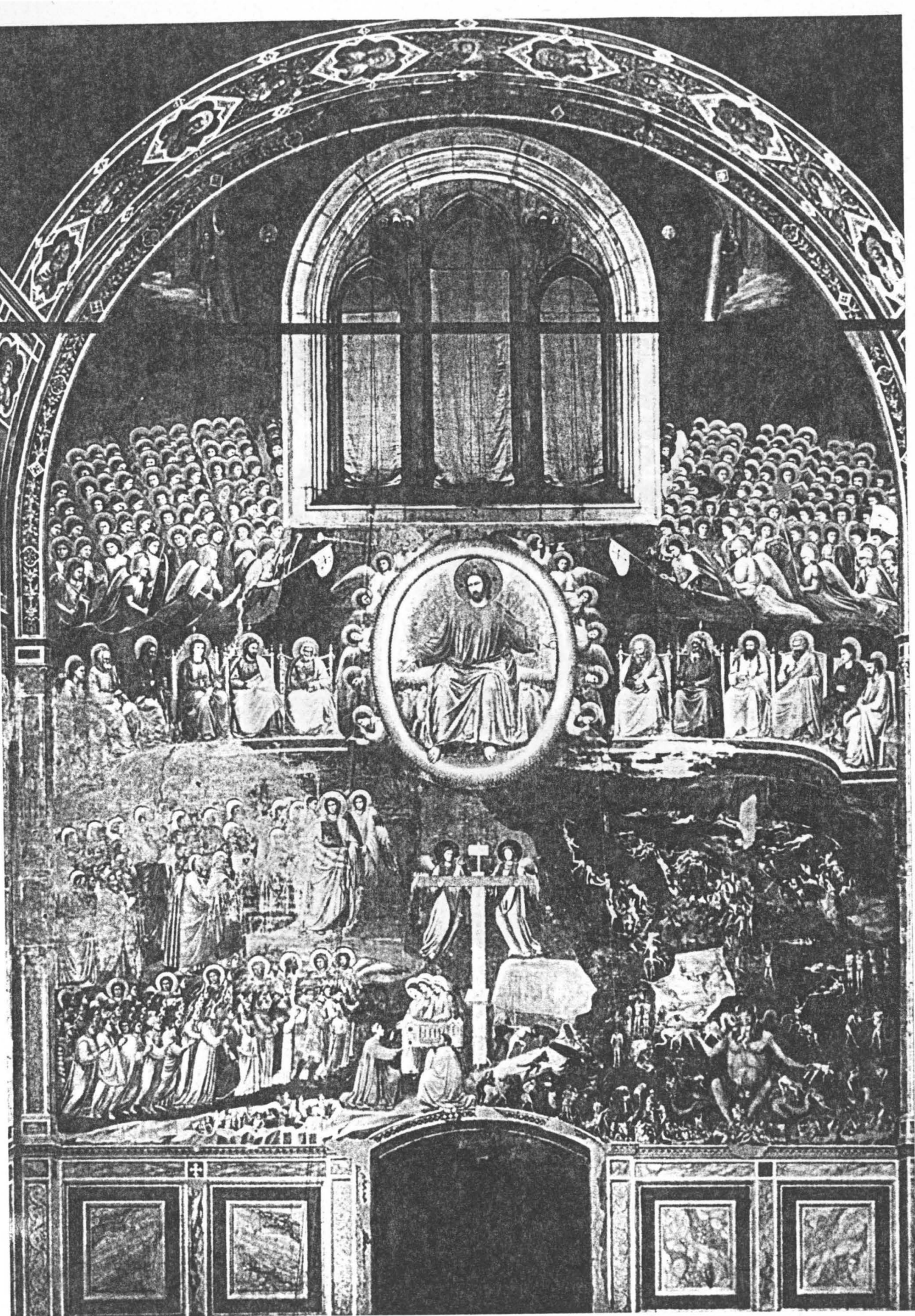


Plate 3 : Giotto, The Last Judgement, Arena Chapel, Padua,
(west wall).



Christ in Judgement.



Enrico Scrovegni offers his chapel
to the Virgin.



The Saved.



The Damned.

Plate 7 : Giotto, Details of the Last Judgement, Arena Chapel,
Padua.

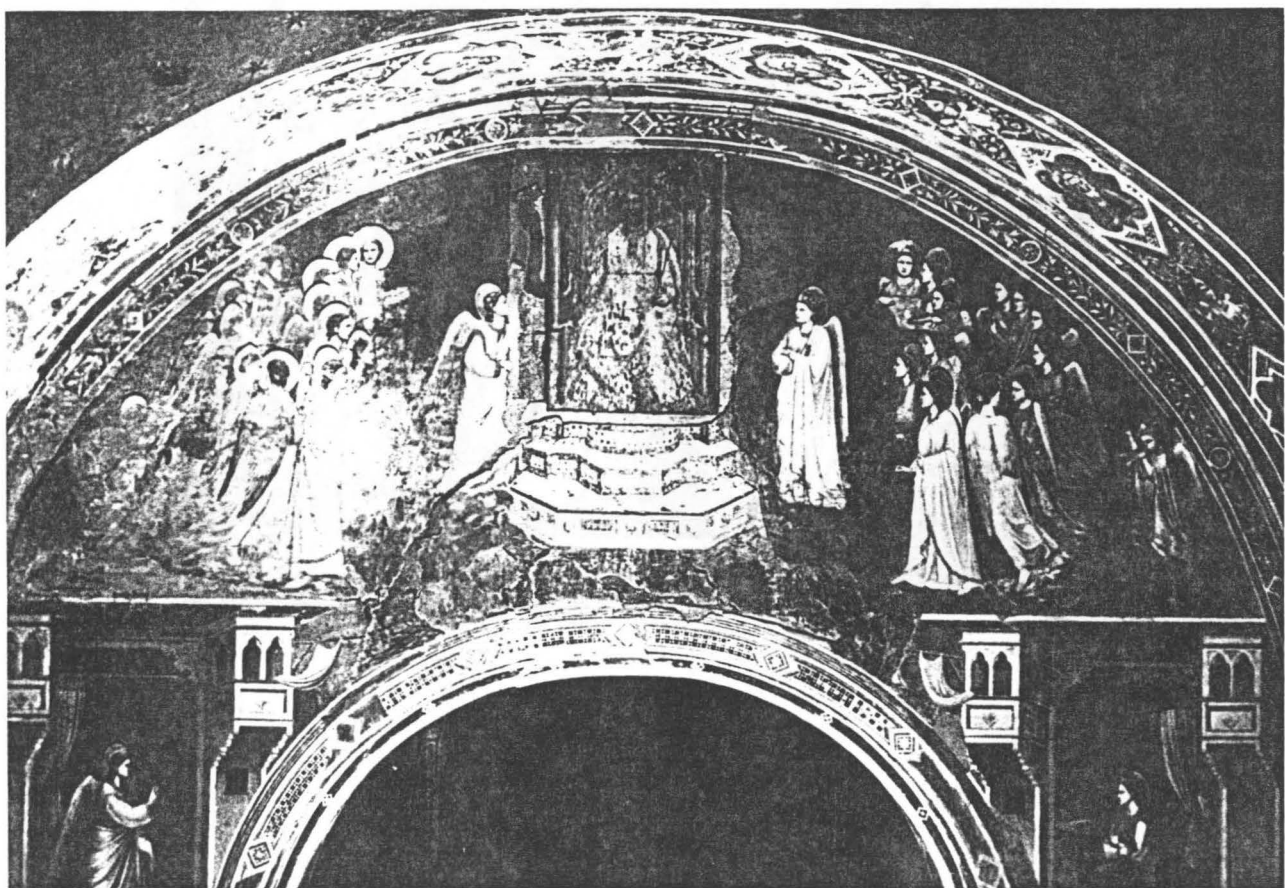


Plate 8 : Giotto, The Debate in Heaven, Arena Chapel,
Padua, (chancel arch).



The angel Gabriel.



The Annunciate Virgin.

Plate 10 : Giotto, The Annunciation, Arena Chapel,
Padua, (chancel arch).

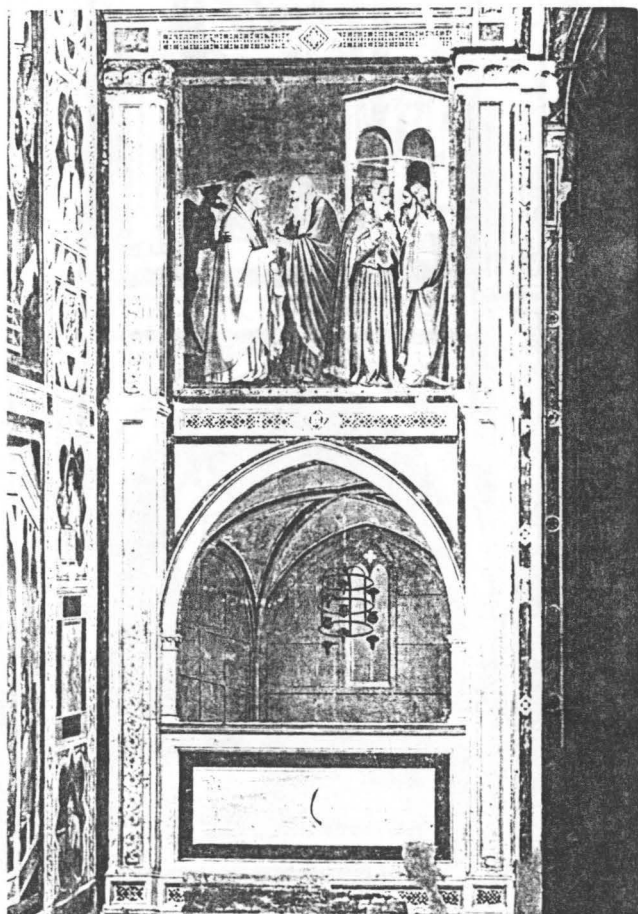


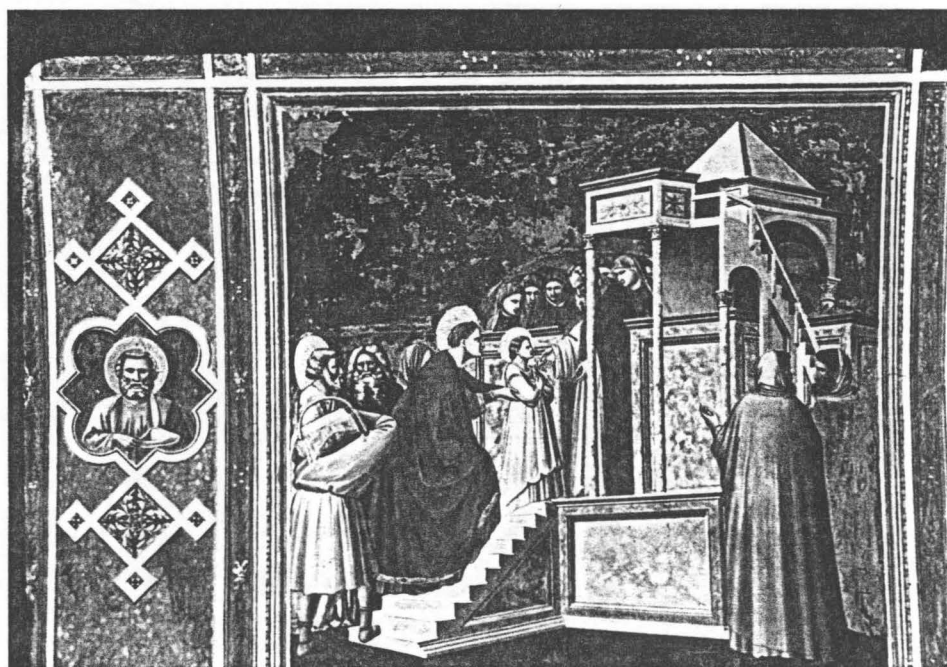
Plate 11 : Giotto, The Betrayal of Judas, Arena Chapel, Padua,
(chancel arch, above illusionistic painted chamber).



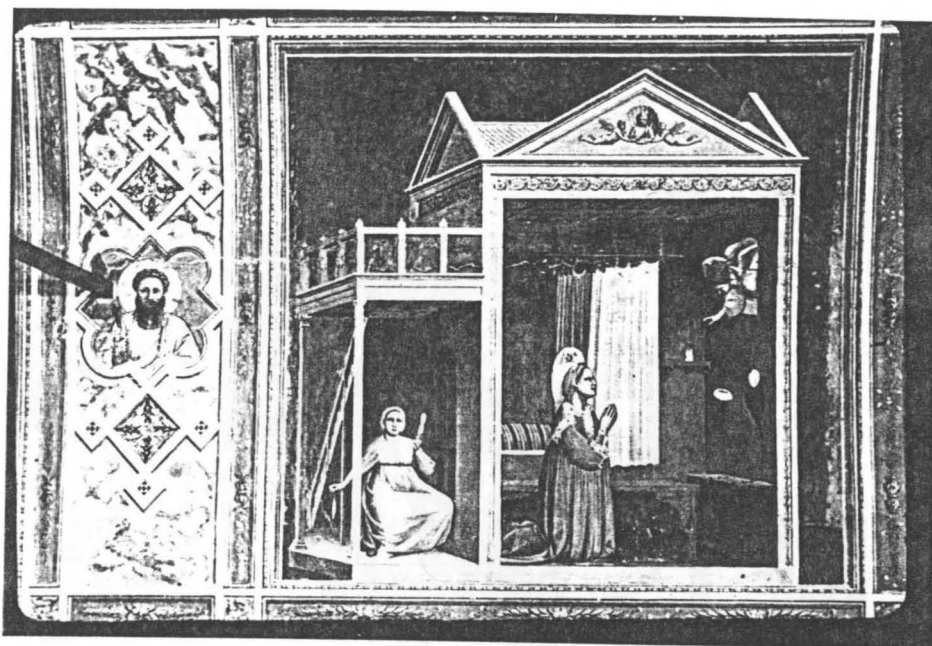
Plate 12 : Giotto, The Visitation, Arena Chapel, Padua,
(chancel arch, above illusionistic painted chamber).



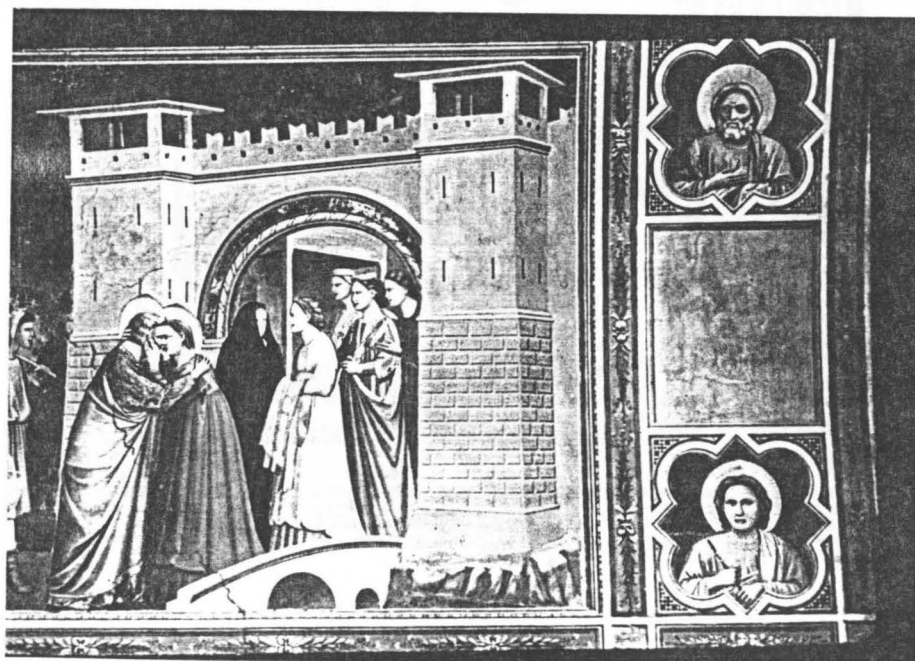
a: The Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, (south wall).



b: The Presentation of the Virgin, (north wall).



a: Annunciation to Anne.



b: Meeting at the Golden Gate.

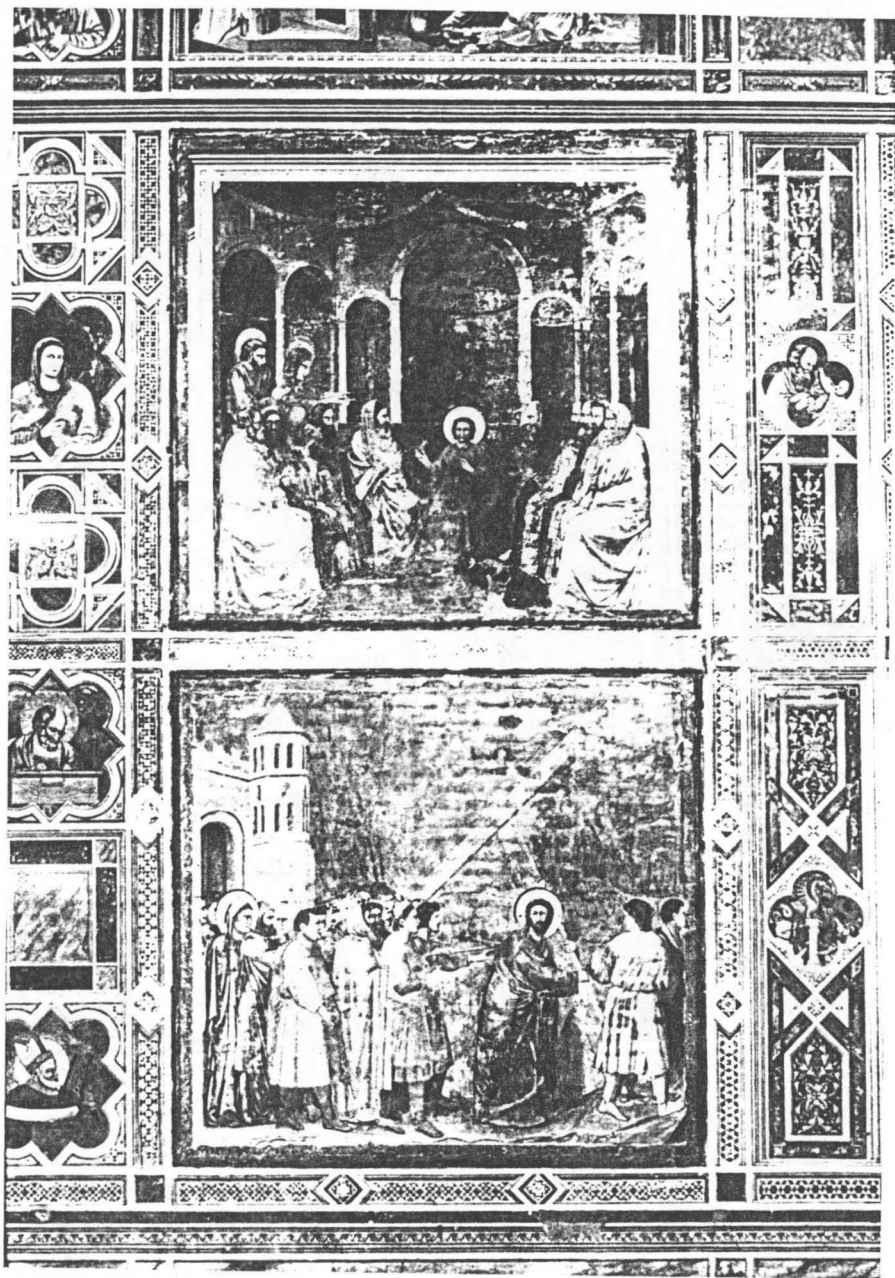


Plate 15 : Giotto, north wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua, showing Christ among the Doctors and The Carrying of the Cross framed by decorative borders.

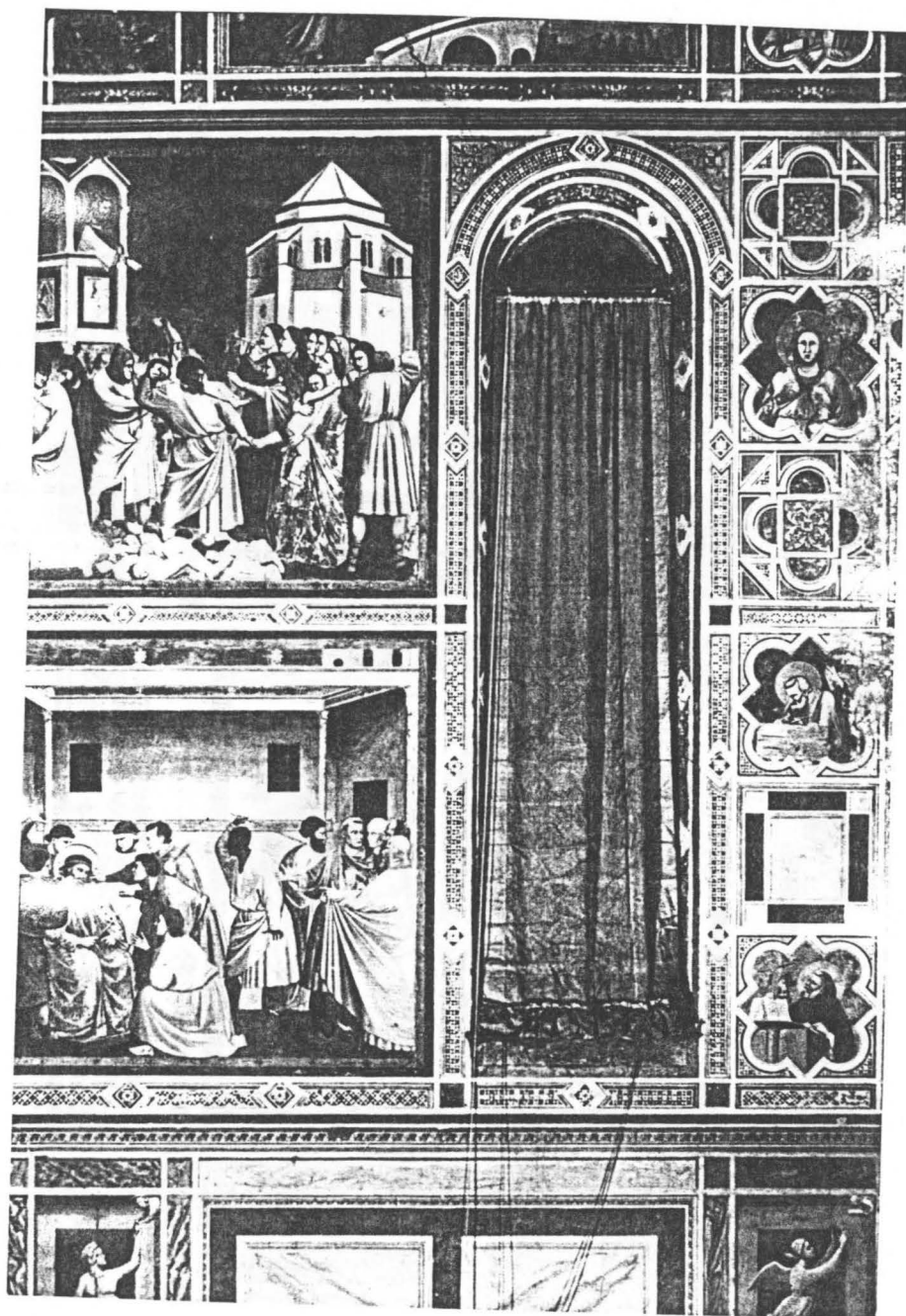


Plate 16 : Giotto, south wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua, showing
The Massacre of the Innocents above the Mocking of Christ.



Plate 17 : Giotto, north wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua, showing
The Expulsion of the Money-Lenders from the Temple above
the Pentecost.

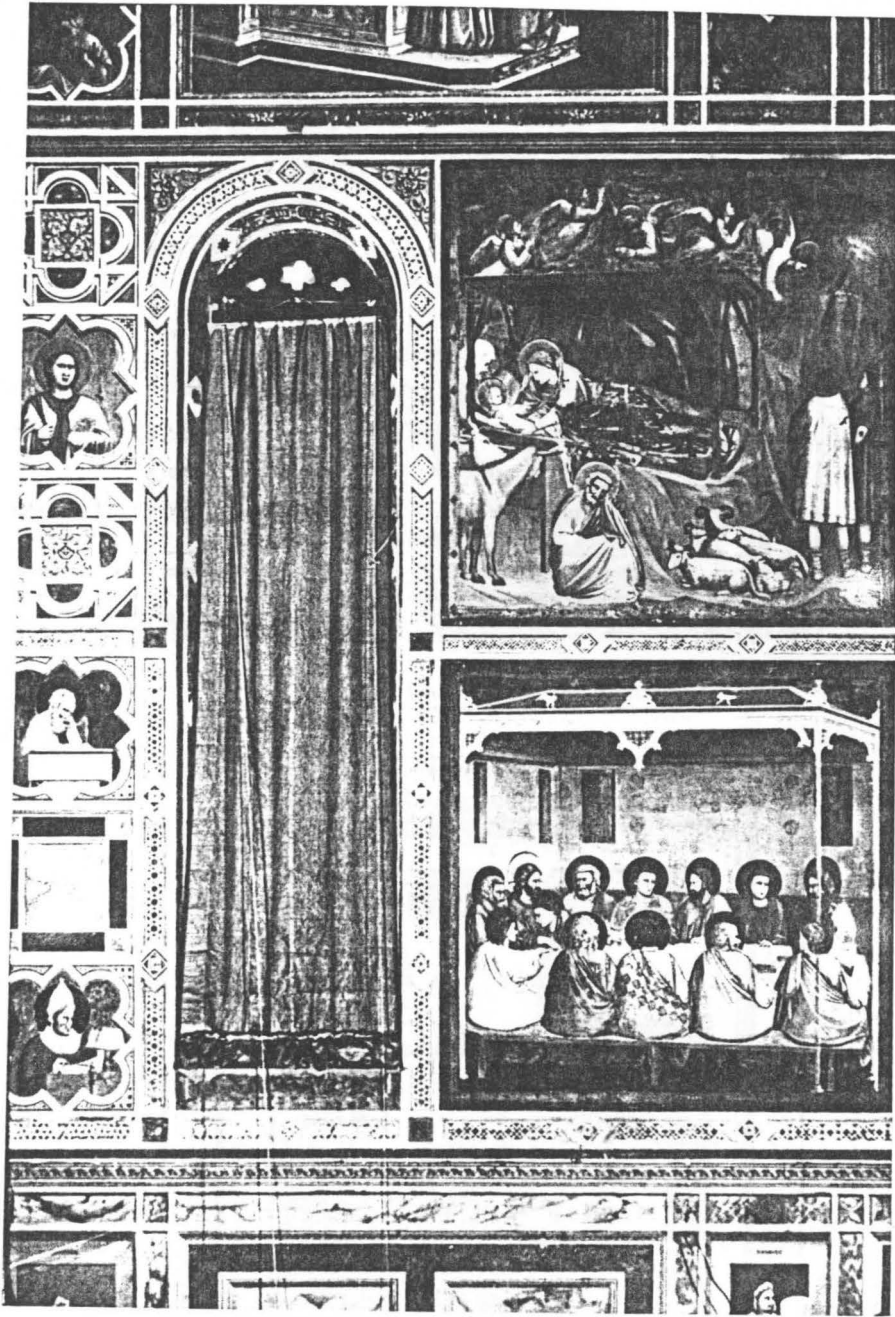


Plate 18 : Giotto, south wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua, showing
The Nativity above the Last Supper.



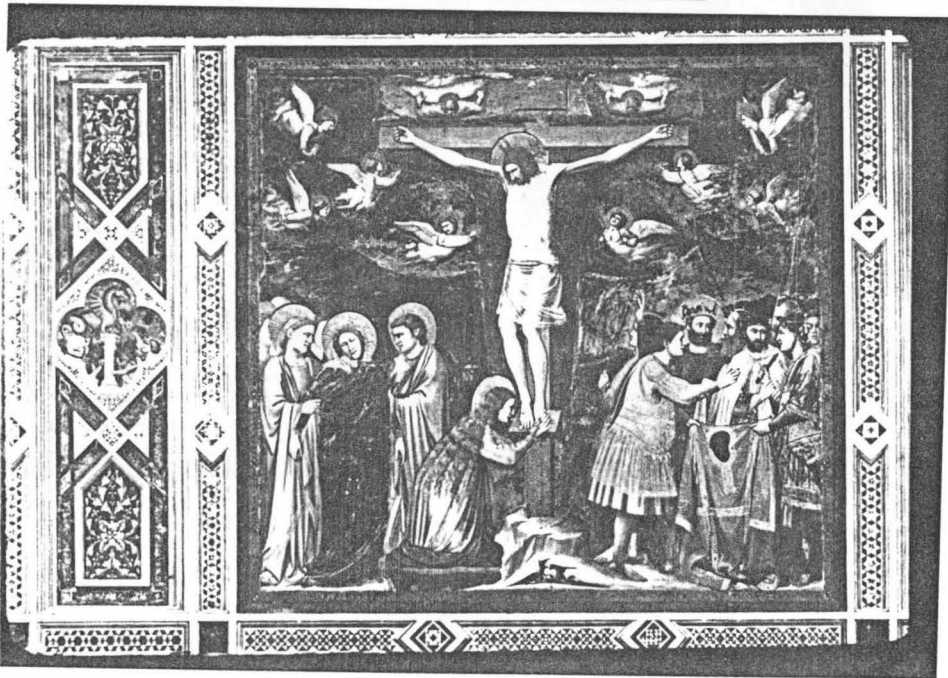
a: The Betrayal of Christ.



b: Christ before Caiaphas.



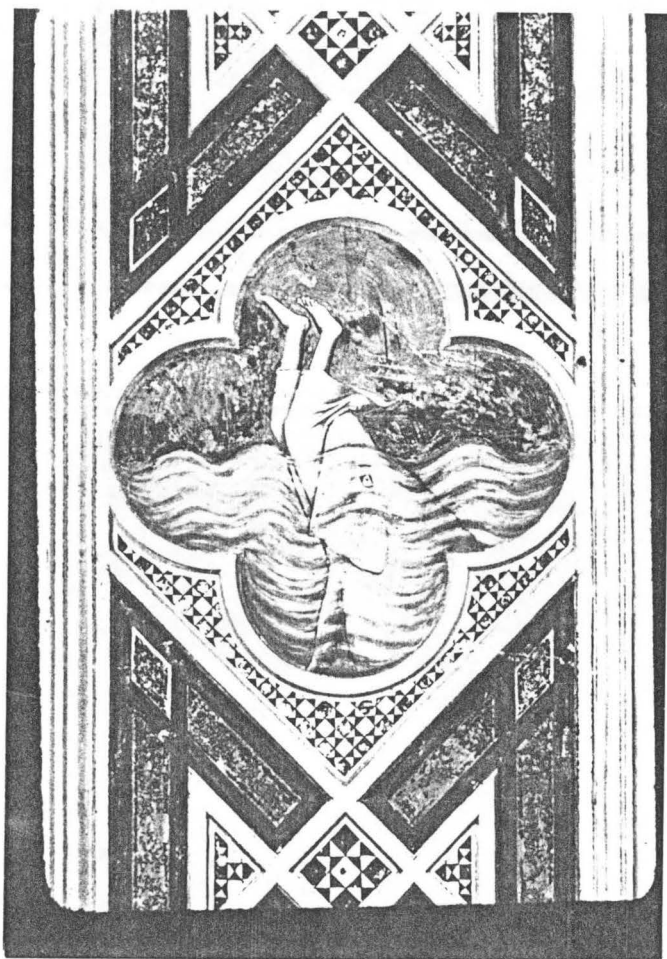
a: The Baptism of Christ.



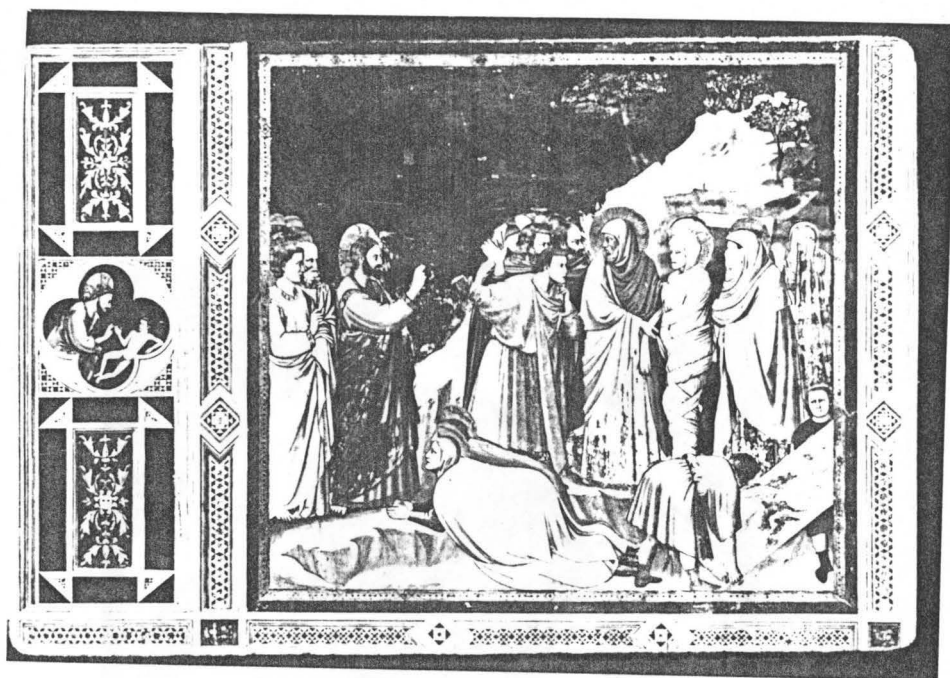
b: The Crucifixion.



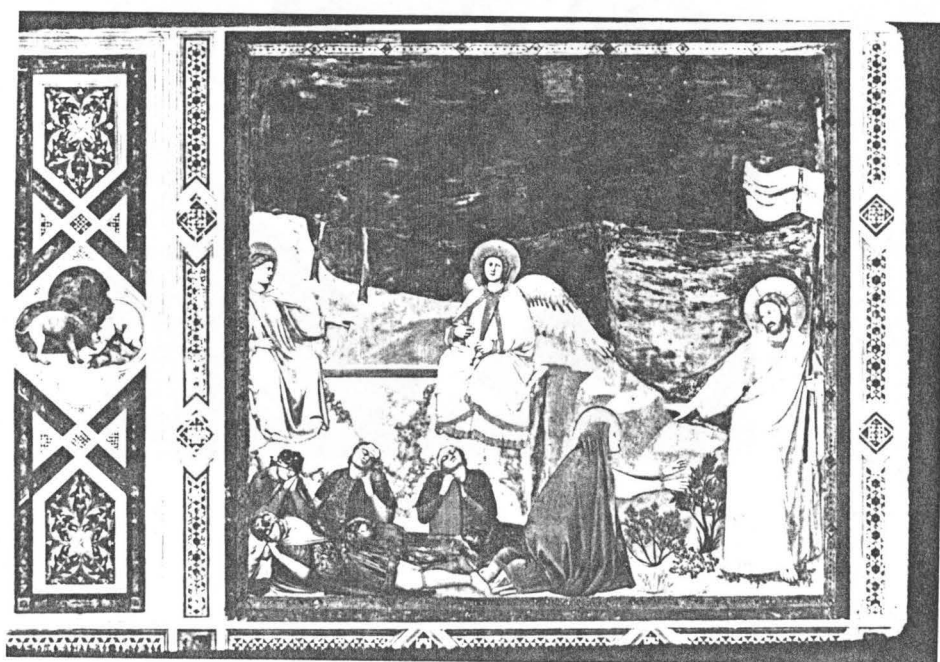
The Lamentation.



Jonah swallowed by the whale
(iconographic stop of a quatrefoil
design in border framework).



a: The Raising of Lazarus.



b: Noli me Tangere.



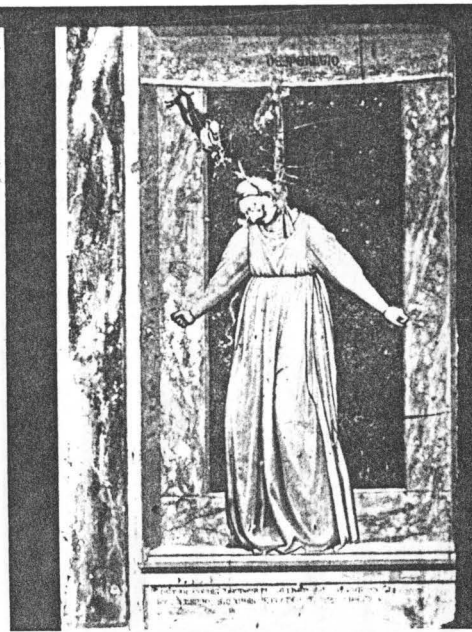
Plate 24 : Giotto, north wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua
The Lioness breathing life into her dead cubs
(iconographic stop of a quatrefoil design in
border framework of the Noli me Tangere.)



Plate 25 : Giotto, north wall of the Arena Chapel, Padua
The Resurrection (or the Ascension).



a: Hope (south wall).



b: Despair (north wall).



c: Charity (south wall).



d: Envy (north wall).

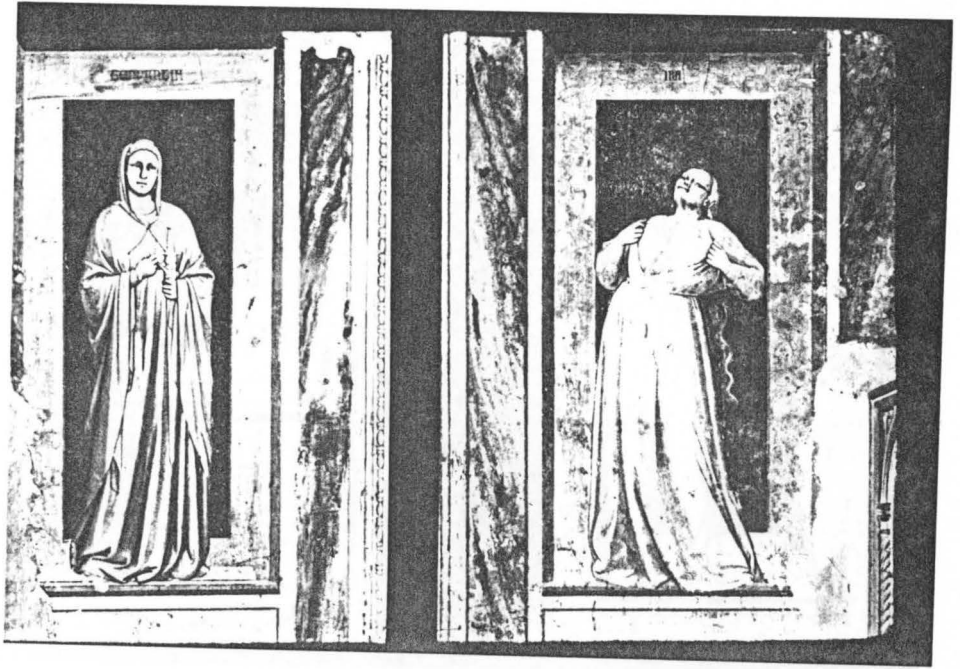
Plate 26 : Giotto, fictive marble dado of the Arena Chapel, Padua, showing, "Virtues and Vices."



a: Faith (south wall). b: Infidelity (north wall).



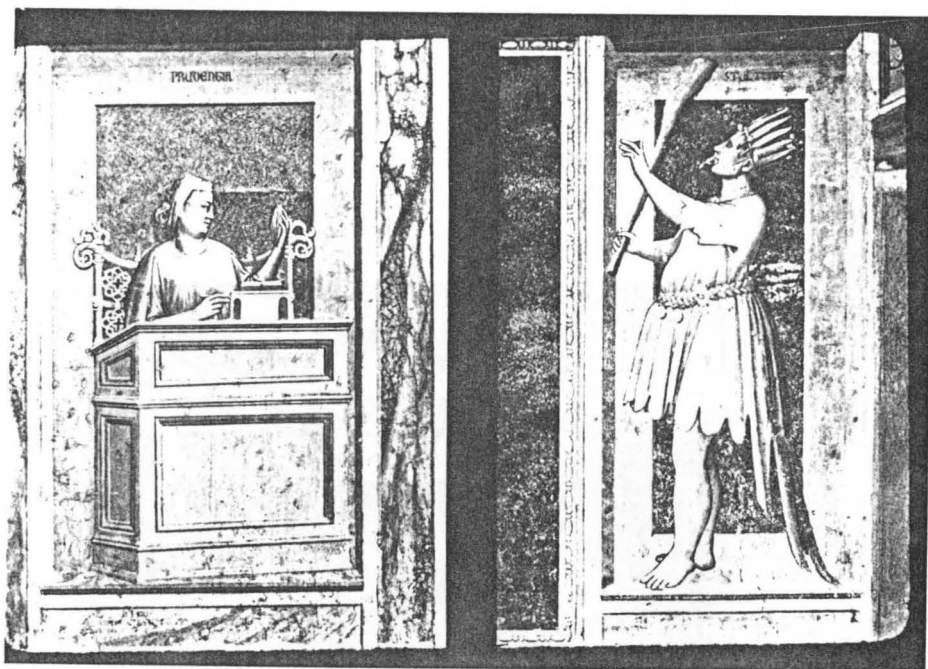
c: Justice (south wall). d: Injustice (north wall).



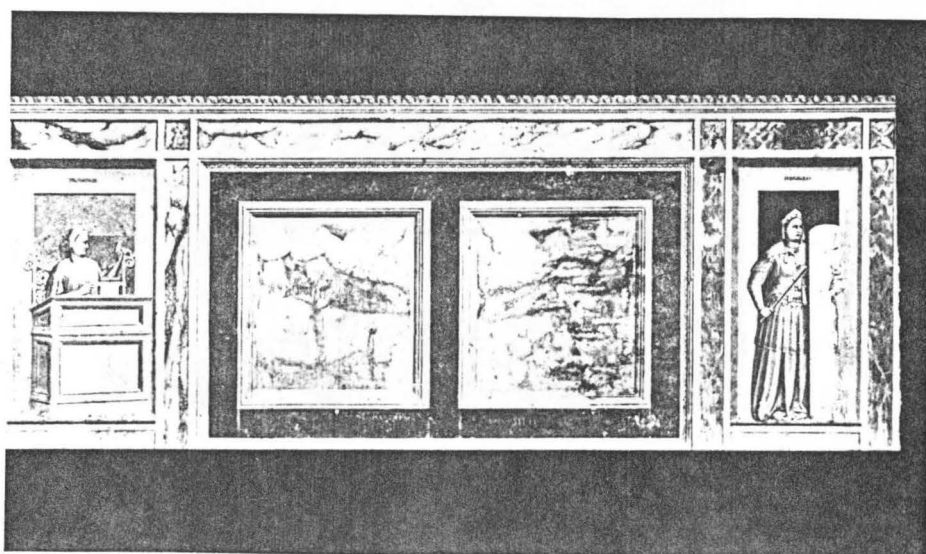
a: Temperance (south wall). b: Wrath (north wall).



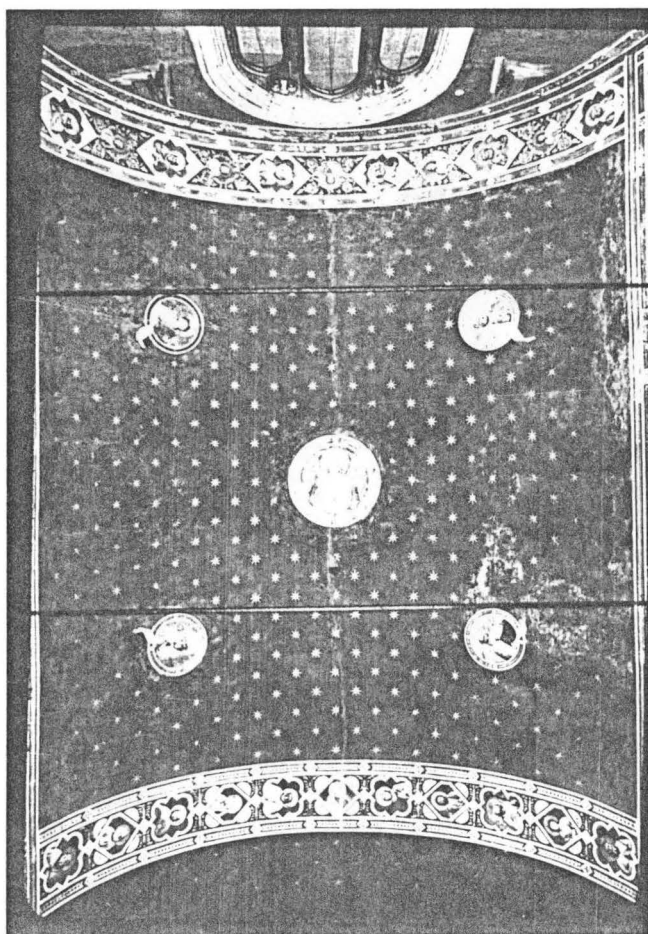
c: Fortitude (south wall). d: Inconstancy (north wall).



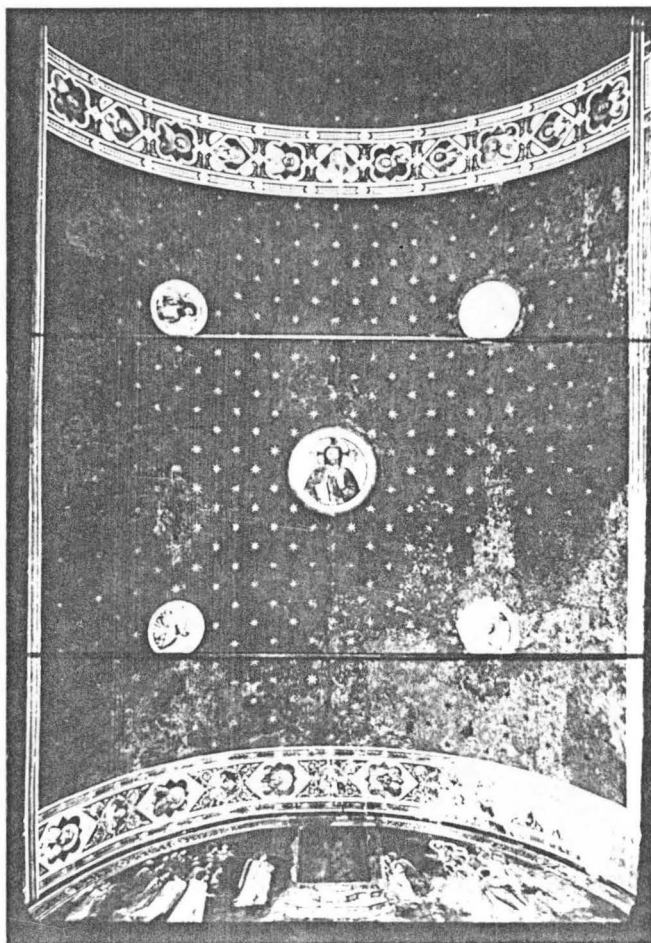
a: Prudence (south wall). b: Folly (north wall).



c: Prudence and Fortitude separated by fictive marble panels (south wall).



Vault (towards west wall).



Vault (towards chancel arch).



Vault roundel (medallion)
showing, Virgin and Child.



Details of vault framework.

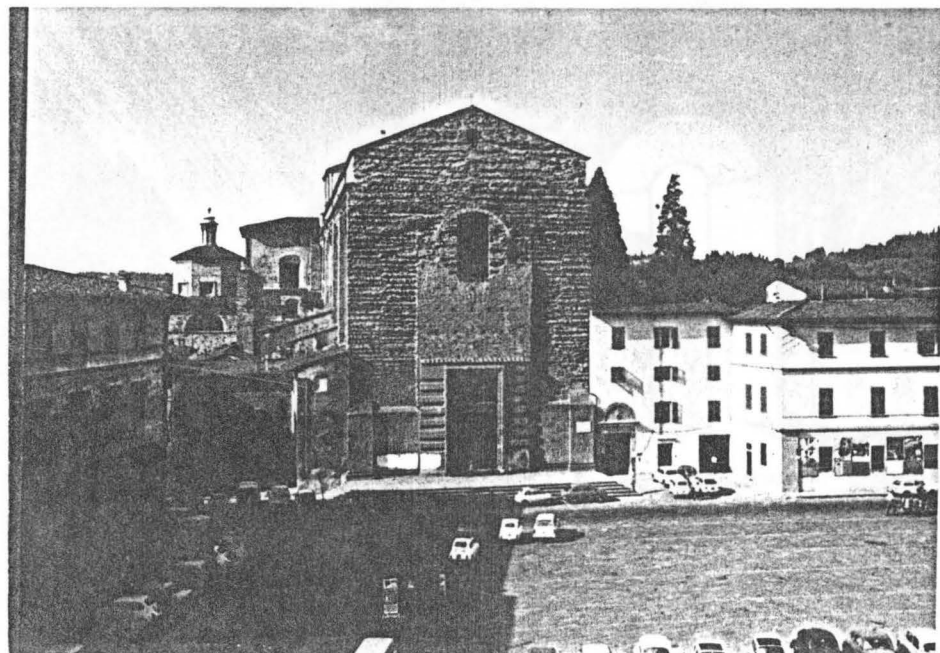


Plate 34 : Exterior view of S. Maria del Carmine, Florence.



Plate 35 : Interior view of the Brancacci Chapel, Florence.

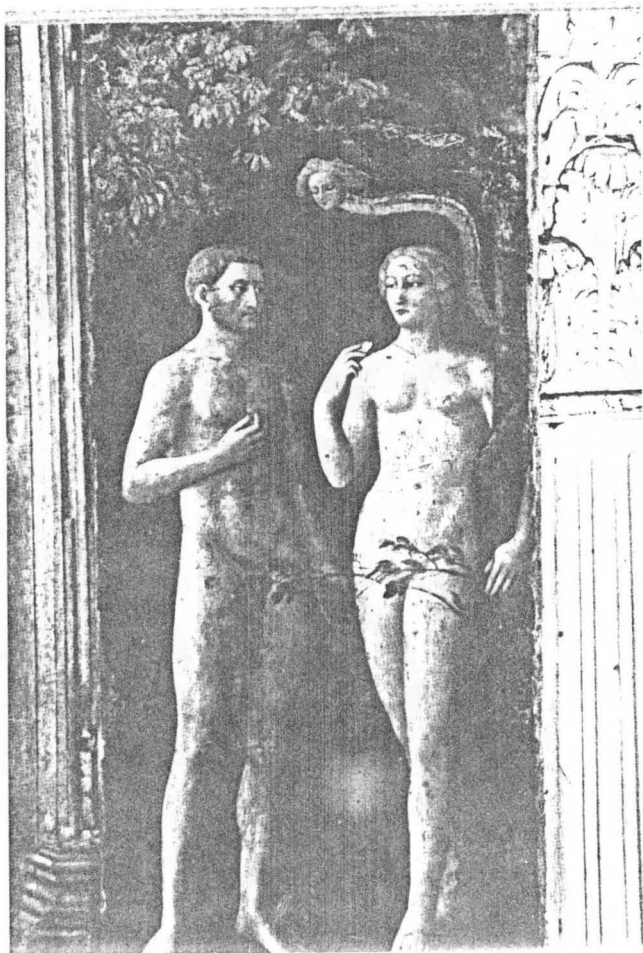


Plate 36 : Masolino, The Temptation of Adam and Eve, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (right entrance pier).

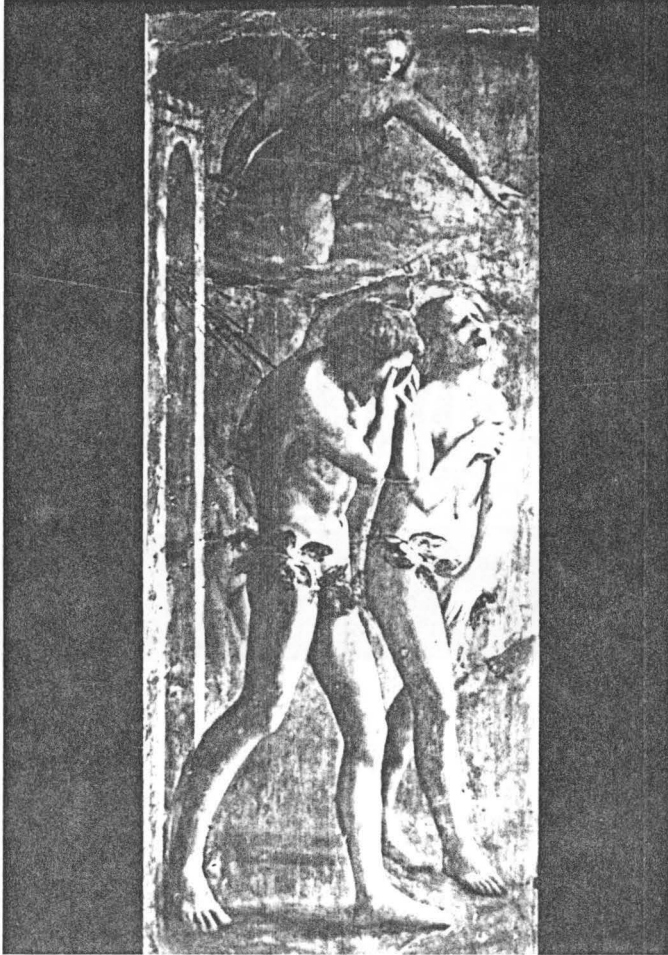


Plate 37 : Masolino, The Expulsion of Adam and Eve, Brancacci
Chapel, Florence, (left entrance pier).

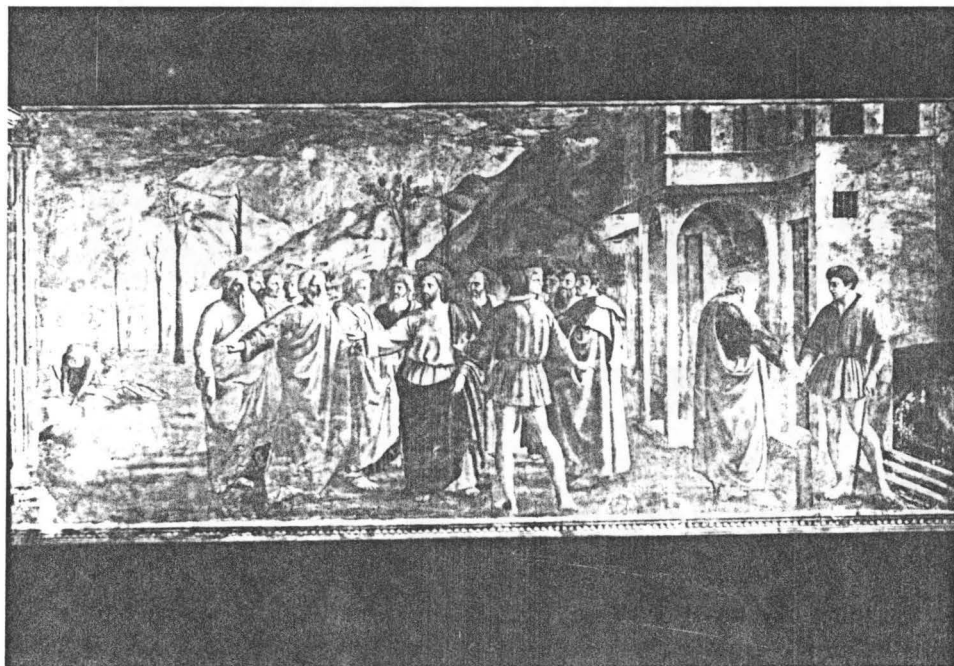


Plate 38 : Masaccio, The Tribute Money, Brancacci Chapel,
Florence. (left wall)



a: Detail of Christ and and Apostles.



b: Detail of Peter.



Peter draws the coin from the
mouth of the fish.



Peter pays the Tribute.



Plate 42 : Masolino, Peter Preaching, Brancacci Chapel,
Florence. (altar wall)



Plate 43 : Masolino, Peter Preaching, Brancacci Chapel,
Florence. (detail)



Plate 44 : Masaccio, The Baptism of the Neophytes, (altar wall).

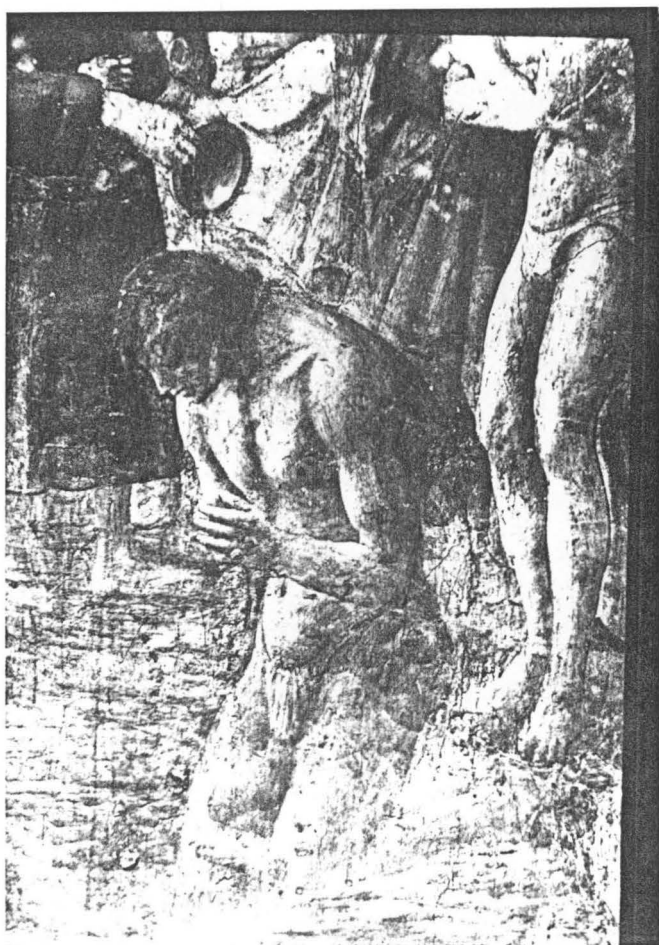


Plate 45 : Masaccio, The Baptism of the Neophytes, (detail).



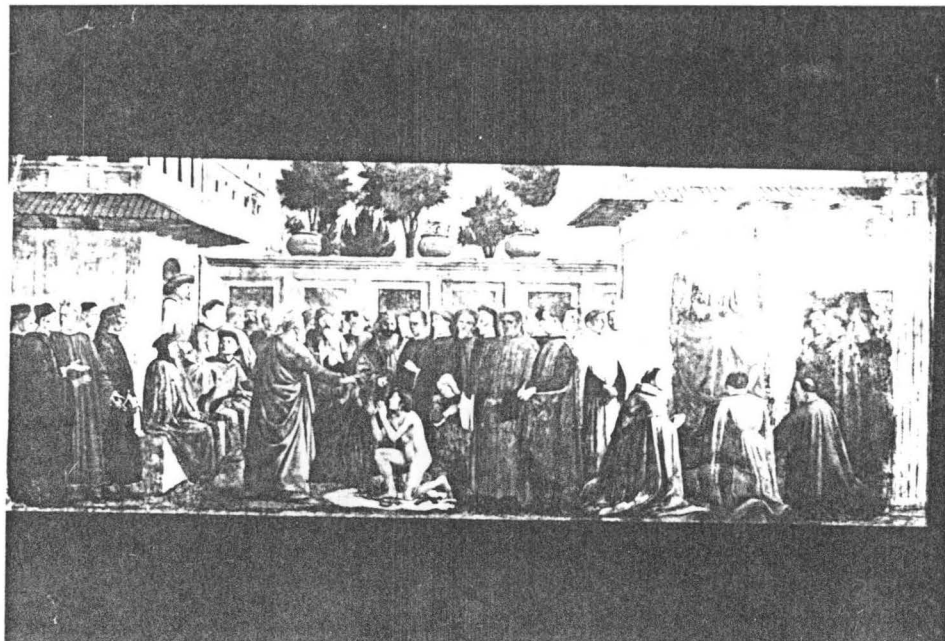
Plate 46 : Masaccio, The Baptism of the Neophytes, (detail during present restoration).



Plate 47 : Masolino, The Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate and The Raising of Tabitha, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (right wall).



Plate 48 : Masolino, The Raising of Tabitha, Brancacci Chapel,
Florence, (detail during present restoration).



a : Entire fresco.



b : Detail of the left of the fresco (cleaned).

Plate 49 : Masaccio and Filippino Lippi, The Raising of the son of Theophilus and The Chairing of Peter, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (left wall).

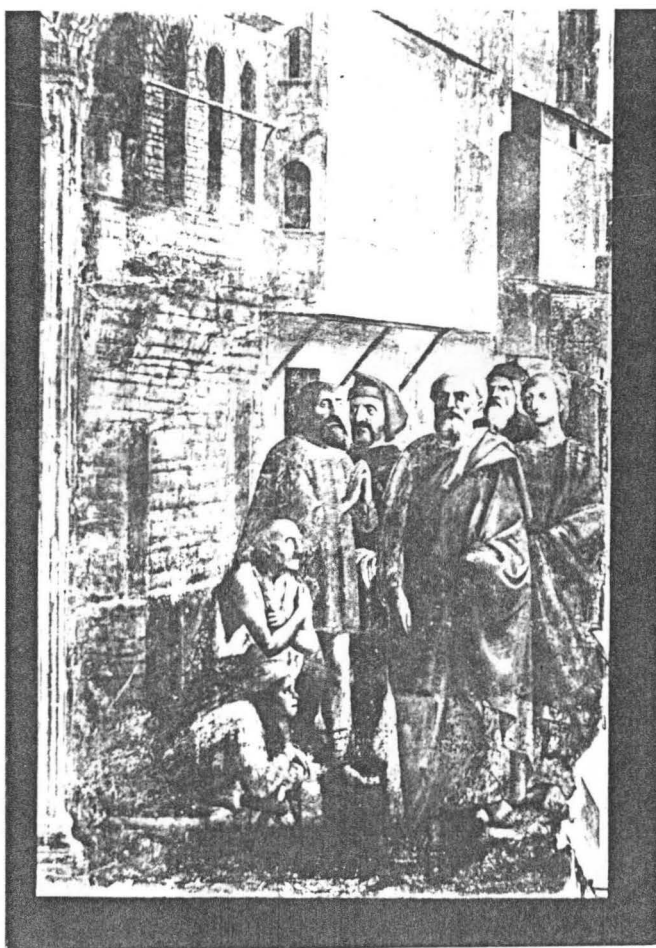


Plate 50 : Masaccio, Peter Healing with his Shadow, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).



Details of two cripples.



Prior to restoration.

Plate 52 : Masaccio, The Death of Ananias, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).



During restoration.

Plate 53 : Masaccio, The Death of Ananias, Brancacci
Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).



Plate 54 : Filippino Lippi, The Crucifixion of Peter, Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (right wall).

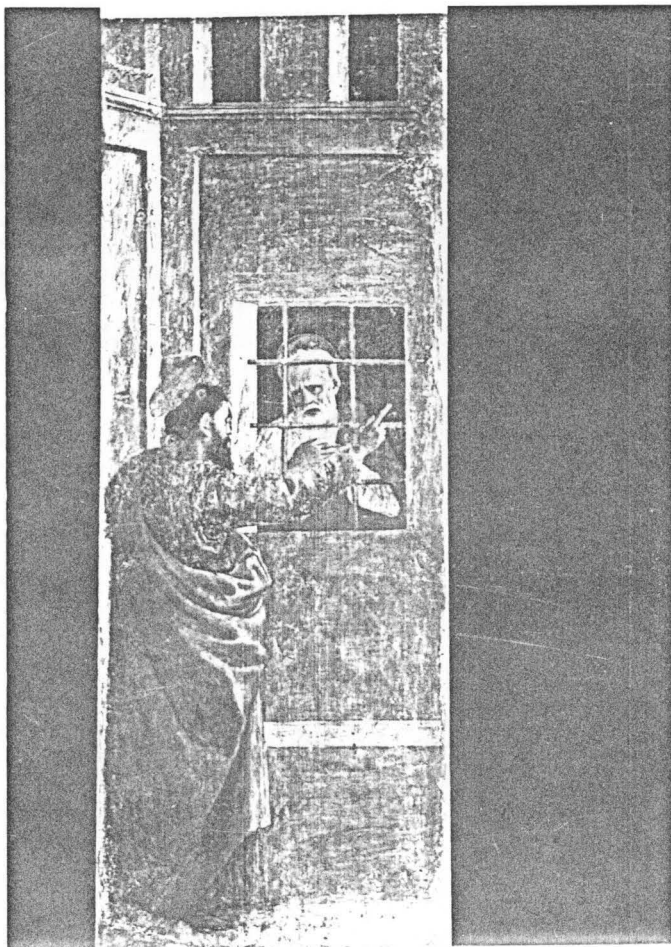


Plate 55 : Filippino Lippi, Peter in Prison visited by St. Paul,
Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (left entrance pier).

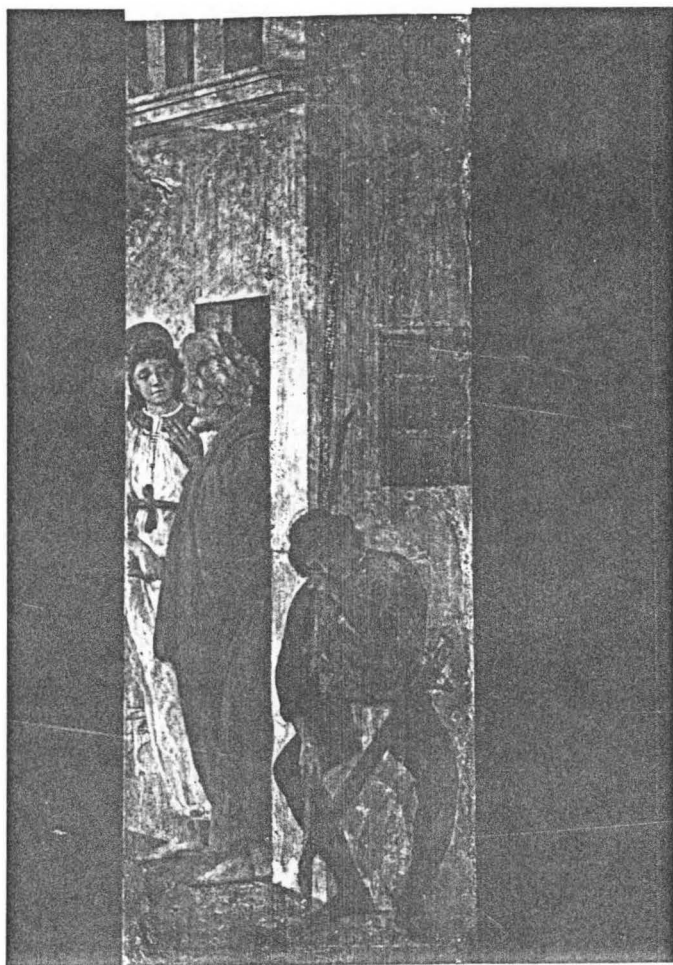


Plate 56 : Filippino Lippi, Peter's Liberation from Prison,
Brancacci Chapel, Florence, (right entrance pier).

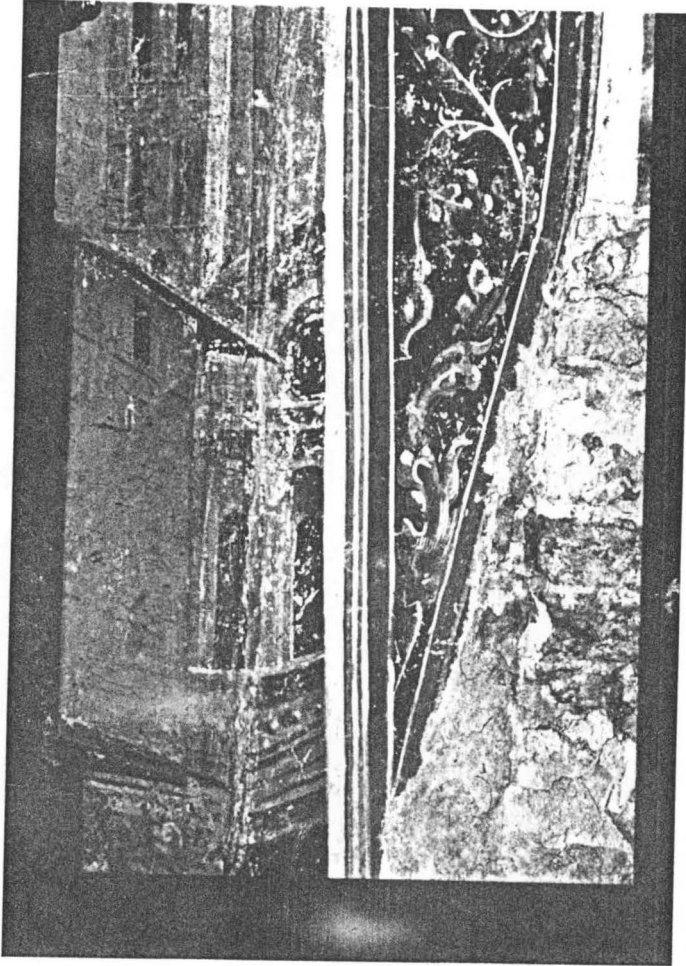


Plate 57 : Restoration of the altar wall of the Brancacci Chapel, Florence.



Plate 58 : Female and male heads (Brancacci portraits?) uncovered beneath the marble altarpiece during restoration.

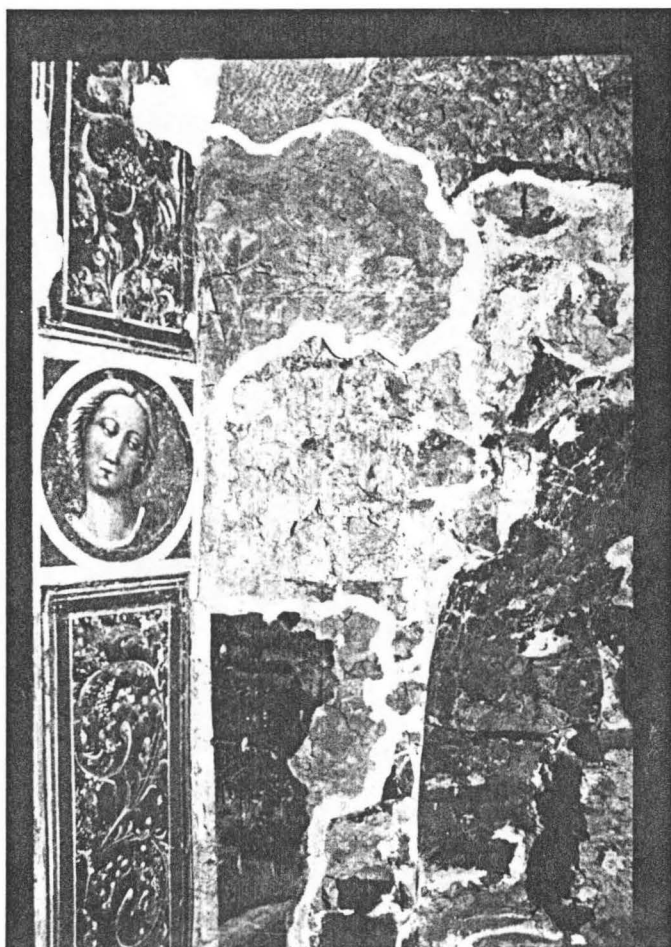


Plate 59 : Altar wall of the Brancacci Chapel, Florence, during present restoration showing female head and decorative borders.



Plate 60 : Altar wall of the Brancacci Chapel, Florence, during present restoration showing male head and decorative borders.

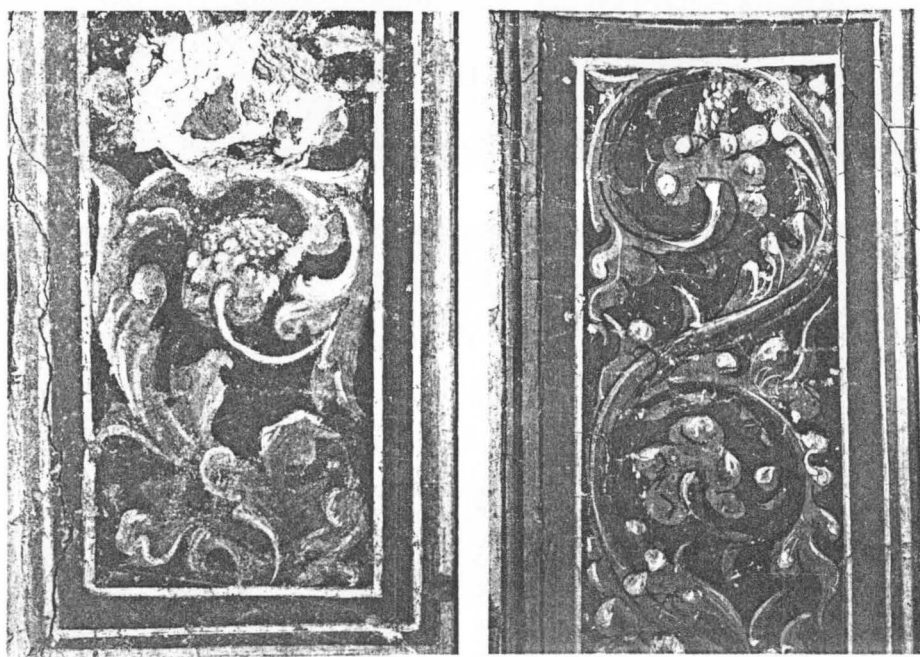
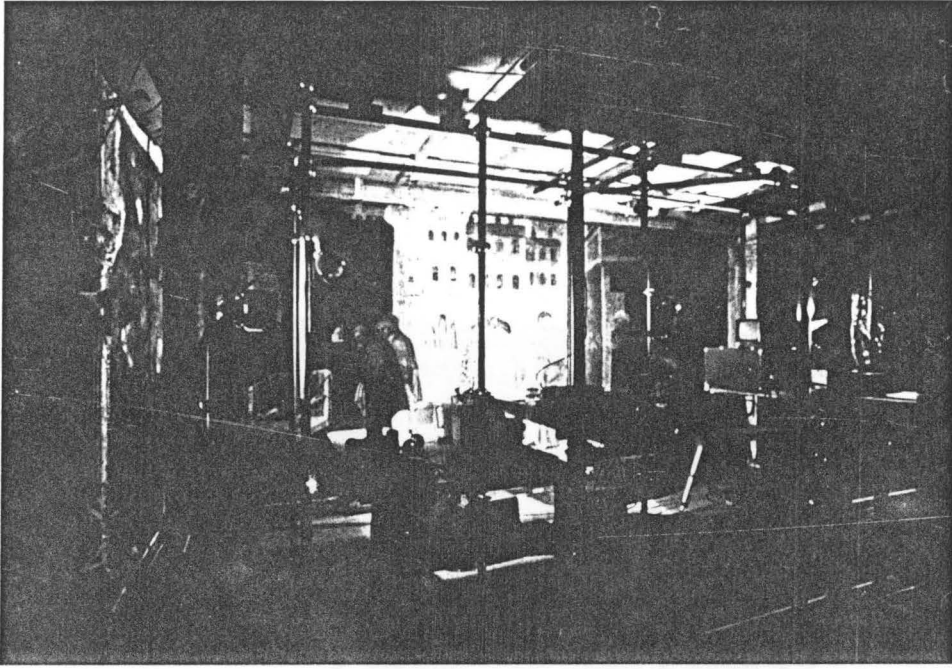
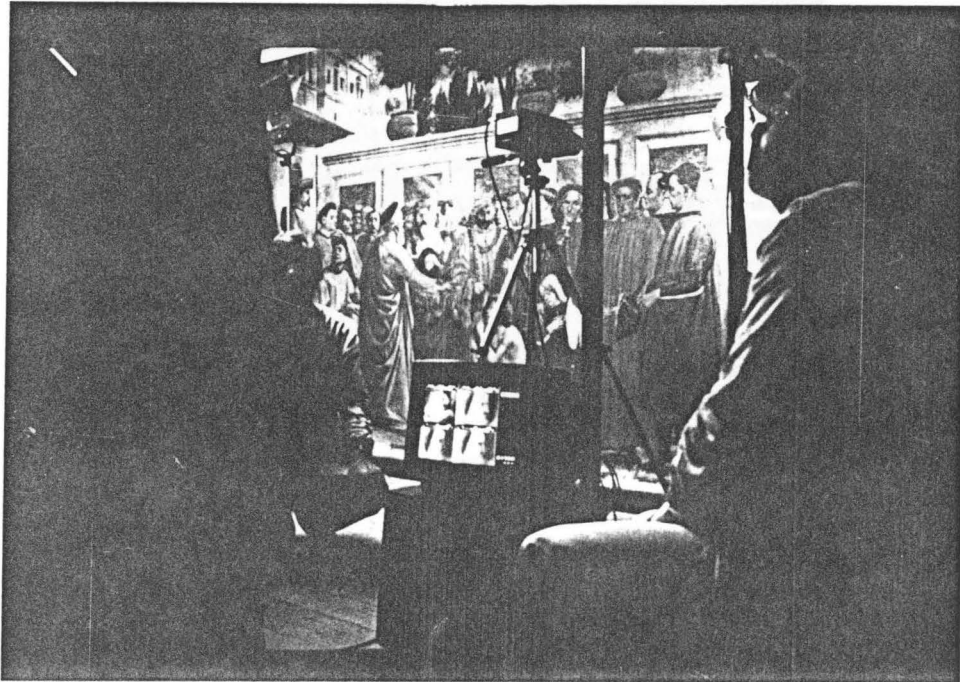


Plate 61 : Details of decorative borders uncovered on the altar wall of the Brancacci Chapel, Florence, during present restoration.



a :



b :

Plate 62 : Restoration team working in the Brancacci Chapel,
Florence.

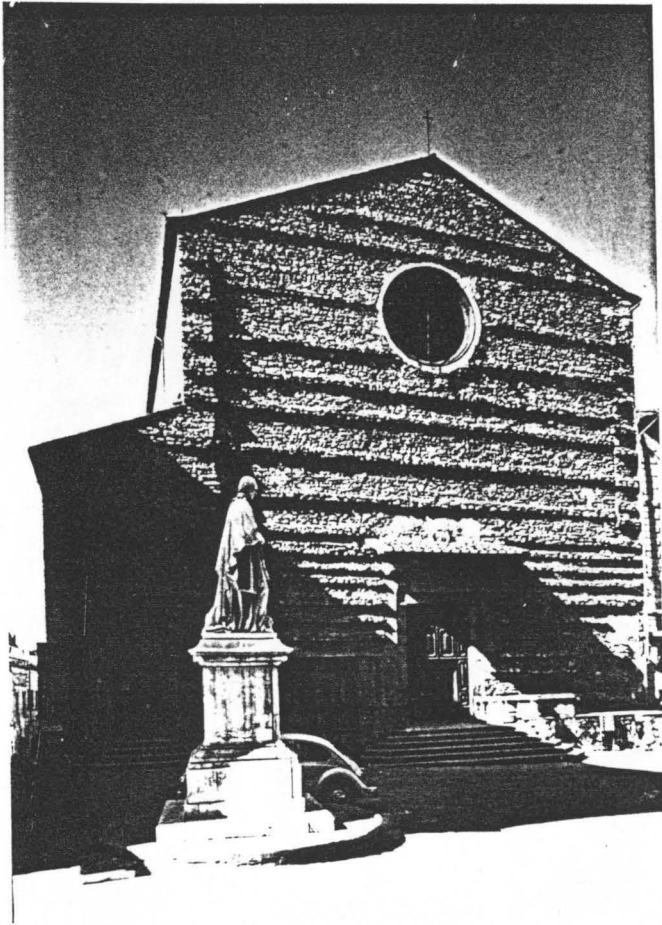


Plate 63 : Exterior of San Francesco, Arezzo.

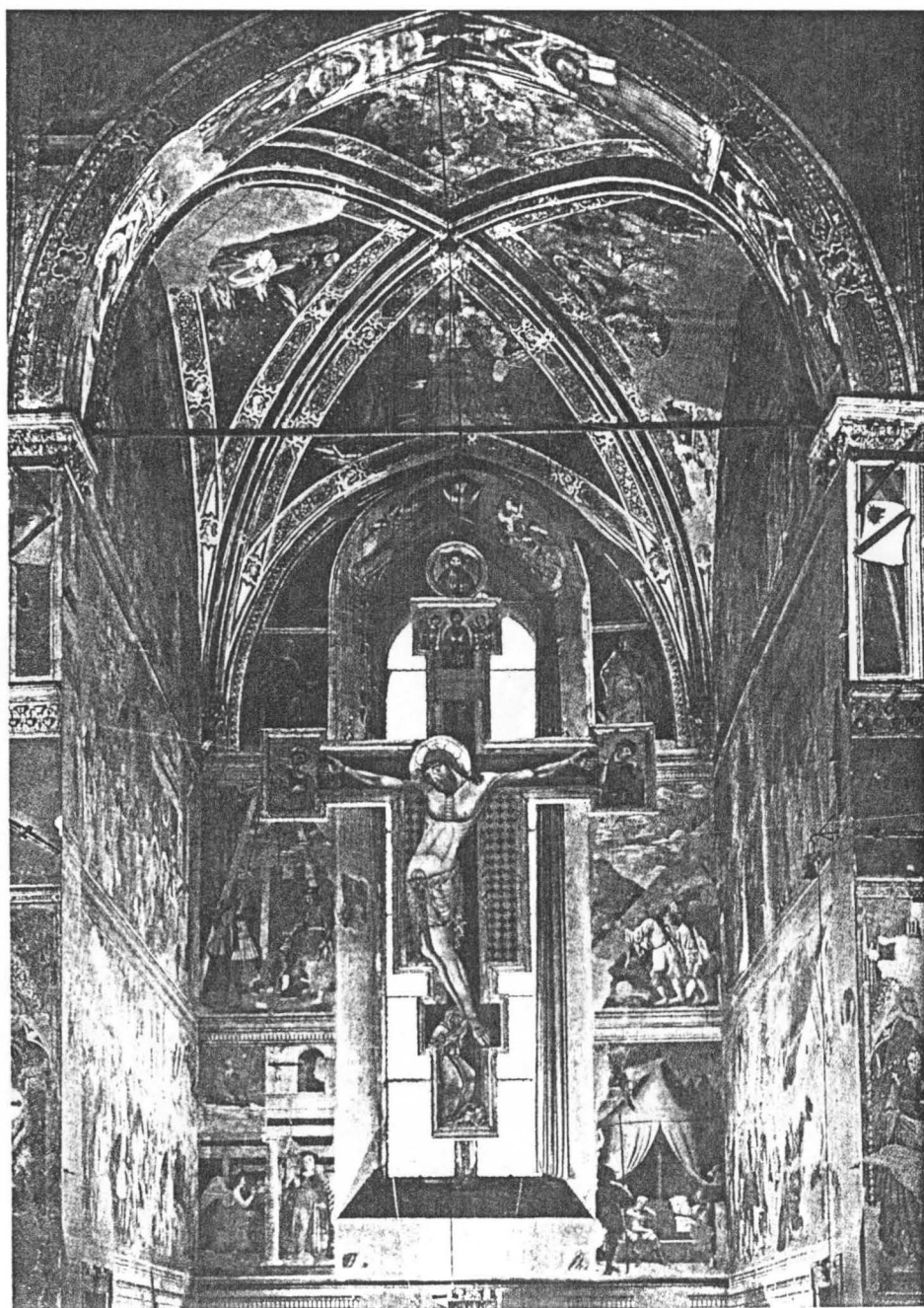


Plate 64 : Interior view of the Bacci Chapel, San Francesco, Arezzo.

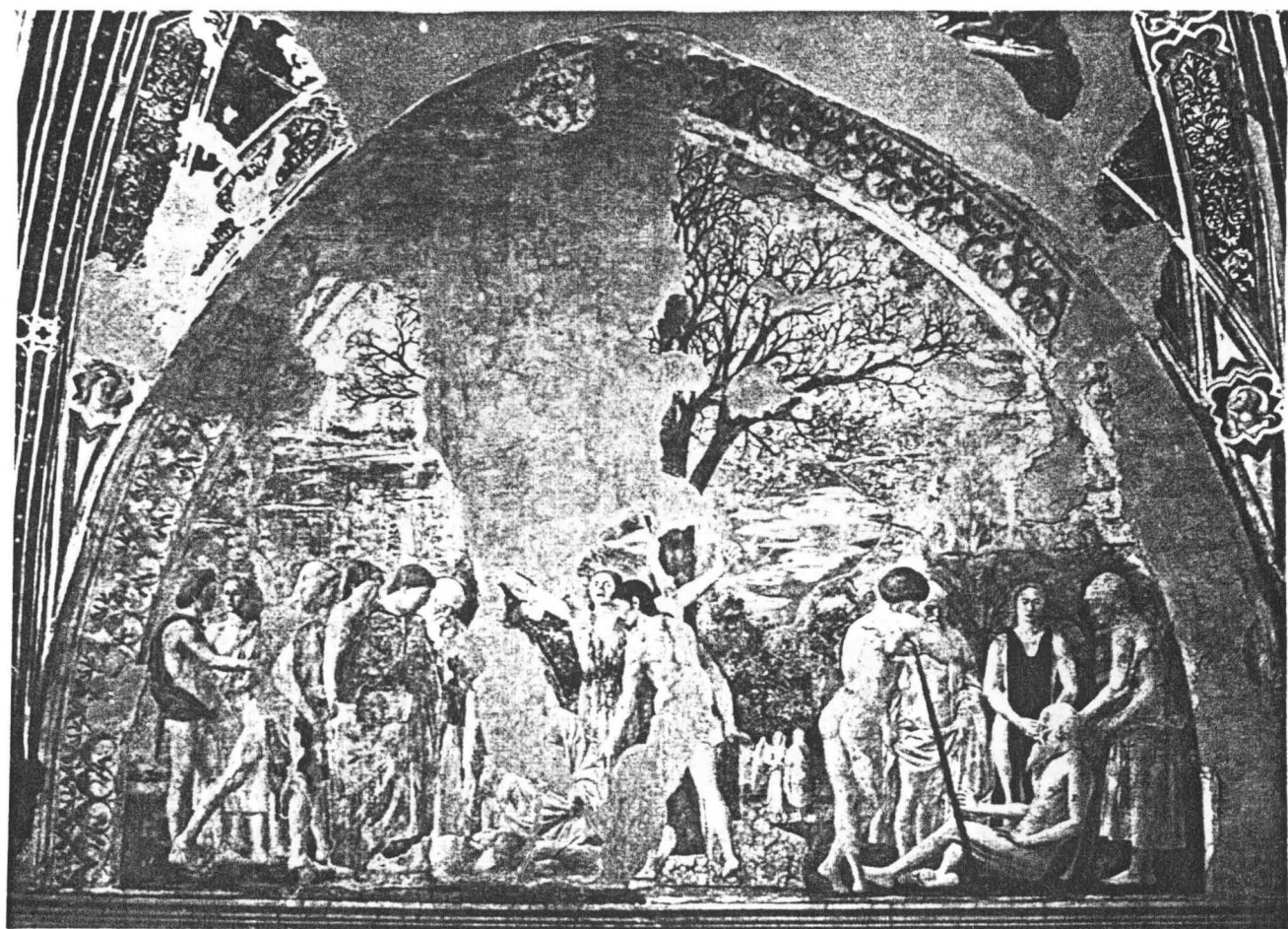


Plate 65 : Piero della Francesca, The Death of Adam, Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (right lunette).

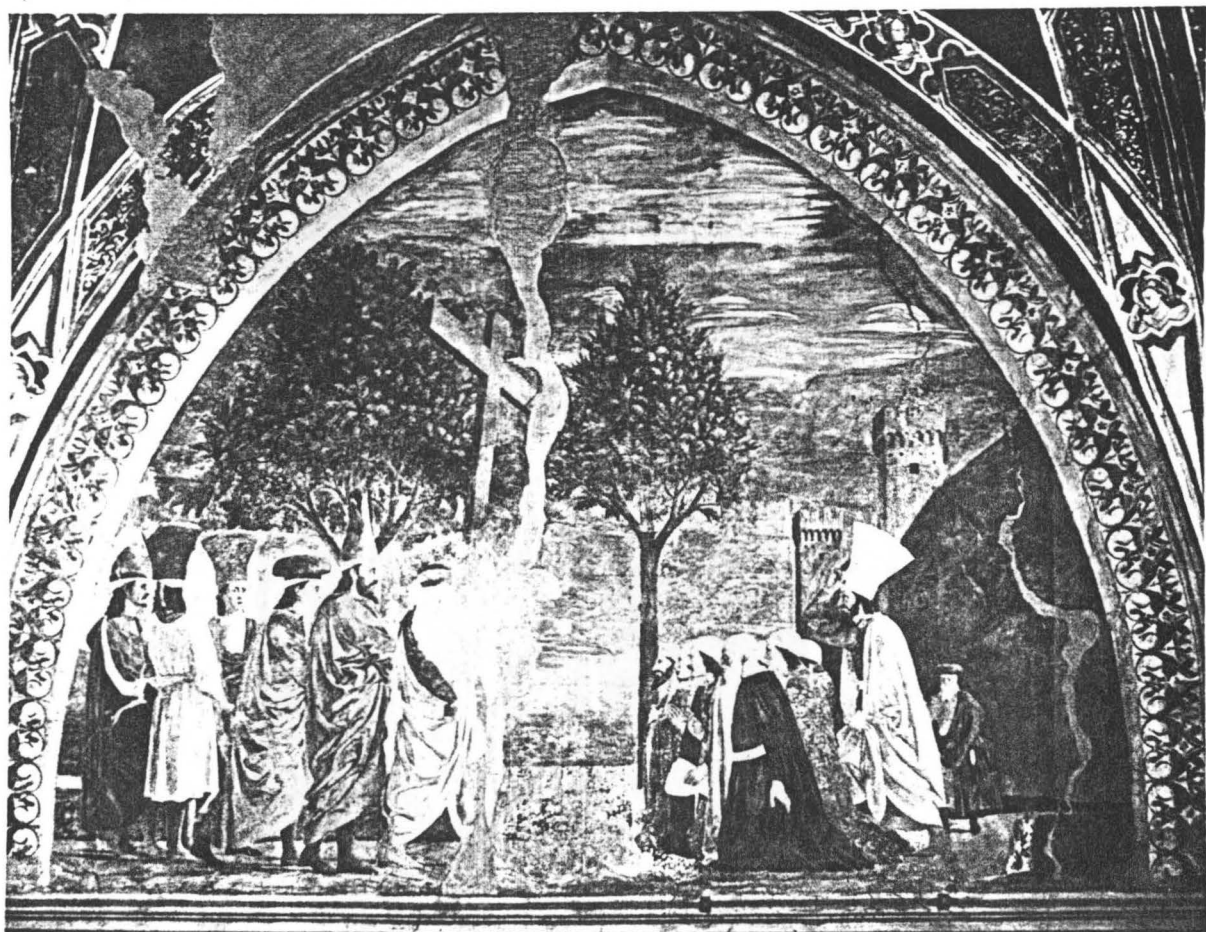


Plate 66 : Piero della Francesca, The Exaltation of the Cross, Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (left lunette).



Plate 67 : Piero della Francesca, Prophet, Bacci Chapel,
Arezzo, (altar wall lunette).

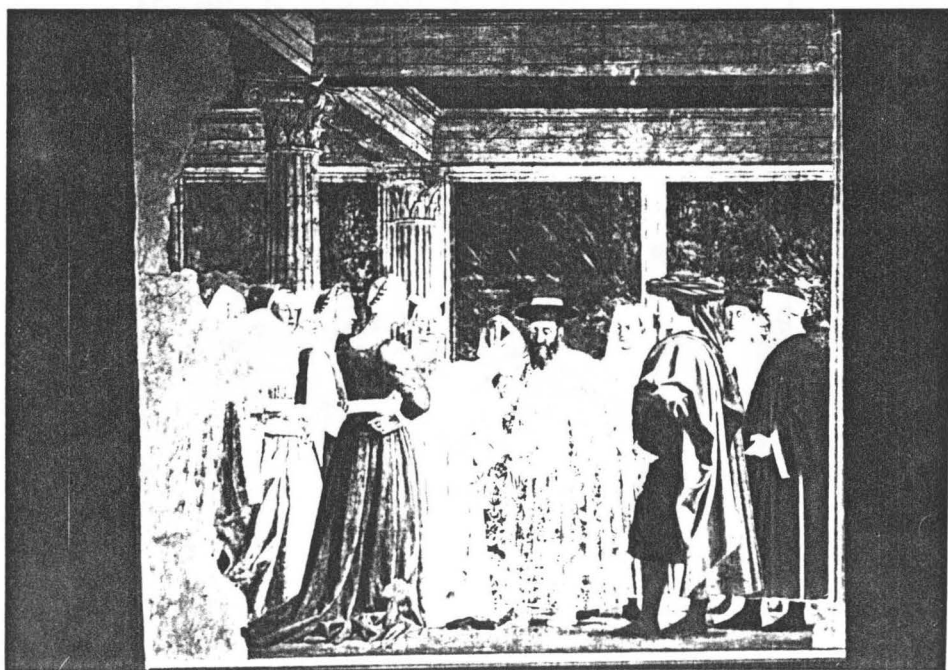
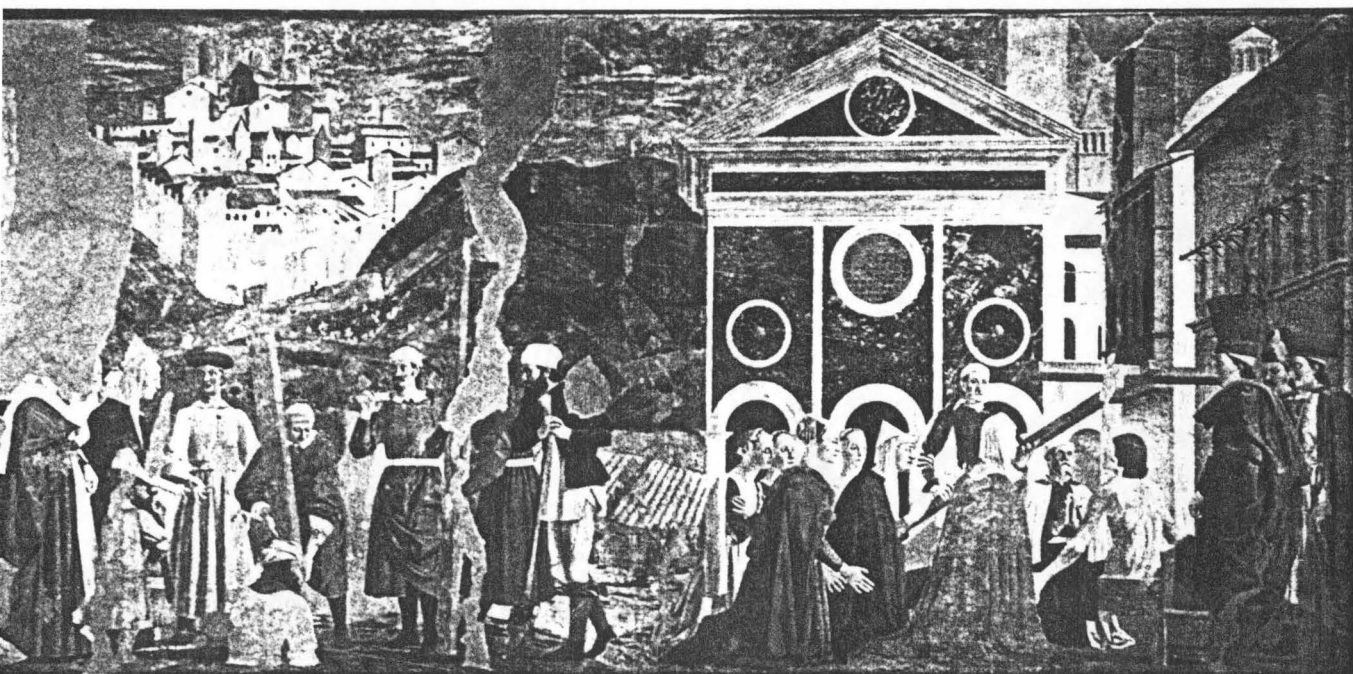


Plate 68 : Piero della Francesca, The Adoration of the Holy Wood,
and the Meeting of Solomon and Sheba, Bacci Chapel,
Arezzo, (right lunette).



Plate 69 : Piero della Francesca, detail of the Meeting of Solomon and Sheba, Bacci Chapel, Arezzo.



Arezzo - Basilica di S. Francesco
Piero della Francesca
Invenzione della Croce

Plate 70 : Piero della Francesca, The Discovery and Proof of the True Cross, Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (left wall).



Arezzo - Basilica di S. Francesco

Plate 71 : Piero della Francesca, The Victory of Constantine,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (right wall).



Plate 72 : Piero della Francesca, The Defeat of Chosroes,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (left wall).



Plate 73 : Piero della Francesca, The Burial of the Wood,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (altar wall).

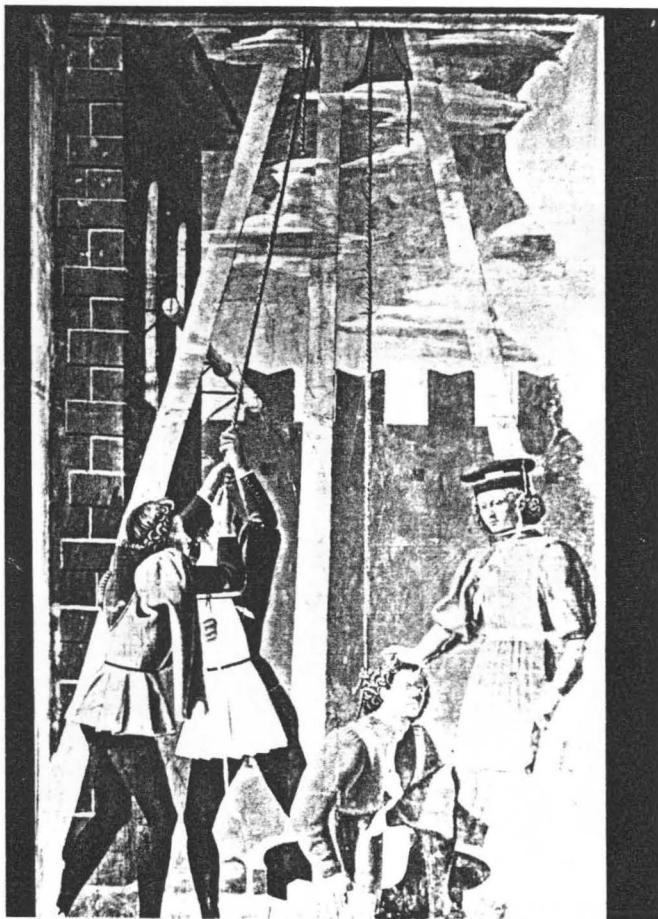


Plate 74 : Piero della Francesca, The Torture of the Jew (Judas),
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (altar wall).



Plate 75 : Piero della Francesca, The Annunciation,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo, (altar wall).



Plate 76 : Piero della Francesca, detail of The Annunciation,
Gabriel proffering the palm to the Virgin,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo.



Plate 77 : Piero della Francesca, detail of The Annunciation,
The Annunciate Virgin, Bacci Chapel, Arezzo.

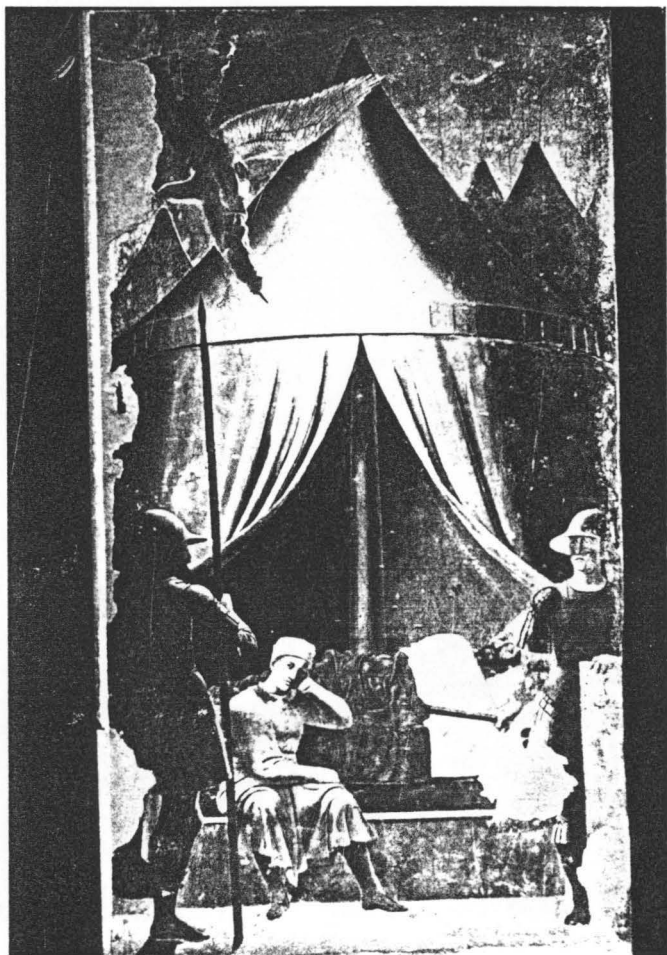


Plate 78 : Piero della Francesca, the Dream of Constantine,
Bacci Chapel, Arezzo (altar wall).

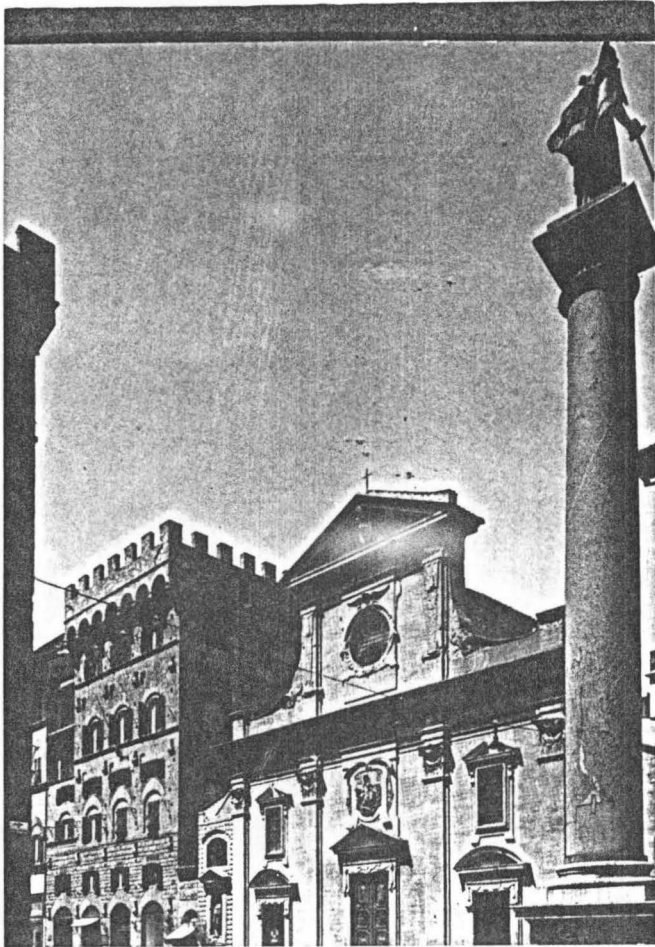


Plate 79 : Exterior view of Santa Trinità, Florence.



Plate 80 : Interior view of the Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinità, Florence.

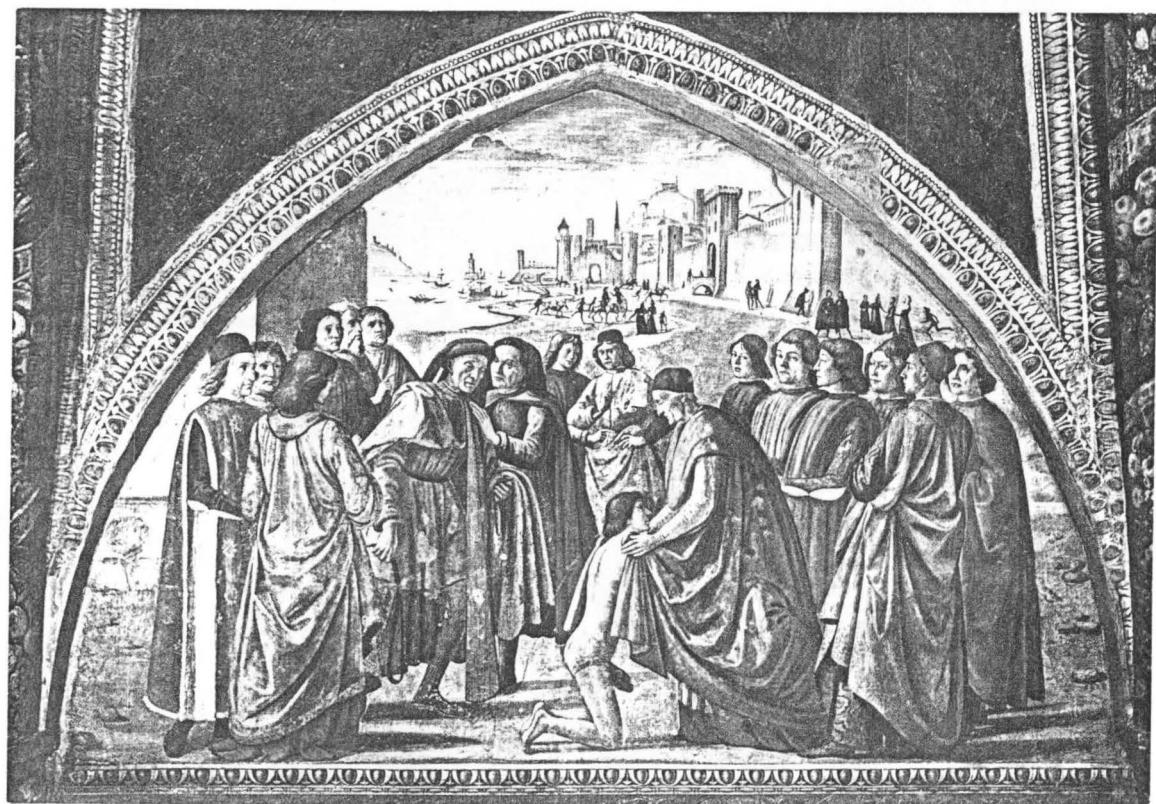


Plate 81 : Ghirlandaio, St. Francis Renouncing his Worldly Patrimony, Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (left lunette).

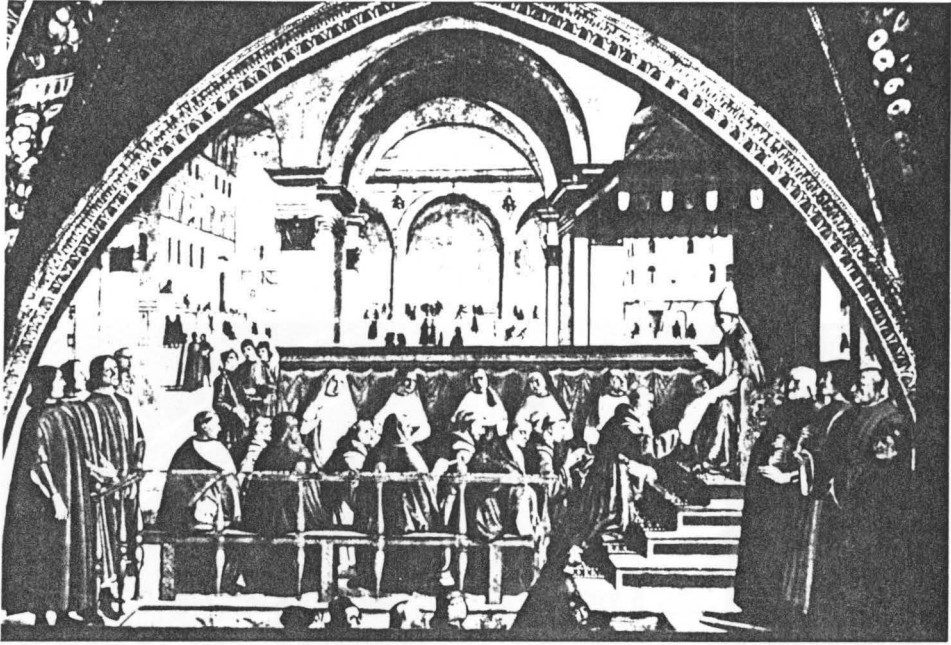


Plate 82 : Ghirlandaio, The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule,
Sasseti Chapel, Florence, (altar wall lunette).

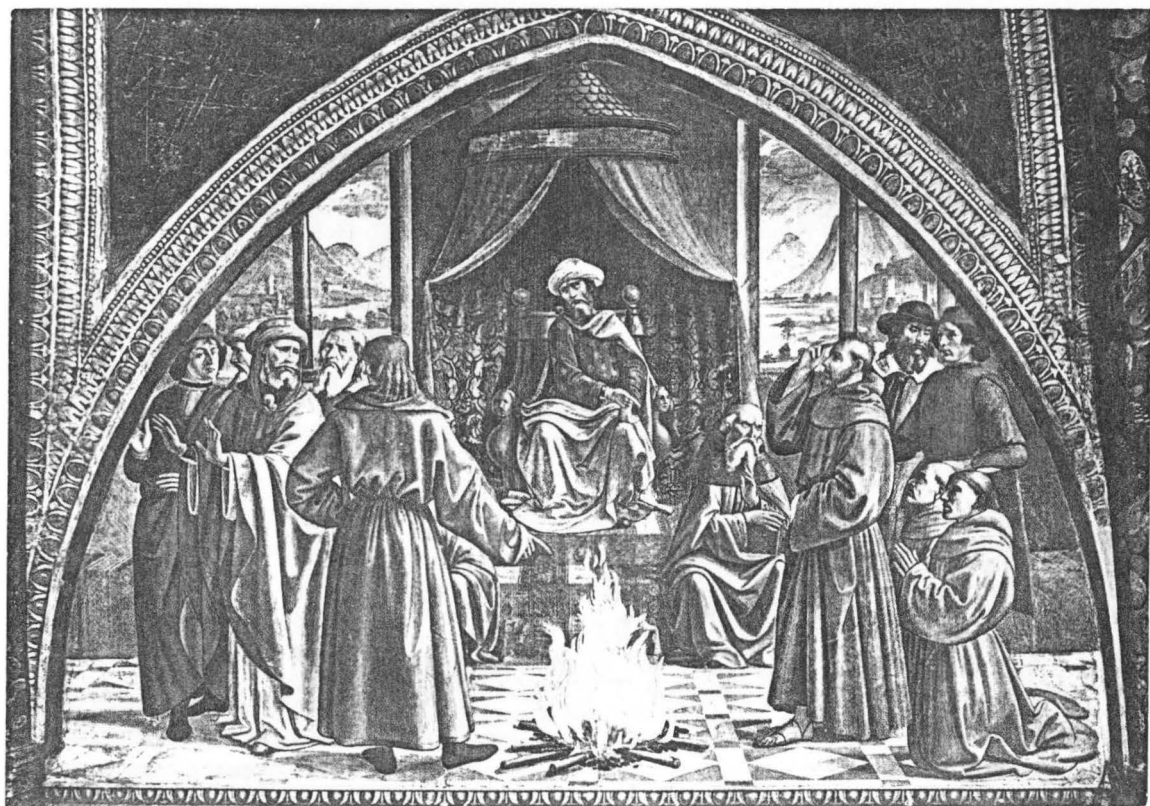


Plate 83 : Ghirlandaio, the Trial by Fire,
Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (right wall lunette).



Plate 84 : Ghirlandaio, the St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata,
Sasseti Chapel, Florence, (left wall).



Plate 85 : Ghirlandaio, The Resuscitation of the Roman Notary's Son, Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).



Plate 86 : Ghirlandaio, detail of Francesco Sassetti's daughters and their husbands and fiancés in The Resuscitation of the Roman Notary's Son, Sassetti Chapel, Florence.



Plate 87 : Ghirlandaio, The Death of St. Francis, Sassetti Chapel, Florence.



Plate 88 : Ghirlandaio, the altarpiece of the Sassetti Chapel,
Florence, the Nativity.



Plate 89 : Ghirlandaio, detail of the Virgin in the Nativity,
Sasseti Chapel, Florence.



Plate 90 : Tomb and sarcophagus of Francesco Sassetti,
Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (right wall).

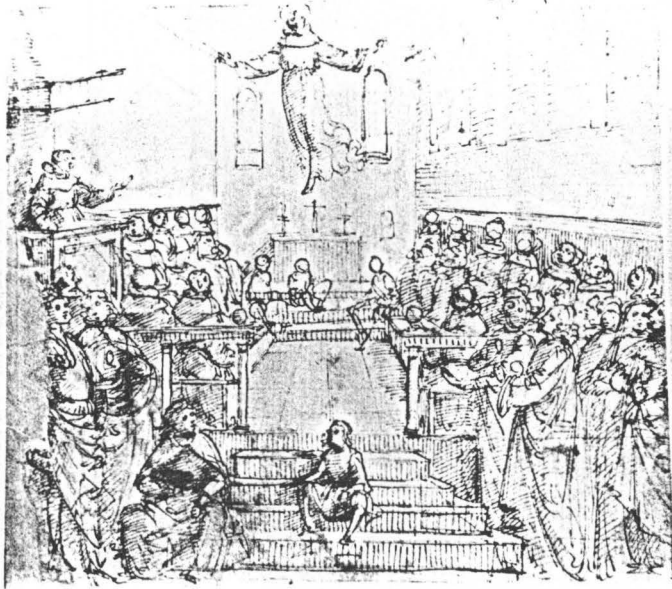


Plate 91 : Ghirlandaio, drawing of the Apparition of St. Francis
at Arles.



Plate 92 : Ghirlandaio, donor portrait of Nera Sassetti,
Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).



Plate 93 : Ghirlandaio, donor portrait of Francesco Sassetti, Sassetti Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).

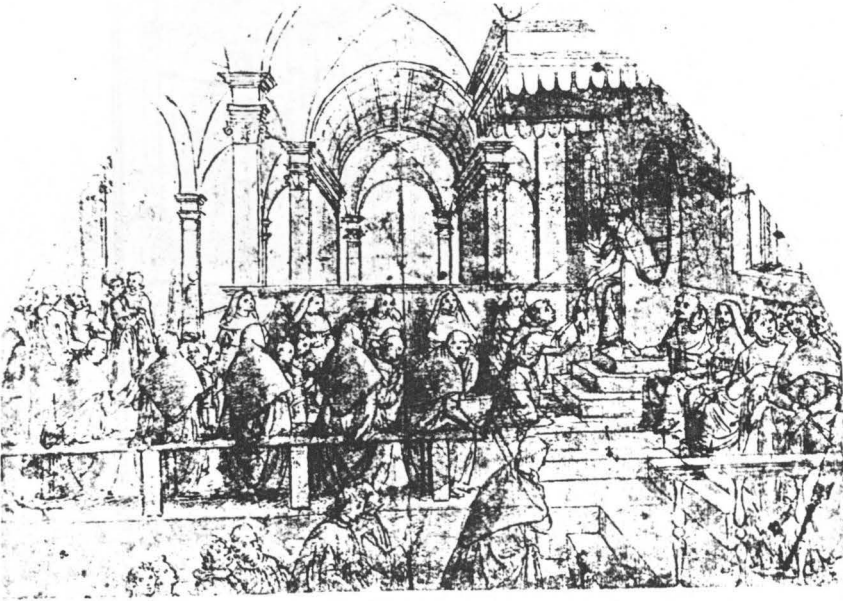


Plate 94 : Ghirlandaio, original drawing for the Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule, Berlin Print Room no. 4591.

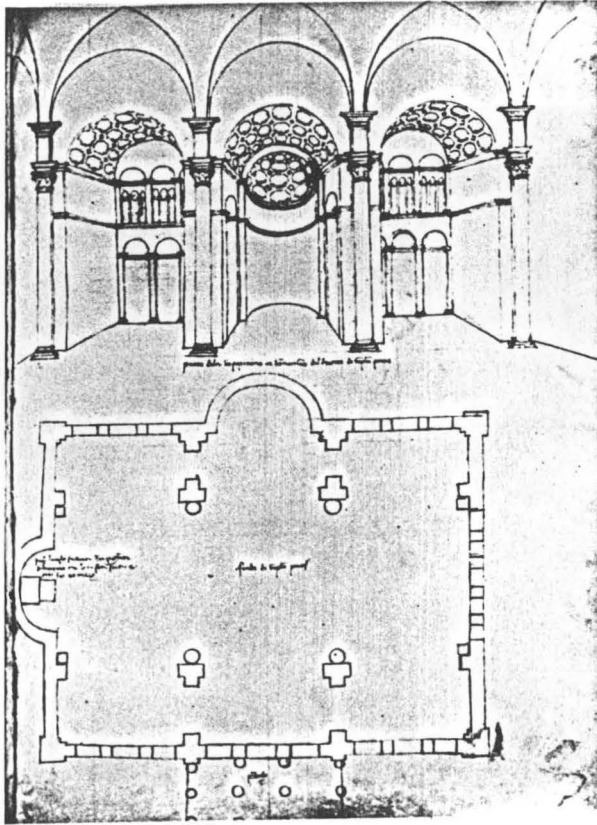


Plate 95 : The Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine (drawing).

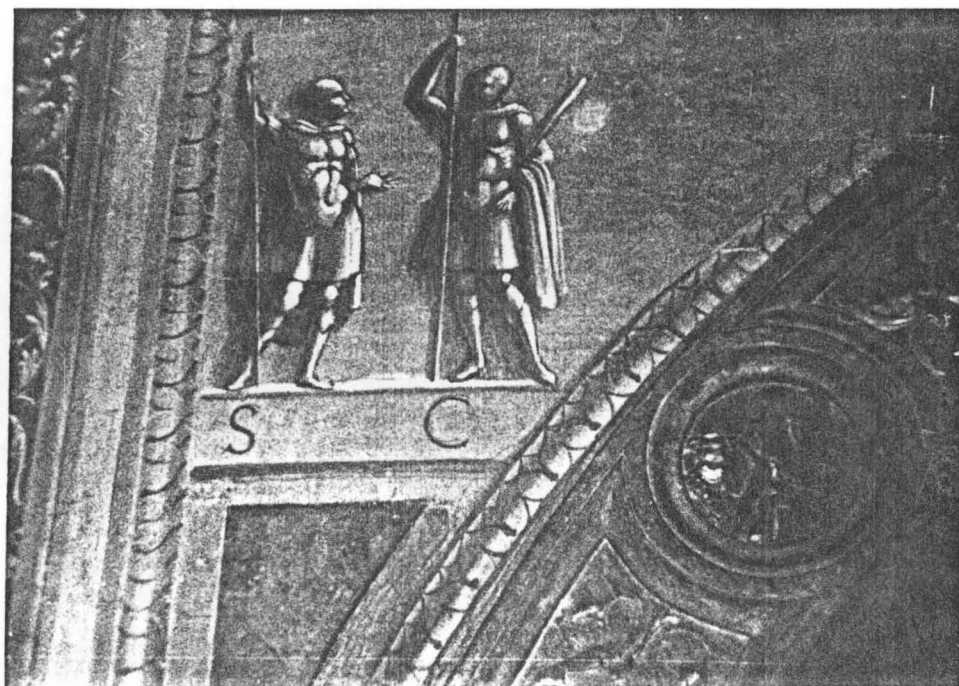


Plate 96 : Ghirlandaio, CAES.AVB.S.C., grisaille paintings on tomb spandrel of Francesco Sassetti, Sassetti Chapel, Florence.

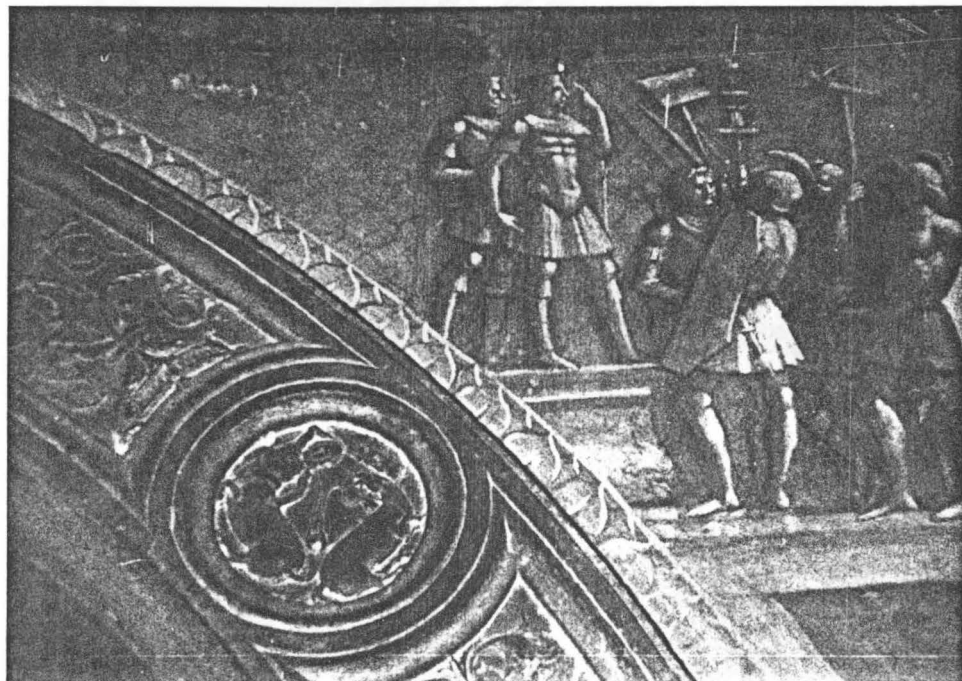


Plate 97 : Ghirlandaio, Adlocutio, tomb spandrel of Francesco Sassetti, Sassetti Chapel, Florence.

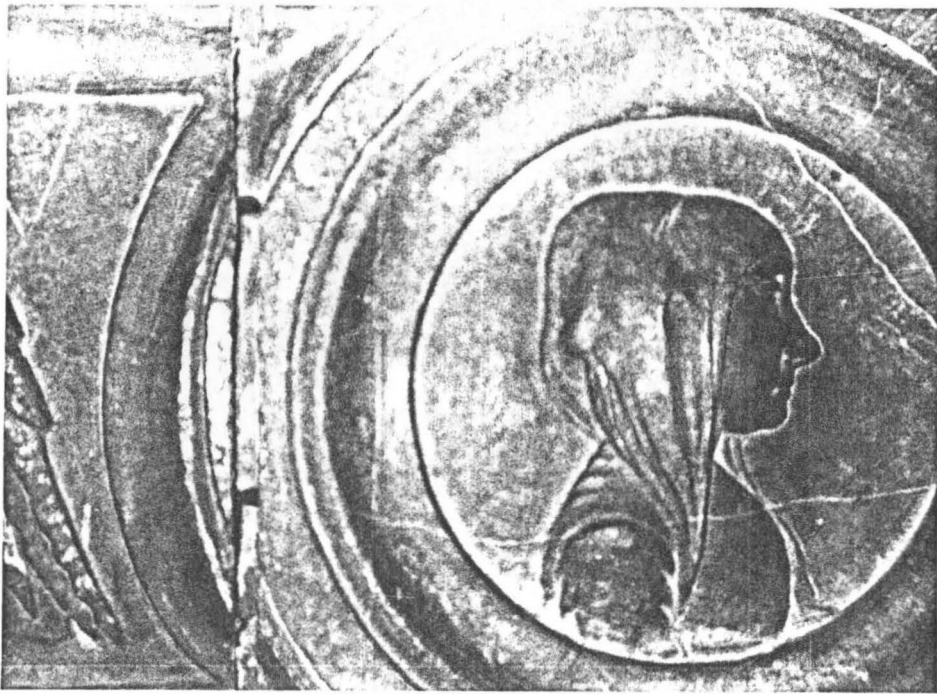


Plate 98 : Portrait roundels, of Francesco and Nera Sassetti,
(beneath their sarcophagi), Sassetti Chapel,
Florence.



Plate 99 : Framework roundel of Nereids surrounding tomb of Nera Sassetti and Triumph of Germanicus (grisaille painting in left tomb spandrel) Sassetti Chapel, Florence.



Plate 100 : Ghirlandaio, Cimmerian Sibyl, Sassetti Chapel,
Florence (vault).



Plate 101 : Ghirlandaio, Agrippan Sibyl, Sassetti Chapel,
Florence (vault).



Plate 102 : Ghirlandaio, Eritrean Sibyl, Sassetti Chapel,
Florence (vault).



Plate 103 : Ghirlandaio, Cumaean Sibyl, Sassetti Chapel,
Florence (vault).



a: The Vision of Augustus.



b: Fictive statue of David.

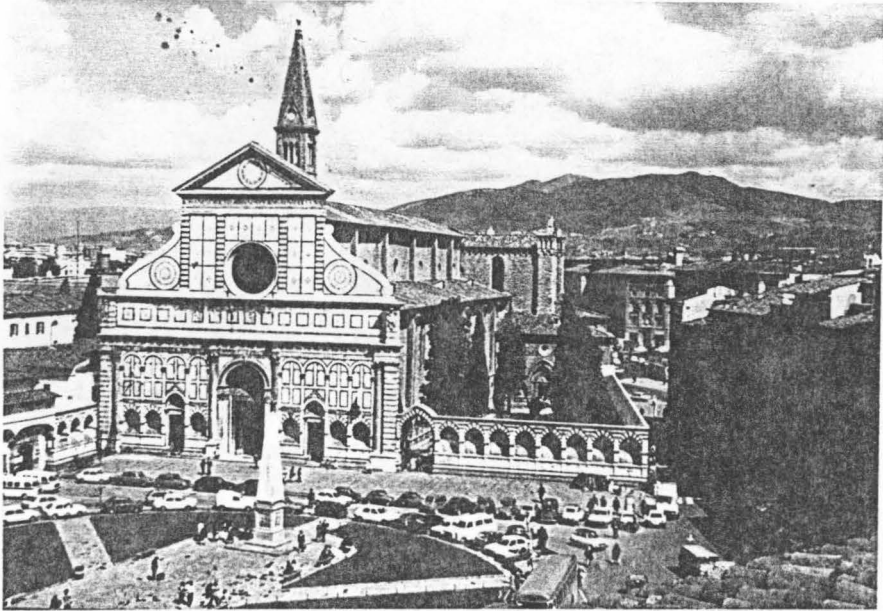


Plate 105 : Exterior view of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

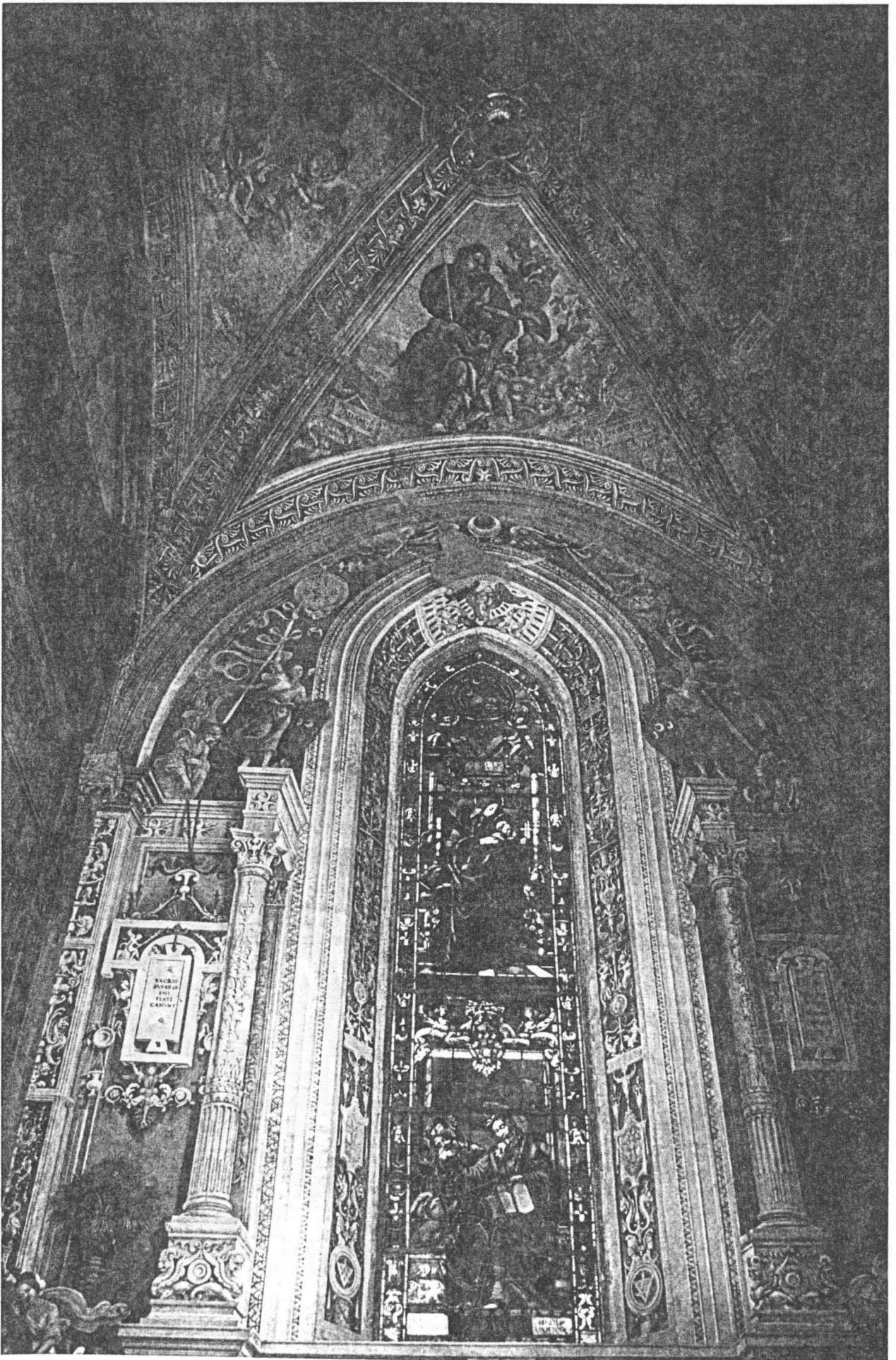


Plate 106 : Interior view of the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.

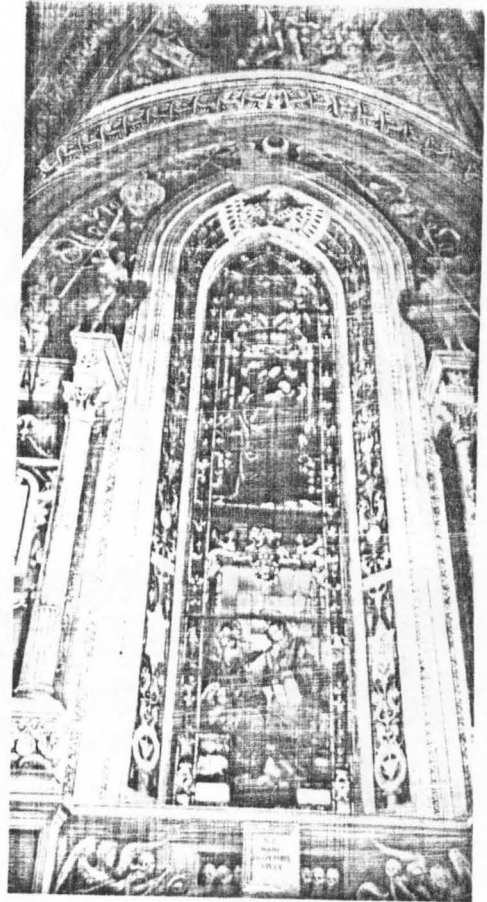
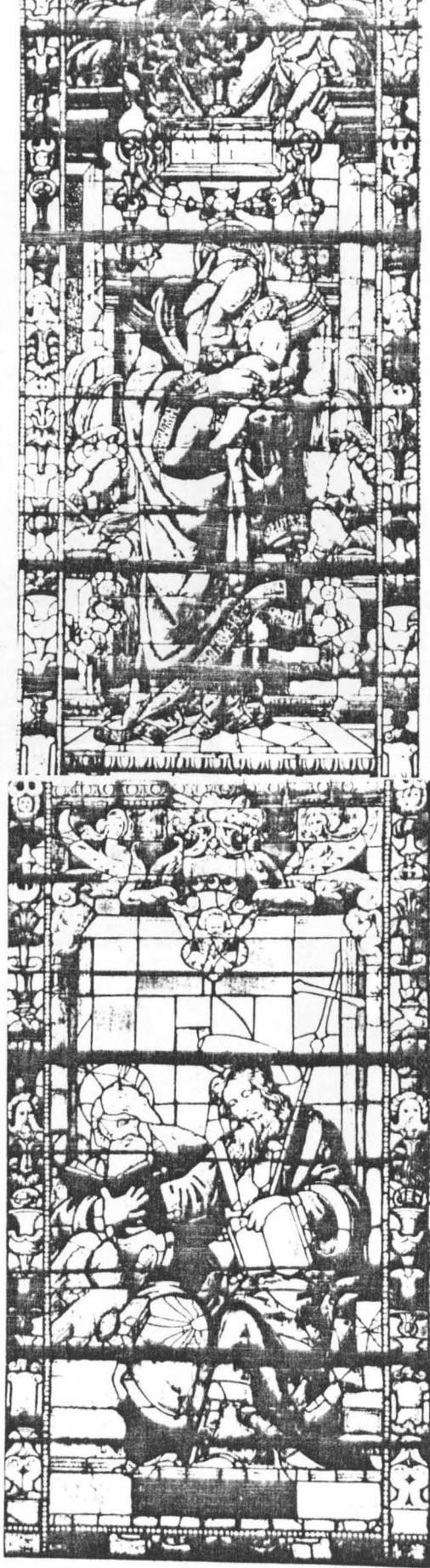


Plate 107 : Filippino Lippi, altar wall of the Strozzi Chapel
Florence, (with stained glass window).

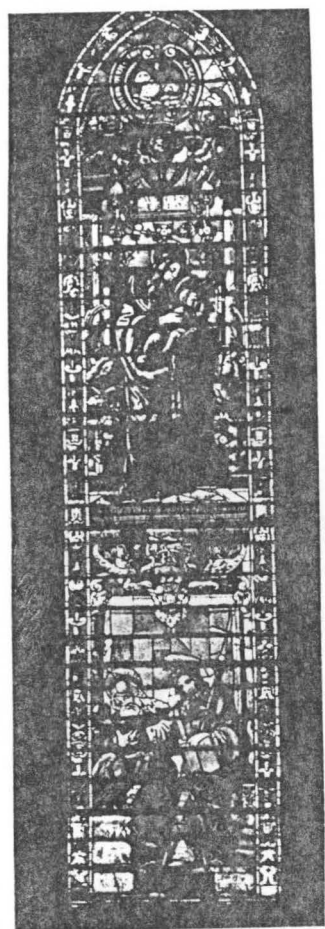


Plate 108 : Filippino Lippi, stained glass window of the altar wall of the Strozzi Chapel, Florence, showing detail of book with an edited account of Filippo Strozzi's life, held by St. Philip.

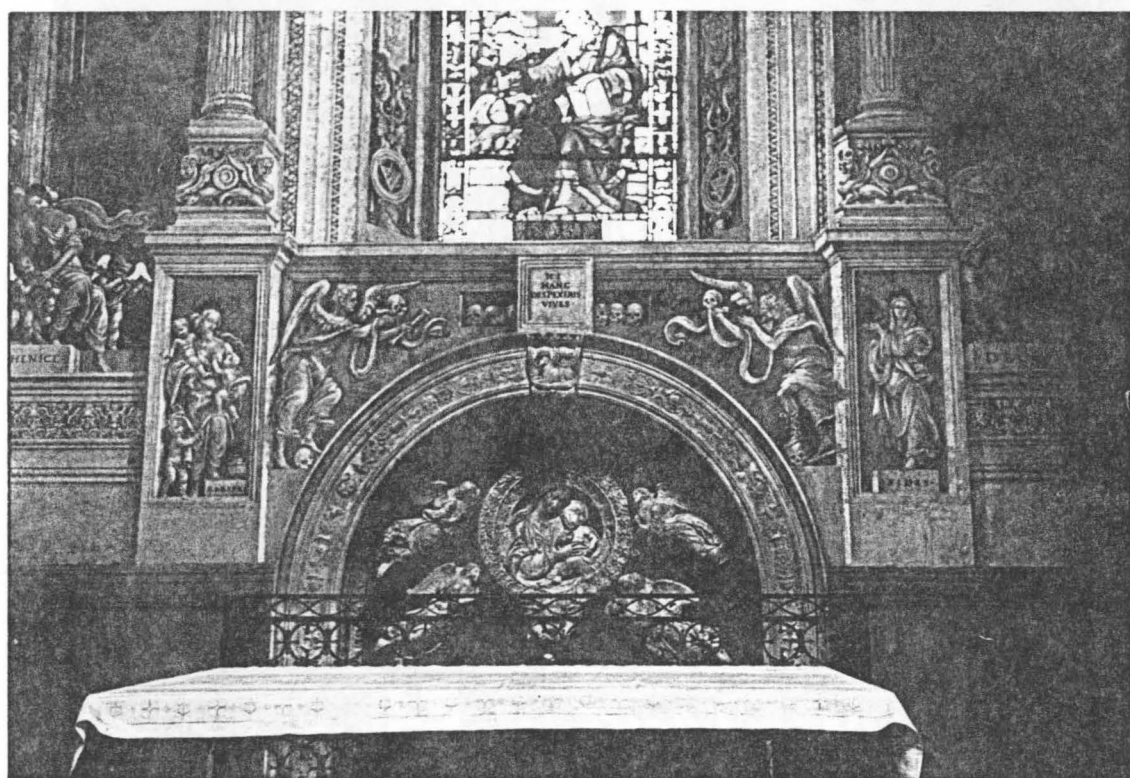


Plate 109 : Filippino Lippi, detail of Filippo Strozzi's tomb,
Strozzi Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).

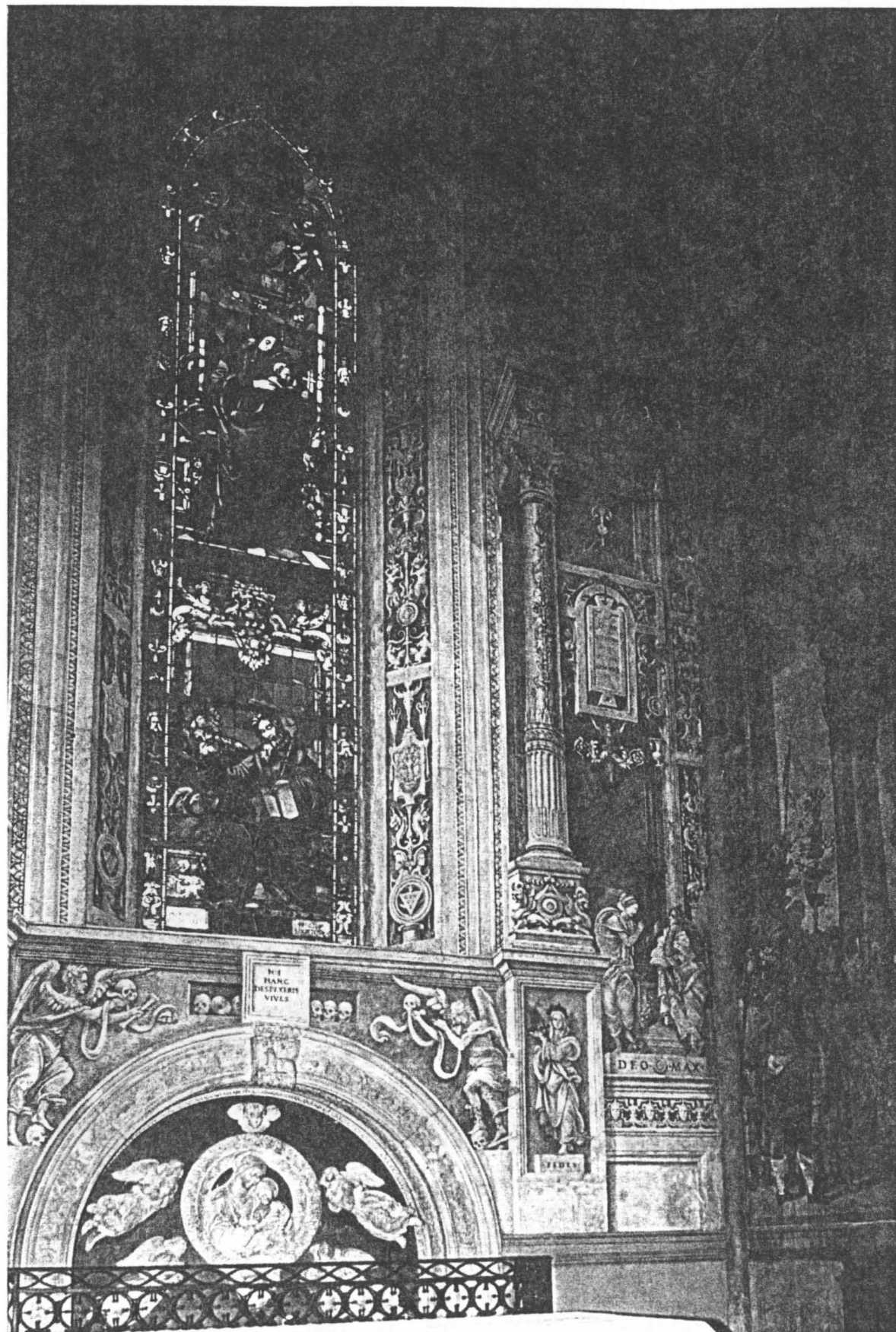


Plate 110 : Filippino Lippi, fictive grisaille sculpture and architecture, Strozzi Chapel, Florence, (altar wall).

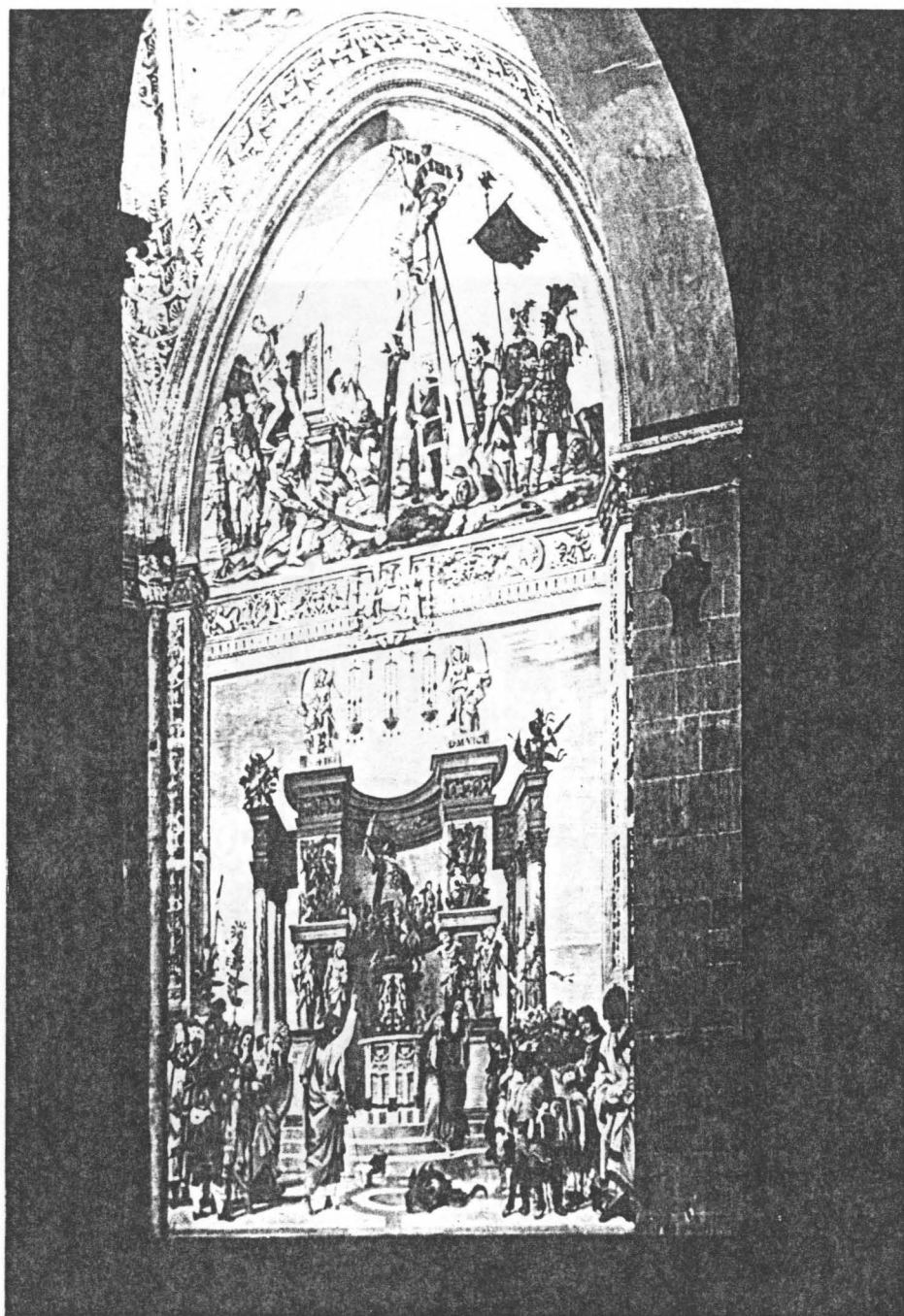


Plate 111 : Filippino Lippi, St. Philip before the Altar of Mars
and the Crucifixion of St. Philip, Strozzi Chapel,
Florence, (right wall).



Plate 112 : Filippino Lippi, St. Philip before the Altar of Mars
Strozzi Chapel, Florence, (lower right wall).

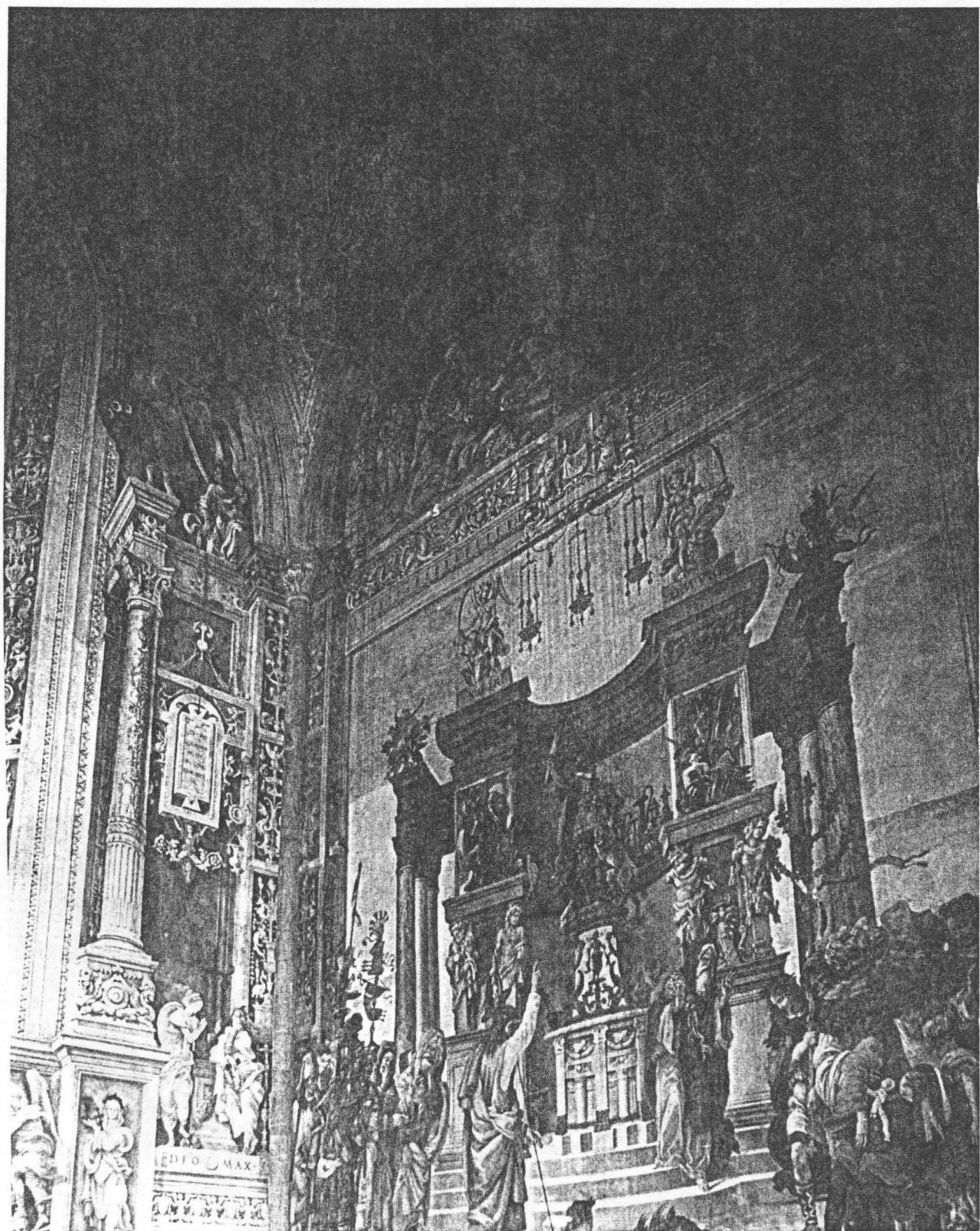


Plate 113 : Filippino Lippi, details of altar wall and right wall of the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



Plate 114 : Filippino Lippi, details of altar wall, left wall and vault, Strozzi Chapel, Florence.

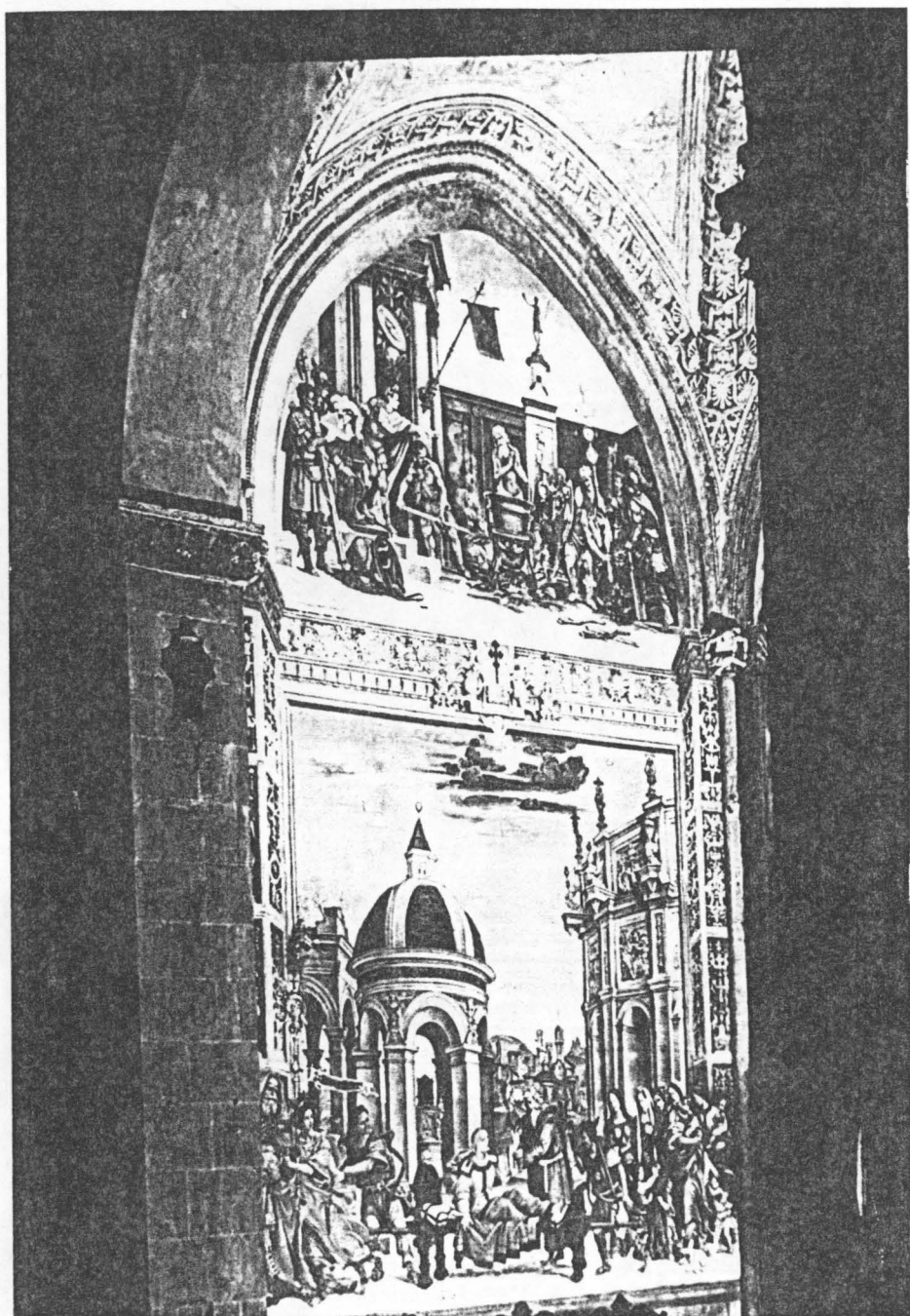


Plate 115 : Filippino Lippi, The Raising of Drusiana and the Death of the Evangelist, Strozzi Chapel, Florence, (left wall).

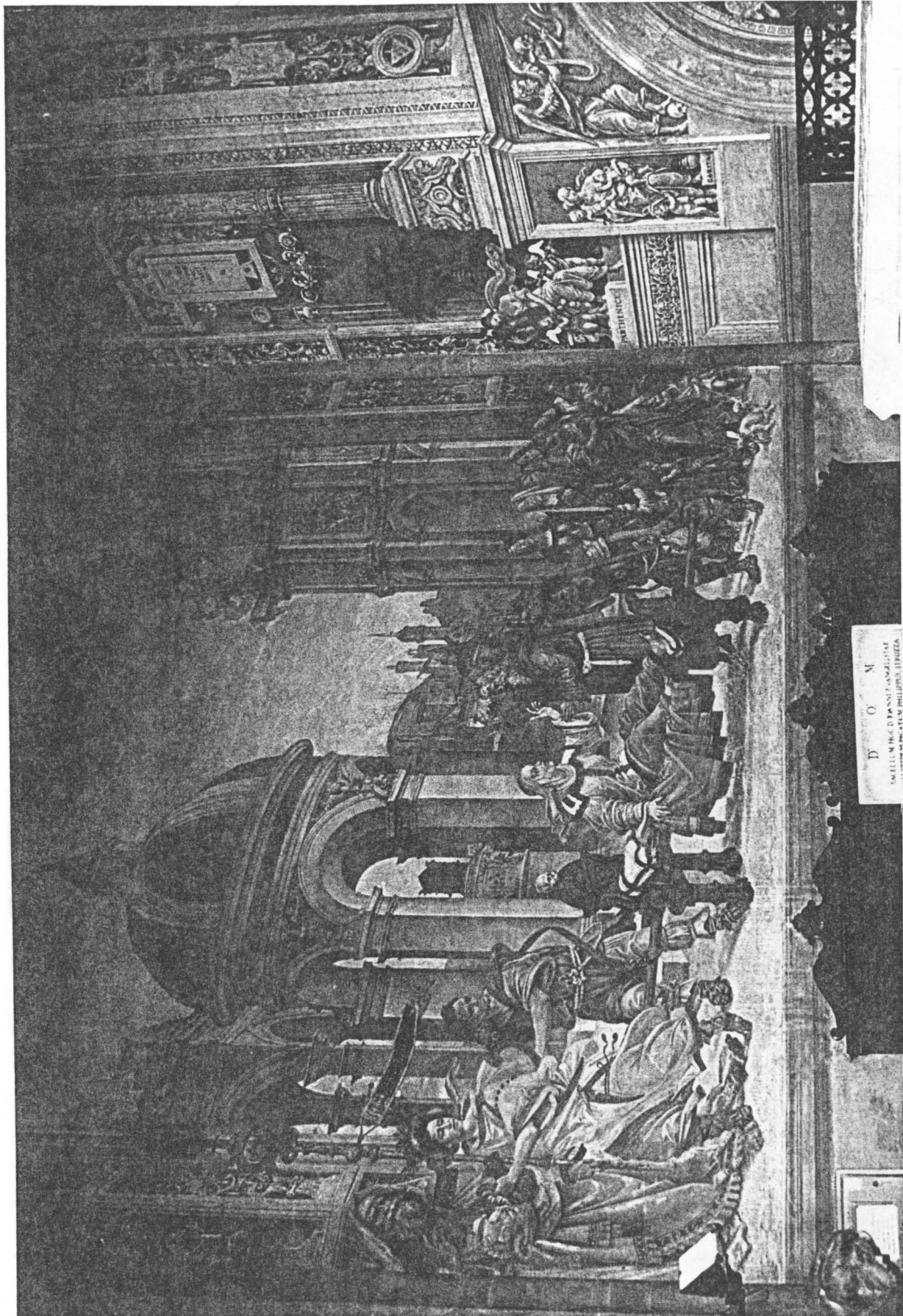


Plate 116 : Filippino Lippi, The Raising of Drusiana and the writer (Pamela Prendini) Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



Plate 117 : Filippino Lippi, details of the altar wall and left wall, of the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



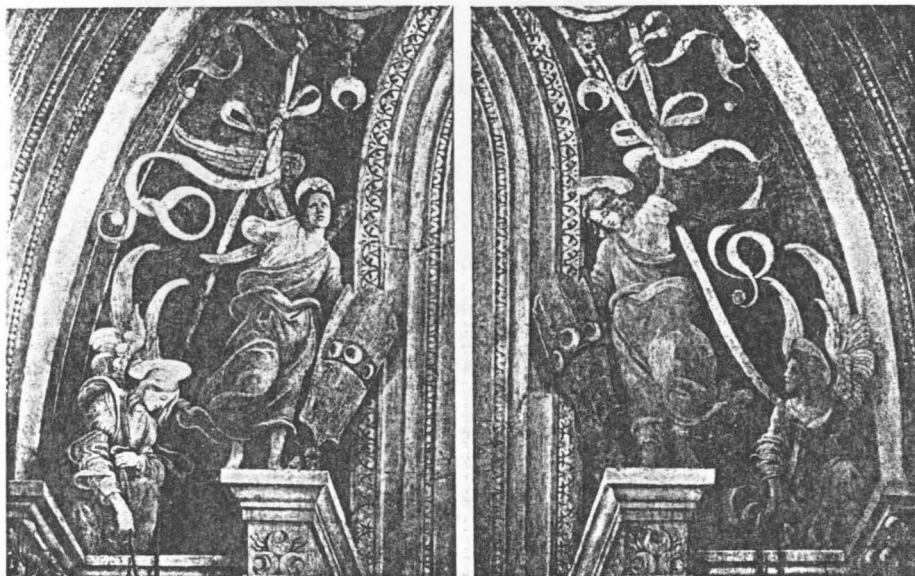
Plate 118 : Filippino Lippi, The Raising of Drusiana,
showing simulated relief in framework, Strozzi Chapel,
Florence.



a: Abraham.



b: Adam.



Upper trompe l'oeil angels.



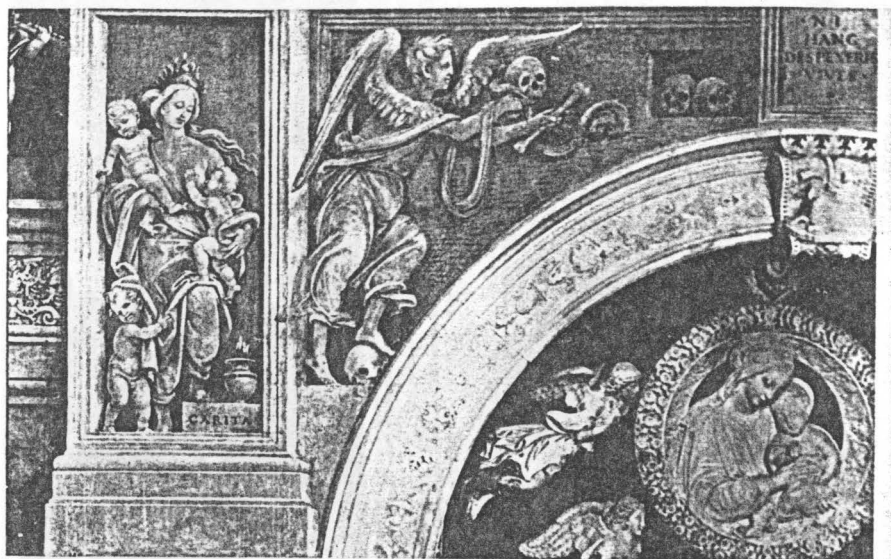
Parthenice group.

Plate 121 : Filippino Lippi, detail of the altar wall showing
Parthenice, Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



Deo Max group.

Plate 122 : Filippino Lippi, detail of the altar wall showing,
Deo Max group, Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



a: Caritas.



b: Fides.



Plate 124 : Copies after Filippino Lippi showing possible source for the inscription : SI SCIRES DONUM, which occurs on the altar wall of the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.