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Table of Contents

Introduction <i>Bradley R. Franco</i>	9
PART I: PLENARY LECTURES	
1) The Franciscan Fascination with the Future <i>Michael F. Cusato, O.F.M.</i>	11
2) Dante's Francis: Take Two <i>Ronald Herzman</i>	51
PART II: FRANCISCAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE	
3) Seeing Stars: Islamic Decorative Motifs in the Basilica of St. Francis <i>Michael D. Calabria</i>	63
4) A Franciscan for the Fifteenth Century: San Bernardino and His Message of Peace <i>Andrea W. Campbell</i>	73
5) St. Francis in Southern Tuscany: History, Art, and Devotion in the Records of Francesco Anichini and Other Archival Documents <i>Sandra Cardarelli</i>	83
6) The Pistoia Dossal and the Development of Franciscan Art <i>Bradley R. Franco</i>	93
7) Imagining Friendship: Images of the Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic <i>Erin Kate Grady</i>	101
8) The Saint and the City: Giotto's Franciscan Cycle in the Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels <i>Filip Malešević</i>	109

9) Franciscan Exegesis and Architecture: Paradigms of the Artistic Ideology of King Manuel I of Portugal <i>Nuno Villamariz Oliveira</i>	117
10) The Impact of Franciscan Architecture in the Mediterranean context: Singularities of the Portuguese Case <i>Catarina Madureira Villamariz</i>	125
11) The <i>Last Judgment</i> in the Cathedral of Fidenza and the Eschatological Images in the Franciscan Context <i>Hisashi Yakou</i>	133
PART III: FRANCIS AND HIS LEGACY (13TH-16TH CENTURIES)	
12) The Dreams and Visions of Francis and His Companions: An Analysis at Five Levels <i>Umberto Barcaro</i>	141
13) Periphery in the Franciscans' Life, Franciscans on the Periphery <i>Adrian Dzigan</i>	151
14) Lady Poverty's Overthrow of Dame Largesse: The Uneasy Place of Generosity in St. Francis's Virtues <i>Karen E. Gross</i>	159
15) The Female Franciscan Body as Image <i>Kristina Keogh</i>	167
16) Everywhere and Nowhere: Francis in Old French Royal Hagiography <i>Nicole M. Leapley</i>	177
17) Franciscan Influences on Charitable Practice at the Early Florentine Misericordia <i>William R. Levin</i>	185
18) Isabel de Villena of the Convent of the Clares, Valencia, Spain: A Feminist Abbess? <i>Ana Vargas Martínez</i>	195
19) Reconsidering Francis's Encounter with the Sultan during the Fifth Crusade <i>Christopher Olan</i>	203

20) St. Francis and the Comprehension of Unity of Creation in Christian Female Mysticism <i>Liubov Terekhova</i>	211
21) Why Become a Poor Clare? Presenting the Observant Franciscan Life to Fifteenth-Century Women <i>Gabriella Zarri</i>	217
PART IV: FRANCISCAN INFLUENCE AND THEMES IN A MODERN CONTEXT	
22) Encountering Ethics in Unfamiliar Places: Dante's Vision of Grace from St. Francis to Pope Francis <i>Michael F. Andrews</i>	225
23) <i>Quasi Leprosus</i> : Re-Reading the Conversion of St. Francis as Model for a Contemporary Mysticism of Encounter <i>Jeffrey Cooper</i>	233
24) Preaching to New Birds: What We Talk About When We Talk about Francis <i>John K. Downey</i>	245
25) Perfect Joy: Franciscan Poverty and Dorothy Day's <i>Catholic Worker</i> <i>Christin Hancock</i>	249
26) The Catholic Tradition's Response to the Decline of Animal Husbandry in Industrial Farming <i>Gary Lee Malecha</i>	257
27) St. Francis and Aldo Capitini: A Bridge between Spirituality and Politics <i>Nicoletta Stradaoli</i>	265
Select Bibliography	275

fifteenth century, had clearly become a part of the Dominican imagination, requiring little extraneous detail or explanation. The antiphon, in concert with the images of St. Dominic glorified in heaven and embracing Francis during the early years of the Order, reminds the Dominican friar that he must remain in the heart of the Church, sowing harmony according to the example of both his founder and St. Francis.

Regarding images and stories of the meeting of Francis and Dominic in the Renaissance, many questions remain. Are there any examples of this moment painted from a distinctively Franciscan perspective? Was the depiction of this story in an idealized fashion an indication that it was mainly the Dominicans who needed to be kept in check? Were more Dominican images created to address the lack of written exemplars in the form of biographical and hagiographical accounts? Whatever the answer to such questions might be, the Renaissance images of the meeting of Francis and Dominic are indicative of the adoption of the story into the fabric of the Dominican Order's identity and group memory. The need and desire for friendship between the Franciscans and Dominicans is still evident in the perpetuation and visualization of the legend of the friendship of their founders.

The Saint and the City: Giotto's Franciscan Cycle in the Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels

Filip Malesevic

The Florentine urban environment changed significantly after the third expansion of the city walls that was undertaken between 1284 and 1333. This expansion was stimulated by a territorial increase of nearly 430 hectares, which consequently included both churches of the two most important mendicant orders, the Dominican church of S. Maria Novella and the Franciscan church of S. Croce at the other peripheral end of the city. The commune itself then had administrative access to the newly added area that thus involved parishes, collegiate churches, and monasteries in the process of restructuring the new environment, as Sznura and Spilner have already demonstrated.¹ Another important contribution to this urban increase of space came from privately donated chapels by mercantile families, such as the Bardi and the Peruzzi, two of the most powerful and influential banking families of the time until their bankruptcies in the 1330s. The Franciscan church of S. Croce was itself built from stones that remained from the second wall expansion. This particular church thus stands in close relationship with the city's outward, walled appearance.² However, its impact on the communal life as well as on the evolution of the Franciscan order in Florence, which existed since St. Francis's first arrival in 1206, has not been fully appreciated in the scholarship connected to two of Giotto's most notably decorated chapels in S. Croce, the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels. This paper will therefore attempt at first to present crucial pictorial elements that indicate a high awareness of both the patrons—the banking families and the *fratres* of the Order—and the artist, in this case Giotto, regarding the structural change the city of Florence underwent. After this, the principal argument will attempt to locate both iconographic programs within the liturgical setting the

1. See Franek Sznura, *L'espansione urbana di Firenze nel Duecento* (Florence, 1975) and Paula Lois Spilner, *Ut Civitas Ampliatur: Studies in Florentine urban development, 1282-1400* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987). For further insights regarding Florence's urban transformation during the Trecento see: Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge, 2009).

2. Regarding the architectural history of S. Croce, see: Antonio Paolucci, ed., *Die Kirchen in Florenz* (Munich, 2003), p. 134f. Today's "pantheon of Florentine culture" was significantly transformed through Giorgio Vasari's interventions between 1566 and 1567 to refurbish the church interior to agree with the newly decreed norms at the Council of Trent, see: Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo de' Medici in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1577* (Oxford, 1979). According to Vasari, S. Croce was built in the late thirteenth century by Arnolfo di Cambio, who at the same time was occupied with the Duomo, the Palazzo Vecchio and other Florentine churches. For a contemporary statement regarding the Franciscan church in Florence, see also: Giovanni Villani, *Cronica, a miglior lezione ridotta coll' aiuto de' testi a penna*, I. Moutier and F. Gherardi Dragomanni, eds. (Florence, 1845), 2.

church of S. Croce provided and that stood in close interplay with the Franciscan Order's inner divisions between *spirituali* and conventuals during the debate over the mendicant order's attitude towards apostolic poverty.

The frescos of the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in S. Croce bear a similar problem that still occupies the art historical scholarship over the authorship of the cycle in the Upper Church of Assisi. While the latter stands in Giotto's early career and tries to incorporate the problem of the artist's evolution from this particular cycle, the S. Croce frescos still are problematic in that they reference Giotto's earlier works in Padua and Assisi. It was precisely this difficulty that at first gave the impression that the Peruzzi chapel was decorated at a later stage than the frescos in its adjacent neighbor. To my knowledge, only Previtali and Bologna dated the decoration of the Peruzzi chapel before the ones in the Bardi.³ However, a consensus exists among scholars about the connection between these frescos and Giotto's iconographic program in the Arena chapel in Padua as well as about its further evolution regarding the treatment of figural dynamics, their expressions, and the depiction of architecture.⁴ Before one engages into the themes described above, one must first distinguish essential iconographic features of both chapels and elementary differences that allow a liturgical integration.

Both chapels flank the church's choir, and with their iconographic cycles of St. John the Evangelist and the Baptist in the Peruzzi as well as St. Francis in the Bardi chapel, they form an important unity. They are similar in architectural shape, having a rectangular ground plan that is covered by a groin vault. The major scenes appear on the northern and southern walls of the chapel's interior. With the six stories from the life of St. Francis, the Bardi chapel intends to repeat an important liturgical function of the Lower Church at Assisi, the burial chapel of the order's founder, Saint Francis, and thus reserves the same tribute to the Bardi banking family of Florence. The Peruzzi chapel on the other hand emphasizes St. Francis's patron saint, with the stories of St. John the Baptist on the southern wall opposite the stories of St. John the Evangelist. Furthermore, these two chapels constitute a vital part of the church's transept by forming a spatial unity with the two eastern bays, which was divided by a two-storied *tramezzo* from the lay area of the church. As Hall further elaborated, the function of the *tramezzo* allowed the friars to pass

3. Previtali also believed that the success of Giotto's workshop can be retraced through the expression of self-determined feelings in the frescoes that also reflects a new attitude toward civil life, and especially to the dominance given to economic and social factors. See Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan, 1967), 11, as well as Leonetto Tintori and Eve Borsook, eds., *Giotto—the Peruzzi Chapel* (Turin, 1965), 43. Bologna's conviction was based upon his comparison of the fresco scene depicted in the Peruzzi chapel with the *pala* in the Gemäldegalerie of Dresden. See Ferdinando Bologna, *Novità su Giotto: Giotto al tempo della cappella Peruzzi* (Turin, 1969), 51–56. According to Stubblebine, the Peruzzi frescoes are to be dated later, because of their "spatial complexity," see James Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York, 1985), 88–98. See also other studies regarding the dating of the frescoes: Julian Gardner, "The Early Decoration of Santa Croce in Florence," *Burlington Magazine*, 113 (1971): 391–92; Eve Borsook, "Giotto nelle Cappelle Bardi e Peruzzi," in *Giotto e gliotteschi in Santa Croce* (Florence, 1966), 30–38; Creighton Gilbert, "L'ordine cronologico degli affreschi Bardi e Peruzzi," in Andrew Ladis ed., *Giotto, Master Painter and Architect* (New York/London, 1998), 76–90. The most recent examinations of the Peruzzi chapels remains still Julie F. Codell, "Giotto's Peruzzi Chapel Frescoes: Wealth, Patronage and the Earthly City," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988): 583–613, and Michael Viktor Schwarz, "Ephesos in der Peruzzi—, Kairos in der Bardi-Kapelle," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 27/28 (1992): 23–57.

4. Most recently, Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Giotto's Pictor*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 2004–2008), vol. 2 (*Giotto's Werke*), 413.

from the monastery to the choir without being seen.⁵ This elementary hierarchy will be discussed at a later stage, when both cycles are to be integrated within the liturgical celebrations in S. Croce.

Gardner first suggested that the insertion of four saints on the Bardi Chapel's window wall was a central indicator regarding the chronological decoration of both chapels. This is especially true of the figure of St. Louis of Toulouse, who was canonized by Pope John XXII on April 7, 1317, and has been taken so far as to provide a *terminus post quem* for the Bardi Chapel frescos.⁶ It is the main attempt of this paper to challenge this assertion by asking how the two chapels reflected the urban enlargement of Florence that integrated the Franciscan church of S. Croce within its walls and thus to propose a later dating of the Bardi Chapel decorations than those of the Peruzzi.

Above the chapel's portico and on the choir's façade, the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* flanks the main apse and is on the same level as the *Ascension of the Virgin* that is above the chapel on the other side of the choir area. This fresco remained majorly unnoticed regarding its prominent position within the church as well as its profound interplay with the theme of the *Holy Cross* and the *Ascension of the Madonna*. It presents St. Francis, who kneels on one knee while twisting his upper body toward a hovering crucified Christ surrounded by seraphim from whom he receives the Stigmata. He is presented outdoors between a chapel in the right lower corner and a cave. It presents the very moment the founder of the Order of Friars Minor is imprinted with the signs of Christ and becomes his true image—an *alter Christus*. As Eva Maria Waldmann has demonstrated, the transept of S. Croce was covered with a roof in 1311.⁷ The situation however changed in 1319/20, when a space for liturgical celebrations was founded through the construction of the first bays in the nave as well as with the eastern portals in combination with the first chapels and the transept. Tino di Camaino constructed the first funerary chapel between 1318 and 1319/20 for the patriarch of Aquileia, Gastone della Torre, which indicates the transition of the church service from the older into the newer building.⁸ Michael Viktor Schwarz further argued that the decoration of the Bardi Chapel, together with the fresco of the *Stigmatization* above it, must have been executed between 1311 and 1320.⁹

Yet, the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* repeats a common theme in Franciscan art that also appears in a fresco in the Upper Church of Assisi as well as in the famous panel from Pisa that is now conserved

5. See Marcia B. Hall, "The tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence, reconstructed," *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 325–42, as well as Beth A. Mulvaney, "Standing on the Threshold: Beholder and Vision in the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi," in Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychkov, eds., *Beyond the Text: Franciscan art and the construction of Religion* (St. Bonaventure, 2013), 84–102. For the importance of the rood screen for late medieval and Renaissance church interiors see Marcia B. Hall, "The tramezzo in the Italian Renaissance, revisited," in Sharon E. Gerstel ed., *Thresholds of the sacred: Architectural, art historical, liturgical, and theological perspectives on religious screens* (Cambridge, MA., 2006), 214–32.

6. Julian Gardner, *Giotto and his public: Three paradigms of patronage* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), esp. 47–80.

7. Eva Maria Waldmann, *Vor Vasari: Die Geschichte des Innenraums von S. Croce in Florenz* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 2006), doc. nr. 6.

8. See for this esp. W. R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino: A Sienese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century* (Paris, 1935), 59 and 157; Santina Novelli, "Sulla committenza e il contesto del monumento funebre per Gastone della Torre di Tino di Camaino," *Prospettiva* 141/42 (2012): 132–44, and most recently Brendan Cassidy, "Artists and diplomacy in late medieval Tuscany: The case of Giotto, Simone Martini, Andrea Pisano, and others," *Gesta* 51 (2012): 91–110.

9. Schwarz, *Giotto's Pictor*, 412.

in the Louvre Museum—and that the Bardi Chapel already took it for granted. While the comparison with the Louvre *pala* surely can be used to dispute Giotto's authorship over the Bardi Chapel frescos as Schwarz has already pointed out, no interpretation exists so far that tries to connect this fresco with the pictorial elements that the Peruzzi Chapel consciously repeats and that present a particularly Franciscan awareness of the Order's integration within Florence's urban structure after the third wall extension.¹⁰ Klaus Krüger basically put such a re-evaluation of the fresco forward in an essay dealing with the tension between St. Francis's life as a hermit and his integration into an urban commune, whether it be that of Assisi or the one in Florence. He analyzed the *Stigmatization* as a form of pictorial devotion in its context as an instrument of a *sancta imaginatio*. Krüger further concluded that such a specific form of piety came from a new orientation in hagiographical treatises about the saint's life, which offered a psychological impact in the beholder's perception of this particular image. He linked the *Stigmatization* with the *Miracle of the Crucifix at San Damiano* and thus proposed a reading that connects the theme of *Franciscus alter Christus* with Cimabue's crucifix above the altar in S. Croce.¹¹ Krüger nevertheless misses to point out that the fresco of St. Francis's *Stigmatization* presents to the beholder a tension with which one Florentine could easily recognize when seeing it in this particular Franciscan setting, namely the aforementioned difference between eremitic and urban culture. The miraculous apparition of the *stigmata* emphasizes the Florentine growing urbanity in relationship to its *contado*, the rural surrounding that the city walls separated and the environment in which the Order of Friars Minor would evolve. The *Stigmatization* on the transept's choir wall thus stresses this crucial transition the Franciscans underwent with the city's enlargement between 1288 and 1311 that integrated the Order's church of S. Croce into the urban structure. This feature is even further supported by the fresco of the *Ascension* above the portico of the Tosinghi-Spinelli Chapel: in his *Legenda maior*, St. Bonaventure mentions Mary's Ascension to be the model-like raising of the church itself as well as an exemplary completion of God's creation in the highest possible reconciliation with Christ.¹²

The first scene in the Peruzzi Chapel on the northern wall compartment presents *St. John on Patmos* where the Evangelist is shown having an apocalyptic dream. As Codell rightly mentioned, this scene lacks architectural richness as well as any indicators of a busy urban environment as found on the opposite wall.¹³ John in the desert presents the beholder therefore yet again with the same tension the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* addressed when read in close relationship with the fresco beneath, showing the *Raising of Drusiana* taking place in front of a large architectural setting. It is thus very probable that the fresco of the

10. See for the comparison of the fresco with the Louvre *pala* most recently Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, 414. Regarding the iconographic forerunner in Assisi, see esp. A. Graziani, "Affreschi del Maestro di Figline," *Proporzioni*, 1 (1943): 65-79. Rona Goffen was the first to interpret the figure of St. Francis in the *Stigmatization* fresco in S. Croce as being one, who conveyed a conventual attitude towards Francis. See Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park/London, 1988).

11. See Klaus Krüger, "Bildandacht und Bergeinsamkeit: Der Eremit als Rollenspiel in der städtischen Gesellschaft," in Hans Belting and Dieter Blume, eds., *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Danteszeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder* (Munich, 1989), 187-200.

12. For this conjecture see esp. Dieter Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda: Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Worms, 1983), 184f.

13. Codell, "Giotto's Peruzzi Chapel Frescoes," 597.

Stigmatization pertained to another decoration campaign than the one we find in the Bardi Chapel, which immediately influenced the choice of selecting scenes from the life of St. John in the Peruzzi Chapel that contrasted the very difference between the Franciscan's urban installation and their former setting outside the city walls. Another element supporting such an assertion might also be found in the Peruzzi Chapel's composition when read together with the crossed vault, where in each *vele* the attributes of the four Evangelists are visible. This particular decoration of the *vele* is however not to be read in an allegorical sense that would further suggest a symbolic reading of the whole decoration of the chapel. Instead, they literally roof over the place the Peruzzi family acquired within the church as their burial ground and therefore stimulate the celestial hierarchy.

Considering Waldmann's reconstruction of the transept that was roofed over in 1311, it could well be that the Bardi dossal played a seminal function in official liturgical celebrations that commemorated the feast of St. Francis's stigmata, therefore also establishing an interplay with the fresco of the same subject on the choir's facade wall.¹⁴ The significance of St. Francis in this particular panel is immediately suggested by an inscription on a scroll above the saint's head being held by a hand emerging from the celestial realm. Two angels gesture inward toward the scroll, pointing to the letters "HUNC EXA/ UDITE PER/ HIBENTEM/ DOGMAT/A VITE" (*Heed him presenting the dogma of life*). The inscription that the two angels point to then unfolds St. Francis's "dogma of life" in the first fourteen of the twenty narrative episodes, which are to be seen as *exempla* for the faithful. Rona Goffen suggested in her study on Giotto's Bardi Chapel frescos a circular reading that begins from the top left and unfolds across the two rows on the bottom up to the other side of the panel again to the top. Although such a reading best conforms to Thomas of Celano's *Vita*, the Bardi Dossal nevertheless pointedly contrasts the left to the right sequence of episodes, thus intentionally juxtaposing Saint Francis's youthful career and his posthumous miracles. The essential connection between these two poles is finally suggested by the two registers at the bottom of the panel, which are to be read as St. Francis performing his apostolic acts. The scene showing the *Preaching to the Birds* initiates this rite of passage that ends with the *Exequies of Saint Francis's Wounds*. All the scenes after the episode of the *Christmas Feast at Greccio* depict *Franciscus alter Christus*, in which the saint's life modeled the *similitudo* between stigmatized and incarnated as well as the crucified Son of God for the *fratres* of his order. In fact, in the decorative border around the figure of the saint and beneath his feet are seventeen roundels of praying friars, turning and gesturing toward Francis. They exemplify those who indeed heed him (*udire*), most literally, his brothers in the order.

The Bardi Dossal thus bears significant elements that suggest its probable use for liturgical feast days, during which the church of S. Croce formed the focal point in the religious life within the city of Florence.

14. A recent exhibition in the Florentine Galleria dell' Accademia presented the Bardi dossal with its original blue pigments that present the scenes in stronger association and narrative order. See for this Angelo Tartuferi and Francesco D'Arelli eds., *L'arte di Francesco: Capolavori d'arte italiana e terre d'asia dal XIII al XV secolo* (Florence, 2015), 280. Most recent studies on the Bardi dossal are provided by William R. Cook, "New Sources, New Insights: The Bardi Dossal of the Life and Miracles of St. Francis of Assisi," *Studi Francescani*, 93 (1996): 325-46; Angelo Tartuferi, *Il Maestro del Bigallo e la pittura fiorentina della prima metà del Duecento agli Uffizi* (Florence, 2007), 50-59, and Bradley R. Franco, "The Functions of Early Franciscan Art," in Bradley R. Franco and Beth A. Mulvaney, eds., *The World of St. Francis of Assisi: Essays in Honor of William R. Cook* (Leide/Boston, 2015), 19-44.

Such festivities were especially reserved between the 4th and 11th of October, the feast of the founder of the Order of Friars Minor and for which his *Vita* was being read as a framework to the liturgical celebrations.¹⁵ It was highly probable that for such feast days the Bardi Dossal was installed permanently in the area of the monk's choir between the High Altar and the *tramezzo*. As mentioned earlier, the Bardi panel itself presented the community of friars in a collective gesture of devotion. The Franciscan *fratres* are thus seen as one community, which St. Francis founded through the miracle of the *stigmata*, for the choir included Cimabue's *Crucifixion*, clearly to be seen in association with the Bardi Dossal's figure of the saint with his wounds.¹⁶ A visual clarification of such celebratory friars can be found in the episode of the *Crib at Greccio* in the Upper Church of Assisi, where one can observe the rood screen dividing the laity and the *fratres*. A group of friars is seen in front of the High Altar with their mouths opened in chant, clearly referring to a specific moment of liturgical celebration. It has often been argued that the later dating of the Peruzzi Chapel's decoration can be based on an increase in architectural elements that supersede those in the Bardi Chapel.

However, so far it has never been questioned why Giotto presented a more elaborate architectural landscape in the Peruzzi Chapel than one encounters in the Bardi. The *Raising of Drusiana* can be taken as one primary example, although it needs to be pointed out that all the episodes on the southern wall compartment, which present scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, include such elaborative architectural structures. One argument this paper is suggesting would be that the episodes from the life of the Baptist present themselves as containing particular moments in the celebration of the liturgy that the Franciscans in S. Croce also addressed. The first episode shows the *Annunciation to Zacharias*, followed by the *Birth and Naming of the Baptist* and finally ending with *Herod's Feast*. The *Annunciation* is taking place underneath a tabernacle, which stands next to a town house, thus linking the Florentine urbanity with the liturgical practice within the church. The *Birth and Naming of the Baptist* are themselves a crucial moment in biblical history that is paralleled to the *Resurrection of Drusiana*. This contrast is also emphasized by the interplay between the depiction of the family and kin of Zacharias and Elizabeth attending the event in the former, while the latter again stresses the wider community of Christian citizens. Finally, *Herod's Feast* alludes to the financing of a friars' meal by the donating family—in this case the Peruzzi—who themselves were allowed to attend. The earlier mentioned contrast between private and communal which the two facing episodes in the middle of both wall compartments present is further to be linked with the function of the *tramezzo* that separated the laity from the friars. The *tramezzo* also provided a way for the friars to move from the monastery to the choir without being seen. As Marcia Hall already derived from the late thirteenth-century authority on ritual and the Church, Durandus, the chancel was divided hierarchically: around the altar, the clergy occupied the immediate area, while the secondary area of the choir was

15. See for this Blume, *Wandmalerei*, 186f.

16. That the Bardi dossal would have functioned as a companion panel on top of the rood screen to form beam images, as Cooper and Robson suggested for the Upper Church of Assisi, is highly unlikely, for there does not exist another panel that would function as a companion to the Bardi dossal. Second, the position of the dossal would be highly irritating for the spectator, whose view of the *Stigmatization*—or the *Assumption*—would largely be blocked. For the suggestions regarding the ensemble of beam images in the Upper Church of Assisi see esp. Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, *The Making of Assisi: The Pope, the Franciscans and the paintings of the Basilica* (New Haven/London, 2013), 72–74; as well as Donal Cooper, "In medio ecclesiae": Screens, Crucifixes and Shrines in the Franciscan Church Interior in Italy, c. 1230–c. 1400 (Ph.D. diss.: University of London, 2000).

reserved for the friars.¹⁷ During the mass, male Christians might be permitted to cross over the *tramezzo*, usually a two-storied rood screen, into the choir while women and those not baptized were relegated to the nave outside of the sacred area, although a definite exclusion of women cannot fully be assumed. The same example of the *Crib at Greccio* in the Upper Church of Assisi can be taken as a counter-example that this division between men and women was not rigidly applied. The *Raising of Drusiana* also indicates a partaking of women in this extraordinary miracle. It therefore can be affirmed that the elaborate architecture in the frescos within the Peruzzi Chapel present themselves in a strong interplay with Franciscan liturgical practices, which on the other hand also bear an allusion to a balanced relationship between conventual friars and *spirituali* within the Franciscan Order. This balance is central in ascribing the decoration of the Peruzzi Chapel to have taken place before the adjacent one of the Bardi family.

What the scholarship has so far contributed to the iconographic program in the Bardi Chapel carries an ominous easiness with which these episodes from St. Francis's life have been traced back to Giotto's work in Padua as well as his contribution to the Upper Church of Assisi. Even though the alterations between the scenes in S. Croce and those in the Franciscans' mother church in Assisi are narrow, they nevertheless bear the capability to transform this particular cycle into a completely different one with a modified statement: that namely this decoration, also in contrast with the one in the Peruzzi Chapel, asserts the definitive supremacy of the conventual convictions within the Franciscan Order over the *spirituali*. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the allegories on the vault of the chapel that clearly adopt the function of the *vele* in the Lower Church of Assisi but with a significant alteration: here the four allegories that appear above the six episodes from St. Francis's life are not extensive elaborations that emphasize the spiritual glorification of the saint, but instead are concentrated on one personification. Also the contrasts between virtues and vices, which in the Assisi *vele* are summarized within the appropriate allegory, are missing. The Bardi allegories on the contrary do not present themselves to the beholder, which in this case they were specifically destined to address the donors of the chapel, as monumental allegories like the ones in the burial church of San Francesco in Assisi.¹⁸ What is thus the true function of the allegories in the *tondi* of the Bardi Chapel? Hans Belting noted the disturbance of the balance between architectural setting and continuity of traditional narrative cycles in his writing about Simone Martini's frescoes in the St. Martin Chapel in Assisi. Likewise, the frescos and allegories in the Bardi Chapel at S. Croce may be an instance where Giotto demonstrates Martini's lost hold of the "law of the series"¹⁹ and thus minimizes the collocation of individual compositions.

The figure of St. Louis of Toulouse on the window wall is not a novelty, but a conscious adaptation of Simone Martini's works in the St. Martin Chapel in Assisi and especially his crowning of King Robert of Anjou by the same Louis. Such an assimilation of Simone Martini's works is apparent in the crown that lies before St. Louis' feet and the bishop's miter. These particular pictorial elements, however, do not

17. Hall, "The *Tramezzo* in S. Croce," 339–40.

18. For the *vele* in Assisi see esp. Diederik W. Schoenae, "A new hypothesis on the Vele in the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi," *Franziskanische Studien*, 67 (1985): 326–47.

19. Hans Belting, "The new role of narrative in public painting of the Trecento: *historia* and allegory," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985): 151–68, at 154.

suggest a renouncing of all worldly goods and material benefits as the spiritual Franciscans had imagined it, but on the contrary the importance of the canonization of Saint Louis in the relationship between the Florentine banking family of the Bardi and the Neapolitan dynasty of the Anjou, which the conventual faction of the Order must have shared to their advantage when the controversy over its *usus pauper* reached a climax in the years between 1322 and 1324. Pope John XXII's bull from 8 December 1322, *Ad conditorem canonum*, is significant in that it transferred the regulations over property from the church to the Order of Friars Minor. Nearly a year later, a second bull by the pope entitled *Cum inter nonnullos* condemned the claim made by the spirituals that neither Christ nor the apostles had possessed any property as heresy.²⁰

The exclusion of any reference to the *paupertas Christi et Apostolorum* is already given by the first fresco in the scene of the lunette on the southern wall compartment, which presents the *Renunciation of Worldly Goods* leaving out the hand coming from the sky as in its parallel in Assisi and thus instantly making the figure of the bishop stand out. This scene further confronts the *Confirmation of Rule* on the opposite wall, which consequently suggests the adaptation of the conventual claims within the order that supported papal influence over the Franciscans in Florence and from which the Bardi family profited as well. The theoretical controversy about the *usus pauper* arose from the persecution of spiritual Franciscans in the southern French provinces, who criticized the majority of their order for its lax conduct of life. However, this controversy over the problem of apostolic poverty was not settled with the papal dictum mentioned earlier. This was only achieved in 1329, when Pope John XXII officially declared the order's general, Michele da Cesena, a heretic.²¹ Although the most prominent representatives of the theology over apostolic poverty were exiled, which came also with the isolation of the spirituals within the order, the Franciscans nevertheless did not revise their fundamental position. The Order of Friars Minor rather sought to enhance its ideals that lay far away from the reaches of jurisprudence and reason, using old Franciscan descriptions of St. Francis's posthumous wonders and visions as a basis for new *vite* such as the *Speculum perfectionis* from 1330. Dieter Blume argued that the Order's pictorial propaganda functioned in the same way as such new textual compilations over St. Francis's life began to flourish. He therefore takes the *vele* of the Lower Church in Assisi to propose spiritual ideals of the order that the Pope as well as the Dominicans had questioned. The depicted allegories are to be seen as a reference to a divine origin within the foundation of the order itself.²² Such an emphasis on a divine origin is completely missing in the allegories of the Bardi Chapel's vault. The concentration on the minimal expression in the personifications therefore suggests an adaptation of the function the decorations in the Lower Church of Assisi had liturgically regarding its status as the burial site of the Order's founder, but in the same way transforms this very purpose into a formula which conformed to the ideals of the Florentine mercantile community.

20. See esp. David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park, 2001), 261-87; Patrick Nold, *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (Oxford, 2003); and more generally Andrea Tabarroni, *Paupertas Christi et apostolorum: L'ideale francescano in discussione (1322-1324)* (Rome, 1990).

21. See on this esp. J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order until 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 326f.

22. Dieter Blume, "Ordenskonkurrenz und Bildpolitik: Franziskanische Bildprogramme nach dem theoretischen Armutsstreit," in: Belting/Blume, *Malerei und Stadtkultur*, 149-70.

Franciscan Exegesis and Architecture: Paradigms of the Artistic Ideology of King Manuel I of Portugal

Nuno Villamariz Oliveira

If the importance of the Franciscan Order in the Portuguese art and culture of the late Middle Ages is undeniable today, its special influence upon the Avis Dynasty and its court has been pointed out by various authors.¹ With special evidence upon the urban religiosity, the Franciscans proclaimed a new way of contemplating both the Holy Scripture and the Christian ascetics. Following Abbot Joachim of Fiore's lead, its members had the conviction that they had been designated to prepare, on the perspective of a tripartite division of the Salvation history, the last Era: the Holy Spirit Era. In Portugal, the prophetic ideas of this Cistercian monk are subjacent to the Holy Spirit cult and to the hope of the coming of a new time. The political and religious options of the monarchs from an early stage favored the edification of the large convents of the order, as was the case in Santarém, Lisbon, Évora, Oporto, Alenquer, Leiria, Estremoz, Guimarães, and Távira, among many other places. Despite a few similarities detected between Franciscan and royal speeches, the ideological foundations which defined such relations have not been fully examined. The first monarch to unequivocally adhere to a Franciscan spirituality appears to have been Ferdinand I (1345-1383), who had himself buried wearing the Franciscan habit, in the high choir of a church pertaining to this Order, that of Santarém.

The millenarianism and the Messianic environment, mostly propagated by the friars minor, found a relevant echo in the Avis Dynasty, which resulted in the Portuguese case both in the construction of a myth and in the belief in a utopian future. After the wars against Castille, a real founding myth was built around John I, the founder of the new lineage, whose ascension to the throne was considered providential. In line with the *translatio imperii* doctrine, this new sacrality was strongly inspired by the spirituality inherent in the Franciscans, mainly due to the faction of friars known as "spirituals," who were influenced by Joachim's millenarianism, thus contributing to the creation of both the "Seventh Age"—following the model expressed by Venerable Bede—and of a new beginning for the history of Portugal.

Based upon eschatological narratives and traditions, the chronicler Fernão Lopes came to develop the idea of a "Portuguese Gospel," in which one could watch the ascension of a new world and of a new

1. Margarida Garcez Ventura, *Igreja e Poder no Século XV—dinastia de Avis e liberdades eclesásticas (1383-1450)*, (Lisbon: Colibri, 1997) and Marcelo Santiago Berriel, *Cristão e Súdito: Representação social franciscana e poder régio em Portugal (1383-1450)* (PhD diss, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2007).