



MONASH University

**Housing the popes: Florence and the papacy,
1419-1443**
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Abstract

This thesis is a religio-cultural history of the Florentine residencies of Popes Martin V (1417-31) and Eugenius IV (1431-1447). Between 1419 and 1443, a period of some twenty-five years, these two popes spent a combined total of almost eight years in the city. It explores and underscores the impact those residencies had on the city. Its key intervention is a re-examination of the historiographical moorings that have surfaced in the many scholarly analyses of early-Quattrocento Florence, inquiries that have generally tended to characterise the papal residencies in a rather static and, more often than not, superficial manner.

Based on a range of archival and published material, this thesis is an analysis of how we should think about the city in these years. Its fundamental underpinning argument is that the presence in the city of the post-Schism papacy had a religious, cultural, spatial, and material impact to a degree not hitherto recognised in the prevailing scholarly discourse. Accordingly, it is very much concerned with the history of the Florentine-papal relationship itself.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

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Date: 4 December 2017

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I dedicate this thesis to three people: to Anita; to John, whose Bill Kent lecture in 2010 inspired me to take a peek down the Florentine rabbit-hole; and to Simon Hoath, who is sorely missed.

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Abbreviations

Archives

- AOSMF – Archivio dell’Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore
- ASF – Archivio di Stato di Firenze
- BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- BCTM – Biblioteca Comunale Teresiano di Mantova
- BNCF – Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- MLM – Morgan Library & Museum, New York
- YC – *The Years of the Cupola, 1417-1436*
http://duomo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/home_eng.HTML

Printed Sources

- AOBMV* – *Annalium sacri Ordinis fratrum servorum B. Mariae Virginis*, ed. by F. Archangelo Gianio, 3 vols (Luccae: Typis Marescandoli, 1719-25).
- BCas* – *Bullarium Casinense*, ed. by Cornelio Maragrini, 2 vols (Venetiis: Typis Omnibeij Ferretti, 1650-70).
- BCarm* – *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, ed. by Eliseo Monsignano and José Alberto Ximenez, 3 vols (Romae: Ex Typographia Georgii Plachi, 1715-68).
- BDP* – *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*, ed. by Francesco Gaude et al., 25 vols (Taurinorum: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo editoribus, 1857-72).
- BF* – *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. by Giovanni Sbaraglia and Konrad Eubel, 7 vols (Romae: typis Vaticanis, 1759-1904).
- BF n.s.* – *Bullarium Franciscanum: nova series*, ed. by Ulrich Hüntemann et al., 3 vols (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventure, 1929-49).
- BOFP* – *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. by Thomás Ripoll and Antonin Brémond, 8 vols (Romae: Ex Typographia Hireonymi Mainardi, 1729-40).
- BL* - *Bullarium Lateranense* (Romae: Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1727).
- BV* – *Bullarium Vallumbrosanum*, ed. by Fulgentius Nardi (Florentiae: Typis Dominici Ambrosi Verdi, 1729).
- CO* – Antonini Florentini, *Chronicorum Opus*, 3 vols (Lugduni: Ex Officina Iuntarum, 1586-7).

- CFDS* – *Concilium Florentium Documenta et Scriptores*, (series) ed. by Georgius Hofman SI et al., (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1940-77).
- MBR* – *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, ed. by Laerzio Cherubini et al., 5 vols (Lugduni: Borde, Arnaud & Riguard, 1692-7).
- NI* – Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, 10 vols (Firenze: Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1754-62).
- RIS* – *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, 25 vols (Mediolani: Ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1723-51).
- SC* – *Sacrorum Conciliorum, Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. by Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 53vols (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960-1).

Journals and secondary sources

- AB* – *The Art Bulletin*
- AFH* – *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*
- AFP* – *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*
- ASI* – *Archivio Storico Italiano*
- DBI* – *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 85 vols (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-2016).
- DE* – *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, ed. by Gaetano Moroni, 103 vols (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1840-61).
- EP* – *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, ed. by Manilo Simonetti et al., 3 vols (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000).
- MD* – *Memorie Domenicane*
- MD n.s.* – *Memorie Domenicane nuova serie*
- MIOG* – *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*
- ODCC* – *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross, 3rd revised edn., ed. by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- RM* – *Römische historische Mitteilungen*
- RQ* – *Renaissance Quarterly*
- RS* – *Renaissance Studies*

Dates and translations

Until the mid-eighteenth century, the Florentines began their New Year on the Feast of the Annunciation, namely, 25 March. What we would date as 1 January 1419 would to a fifteenth-century Florentine be 1 January 1418. Unless they are referred to in the source material, all of the dates in this study have been standardised to conform to the modern calendar.

Use of the term Quattrocento to refer to the 1400s, Trecento for the 1300s, and so on, is common in Italian studies and hence is preserved in this study.

Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own. Archaic spelling and punctuation has been preserved where source material is reproduced.

The names of popes and saints have been Anglicised, except for names in common usage, such as Eugenius and Antoninus. All other names have been left in their original language.

It goes without saying that any errors I have made are well and truly my own.

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Introduction

In his *Istorie fiorentine*, the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Cavalcanti tells the story of a rhyme sung by some street urchins. The verse in question mocked Pope Martin V, resident in the city for roughly a year and a half from early-1419, and as he often did Cavalcanti admonished Florence in his retelling, angered on this occasion by what he perceived as his native city's abandonment of the papacy.¹ Rather dramatically Cavalcanti asks, 'Who now shall be your rescuer? Pope Martin, who you so shamelessly cause to suffer and who your children estimate as so low in worth? Do you not know the songs they were singing: Pope Martin isn't worth a dime, but Braccio beats 'em every time?'² The victor in this cutting tune was Braccio Fortebraccio da Montone, the *condottiere* who dominated large swathes of the Papal States at the time, thereby blocking Martin's path to Rome. Braccio was Martin's great nemesis in these years and the affront to the pope's honour by such an accusation would have been insulting in the extreme.

Not long after Cavalcanti penned the *Istorie*, the renowned humanist and Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni made reference to the same innuendo in his *Memoirs*. Describing a meeting in Martin's chambers, Bruni says,

I remember, not many days before he left, he was in his private room, in the presence of one or two of his attendants, but no one else. He walked from his bookcase to a window which looked out on to the gardens. He remained silent for a short space, then turned to me, drew near and, with his face close to mine and his arm slightly raised, said "Pope Martin isn't worth tuppence!" I immediately recognised the words, coming as they did from a song which had been written about him, and said, "Surely this childish nonsense has not reached your ears?" The pope said nothing in reply but, staying in the same spot, simply repeated: "Pope Martin isn't worth tuppence!"³

Immediately recognising the need to intervene, Bruni tells us, he went on to assuage Martin's despair, convincing the pope to ignore such 'childish trifles' and focus instead on the strides he had made during his time in Florence.⁴

Martin V (1417-31) was resident in Florence for just under eighteen months, from February 1419 until September 1420. His immediate successor, Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47), would also for a time call the city on the Arno home, although for much longer and across two separate sojourns; from June 1434 until April 1436, and again from January 1439

¹ For an excellent introduction to Cavalcanti see Marcella T. Grendler, *The "Trattato Politico-Morale" of Giovanni Cavalcanti (1381-c.1451): A critical edition and interpretation* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1973), pp. 13-30. Cavalcanti was famously critical of Florence. He belonged to a magnate family and thus was barred from political life. His debts, moreover, resulted in his imprisonment for almost the entire 1430s, during which he occupied himself with composing the *Istorie*; Claudio Mutini, 'Cavalcanti, Giovanni', *DBI*, xxii, p. 624.

² Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. by Guido di Pino (Milano: Aldo Martello, 1944), p. 39; 'Chi fia ora il vostro soccorso? Papa Martino, chè tanto sfacciatamente sofferivate, che i vostri figliuoli così piccolo pregio lo stimassino? Non sapete voi che le loro canzoni dicevano: Papa Martino non vale un quattrino; e Braccio valente che vince ogni gente?' The translation of the line, 'Pope Martin isn't worth a dime, but Braccio beats 'em every time', belongs to James Hankins; Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, ed. and trans. by James Hankins, 3 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001-7), iii, p. 434 n. 48.

³ Bruni, *History*, iii, p. 359.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

until March 1443. Both men spent their time in Florence lodged within the papal apartments at the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, a space that had been prepared for them by the commune. In all, for the quarter century running from 1419 to 1443, the papacy was in Florence for almost eight years. It was not particularly out of the ordinary that the papacy was away from Rome for such a considerable length of time. Scholars have observed signs of an itinerant papacy as far back as the late-twelfth century, to say nothing of the seven decades it spent in Avignon in the fourteenth.⁵ That said, in light of the fact that it was hoped Martin would be the pope who finally succeeded in returning the papacy to its rightful place, the Florentine residencies do represent a prolonged break. This study focuses on that quarter-century the popes were in Florence and in its broadest sense it strives to account for the religio-cultural impact the papacy had on the city whilst resident in it.

As the slur that so upset Martin suggests, the presence of the papacy in Florence had the potential to affect the city and its inhabitants in any number of ways. The religious implications are obvious, and during the years the papacy was there the city became in many respects the centre of Latin Christendom. This is no trite claim; according to one contemporary, Martin's retinue upon arrival included nineteen cardinals.⁶ Another eyewitness tells us that no fewer than twenty-two members of the College were in the city for at least some part of his visit.⁷ Taking account of the many others who followed the papacy—that army of clerics, ecclesiastics, bureaucrats, and otherwise who supported the pope and his properly constituted court—it becomes undeniable that much of the focus of the Latin Church would certainly have been oriented towards Florence throughout the years covered by this study.

The fifteenth-century papacy, however, was the custodian of a great deal more than a straightforward spiritual mission, and by 1419 it was as much a political institution as it was a religious one. Francesco Guicciardini recognised this as early as the sixteenth century when he wrote that the popes from the early-fifteenth century, 'began to appear rather more like secular princes rather than popes.'⁸ Peter Partner reiterated Guicciardini's position in the twentieth century when he wrote, 'The Pope was both a spiritual and an earthly ruler.'⁹ And Paolo Prodi brought this notion to its denouement when he concluded,

the evolution of the patrimony of St Peter into *signoria* and State, already initiated in the fourteenth century and put into crisis by the problems of universalism which struck the papacy in the fifteenth

⁵ P. N. R. Zutshi, 'The Avignon Papacy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Paul Fouracre et al., 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995-2005), vi, p. 662.

⁶ Pagolo di Matteo Petriboni and Matteo di Borgo Rinaldi, *Priorista (1407-1459)*, ed. by Jacqueline A. Gutwirth (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2001), p. 118.

⁷ Bartolomeo del Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, ed. by Roberta Gentile (Roma: De Rubéis Editore, 1991), pp. 64-6. Corazza usefully included a list of where each cardinal lodged in Florence during Martin's time in the city.

⁸ Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, ed. and trans. by Sidney Alexander (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 149.

⁹ Peter Partner, *The Papal State under Martin V: The administration and government of temporal power in the early fifteenth century* (London: The British School at Rome, 1958), p. v.

century, was resumed by the popes in that century, beginning with Martin V, and was clearly manifest in mid-century with Nicholas V's pontificate.¹⁰

It is clear, therefore, that the papacy's time in Florence would also have had significant consequences in the realms of local and international politics. A diverse and ever-changing cohort of foreign dignitaries passed through the city as a matter of course, making Florence for a time a political centre as well.

Even the local economy would not have escaped the effects of the papal residencies. Consider again the flow of cardinals into the city. Putting aside for a moment their religious significance, each cardinal brought to Florence his own household, smaller than Martin's of course, but more than enough to increase considerably the influx of outsiders. When we add to this the non-ecclesiastical visitors who inevitably attached themselves to the papacy, the ambassadors and dignitaries, each of whom had their own entourage, as well as the countless artisans, craftsmen, traders, and merchants, it very quickly becomes apparent just how significant the papacy's impact on the places and spaces of Florence must have been.

Whether Cavalcanti or Brunni were exaggerating the extent of Martin's offence is beside the point. What is important is that both clearly believed a tale of street urchins mocking a pope had a veracity that would resonate as a part of their respective narratives,¹¹ a notion that implicitly rests on the assumption that the presence of a pope in the city did not for a moment transcend the quotidian life of the fifteenth-century Florentine. Quite the opposite, their individual anecdotes reveal that the impact of the papacy trickled down from the apex of religious and political life, seeping into the nooks and crannies of the Florentine experience and manifesting itself in a great many ways.

The papal residencies

The current study is inspired by a concise principle; it is about the time that Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV were forced for a variety of reasons to settle their respective papacies in Florence, and consequently, it explores and underscores the impact those residencies had on the city. Its key intervention is a re-examination of the historiographical moorings that have surfaced in the many scholarly analyses of early-Quattrocento Florence, inquiries that have generally tended to characterise the papal residencies in a rather static and, more often than not, superficial manner.

¹⁰ Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One body and two souls: the papal monarchy in early modern Europe*, trans. by Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 9.

¹¹ For a comment on Cavalcanti's audience see Dale Kent, 'The importance of being eccentric: Giovanni Cavalcanti's view of Cosimo de' Medici's Florence', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1979), 101-32 (pp. 123-6); on Brunni's motivations when penning his *Memoirs* see Gary Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Brunni and the Uses of the Past* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 257-77.

The weight of scholarship points to a strong consensus that not as much happened during Martin's time in the city, at least when the repercussions of his residency are measured against those of his successor. Eugenius was simply in Florence for far longer than Martin, and the amount of attention directed towards the later pope reflects this. Furthermore, when they have been broached, the residencies have tended to be viewed through the prism of certain, specific events, rather than on their own terms. Martin's time in Florence has been treated mainly as an interim period that allowed the first unopposed pope for decades a temporary reprieve from which to negotiate a safe path back to Rome. His reconciliation with Braccio has featured heavily in this. As far as Eugenius is concerned, his consecration of the Cathedral Church of Santa Maria del Fiore in 1436 and his triumph with the Eastern Churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-47)¹² have tended to dominate the scholarship dealing with his sojourns in Florence. Moreover, his papacy, in general, is usually characterised in terms of his lingering, often nasty struggles against the Council of Basel (1431-47).¹³ To be sure, scholars must be careful not to underestimate the threat Basel posed; 'papal authority was for the first time actually endangered by conciliarism'.¹⁴ By monopolising the discourse, however, the events mentioned here have obscured much of the broader impact of the popes on the city.

In many cases the papal residencies have been relegated to the status of an interesting but otherwise unscrutinised circumstance, a fact recognised by several scholars over the years. Partner wrote almost fifty years ago that, '[a] special study of the political relations of Eugenius with Florence from his arrival in the city in 1434 until his departure of 1443 would be of the greatest interest, but it remains to be done.'¹⁵ Dale Kent renewed this perspective in the final decade of the twentieth century when she observed, 'The Pope resided in Florence for much of the decade after 1433; a spiritual and clerical leader with close personal ties to his Medici bankers, his influence on Florentine political, social, and cultural life in this period has yet to be assessed.'¹⁶ Notably, I have yet to find a scholar who laments the lack of focus on Martin's Florentine residency.

The key principle guiding this thesis, therefore, is a desire to take seriously the extended papal presence in the city. Too often particular aspects of the residencies have been sequestered from the broader Florentine culture within which they were embedded. Whilst there is no doubt that Martin's success in returning the papacy to Rome, as well as Eugenius'

¹² This particular council will be discussed in Chapter Six.

¹³ *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. by Michiel Decaluwé, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

¹⁴ Michiel Decaluwé, *A successful defeat: Eugene IV's struggle with the council of Basel for ultimate authority in the church, 1431-1449* (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 2009), p. 31.

¹⁵ Peter Partner, 'Florence and the Papacy in the earlier fifteenth century', in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by Nicolai Rubinstein (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 397.

¹⁶ Dale Kent, 'The Buonomini di San Martino: Charity for "the glory of God, the honour of the city, and the commemoration of myself"', in *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389-1464: Essays in commemoration of the 600th anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's birth*, ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 51.

struggles against Basel, are fundamental to the broader narrative of the fifteenth century, it is equally certain that by focusing on these issues the historiography has for a long time ignored the impact both popes had on the city that took them in. In fact, historians have tended to track influence in the reverse direction. The years of the papal residencies were a time of great cultural innovation in Florence, and consequently, they have often been categorised as a moment when the papacy was moulded by its Florentine setting, absorbing the city's nascent humanism and transporting back to Rome the cultural milieu that facilitated the emergence of the 'Roman Renaissance' later in the century. Eugenius, in particular, is spoken of in this light and the magnificent bronze doors of San Pietro he commissioned from the Florentine sculptor Filarete stand as the most oft-quoted example.¹⁷ This thesis does not dispute the assertion that the popes were affected by their time in Florence; the city was indeed a font of a great many of the ideas that would go on to shape the Quattrocento and beyond, both in Italy and across Europe. As an explanation of the papal residencies, however, this notion is insufficient and it ignores the implicit assumption that if the city was, at least to some degree, able to mould the popes, then the popes must also have been able to shape the city.

This is not, then, a history of Florence. It is an analysis of how we should think about the city in these years. Its fundamental, underpinning argument is that the presence in the city of the post-Schism papacy had a religious, cultural, spatial, and material impact to a degree not hitherto recognised in the prevailing scholarly discourse. Accordingly, it is very much concerned with the history of the Florentine-papal relationship itself. As neighbouring but perennially weaker Italian powers, the respective fortunes of both were closely aligned in the early-Quattrocento, and the experiences of a long, often turbulent relationship were a constant frame that informed the years that ran from 1419 to 1443.

How the popes came to be in Florence

It was the hope of the entire Church that Martin's ascent to St Peter's throne would finally allow the papacy to move on from the catastrophies of the previous century. For seven decades beginning in 1309 the popes were based in Avignon, a small city on the Rhône.¹⁸ In 1377 Gregory XI set out to return the papacy to Rome, however, this decision set in motion the Great Western Schism (1378-1417), a four decade dispute which served only to weaken

¹⁷ In fact, Eugenius commissioned the doors before he fled Rome, in the second half of 1433. For an excellent analysis of the doors see Robert Glass, 'Filarete's renovation of the Porta Argentea at Old Saint Peter's', in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 348-70. In any case, he certainly was influenced by the intellectual milieu he found in Florence and the council; Luca Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze al tempo del concilio: Eugenio IV tra curiali, mercanti e umanisti (1434-1443)* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012), pp. 417-533.

¹⁸ For a recent study of the Avignon years see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and Its Papacy, 1309-1417* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2015). Rollo-Koster called the Avignon years, 'one of the threefold calamities that plagued the fourteenth century', the other two being the Black Death and The Hundred Years' War; p. 239.

further the already divided Church.¹⁹ An abortive attempt to heal the rift in 1409 at the Council of Pisa actually exacerbated it, and from then until the Council of Constance (1414-18) there were three obediences: Roman, Avignonese, and Pisan.²⁰ Whilst Martin's election in 1417 reunited the Church, the 'fear of schism' would linger, as would a groundswell of conciliarism, first at the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-4), and then, with far greater impact, at Basel.²¹ By 1417 one finds that over a century of neglect had eroded the papacy's grip on Rome and the Papal States, whilst the subsequent squabbling between rival popes had severely damaged its standing as an institution of infallible spiritual authority, both at home and abroad.

This was the maelstrom confronting Oddo Colonna when he emerged from the conclave of November 1417 as Pope Martin V. The scion of a noble Roman family, Martin as soon as was possible set out to return the papacy to its rightful place and recover the spiritual and temporal authority it had lost, despite the significant obstacles that stood in his way. *Condottiere* roamed the Papal States, the papacy's finances were perched on the abyss, and Rome itself was a ruin.²² Although he was the first undisputed pope for decades, Martin still had to sort friend from foe, and the eighteen months he spent in Florence were a consequence of his need to negotiate his way back to Rome; Braccio's territorial gains in Umbria meant that it was simply too dangerous for Martin to venture any further south. A peace was eventually struck – facilitated in part by the Florentines – and Martin finally reached Rome in late-September 1420. He would spend the remainder of his reign there, enjoying a relatively trouble free period during which he worked to rebuild both the papacy and the Eternal City, enriching a great many members of his family in the process. Partner perhaps best summarises his tendencies when he states, 'Oddo Colonna had behaved, on being elected Pope, as though he had acquired the *signoria* of a great city.'²³

Martin's successor, the Venetian Gabriele Condulmaro, was a very different sort of man. The Condulmaro were also a notable family, and the story goes that the young Gabriele gave away his entire patrimony, around 20,000 ducats, when he began his life as an Augustinian canon at San Giorgio in Alga, a monastery on a tiny island in the Venetian lagoon.²⁴ The cardinals who elected Eugenius IV in February 1431 did so with the intention of elevating a

¹⁹ See generally, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*, ed. by Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

²⁰ Phillip H. Stump, 'The Council of Constance (1414-1418) and the End of the Schism', in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism*, ed. by Rollo-Koster and Izbicki, pp. 395-442.

²¹ This notion is borrowed from Peter Howard, 'The Fear of Schism', in *Rituals, Images, and Words: Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed by F. W. Kent and Charles Zika (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 297-323. On the Council of Pavia-Siena see Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena, 1423-1424* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002).

²² The best account of the state of the papacy at the time of Martin's election up until his reconciliation with Braccio is Partner, *The Papal State*, pp. 42-63.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁴ Joseph Gill SJ, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 347. On the founding of the community see Giorgio Cracco, 'La fondazione dei canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga', in *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 13 (1959), 70-88.

pope whose authoritarian streak was far less pronounced than Martin's, and in many respects, they got their man.²⁵ It is universally accepted that Eugenius was a devout and pious pontiff, much more a canon than a politician, and in the last biography of his papacy Joseph Gill asserts that, 'His most marked quality was, perhaps, his simplicity of outlook – not common in those days.'²⁶ Unfortunately this meant that Eugenius was singularly ill-equipped to deal with the problems that would plague his pontificate from its inception. He spent almost his entire reign struggling to assert his prerogatives, most obviously against the council in Basel that Martin had convoked just weeks before his death.

Eugenius was destined, however, to fight battles on many fronts. Since he was far less politic than Martin his efforts to assume temporal power in Rome and the Papal States were amateur at best. Those Colonna whose privileges he tried to rescind simply responded by stirring up trouble, and in the first half of 1434 the continuing molestation of papal lands by the *condottiere* and the financial burden this created proved to be the spark that fired a series of conflagrations. Objecting to the imposition of a tax increase intended to fund the papacy's struggles, the Romans revolted at the urging of Visconti Milan and placed Eugenius under house arrest on 24 May. He managed to escape on 4 June, making it to Ostia from whence he was transported to Civitavecchia and a waiting Florentine galley. In all likelihood, Eugenius would probably have preferred to flee to Bologna, a city within the Papal States, but that was out of the question since it had recently suffered an uprising of its own.²⁷ So it was that the refugee pope made his way to Florence where on 23 June he took up residence in the apartments vacated by Martin almost fifteen years earlier. As soon as the situation in Bologna became favourable, in April 1436, he departed for a city in which he would wield sovereign power.

With Basel still raging, Eugenius returned to Florence in January 1439, this time accompanied by a church council of his own. That gathering had been convoked in Ferrara but the dual threat of pestilence and an empty papal treasury brought Eugenius back to Tuscany, with the Greek Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople in tow. Although the Council of Ferrara-Florence would prove to be a short lived success, it was one of the crowning achievements of Eugenius' pontificate when on 6 July 1439 the Bull of Union, *Laetentur caeli*, was read aloud in both Latin and Greek in the Florentine cathedral. The Venetian pope would spend almost four more years in Florence, departing from the city for the last time in March 1443.

²⁵ Morimichi Watanabe, 'Eugenius IV, the Conciliar Movement, and the Primacy of Rome', in *The Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Christopher M. Bellitto (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), p. 186.

²⁶ Joseph Gill SJ, *Pope Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union* (London: Burns & Oates, 1961).

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 67.

Florence and the papacy at the turn of the Quattrocento

Just as they were crucial to the fortunes of the papacy, so too were these years a time of great consequence for Florence. According to John Najemy, in the fifty or so years between the 1380s and 1430s, ‘More changed...than in the previous hundred’.²⁸ This was the era in which humanism blossomed in the city, so much so that by the turn of the fifteenth century it had become the ‘capital’ of the movement.²⁹ The exceptional cohort of artists, architects, intellectuals, and politicians who called Florence home at one time or another and who propelled this movement forward does not need re-emphasising here, nor does the development of its communal ethos – the spirit that Hans Baron termed ‘civic humanism’³⁰ – that is equally synonymous with the city at it was then. This was the Florence introduced by Bruni in his famous *Laudatio florentinae urbis* with the claim that, ‘a more distinguished or more splendid city cannot be found on the entire earth’.³¹

Of course, the transformation of Florence revealed itself elsewhere, most obviously in the transition of its political system from guild based corporatism to rule by a select, increasingly limited cohort of men.³² The short-lived Ciompi revolt of late-1378 gave way to a fleeting guild republic, which was itself replaced in 1382 by a ‘new kind of elite regime, grounded in a rhetoric of unity and consensus, in which hierarchical social relations and paternalistic leadership would seem the natural order of things.’³³ Moreover, the city was on a quasi-permanent war footing throughout this period and the conflict against its two great Italian nemeses, Milan and Naples, served only to exacerbate the challenges of intermittent pestilence and economic stagnation.³⁴ Standing in stark contrast to the Florence eulogised in Bruni’s panegyric is the far more despairing one elucidated in 1411 by Alessio Baldovinetti, whose speech in the *Pratiche* opined that the city’s situation was as bad as it had ever been, ‘as a consequence of the war, the plague, which is imminent, and business, which is at a standstill.’³⁵

²⁸ John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 188.

²⁹ This appraisal is made by Ronald Witt in his study of the origins of humanism; see Ronald G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 173. Chapter Five in particular, ‘Florence and Vernacular Learning’, is an analysis of how Florence came to occupy such a prominent place in the emergence of humanism.

³⁰ The Signoria refers collectively to the executive arm of the Florentine government; ‘The chief executive magistracy of the Commune was the priorate or Signoria, composed of nine men selected from lists of eligible citizens for two-month terms of office. In making executive decisions and in formulating legislation to be presented to the councils, the priors were assisted by two collegiate groups, the Sixteen Standard-bearers of the Militia Companies (*gonfaloniere delle compagnie*) and the Twelve Good Men (*dodici buonomini*). Policy discussions by these collegiate bodies and by other citizens were recorded in the volumes of the *Consulte e Pratiche*...Legislative proposals were submitted by the Signoria to two councils. If a measure obtained a two-thirds vote in both councils, it was enacted into law, and was recorded in the volumes of the *Provisioni*.’ This description comes from *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study*, ed. by Gene Brucker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 3.

³¹ Leonardo Bruni, ‘Panegyric to the City of Florence’, trans. by Benjamin G. Kohl, in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, ed. by Benjamin G. Kohl & Ronald G. Witt, with Elizabeth B. Welles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), p. 135.

³² Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 11.

³³ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 176.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁵ Quoted in, Brucker, *The Civic World*, p. 319.

The beginning of Eugenius' first sojourn also coincided with what was perhaps the pivotal moment of the century for Florence, the September 1434 return from exile of Cosimo de' Medici. Banished in late-1433, Cosimo stoically endured his expulsion until the drawing of a favourable new government in August 1434 prompted his recall, a drama in which Eugenius played an unwitting role when he convinced the supporters of Rinaldo degli Albizzi, Cosimo's great rival, to lay down their arms.³⁶ Although the exact nature of the Medici regime remains a hotly contested topic of debate, for the next six decades the family would claim unparalleled power within the structures and frameworks of Florentine government.³⁷ Cosimo and broader Medicean power, therefore, form an inescapable backdrop to much of this study and as it develops both rise often to the surface.

Informing the context of the papal residencies was a long history of conflict between Florence and the papacy. The most traumatic rift in recent memory was the so-called War of the Eight Saints (1375-8), a struggle that included a period of papal interdict, from March 1376 until July 1378.³⁸ This was an intensely difficult time for Florence – David Peterson calls it 'cataclysmic'³⁹ – and it stands as a timely reminder of just how pernicious their relationship could become. In fact, in the 275 years before 1375, the city was placed under interdict no fewer than twenty times.⁴⁰ Whilst this is a remarkable number, the force of individual interdicts varied greatly and it is certain that not all were as disturbing as the 1376-8 censure. More often than not disputes between Florence and the papacy took on the appearance of the normal wrangling that occurred between any opposing political forces in the period, and ultimately, throughout the late-fourteenth century and into the next, the almost perpetual state of unease subsided due to the realisation by both city and papacy that each other's fortunes were effectively and irrevocably tied to the other, at least for as long as there existed a collective desire to maintain some semblance of equilibrium on the peninsula.

As the smallest of the five Italian powers that dominated the Quattrocento—the larger three being Milan, Naples, and Venice—both Florence and the papacy understood that each needed the other in order to ensure the desired degree of autonomy from their stronger, often aggressive neighbours, to say nothing of the many *condottiere* who roamed Italy at will in these years. Whilst the papacy was occupied with working its way through the Schism,

³⁶ For a detailed analysis of these events see Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 289-351. For an excellent study of the role of exile in fifteenth-century Florence see Alison Brown, 'Insiders and Outsiders: The Changing Boundaries of Exile', in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by William J. Connell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 337-83. Only eleven men (including Cosimo) were exiled in 1433; when he returned the favour in 1434 the banished numbered 118; Brown, 'Insiders and Outsiders', pp. 343-4.

³⁷ The scholarly literature on the fifteenth-century Medici is vast. The recent publication of a collection of essays, themselves based on a 2011 conference, is a clear signal of the ongoing and vibrant debate regarding the exact nature of Medicean power; *The Medici: Citizens and Masters*, ed. by Robert Black and John E. Law (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2015).

³⁸ For an excellent account of the war as found in the Florentine psyche see David S. Peterson, 'The War of the Eight Saints in Florentine Memory and Oblivion', in *Society and Individual*, ed. by Connell, pp. 173-214.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴⁰ Richard C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 21.

Florence had managed to hold off both Milan (1402) and Naples (1414), and although the weaker papacy that emerged from the Schism in many respects worked in Florence's favour, the city's governing class had come to realise that it could not hold central Italy on its own. As Alison Lewin demonstrates in her study of the evolution of Florentine-papal relations during the Schism, 'In this era the republic came actively to support the popes as temporal rulers of their holdings throughout central Italy.'⁴¹

To be sure, the persistent caution with which Florence and the papacy eyed one another never quite disappeared. Good favour was never a certainty, a fact the last Pisan pope, John XXIII (1410-15), had discovered when the city refused to admit him in 1413 after he had fled Rome in order to escape the northwards advance of the Neapolitan king, Ladislaus. Despite being well-disposed towards the Pisan pope, the Florentines were unmoved by his plight, and after spending several months holed up in Sant'Antonio del Vescovo, a small convent just to the north of the city, John eventually conceded he was wasting his time and departed for Bologna.⁴²

The story thus far

Due to the sheer abundance of source material held in Florence's many archives and libraries the years covered by this study are well known to scholars. The Florentines were by nature fastidious record-keepers and their collective obsession passed down an amazing opportunity to delve into the vicissitudes of their daily life. Indeed, the city's 'unparalleled riches', Najemy suggests, 'permit in-depth inquiries into more and more varied questions than is possible anywhere else.'⁴³ Consequently, historians of all distinctions—social, political, intellectual, economic—have been unable to resist the city's allure and a vast historiography has built up over the course of the preceding decades.

It would be redundant to engage in a comprehensive survey of this scholarship here, notwithstanding the somewhat paradoxical fact that for a time and place as scrutinised as early-fifteenth century Florence the papal residencies have tended to be treated as an interesting detail, despite the efforts of Partner and Kent to highlight the lacuna. For many years focused analysis was limited to a pair of obscure, essay-length studies, both published in Italian and broadly unknown to the wider scholarly community, and both of which concentrated on only one aspect of the residencies, namely, the papal apartments.⁴⁴ An essay by Partner touched upon Eugenius' years in Florence, but more as a backdrop to the broader

⁴¹ Alison Williams Lewin, *Negotiating Survival: Florence and the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), p. 206.

⁴² Brucker, *Civic World*, p. 375.

⁴³ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Stefano Orlandi, OP, 'Il Concilio Fiorentino e la Residenza dei Papi in S. Maria Novella', *MD*, 80 (1963), 69-90, 125-51; Margaret Haines, 'Gli appartamenti papali in SMN per Eugenio IV nella sua prima permanenza a Firenze, 1434-1436' (unpublished essay, 1979), <<http://archivio.smn.it/polis/haines.htm>>

political machinations of Florentine-papal relations,⁴⁵ whilst George Holmes' contribution to the same volume made similarly passing reference to both residencies in its analysis of the strategies used by the Medici as they ascended to become the preeminent papal depositors.⁴⁶ Perhaps the most useful study has been Lewin's analysis of Florentine-papal relations during the Schism, and although the years 1419-43 lie beyond the scope of her analysis, its excellent epilogue offers some valuable into the state of the Florentine-papal relationship at the threshold of Martin's arrival in Florence.⁴⁷

By the turn of the twenty-first century, then, it was quite clear that a great deal remained to be said about the Florentine residencies, a situation that made Luca Boschetto's recent monograph such an important addition to the historiography.⁴⁸ Although he deals only with Eugenius, Boschetto conducted a meticulous investigation into his time in Florence, covering in great detail all that occurred between the 1434 flight from Rome and his return in 1443. Echoing Partner and Kent, Boschetto states in his analysis that, 'Although the pope's presence in the city had a profound effect on many aspects of Florentine history, a survey of the impact that the presence of the papal court had on the life of the city and its inhabitants has thus far not been done.'⁴⁹ The greatest strength of Boschetto's study is its breadth and his painstaking work brings together evidence from an outstanding range of archival, published, and scholarly sources. Particularly important is the data concerning the significant influx into the city of those men and women who trailed in the papacy's wake; the aforementioned cardinals, clerics, ambassadors, diplomats, and tradespeople, to name just a few.⁵⁰ Boschetto has done historians of fifteenth-century Florence a huge service in this regard, and the current study cannot help but rely on his industry on many occasions.

Whilst Boschetto's monograph is exhaustive in its analysis of Eugenius' residency, my own is far more discrete, choosing instead to focus on particular areas that he devoted little attention to, such as the lodgings constructed for the papacy at Santa Maria Novella, the many liturgies observed by both popes, and the preaching that took place within the papal court. That said, despite the differences in approach the current study cannot help but rely on his on many occasions.

As far as papal historiography is concerned, it has been a long time since the aforementioned monographs by Partner and Gill, studies that stood for a long time as the only points of reference for these popes; both were published within a few years of one

⁴⁵ Partner, 'Florence and the Papacy', in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 381-402.

⁴⁶ George Holmes, 'How the Medici became the Pope's Bankers', in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 357-80.

⁴⁷ Lewin, *Negotiating Survival*, pp. 206-12.

⁴⁸ Boschetto, *Società e cultura*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xi; 'Sebbene la presenza del papa in città abbia inciso profondamente in tanti aspetti della storia fiorentina, non era finora mai stata compiuta un'indagine sull'impatto che la presenza della corte papale ebbe nella vita della città e dei suoi abitanti.'

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-339.

another and by now are almost six decades old.⁵¹ Scholarly analysis since then has been limited. One collection discussed Martin's efforts to restore Rome to its former glory,⁵² another looked at the impact he had on the small hill town of Genazzano, his birthplace and a fief of the Colonna family.⁵³ For Eugenius, much as the 1436 consecration and the council with the Greeks have dominated the discussion of his time in Florence, so too has the Council of Basel tended to overshadow his pontificate as a whole. The studies by Joachim Stieber and Michiel Decaluwe are particularly rich in this regard and there is much in them that is useful for understanding the broader context within which Eugenius was forced to operate.⁵⁴ At the very least, each of the studies listed here cast a far more rigorous eye over the many vicissitudes of the papacies of both men, bringing some much needed critical engagement to their pontificates.

Notably, there has been a general tendency to treat Martin and Eugenius in aggregate terms, primarily because Nicholas V (1447-55) has for a long time been considered the first of the 'Renaissance' popes.⁵⁵ To be sure, framing Martin and Eugenius in collective terms has the potential to be a useful methodology. Anna Maria Corbo looked at the artists and artisans operating in Rome during their pontificates,⁵⁶ whilst an essay by Partner examined the impact their years had on Umbria.⁵⁷ More recently, Elizabeth McCahill tracked the efforts of both men to resurrect a listing Rome, however unfulfilled those efforts might ultimately have been.⁵⁸ Adopting the years 1420-47 as her parameters, McCahill in her study unambiguously relied on the underlying assumption that their papacies did indeed represent a single transitional moment, seeing this as a strength rather than a weakness. When parsing the question of whether or not both men belonged to Rome's past or its destiny, McCahill does away with the debate, stating instead that, 'this book embraces their liminality. It argues that Rome between 1420 and 1447 was a hotbed of initiatives that borrowed from the city's medieval legacy, and at the same time presaged its Renaissance future.'⁵⁹ In this context, then, a framework that emphasises the connectedness and continuity of their respective papacies

⁵¹ Partner, *The Papal State*; Gill, *Pope Eugenius*.

⁵² *Alle origini della nuova Roma, Martino V (1417-1431): atti del convegno, Roma, 2-5 marzo 1992*, ed. by Maria Chiabò (Roma: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1992).

⁵³ *Martino V. Genazzano, il pontefice, le idealità: studi in onore di Walter Brandmüller*, ed. by Pierantonio Piatti and Rocco Ronzani (Roma: Centro culturale agostiniano: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009).

⁵⁴ Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the Empire: the conflict over supreme authority and power in the church* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Decaluwe, *A successful defeat*.

⁵⁵ John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 9; D'Amico writes that Nicholas' papacy 'marked humanism's first major advance in Rome and in the Curia Romana.' See also Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 6-7. Stinger says, 'The year 1443 thus appears again as the most suitable date for marking the beginnings of the Roman Renaissance... These incipient notions, first expressed in Eugenius' last years, received confirmation under Nicholas V, the Tuscan humanist elected to succeed the Venetian pontiff in 1447.'

⁵⁶ Anna Maria Corbo, *Artisti e artigiani in Roma al tempo di Martino V e di Eugenio IV* (Roma: De Luca, 1969).

⁵⁷ Peter Partner, 'L'Umbria durante i pontificati di Martino V e di Eugenio IV', in *Storia e cultura in Umbria nell'età moderna (secoli XV-XVIII): atti del VII Convegno di studi umbri, Gubbio, 18-22 maggio 1969* (Perugia: A cura della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Perugia, 1972), pp. 89-99.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City: Rome and the Papal Court, 1420-1447* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

becomes an imperative rather than an impediment, and in several places, particularly in Chapters Two, Three, and Six, this study does just that.

The religio-cultural context of the papal residencies

As pointed out at the beginning of this introduction, the current study is a contribution to the religio-cultural history of early-Quattrocento Florence. In order to properly establish this framework, several questions must be asked, the answers to which lead in several directions. In a broad sense, how will this study define culture and how does it locate religion within that definition? More pointedly, how might we characterise Florentine culture in the period under consideration? This second question is particularly important since without an understanding of what Florentine culture actually was before the popes arrived in the city, any discussion of how they may have impacted upon it becomes more or less redundant.

As fields of inquiry both culture and religion can be prone to difficulty. There certainly has been no lack of scholarly discussion on the question of how we should approach and define culture. Brucker penned a precise explanation when he stated that, ‘from the age of Dante and Giotto to that of Machiavelli and Michelangelo, Florence was one of Latin Europe’s most dynamic and creative centres of intellectual and artistic activity.’⁶⁰ This is a rather traditional view, one focused on the aesthetic and political accomplishments that prompted the countless platitudes that have been lavished upon Florence over the years. However, since Brucker also signals his intention to ‘relate it to the city’s institutions and values, and to her experience’,⁶¹ it seems clear he thought that culture needs to be located within its social, political, even economic contexts. It cannot be interpreted or described in isolation.

In the decades after Brucker first offered this description, cultural history was subject to a great deal of revision. Most obviously it fell under the influence of anthropology and sociology, and scholars such as Clifford Geertz began to have a profound influence on how historians interrogated their evidence. Geertz’s seminal work, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, offers a definition heavily biased towards the symbolic; culture, he says, ‘denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.’⁶² Fifteen years later Peter Burke, another whose career has been heavily influenced by anthropology,⁶³ gave us a more

⁶⁰ Gene A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 213.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), p. 89.

⁶³ For an excellent discussion of Burke’s ‘fascination with anthropological observation’ see Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo, and Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘Introduction: Peter Burke and the History of Cultural History’, in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, ed. by Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo, and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 11-15.

concrete definition when he described culture as, ‘essentially attitudes and values and their expressions or embodiments in texts, artefacts and performances’.⁶⁴

The current study adopts the position that culture is a manifestation not only of the symbolic, but also of the real, day-to-day elements that constitute a society at each of its levels. As proposed by the French *historien culturel* Roger Chartier, it is useful to think of culture as a constructed ‘social reality’, conceived of by its members and interpreted from one to the other.⁶⁵ Consequently, the participant divides their culture into ‘fundamental categories’ that allow one to perceive and evaluate the said reality. The end result of this, according to Chartier, is that culture becomes a communal exercise:

These categories vary with social classes or intellectual milieux and are produced by stable, widely shared dispositions within the group. It is these internalized schemata that produce the configurations through which the present can take on meaning, other human beings can become intelligible and space can be deciphered.⁶⁶

The suitability of this definition for fifteenth-century Florence is obvious. Despite a constantly turbulent landscape, both at home and abroad, the commune was always able to right itself, returning to more-or-less stable cultural norms. The categories that Chartier theorises here, be they social or religious, political or economic, were enduring features of Florentine culture. And according to Miri Rubin, ‘To deal with culture is thus to deal by definition with the mixing of categories, for it is the system of meanings which makes order, ranks priority and suggests useful connections between things—real, felt and imagined.’⁶⁷

At the very least it is clear that the discourse has widened significantly in the years since Brucker defined Florentine culture with reference to the city’s artistic and intellectual endeavours. It can be found anywhere, a notion Burke highlighted when he observed, ‘Cultural history is not a monopoly of historians. It is multidisciplinary as well as interdisciplinary; in other words, it starts from different places’.⁶⁸

This study, therefore, does not set out to draw a boundary around culture, rather, it adopts a multifaceted, almost lenticular view where diverse cultural phenomenon can be apprehended dependent on whatever viewpoint one adopts. The primary inspiration for this approach is the work of the new historicists, a loosely affiliated cohort of literary scholars whose rise to prominence in the past few decades was animated in large part by the work of Stephen Greenblatt. In an attempt to define his method of apprehending culture, Greenblatt,

⁶⁴ Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 2. This monograph is a revised edition of a study first published in the early 1970s; Peter Burke, *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1540* (London: Batsford, 1972).

⁶⁵ Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), p. 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Miri Rubin, ‘What is Cultural History Now?’, in *What is History Now?*, ed. by David Cannadine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 90.

⁶⁸ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), p. 135.

along with Catherine Gallagher, highlights the new historicist ‘fascination with the possibility of treating all of the written traces of a particular culture as a mutually intelligible network of signs.’⁶⁹ Culture itself becomes a text open to interpretation. Looking for cultural shifts in events as seemingly incongruous as economic transactions or political machinations, for example, is all of a sudden far less problematic than it was in the very recent past.

Many of the ideals of this approach were based on a 1986 lecture in which Greenblatt ruminated on a topic as far removed as any from fifteenth-century Florence, the rhetorical lexicon employed by American President Ronald Reagan. In that lecture Greenblatt theorised about the ‘poetics of everyday behaviour in America’, that is, about the existence of cultural poetics.⁷⁰ Two decades after this initial suggestion Greenblatt reflected on the methodology (or lack thereof) that inspired New Historicist adherents by claiming, ‘Our interpretive energy depended on a certain risk-taking: bringing together materials that seemed to impinge on one another in unpredictable ways and carefully tracking their interaction.’⁷¹ In this more developed elucidation, the efficacy of a new historicist approach within the scope of this study becomes immediately apparent. Society, politics, religion, and economics are all of a sudden able to be examined in relation to one another in order to achieve a more holistic picture of the culture in a particular time and place. Careful attention to what might have previously gone unnoticed, according to Greenblatt, will reap rewards for the scholar prepared to look in those places; ‘Part of the pleasure of cultural poetics is to become aware of the hidden transfers between apparently discontinuous or opposed spheres.’⁷²

Subsequently, culture must be understood as a nebulous designation, a complex set of habits, customs, and conventions that is resistant to definitive classification and which functions in multiple directions. It can be simultaneously collapsed down to rigid types or expanded outwards to include the entire panorama of a particular time and place. Burke offers the most complete commentary on this of this notion when he says, ‘It is impossible to draw a precise boundary between the wider and the narrower sense of “culture”’.⁷³ ‘[C]ultural historians’, he continues, ‘might usefully define themselves not in terms of a particular area or “field” such as art, literature or music, but rather by a concern for values and symbols, wherever these are to be found, in the everyday life of ordinary people as well as in special performances for elites.’⁷⁴ It would be difficult to argue against the notion that this study deals with culture in both of the senses identified here, that is, the everyday and

⁶⁹ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 7.

⁷⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, ‘Towards a Poetics of Culture’, *Southern Review*, 20 (1987), 3-15 (p. 10). This essay first appeared as a lecture given at the University of Western Australia in September 1986. It was later published in Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 146-60.

⁷¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse*, (New York: Routledge Classics, 2007), p. xii. This is from the introduction Greenblatt wrote for the Routledge Classic edition of the collection.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. xiv.

⁷³ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Surrey: Ashgate. 2009), p. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 19.

the elite. Martin and Eugenius sat at the pinnacle of fifteenth-century society, and yet, as we shall come to see, the impact of their time in Florence was felt at the very lowest levels of Florentine life.

The history of religion is also at an interesting juncture, particularly for those years that fall under the umbrella term 'Renaissance'. In the middle of the twentieth century Brucker observed that, '[r]eligion is the least explored aspect of Florentine Renaissance history'.⁷⁵ A decade later a fundamentally important collection of essays was published, prompted by a consensus amongst scholars that, 'the character of religion, as an integral part of late medieval and Renaissance culture, was coming to be regarded in a substantially different way than it had been'.⁷⁶ Much more recently an essay looking back to those years pointed out that, 'Religion by the 1980s was interpreted as an intrinsic part of culture and a producer of culture. Women and men were seen as made, not born, and in that shaping process in the West, religious belief lay at the centre of this process of manufacture.'⁷⁷

Clearly there was in those decades the underlying possibility of a watershed moment, but in all likelihood neither meeting Brucker nor the scholars who contributed to *The pursuit of holiness* envisaged that roughly fifty years later historians would still be grappling with the religious question. As the twentieth century drew to a close John O'Malley suggested that historians have only very recently come to recognise the Renaissance as a period even worthy of theological enquiry.⁷⁸ At the same time Peterson published a review article that strove to bring Italian Renaissance religion, as well as its Church, 'out of the margins'.⁷⁹ Carol Lansing meanwhile was asking, 'What are the consequences if the Renaissance is opened up to include religious artifacts like Catherine's [of Siena] letters and [Saint] Andrew's head?'⁸⁰ Her answer, that a culture which includes, 'saint's relics and erotic mysticism is less rational and coherent, more complex and contradictory', is perhaps revealing of why historians have generally been so unwilling to move beyond only the most general understanding of religion and its place in Renaissance society. The veins of Jacob Burckhardt's secular Renaissance ran deeper than

⁷⁵ Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 172.

⁷⁶ I am referring here to a 1972 meeting at the University of Michigan, *The Conference on Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, and the subsequent publication in 1974 of *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and Renaissance religion: papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, ed. by Charles Trinkaus, with Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1974). In his foreword, Trinkaus says, 'It seemed clear to a number of scholars that the character of religion, as an integral part of late medieval and Renaissance culture, was coming to be regarded in a substantially different way than it had been, that new researches and approaches were occurring in several areas and fields, that it would be salutary to bring together some of the scholars who were involved in these new directions in order to take stock in a systematic way of these developments.' (p. ix) Fifty-seven scholars met at the conference over three days, and the edited papers, as well as other material, remain an important milestone in the study of religion.

⁷⁷ Olwen Hufton, 'What is Religious History Now?', in *What is History Now?*, ed. by Cannadine, p. 59.

⁷⁸ John W. O'Malley, 'The Religious and Theological Culture of Michelangelo's Rome, 1508-1512', in Edgar Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, ed. by Elizabeth Sears (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xliii. Significantly, O'Malley points out that it is only Renaissance specialists (historians) that advocate this position; theologians, he tells us, 'still tend to coast on the banalities of the "pagan" Renaissance created by nineteenth-century historians.'

⁷⁹ David S. Peterson, 'Out of the Margins: Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy', *RQ*, 53 (2000), 835-79.

⁸⁰ Carol Lansing, 'Religion in the Renaissance', in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke, and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), p. 151.

one thought,⁸¹ and despite religion, and the Church for that matter, being inescapably woven into the fabric of the Quattrocento, a groundswell of current scholarship hints at just how much remains to be done.⁸² Historians are asking challenging methodological questions about how best to conceptualise and categorise the beliefs and practices, both institutional and otherwise, of entire societies to whom religion was a fundamental building block.

Whichever way one approaches fifteenth-century Florence, it is clear that religion was, to borrow a phrase from Olwen Hufton, ‘the dominant cultural referent.’⁸³ It inhabited every crevice of the Florentine experience, and when wedded to the social and political context of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, it caused the city to envisage itself as a New Jerusalem, an enthusiasm that, ‘From its inception in the early fifteenth century...continued to serve as an inspiration to the city’s prophets, orators, and poets.’⁸⁴ Whilst this notion would not reach its zenith until the end of the Quattrocento when Girolamo Savonarola emerged to shake Florence to its very core, there is no doubt that it informed the entire century, most famously exemplified in the *Codex Rustici*, a mid-century illuminated manuscript that detailed its goldsmith creator’s journey to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, all the while establishing Florence, ‘as the standard with which he [Rustici] compares sites encountered on the Holy Land pilgrimage.’⁸⁵

The current study penetrates the conversation about Florentine religion in a variety of ways. Several of its chapters deal with it directly in their analysis of religious authority, liturgy, and preaching. In others, namely, those that discuss the papal apartments and local ritual, religion is a fundamental subtext. One of the key structural choices of the thesis is to separate liturgy and ritual, a distinction that became obscured as anthropology gained increasing influence in historical studies.

In order to make a final determination on how this study will approach and apply its religio-cultural framework, I return to Brucker and his use of the term, ‘cultural matrix’.⁸⁶ On this occasion he used the term in its normative sense, that is, to signify the firmament within which a particular phenomenon—in this instance, culture—is embedded. Although the concept of a ‘cultural matrix’ is as valid today as it was in the 1960s, much has changed in

⁸¹ This is a reference to Burckhardt’s ground-breaking monograph, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, which has of course been published many times. An excellent edition is Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. by S. G. C. Middlemore, intro. by Peter Burke (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

⁸² *Renaissance Religions: Modes and Meanings in History*, ed. by Peter Howard, Riccardo Saccenti, and Nicholas Terpstra (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). This volume brings together papers presented at Harvard University’s Villa I Tatti and the Monash University Prato Centre (2015), and at the Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII, Bologna (2016).

⁸³ This term is borrowed from Olwen Hufton, who uses it when discussing how historians of gender came to incorporate culture into their work; Hufton, ‘What is Religious History Now?’, in *What is History Now?*, ed. by Cannadine, p. 68.

⁸⁴ Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 56.

⁸⁵ Sandra Weddle, ‘Saints in the City and Poets at the Gates: The *Codex Rustici* as a Devotional and Civic Chronicle’, in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy, Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. by David S. Peterson and Daniel E. Bornstein (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), p. 182. A collection of essays, a critical edition, and a facsimile of the *Codex* have recently been published; Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, *Codice rustici: dimostrazione dell’andata o viaggio al Santo Sepolcro e al monte Sinai*, ed. by Kathleen Olive, Nerida Newbigin, and Elena Gurrieri (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2015).

⁸⁶ Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 214.

the last fifty years or so, and the term warrants, I believe, revisiting. In the business world in recent decades the term ‘matrix’ came to refer to an organisational philosophy in which influence and authority flow as horizontally as they do vertically; a matrix structure reaches out in all directions, granting agency to those within its boundaries who would have otherwise been marginalised by a more hierarchical framework. Everyone and everything within the matrix is invested in its output. We can nuance our picture of Florentine culture the same way. Hiding within the cultural spaces of the city are each of the historical fields—religion especially, but also politics, the economy, society—that I am hoping to account for in my analysis. In this spirit then, this study assumes a broad definition of Florence’s religio-cultural milieu, one that transcends boundaries and envisages it as the fabric within which all facets of daily life, for all citizens, were embedded.

All that remains, then, is to define the shape of Florentine culture as Martin and Eugenius found it. As I have already suggested, the image of early-Quattrocento Florence which springs most immediately to mind is one of a city captivated by the emerging humanist movement that has become so inexorably linked to its history. This is the characterisation that Anthony Molho describes with no small degree of elegance as, ‘luminous, innovative if not necessarily progressive, optimistic.’⁸⁷ Interestingly, Molho’s observation was made whilst introducing a collection of essays on the life and works of Masaccio, an artist whose untimely death at the age of just twenty-seven has earned him an almost mythic status. A ‘revolutionary’ talent, Masaccio’s fleeting career and profound, almost ephemeral impact on Florentine art epitomises the hopeful brilliance implicit in the above description.⁸⁸

In the same essay, however, Molho identifies a reciprocal, far less radiant hue in the spectrum of Florence’s cultural milieu, one borne out by the reality that the city was almost always grappling with a multitude of internal and external perils. It was a city, he proposes, with all manner of pressures coursing through its societal, political, and economic veins. He says,

the city’s rulers, throughout the first third of the fifteenth century, but most especially in the 1420s, sought to discipline so as to control, to render more predictable...a world that seemed at once threatening and chaotic...It was not so much an attempt to paper over the contradictions and the tensions inherent in Florentine society, as it was an effort to project an image of a society under control, its parts in perfect harmony with each other.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Anthony Molho, ‘Masaccio’s Florence in Perspective: Crisis and Discipline in a Medieval Society’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio*, ed. by Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 16. This essay is reprinted in Anthony Molho, *Firenze nel Quattrocento*, 2 vols (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006-8), II, pp. 7-34.

⁸⁸ This description was used by John Paoletti and Gary Radke in their ubiquitous study of Italian art, a text now in its fourth edition; John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 4th edn (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2012), p. 224.

⁸⁹ Molho, ‘Masaccio’s Florence in Perspective’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio*, ed. by Ahl, pp. 20-1.

In this light, the overtly platitudinous image of a vibrant, dynamic culture must therefore be nuanced by the notion that such vibrancy existed alongside a persistent uncertainty, the type of deep-seated worry sustained by a constantly precarious existence. It was noted earlier that Florence in the years preceding the papal residencies struggled to stave off the aggression of its much larger rivals, whilst the words of Baldovinetti hardly paint a picture of a city enthralled only by the rediscovery of the ancient past.

Rather, Florentine culture at the time of the papal residencies was geared towards the conservation, at all costs, of an elusive, hard-won stability. The desire for a cohesive polis had originated in the Duecento with the emergence across Italy of the *Buon Comune*, the common good.⁹⁰ Remigio dei Girolami wrote a treatise on the subject at the very beginning of the Trecento.⁹¹ In fact, the Florentines had transformed the notion of the common good into a quasi-legal instrument when the Secondo Popolo promulgated the Ordinances of Justice in 1295. After paying homage to the city's divine and saintly protectors, the prologue of the Ordinances dedicated them to, 'true and perpetual concord and union, the conservation and increase of the peaceful and tranquil [condition] of the trades and professions and all the Popolo and moreover all the commune and city and district of Florence.'⁹² With almost a century and a half between the Secondo and the early-fifteenth century, by the residencies the appetite for a unified, concordant Florence was an inviolable part of the city's cultural psyche. So it was that the book-merchant Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote in the proem to his lives of the Strozzi, 'Just as the ears cannot tolerate the sound of an organ, or that of any other instrument, out of tune, so it is with the government of cities once they are not working together for the common good; the harmony of voices becomes corrupt.'⁹³

The harmony of which Vespasiano wrote was both civic and religious. Florence saw itself as not only a New Jerusalem, but also a New Rome. According to Donald Weinstein, 'Good government and piety, social justice and power, temporal and religious leadership—Rome and Jerusalem—were blended in a single vision which seems to have functioned both as a

⁹⁰ Originally composed in French, this text has recently been reedited and published with a side-by-side Italian translation; Brunetto Latini, *Treasure*, ed. by Pietro G. Beltrami, Paolo Squillaciotti, Plinio Torri and Sergio Vatteroni (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2007). For an excellent discussion of the notion of the *buon comune* see John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in late medieval Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 17-20.

⁹¹ A critical edition of this treatise, *De bono comuni*, has recently been published in Latin and Italian; Remigio dei Girolami, *Dal bene comune al bene comune: I trattati politici dei Remigio dei Girolami († 1319) nella Firenze dei bianchi-neri*, ed. by Emilio Panella (Firenze: Edizioni Nerbini, 2014), pp. 146-221.

⁹² *Magnati e Popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295*, ed. by Gaetano Salvemini, (Firenze: Tipografia G. Carnesecchi e figli, 1899), p. 384; 'ad veram et perpetuam concordiam et unionem conservationem et augmentum pacifici et tranquilli status artificum et Artium et omnium Popularium et etiam totius Comunis et civitatis et districtus Florentie.' The entire Ordinances are published on pp. 384-432. This translation belongs to Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 17.

⁹³ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Proem to the Lives of Palla, Marcello, Matteo, and Benedetto Strozzi, Dedicated to Filippo Strozzi*, in *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art*, trans. and ed. by Stefano Ugo Baldassarri and Arielle Saber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 66.

model of civic ethos and as a promise of ultimate rewards.⁹⁴ Importantly, this harmony was aspirational and at all times Florentine culture was geared towards achieving it.

The point to be remembered here is that Masaccio's Florence was the very same city the popes encountered when they sought refuge within its walls. Having died in 1428, the culture of Masaccio's time was the same into which both Martin and Eugenius were forced to plunge. The cultural bedrock that all too briefly underpinned the artist was the same foundation that would support the papal residencies, and the years the papal court spent in the city ultimately wound up feeding into these idiosyncratically Florentine preoccupations. The visiting popes presented the commune with an opportunity to adopt a self-interested, prudent course of action by assisting the papacy in the reassertion of its temporal and spiritual authority.

In a manner of speaking, then, this study picks up where Lewin left off. It extends further into the fifteenth century the idea of a Florentine political and social establishment that had come to recognise the value of the papacy as a force for equilibrium in central Italy. As Lewin suggests, 'Even when papal policies in Italy did not coincide with Florentine interests, it was easier to deal with one legitimate ruler in the Papal States than with many *signori* of uncertain standing.'⁹⁵ The religio-cultural impact of the papal residencies, therefore, will be measured by the many ways it fed into the broader push by the Florentine commune to establish a culture of control and harmony throughout the city.

Whether the cohesiveness the commune desired was real or illusory, the years of the residencies came to be emblems of that stability and the countless traces the popes left all over the city spoke of a harmonious, balanced society. The image of Martin confirming the consecration of Sant'Egidio is recorded in a Quattrocento fresco (Plate 1). Eugenius' name is inscribed above the door to the sacristy of San Marco, and also above the door to Cosimo's cell in the adjacent convent. A marble statue of Eugenius looks out from the nineteenth-century façade of the cathedral, testimony to the fact that the Venetian pope had indeed, 'dedicated this temple'.⁹⁶

Far more numerous than the physical remnants, of course, are the countless written records of the residencies, markers of a period when much of the Christian world was focused on the city. Whilst there are almost infinite examples on which one could draw, the famous *Zibaldone* of Giovanni Rucellai stands as an excellent example of this. Born in 1403, Rucellai was just a young man during the residencies. He did not begin his *Zibaldone* until 1457, and yet in his retelling of the diplomatic manoeuvring that led to the Battle of Anghiari

⁹⁴ Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*, p. 56.

⁹⁵ Lewin, *Negotiating Survival*, p. 209.

⁹⁶ A statue of Eugenius, enthroned in a something niche, his right hand raised in benediction, is identified by the inscription, 'EUGENIUS P. IV. TEMPLUM DICAVIT' (Pope Eugenius IV dedicated [this] temple).

in 1440 it was Eugenius' residency that served as a marker of the particular time at which that historically significant event took place.⁹⁷ Rucellai spends some five hundred words describing the events leading up to Anghiari; the relevant actors, be they states or individuals, drop in and out as needs be. At the very end of this entry, completely detached from the narrative that preceded it, Rucellai states, 'And in the said time there was in Florence the court of Pope Eugenius and the Emperor of Constantinople.'⁹⁸ The papal residencies drilled down into the cultural bedrock and attached themselves to the Florentine psyche. For a city obsessed with recording its history, events were thereafter orientated in relation to that time when Martin was here, or when Eugenius consecrated the Duomo.

This study relies on a broad range of both printed and archival material. Chapter One describes the coming together of Florentine and papal ritual, specifically in reference to the processions that collected both men from outside the city walls and deposited them at the lodgings prepared for them. Relying on two prominent *libri di ricordi* it is important that this part of the analysis comes before any other;⁹⁹ the ritual processions that brought the popes into the city laid the foundation on which each residency was built. Without the validation provided by the rituals discussed in this chapter neither pope would have enjoyed the legitimated presence that allowed him to begin rebuilding his papal authority, thereby rendering moot any efforts on behalf of the Florentines to strengthen the papacy, and by default their own position on the peninsula. Chapter Two discusses how religious authority was applied by the popes during those years they were in Florence. As this introduction has suggested, Florentine-papal relations were rarely straightforward, and particularly in Martin's case, there was a real chance of friction between city and pope. This chapter utilises mainly published material, much of which has already been examined by scholars, however, this study for the first time adopts an integrated view of that evidence and sets out to analyse a part of the story that has received little, if any, systematic attention.

The third chapter introduces the physical spaces handed over to Martin and Eugenius, that is, the papal apartments at Santa Maria Novella. It covers only a short period, from January 1419 until Martin's departure in September 1420, making use of the plentiful evidence left by the Opera del Duomo, the body charged with preparing the apartment space. The surviving Opera records reveal a meticulous fasciation on the part of the Florentines with the spaces occupied by the popes, spaces that operated in a variety of ways:

⁹⁷ The Battle of Anghiari is discussed in Chapter Two.

⁹⁸ Giovanni di Pagolo Rucellai, *Zibaldone*, ed. by Gabriella Battista (Firenze: Sismel, 2013), pp. 168-9; 'E al detto tempo era a Firenze la corte di papa Ugenio e llo Imperadore di Gostantinopoli.'

⁹⁹ The precise nature of these texts will be discussed in Chapter One.

ecclesiastically, politically, liturgically. As the commune shaped the apartments to fulfil the needs of the papacy, it simultaneously recognised the opportunity to seize for itself a heightened degree of agency over a space that it had at one time had little control over. The evidence presented in the first three chapters is very much about the spheres of authority that came together as a result of the papal residencies. Admitting the popes was a big step for the Florentines, and they had to negotiate a path that allowed papal authority into the city whilst preserving their own. This they did with ritual and by negotiating the spatial characteristics of the residencies.

Chapters Four and Five are the most explicit analysis of the religious aspects of the papal residencies. They deal with liturgy and preaching, respectively, and in light of the inextricable relationship between these particular behaviours in the context of the fifteenth century, it is intended they be read together. The discussion of papal liturgy relies almost exclusively on one of the aforementioned *libri di ricordi*, which, when held up against other accounts from the time, reveals itself to be a remarkable record of those moments. This chapter broaches local reaction to those highly visible behaviours that were suddenly integrated into the calendar of a city already humming with all manner of religious behaviour. As far as papal preaching is concerned, this study makes use of a cache of sermons, both archival and published, all of which have been paid very little attention by scholars. Papal preaching in the earlier fifteenth century has been relatively understudied, making this discussion a timely addition to the historiography.

Chapter Six returns to the papal apartments and the Opera sources, covering the years from Martin's departure in late-1420 until Eugenius quit the city for the second and final time in March 1443. It is necessary to break up the discussion of the apartments in this way. Too much happened to treat them in a single chapter. Moreover, there was a shift between the end of Martin's visit and that moment twenty-four years later when Eugenius left Florence for the second and final time. The former had left the city a changed place; the commune had altered the urban space in such a way that it would not approach Eugenius' residency in the same way, therefore it makes sense to separate the different periods of activity at the Santa Maria Novella apartments.

This thesis, therefore, draws together key aspects of the papal presence in Florence during key years in the development of its distinctive 'renaissance culture', and it argues more precisely than in any previous study that the papal residencies had a significant impact on the material, cultural, liturgical, social and political life of the city.

Chapter One

‘With great joy they went inside’

Papal authority and Florentine ritual

Martin left Constance on 16 May 1418, six months after the conclave that elected him. Taking almost a year to wind its way slowly south, the papal cortege arrived in Florence’s immediate vicinity towards the end of February 1419.¹ He reached the convent of San Salvi on either 24th or 25th, and on the 26th, enveloped by a magnificent procession of both civic and religious figures, he was taken inside Florence’s imposing circuit of thirteenth-century walls and accompanied to Santa Maria Novella, the site of the apartments the commune had prepared for him. The same ritual was repeated in both June 1434 and January 1439 when it came time for Eugenius to make Florence his home.

The mechanism that collected both men from outside the city-walls and deposited them at the papal apartments began the process of incorporating them and their courts into the complex fabric of Florentine life. A series of elaborate protocols, the processions were meaningful, highly visible behaviours performed to fulfil a vital function. The popes upon arrival were essentially interlopers and these ritual moments were necessary in order for them to be successfully integrated into the physical and psychological urban space. As far as the commune was concerned, it was necessary to both authorise and legitimate the papacy’s presence in the city, and one must bear in mind that the willingness of the Florentines to open their gates, even to a guest of great power or prestige, was never a foregone conclusion, a lesson well learnt by John XXIII in 1413.

A pope returns to Florence

The ritual enacted each time the popes entered the city was comprised of two distinct stages. In the first, the approaching pontiff, having lodged at a location somewhere nearby, was visited by the Capitani della Parte Guelfa, a forward party tasked with delivering a gift from the commune, a striking white horse. In 1419 this gesture came on the day before the procession itself. The *Diario Fiorentino* (hereafter *Diario*) of Bartolomeo del Corazza tells us that,

¹ Martin’s journey southwards took in many stops including Bern, Geneva, Turin, Pavia, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forlì; see F. Miltenberger, ‘Das Itinerarium Martins V. von Constanz bis Rom (16. Mai 1418-28. Sept. 1420.)’ *MIOG*, 15 (1894), 661-4. Many of these breaks were only for a day or two. There is some confusion between the eyewitnesses as to the exact day of Martin’s arrival in the Florentine *contado*. Corazza says he reached San Salvi on the night of 24 February, whilst Petriboni claims it was the following day. In any case, both men agree that he entered the city on 26 February: Corazza, *Diario*, p. 49; Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 116. San Salvi was a small convent just to the east of the city; Bianca Maria Schupfer Caccia, *Le carte del monastero di S. Salvi di Firenze dall’anno 1048 alla fine del sec. XI* (Roma: Il centro di ricerca, 1984), p. 7.

the Capitani della Parte Guelfa donated a horse, totally white and with a blanket of red velvet carrying the sign of the Parte, and a bridle covered with crimson completely decorated with silver-gilt enamel and carrying the arms of the Holy Father.²

Indicating that this ritual was not yet fixed and that it would develop over the years of the papal residencies, in both 1434 and 1439 the horse was given to Eugenius not on the day before the procession but on the morning of it. Its part in the ritual remained the same, however; it was used by the pope for the transition from exterior to interior, from beyond the walls to the spaces within. This preparatory phase also initiated the process of orienting the pope, and by default his papal authority, in relation to the corresponding authority of the Florentine republic as represented in its political, social, and religious institutions. That particular aspect of the ritual began when the Capitani, again as an authorised delegation of the commune, met the pope at a designated point outside the walls and placed him under their civic banner. The Capitani then accompanied him to the gate where he would be transferred to the authority of the city's ruling lords, the Signori. In 1419, the Capitani met Martin 'with a great number of notable citizens and with a most beautiful standard,' at the small church of San Gallo in order to escort him to the gate of the same name.³ Before the pontiff had even set foot inside the city proper the symbols of Florentine and papal identity had begun to orient themselves in relation to one another.

It was not until the pope had reached the gate that the second stage of the ritual could begin, that is, the processional entry proper under the auspices of the Signoria. In 1419 this moment proceeded in the following way;

in the gate the Signori placed the Holy Father under their standard, which was of golden cloth and lined with various fabrics, alongside pennants of the arms of the Church and of the pope, that is, the arms of the Colonna. All of the friars who observed the Rule [of Saint Benedict] went to meet them with their relics and adornments. Before the Holy Father [in the procession] went all of the participants and the relics; then the said citizens, horsemen, judges and the Collegi; then the cross of the Holy Father; then the Corpus Christi on a covered horse, in a chest covered with velvet and trimmed with silver-gilt, and inlaid by a cross: the chest was more than one-and-a-half *braccia* long. Then the cardinals, then the Holy Father, led by the aforesaid cavalcade. And many youths from the best and most refined families of the land carried candelabras around the Blessed Sacrament, lit by way of torches, and all of the said people had garlands of olives atop their heads and in their hands. The Signori accompanied the Holy Father, and in this manner, with great joy, they went inside.⁴

² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 49; 'i capitani della Parte guelfa gli donarono un cavallo tutto bianco con una coverta di veluto rosso, dentrovi il segno della Parte, e una briglia coperta di chermisi, tutta fornita d'ariento dorato con smalti, dentrovi l'arme del Santo Padre.'

³ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 116; 'venne a Santo Ghallo fuori della porta, et ivi ismontato si si feciono incontro insino alla detta chiesa di San Ghallo e Chapitani della Parte Ghuelfa, et con grande compagnia di notabili cittadini et con uno bellissimo stendardo'.

⁴ Corazza, *Diario*, pp. 49-50; 'e alla porta i Signori missono il Santo Padre sotto loro stindardo, il quale era di drappo a oro, foderato de pance de vari, con drapelloni dell'arme della Chiesa e del papa, cioè l'arme de' Colonesi. Andarongli incontro tutte le Regole de' frati con loro reliquie e parati. Inanzi al Santo Padre andavano tutte le processioni e reliquie; poi i detti cittadini, cavalieri, giudici e' Collegi; poi la croce del Santo Padre; poi il corpo di Cristo in su uno cavallo coverto, in una cassetta coperta di velluto e guarnita d'ariento dorato, e ivi una croce: la cassetta era longa più d'un braccio e mezzo. Poi i cardinali, poi il Santo Padre, con detti cavalieri inanzi; e molti gioveni, de' maggiori della terra e più polito, portavano intorno al Santissimo Sacramento dopieri accesi a modo di torchietti, tutta la detta gente con uno olivo in capo e in mano e con ghirlande. I Signori adestravano il Santo Padre; e a questo modo il messono dentro, con grande allegrezza.' A *braccia* was a standard Florentine measurement equal to 58.36cm; George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000-1320* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. xviii The chest, therefore, was 88cm long.

An overwhelming sense of significance shines through in Corazza's account. Flanked by some of the most important representatives of Florentine society, a pope who had only recently been elevated in order to end a four-decade schism was admitted into the city, the first papal guest since the late-thirteenth century. It was by any measure an auspicious occasion. The same impression was made on the many other eyewitnesses, one of whom was Pagolo di Matteo Petriboni, who observes in his *Priorista* that,

in the antechamber of the gate were the aforesaid magnificent Signori with their venerable Collegi, and with the Otto della Guardia and the Sei della Mercanzia, and with a great quantity of the most notable citizens, such as you might call the flowers of the city, which was the greatest magnificence to see, and all with olive branches atop their heads. And they had a magnificent standard of gold cloth, completely lined with ermine. And there in the said antechamber, they led him into the city, with the entire gate open and the lattice raised, in a way that no one remembered having ever been done before; and like that he went in, with our Signori surrounding the feet of the Holy Father, holding the bridle of his horse.⁵

The antechamber Petriboni refers to was a rectangular, roofless barbican which protruded beyond the tower-gate and acted as an ancillary defence of its outer door. Structures of this sort were a feature of all of the city's main gates in the fifteenth century and are clearly visible in the famous Catena map (Plate 2).⁶ The *saracinescha* he describes was probably a lattice boom-gate of the kind depicted in the late-nineteenth century watercolours of Gaspero Bargioni (Plate 3).⁷

Like Corazza, Petriboni's description is loaded with an awareness of the transition from exterior to interior, although he emphasises this to a much greater degree by highlighting the fact that the doors were flung open in a manner rarely, if ever, seen in the city. Moreover, Petriboni's narrative concentrates on a facet of this ritual moment that Corazza's *Diario* does not. By meeting Martin in the antechamber, the Signori technically assumed responsibility for the pope outside the city; at that point Martin still had not ventured past the walls and into the city itself. For a guest of Martin's stature, only those who operated at the very highest levels of the republic could facilitate such an entry with the appropriate honour, and therefore, it was a task that only the Signori could perform.

⁵ Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 116-7; 'nell'antiporto della detta porta erano i sopradetti magnifici Signori co' loro venerabili Collegi e cogli Otto della Ghuardia e Sei della Merchatantia, et con gran quantità di notabilissimi cittadini che ssi può dire il fiore della città, tutti adornati di nobilissimi vestimenti, ch'era una grandissima magnificentia a vedere, e tutti coll'olivo in capo. Et più avevano uno magnifico stendardo di drappo a oro foderato tutto d'ermellini. E ivi nel detto antiporto lo missono dentro nella terra e con tutta la porta aperta e levata via la saracinescha, che non si ricorda mai che tale atto si facesse più, et chosì entrò dentro, co' nostri Signori intorno a ppìe al Santo Padre tenendo la briglia del cavallo.' The Collegi (Colleges) refers here to those two groups that advised the Signori, namely, the Gonfalonieri delle Compagnie and the Dodici Buonomini. Both of these groups assisted the Signori in their executive tasks and in formulating legislation to be presented to the city's councils. The Otto di Guardia (Eight of Ward) was one of Florence's police magistracies, whilst the Sei della Mercanzia (Six of the Merchant's Court) were the senior judges of the tribunal that handled legal disputes within Florence's thriving merchant community. One the rise of the Otto from the late-Trecento see John K. Brackett, *Criminal justice and crime in late Renaissance Florence, 1537-1609* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 8-9; on the Mercanzia, which emerged in the first decade of the Trecento see Najemy, *A History of Florence*, pp. 109-13.

⁶ For a description of the gates see *La Città del Brunelleschi*, ed. by Pietro Ruschi, G. Carla Romby, and Massimo Tarassi (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1979), pp. 42-3. For an in-depth architectural analysis, including images of all the gates, see Renzo Manetti and Maria Chiara Pozzani, *Firenze: le porte dell'ultima cerchia di mura* (Firenze: Cooperativa Editrice Universitaria, 1979), pp. 145-58, 302-87.

⁷ BNCF, Fondo Cappugi, 606, p. 112.

When it came time for the popes to depart Florence, the process outlined here was essentially reversed. Eugenius left for the first time on 18 April 1436, just a few weeks after consecrating the cathedral. Corazza tell us in the *Diario* that,

The Signori made a grand invitation to the citizenry and they departed from the Palazzo [della Signoria] with the Collegi, and the Sei di Mercanzia and Uffiziali di Monte, with a great company and their standard, and with fifty youths with torches to accompany the Most Holy Sacrament; and they went to Santa Maria Novella to meet the pope. Then they dismounted near the pope, who mounted a horse, and the Signori on foot surrounded the horse...Preceding the pope were many citizens, ambassadors, and other noble foreigners... The pope left the papal court by the minor door on Via della Scala and came onto the piazza of Santa Maria Novella...and [went] by way of Via San Gallo to the gate, where he took leave of the Signori. Many spoke. Then the captains, having accompanied [Eugenius] until San Gallo, took their leave, in the same manner as the Signori.⁸

There were six such processions during the Florentine residencies: the three entries (1419, 1434, 1439), and the subsequent departures (1420, 1436, 1443). There were quite a few other notable processions in these years, most obviously those that celebrated the arrival of Braccio in 1420, Francesco Sforza in 1435,⁹ and the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch in 1439, to say nothing of the many smaller processions that occurred as part of the many liturgical occasions that punctuated the residencies.

After outlining its theoretical and historiographical underpinnings, this chapter illustrates how the papal residencies brought together two vibrant ritual cultures, forcing them to inhabit for a time the same ritual space. This cohabitation resulted in a degree of transfer between the two, a process of exchange that saw papal ritual subsumed into the broad panoply of Florentine ritual behaviour, and vice-versa. Ultimately, it was through ritual that papal authority was prudently granted access to the city. Once formulated, the processions ratified the papal visits, simultaneously legitimating the claims of the popes to preserve their own authority therein. It must be emphasised that this mechanism had no bearing whatsoever on the broader question of papal authority. The position of both Martin and Eugenius as the one, true pope was unquestioned, and the Florentines were not in any case authorised to offer such an endorsement should either pope have been in need of it. The legitimacy that flowed from these rituals related to the Florentines conceding a space within their walls to an authority they had recently been wary of.

It will be demonstrated in those chapters that focus on the papal apartments that the space the commune conceded to the papacy was not given without qualification. Whilst every effort was made to establish a foundation from which the papacy could project its papal

⁸ Corazza, *Diario*, pp. 77-8; 'I Signori feciono grande invitata di cittadini e partironsi di Palazzo con i Collegi, e Sei di Mercantia e Uffiziali di Monte, con gran compagnia, e con lo stendardo, e con 50 gioveni con torce per accompagnare il Santissimo Sacramento; e andarono a Santa Maria Novella dal papa. Poi scesono giù col papa, il quale montò a cavallo; e i Signori a piedi intorno al cavallo... Innanzi al papa era molta gente di cittadini, imbasciarie e altri signori forestieri... Usci della corte il papa dalla via della Scala dalla porta minore e venne su per la piazza di Santa Maria Novella... e per via di San Gallo alla porta, dove si fermò e prese comiato da' Signori. Molto parlarono. Poi i capitani presero <comiato> e 'ntrarono, come erano i Signori, insino a San Gallo.'

⁹ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 272.

authority, there was a contemporaneous, perhaps opportunistic push of even greater vigour towards the culture of stability the Florentines spent such considerable time and effort creating. Positioning commune and papacy side-by-side in a visually stunning ritual, the processions meshed quite perfectly with these goals, legitimising and normalising the residencies, all the while succeeding in using the papal presence to strengthen the prestige, honour, and vitality of the polis. In fact, the Florentine methods of incorporating the popes into their body politic proved so effective that by the years of Eugenius' second sojourn having a pope in the city seems to have almost become passé, a theme that will become evident as the study develops.

It is possible to highlight two distinct categories of ritual from the years of the residencies: those that flowed freely between the city and the papacy due to the close physical proximity of two energetic ritual cultures; and those unique, out of the ordinary ritual moments that arose as a consequence of the papal presence in the city. Examples of the first type were the inevitable result of an intimate cohabitation and are manifest in those moments when the 'other' was incorporated into existing patterns of ritual behaviour. Perhaps the best example of this was the papal custom of conferring certain blessed objects upon chosen people and institutions, namely, the Golden Rose during Lent, and the Sword and Cap every Christmas. The Florentine commune received the Rose in 1419, whilst the Duomo was the recipient in 1436, just days before the consecration at which the object took pride of place.¹⁰ Eugenius, meanwhile, gave the Sword and Cap to the city in 1434.¹¹ Of course, this process also worked in the other direction, from city to papacy, such as when the resident pope was honoured by one of the many ritual jousts the Florentines enjoyed on both an annual basis, or at those times when a particular event or occasion was worthy of being honoured.

This study is concerned, however, with the second category of ritual, that is, those spontaneous behaviours devised specifically in order to meet a particular need and most readily identifiable in the body of processions that marked the respective arrivals and departures of both men. A papal presence was a prerequisite for these rituals since their meaning necessarily flowed from it; had Martin or Eugenius not sought refuge in Florence the ritual processions would simply not have taken place. In two commonly used Florentine narratives, those of Corazza and Petriboni, we find extensive descriptions of these ritual moments.

Edward Muir, a prominent historian of ritual, classified such entries in three ways: as receptions, where city and entrant formally came together as equals; as advents, which drew on the image of Christ's Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem to emphasise the spiritual

¹⁰ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 51.

¹¹ Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 261-2.

authority of the dignitary over the city; and finally, as triumphs, where the visitor asserts his authority over the city in a manner reminiscent of a conquering enemy.¹² For reasons already explained, and which cut to the heart of this study, we can immediately dismiss the third category. The Florentines only admitted the popes because they could be sure that the intentions of both men were ultimately aligned with local concerns. One could even argue that on each occasion of each arrival it was the pope who was more in need of Florence's good grace than the city was in need of the papal presence. That being the case, in the ritual entries of both men, we find a combination of the reception and advent processions, an effective coalescence of purpose that served the needs of both pope and city.

Two ritual cultures

There is little doubt that Martin's arrival in February 1419 was a watershed moment for Florence. He was the first pope to enter the city since Gregory X had visited in 1273. Between then and 1419 the commune had been stubbornly reluctant to admit almost any guest of consequence, particularly after the Black Death devastated the city in April 1348. Brucker suggests that three anxieties prompted this hesitancy: the fear that a powerful figure could perhaps seize control of the city, that such a visit would sow internal discord, and, in the ever-shifting world of Italian politics, that admitting certain guests brought with it the potential to agitate existing alliances.¹³ This suspicion most likely informed the decision to refuse entry to John XXIII, but it is also manifest in the city's misgivings about the possible visits of Sigismund, King of the Romans, in 1413 and 1433.¹⁴ The unwillingness to play the host on each of these occasions necessarily casts as all the more meaningful that moment in early-1419 when the Florentines abandoned their decades-old cynicism and began to prepare for the approaching pope. A policy of quasi-isolationism, an approach intended to exercise as much control as possible over local and international politics, was reversed, and not without significant consequences.

The effects of such a shift were felt well beyond politics. If the Florentines were now amenable to opening their gates to those dignitaries the Signoria deemed acceptable at any given time, there was suddenly an onus upon them to develop an effective ritual framework for incorporating such figures into local structures of communal authority. A protocol was required, and since an official ritual would not emerge until the commune commissioned a *libro ceremoniale* (ceremonial book) from Francesco Filarete in 1475,¹⁵ the papal processions

¹² Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 239-40.

¹³ Brucker, *Civic World*, p. 298.

¹⁴ Nicolai Rubinstein, 'The Place of the Empire in Fifteenth-century Florentine Political Opinion and Diplomacy', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 30 (1957), 125-35 (p. 129). Sigismund was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Eugenius in Rome on 31 May 1433.

¹⁵ Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfidi, *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic*, ed. and intro. by Richard C. Trexler (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1978). Manfidi was Filarete's successor.

from 1419 onwards acted almost as a kind of proving ground, a series of real-world rehearsals in which the proper modes of behaviour and ritual forms could be developed and ultimately established.

As the introduction made clear, this chapter and the two that follow are very much concerned with authority, and by extension, the legitimated power to act upon it. To that end, they rely a great deal on the ‘discourse of authority’ postulated by Pierre Bourdieu, the French philosopher and sociologist who located the efficacy of certain symbolic expressions in the ‘institutional conditions of their production and reception.’¹⁶ Such expressions are the ‘performative utterances’ Bourdieu dissects in his essay.¹⁷ Understood in this chapter as the papal processions, these utterances are the rituals that occur only when a properly authorised representative, for example, the Parte Guelfa or the Signoria, executes a particular function on behalf of the institution that empowered it, namely, the Signoria or the commune, respectively.

Further to this, Bourdieu’s utterances are ‘dependent on the combination of a systematic set of interdependent conditions which constitute social rituals.’¹⁸ It is the aggregate effect of those particular conditions that sustains Bourdieu’s discourse of authority, and in order for a particular discourse to be considered legitimate within his framework, three conditions must be met. Firstly, the utterance can come only from, ‘the person legitimately licensed to do so...known and recognized as being able and enabled to produce this particular class of discourse.’¹⁹ One could hardly argue that the Parte who delivered the horse, or the Signori who took Martin and Eugenius inside the city walls, were not licensed to perform those particular functions, nor could one claim that they were not enabled to do so. Secondly, the utterance must occur within ‘a legitimate situation, that is, in front of legitimate receivers’.²⁰ Given the receivers were the Florentine citizens, the body politic from which all legitimacy in the city theoretically flowed, this condition is on similarly solid ground. To question the authenticity or appropriateness of the context that situated the papal processions would be to question the legitimacy of the commune itself. And lastly, the performative utterance ‘must be enunciated according to the legitimate forms’.²¹ This final condition is perhaps the most problematic of the three to affirm, however, that is only because the protocols for such processions had not yet been codified by the communal authorities. That would come later in the century, but as we shall see after a brief consideration of the scholarly literature related

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. by John B. Thompson; trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 111.

¹⁷ In fact, the ‘performative utterance’ was first posited by J. L. Austin. Bourdieu’s discussion of the concept and his subsequent conclusions as they applied in this thesis were an academic response to Austin’s work. See, J. L. Austin, *How to do things with words: the William James lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 4-11.

¹⁸ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, p. 111.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

to papal and Italian ritual, the Florentines had a long history with the procession as a form of ritual behaviour, hence they had a great deal of experience on which to draw when it came to creating a moment that would appear legitimate and coherent to both participants and receivers alike.

If one draws a comparison to the historiography concerned with the ritual of northern-Europe, it was not until relatively recently that scholars focused their attention upon the corresponding behaviour south of the Alps; only towards the end of the twentieth century did historians become interested in the rituals of late-medieval and Renaissance Italy.²² The heightened focus on Italian ritual was in large part energised by the contemporaneous push for intellectual exchange between history and other disciplines of the modern humanities, particularly anthropology and sociology. Inspired by the early-twentieth century work of Arnold van Gennep and Emile Durkheim, scholars in the mould of Geertz, Max Gluckman, and Victor W. Turner triggered a wealth of new methodological approaches that were readily taken up by historians.²³ Over time, this influence gained such significant traction within historical studies that almost any aspect of daily life has at one time or another been viewed through the prism of the ritual act. Indeed, a recent survey of the field by Marcello Fantoni draws our attention to the historiographical ‘obsession’ with ritual, pointing out that to many current scholars, ‘Everything is “ritual” – revolts, religious liturgy, festivals, family life, diplomatic protocol, public executions, etc.’²⁴ This ‘ritual turn’ carries an obvious risk,²⁵ insofar as scholars court the possibility of diluting the boundaries between what should be viewed as ritual behaviour and that which would be better off excluded. Taking into account the elasticity of the concept of ritual, this is a valid apprehension, and the ritual/liturgy paradigm on display in this study will demonstrate just how porous a concept it can be.

The enthusiasm for Italian ritual that emerged towards the end of the last century was fundamentally enriched by two scholars in particular, Richard Trexler and the aforementioned Muir, both of whom have consequently had a significant impact on the current analysis. Even at a distance of some forty years, Trexler’s *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* remains a benchmark. It is very often credited with constructing the intellectual frameworks within which Italian ritual from the Duecento to the Cinquecento is

²² This point is made by Samuel Cohn, Jr. in his introduction to a recent collection examining ritual in late-medieval and early-modern Italy. Samuel Cohn Jr., ‘Introduction: Symbols and Rituals’, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Studies in Italian Urban Culture*, ed. by Samuel Cohn Jr, Marcello Fantoni, Franco Franceschi, and Fabrizio Ricciardelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 1-2 n. 1.

²³ For a thorough and theoretically sophisticated discussion of the development of the historiography of ritual throughout the twentieth-century see Jennifer Mara DeSilva ‘Ritual negotiations: Paris de’ Grassi and the Office of Ceremonies under Popes Julius II & Leo X (1504-1521)’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2007), pp. 18-47.

²⁴ Marcello Fantoni, ‘Symbols and Rituals: Definition of a Field of Study’, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Studies in Italian Urban Culture*, ed. by Samuel Cohn Jr, Marcello Fantoni, Franco Franceschi, and Fabrizio Ricciardelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 15.

²⁵ Although this term has been used in many instances, I borrow it from the title of a recent conference at Victoria University in the University of Toronto, on 25-27 June 2014. This conference, ‘Rethinking Early Modernity: Methodological and Critical Innovation since the Ritual Turn’, was held to both celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, as well as to honour the career of Edward Muir, a scholar whose work features heavily in this study.

understood.²⁶ In this sense, the current study is similarly indebted to Trexler insofar as it relies a great deal upon his definition of ritual as, ‘formal behavior, those verbal and bodily actions of humans that, in specific contexts of space and time, become relatively fixed into those recognizable social and cultural deposits we call behavioral forms.’²⁷ Whilst the behaviours described in this chapter could certainly be couched in such terms, both this chapter and the broader study do not apply Trexler’s definition without qualification. His is a purely anthropological view, one which draws no distinction between ritual and liturgy. The Florentines knew, Trexler tells us, that, ‘It is just as important to refuse an artificially imposed divine-human or religious-secular dichotomy... sacred and profane acts had profane and sacred implications... all took place beneath the sacred canopy.’²⁸

Whilst this study agrees completely with the reluctance to establish artificial boundaries where none in fact stood, at the same time it is hesitant to do away with the overarching theological framework that informed fifteenth-century liturgical behaviour. For reasons that will be developed in this chapter and crystallised in Chapter Four, this study separates ritual and liturgy. To be sure, the boundary between the two is not easy to discern. Almost as if two sides of the same coin, they are fundamentally related to one another; liturgy is unquestionably a kind of ritual behaviour. It is equally true, however, that not all ritual is liturgy. The Golden Rose ritual, for example, encapsulates perfectly the blurred boundary between ritual and liturgy. It contained elements of both.

Muir in his *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* did for that city what Trexler did for Florence. His study offers a complex vision of Venetian society and culture, one where, ‘intense community life seems to have been fostered by an intricate design of civic rituals... In the great cycle of civic rituals may be read a story created by the Venetians about their own political and social world.’²⁹ If Trexler saw ritual as a kind of organisational principle, Muir gave us ritual as a defining, quasi-sustaining force. Interestingly, Muir’s analysis also drew no distinction between ritual and liturgy, much like his contemporary Trexler. In fact, Muir states that Venetian civic ritual was ‘a peculiar hybrid of liturgical and ceremonial elements.’³⁰

Of course, a great many other historians over the years have made significant contributions to our understanding of ritual. At the same time Trexler and Muir were breaking new ground Ronald Weissman was explaining ritual within Florence’s burgeoning network of lay confraternities, arguments that eventually inspired similar work further

²⁶ Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980). For an excellent analysis of the impact of *Public Life*, as well as Trexler’s vast corpus more generally, see Edward Muir, ‘Trexleriana: An Introduction’, in *Power, Gender, and Ritual in Europe and the Americas, Essays in Memory of Richard C. Trexler*, ed. by Peter Arnade & Michael Roche (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 19-27.

²⁷ Trexler, *Public Life*, p. xxiv.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

²⁹ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

afield.³¹ In an analysis of the western ‘struggle against ritual’, Burke came to define it as, ‘a form of communication by action which is public, stereotyped, and symbolic.’³² Christiane Klapisch-Zuber found Trexler’s behavioural forms in the family home.³³ Rituals for the dead have been a fecund topic,³⁴ unsurprising in light of the horrors of the Black Death, whilst the those of public execution have also found their way into the literature.³⁵ It seems clear, then, even from this brief survey, that a certain validity underpins Fantoni’s description of an historiographical inertia towards a state where everything is framed by the ritual act.

Approaching early-Quattrocento Florence with the mindset that ‘everything is ritual’ is certainly tempting. Ritual behaviour permeated almost every facet of daily life and could be found anywhere the citizens interacted with one another, with their civic, political, and economic institutions, and of course with their faith. Not only were the city’s many *piazze* welcome open spaces in an intensely crowded urban environment, they were also ‘primary staging grounds for ritual and festive activities.’³⁶ When the new Signori were sworn in every two months an elaborate series of rituals were enacted, first in secret within the walls of the Palazzo della Signoria, and then in public under the gaze of those citizens that had gathered outside.³⁷ Weissman tells us that, ‘confraternal ritual was one of the most common forms of religious experience for southern Europeans in the early modern period.’³⁸ And even the guilds, the key driver of Florentine commerce, played a part. Philip Gavitt demonstrates how the ‘officials of major guilds combined the power they wielded in government office with special expertise and interest in the arrangement of public, ritual, and artistic space for confraternities and hospitals.’³⁹ The vibrancy of Florentine ritual culture was so strong, in fact, that its urban practices were appropriated by, or in some cases imposed upon, those territorial possessions that lay well beyond the city walls.⁴⁰

If Florence in the early-fifteenth century was steeped in ritual, so too was the papacy suffused by a ubiquitous program of what Burke calls ‘ordinary and extraordinary’ ritual.⁴¹

³¹ Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³² Peter Burke, ‘The repudiation of ritual in early modern Europe’, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: Essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 225.

³³ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985).

³⁴ Sharon Strocchia, ‘Death Rites and the Ritual Family in Renaissance Florence’, in *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, ed. by Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), pp. 120-45; Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

³⁵ *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Nicholas Terpstra (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008).

³⁶ Sharon T. Strocchia, ‘Theatres of Everyday Life’, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 69.

³⁷ Ilaria Taddei, ‘Between Rules and Ritual: The Election of the *Signoria* in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Studies in Italian Urban Culture*, ed. by Samuel Cohn Jr, Marcello Fantoni, Franco Franceschi, and Fabrizio Ricciardelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 43-64.

³⁸ Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, p. ix.

³⁹ Philip Gavitt, ‘Corporate Beneficence and Historical Narratives of Communal Well-Being’, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti, p. 138.

⁴⁰ Giorgio Chittolini, ‘Civic Religion and the Countryside in Late Medieval Italy’, *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. by Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London; Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 69-80.

⁴¹ Peter Burke, ‘Sacred rulers, royal priests: rituals of the early modern popes’, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: Essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 169-72.

To Burke ordinary rituals were those commonplace, regular occurrences that punctuated papal life, such as the act of genuflecting and kissing the pope's foot during an audience, or the correct placement of foreign ambassadors at a papal banquet.⁴² Conversely, Burke's extraordinary rituals can be counted as those various irregular and non-cyclical events that any pope might preside over in the course of his reign, perhaps a visit to Rome by a high-level foreign dignitary, or the coronation of a monarch or Emperor, each of which demanded specific ritual protocols.⁴³ Whilst Burke's model describes quite well the breadth of ritual behaviour that both nourished and defined the papacy in this period, it too requires nuancing since it also draws no distinction between the pope's ritual and liturgical obligations. Burke's list of ordinary rituals includes events such as the distribution of candles on Candlemas, the blessing of palm fronds on Palm Sunday, and the *mandatum* (ritualised foot-washing) which took place every Holy Thursday. His examples of extraordinary ritual, moreover, encompass the ceremony of canonisation and the conferment of the pallium on new bishops. Each of these were liturgical events, but in a very Trexlerian way, all are included under the sacred canopy.⁴⁴

That clarification made, it is necessary to spend a moment considering the broader ritual context within which Martin and Eugenius found themselves in the first half of the Quattrocento. During the Avignonese period in the Trecento papal ritual had transitioned away from the forms of the Middle Ages, a shift precipitated primarily by the papacy's dislocation from the Roman font of its spiritual and temporal authority. This break naturally raised concerns of legitimacy, and consequently those decades the popes lived on the Rhône were characterised by a concerted push for legitimation through ritual splendour.⁴⁵ Throughout those years ritual (and liturgy) became progressively more regal and courtly, both in appearance and setting, and it is hardly coincidental that Francois Conzié's prescriptive text on the correct structure of processional entries was a product of the increasingly elaborate environs of papal Avignon, as were several of the various liturgical manuals referred to in Chapter Four.

Indeed, it is somewhat paradoxical that although the Avignon years disconnected the papacy from Rome, the seven decades it spent in France represented a period of relative stability for the popes, at least when one considers that in the hundred-or-so years before 1309 they were more often away from Rome than *in situ*.⁴⁶ Avignon represented a break from a peripatetic norm and ushered in an extended period of 'immobility' during which most

⁴² On the place of ambassadors in papal ritual, see, Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). In particular, see Chapter Three, 'The ritual world of the curia', pp. 59-80.

⁴³ Burke, 'Sacred rulers, royal priests', pp. 170-3.

⁴⁴ It is telling that this particular volume is entitled *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy*.

⁴⁵ McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, pp. 139-40.

⁴⁶ Zutshi, 'The Avignon Papacy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Fouracre, vi, p. 653.

facets of papal life, including its rituals, began increasingly to move behind closed doors.⁴⁷ The prolonged attachment of the Trecento popes to Avignon eventually entrenched an elevated ritual programme as the new status quo, and as the popes came to resemble monarchs the rituals that supported them followed suit. Ceremony was used as a powerfully assertive tool, one that spoke the language of stability; the Avignon popes, according to Guillaume Mollat, 'lived like princes and sustained this character magnificently.'⁴⁸

The projection of an appropriately papal character post-Avignon was made all the more important by the immediate onset of the Schism. It goes without saying that the capacity of certain ritual forms to create a sense of legitimacy was essential to those Roman popes forced to buttress themselves against their Avignonesse counterparts, and vice-versa.⁴⁹ Such a need persisted even after Constance had settled the Schism given Martin was confronted for a brief time by anti-pope Clement VIII, whilst Eugenius had to contend with the more substantial resistance of Felix V, the anti-pope elected by Basel in November 1439 in a move that meaningfully raised the spectre of yet another split in the Church.⁵⁰ In the end, both Clement and Felix proved to be more irritant than peril, but these were hardly the circumstances that would allow a move to rein in the pomp of papal ritual, if such a desire existed at all.

By 1419 the heightened focus on ritual ushered in at Avignon and solidified by the Schism was very much an entrenched psyche.⁵¹ Feeding into this were the separate personalities of the men themselves, and interestingly, the reputedly pious Eugenius seems to have been far more of a believer in the efficacy of ritual than his predecessor. McCahill draws our attention to one of the more salient contradictions of Eugenius' psychology when she highlights that this austere man was also a great adherent to the splendour of papal ceremony.⁵² Indeed, the image of Eugenius as a lover of elaborate ritual is brought into sharp focus by Anna Maria Corbo's assertion that, 'When the calm reality of the documents of the pontificate of Martin V give way to those for the coronation of Eugenius IV, one has the sensation of an explosion of fantasy'.⁵³ At the very least, we can be sure that the papacies of both men played out in a

⁴⁷ Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 'Papal Coronations in Avignon', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by Janós M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 193. On the description of 'immobility' see p. 179.

⁴⁸ Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305-1378*, trans. by Janet Love (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1963), p. 316.

⁴⁹ McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, pp. 139-40.

⁵⁰ Gil Sánchez Muñoz y Carbón, elected pope by a handful of cardinals in the Avignonesse obedience, took the name Clement VIII (1423-9). For a biography of this little-studied figure see Manuel García Miralles OP, 'La personalidad de Gil Sánchez Muñoz y la solución del cisma de occidente', *Teruel*, 12 (1954), 63-122; Germán Navarro Espinach, 'Gil Sánchez Muñoz (1370-1447), el antipapa Clemente VIII: documentación inédita de los archivos de Teruel', *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Revista de Historia Medieval*, 15, (2006-8), 239-54. Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was elected pope by the Council of Basel and took the name Felix V (1439-49); Ursula Giessman, 'Felix V, the Last Antipope', in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. by Decaluwé, Izbicki, and Christianson, pp. 443-67.

⁵¹ Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 'Die funktion des Papstpalastes und der kurialen Gesellschaft im päpstlichen Zeremoniell vor und während des Großen Schismas', in *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d'Occident: Avignon, 25-28 septembre 1978*, ed. by Jean Favier, et al. (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980), pp. 323-4.

⁵² McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, p. 168.

⁵³ Corbo, *Artisti e artigiani*, p. 141; 'Quando alla pacata teoria dei documenti del pontificato di Martino V succedono quelli per l'incoronazione di Eugenio IV si ha la sensazione di una esplosione di fantasia a lungo compressa che ha tutta la sua gioiosa forza di espansione nei colori teneri delle sete, nello scintillo delle pietre, nell'oro dei fregi, dei cordoni, dei nastri, splendore di luce che dal pontefice discende sui suoi cavalli, sui vessilli di festa, su tutta la corte.'

meticulously structured theatre of ritual behaviour, and given what we know about the Florentines and their penchant for ritual, this chapter deals therefore with the cohabitation of two dynamic and vibrant ritual cultures.

Ritual lends itself to historical inquiry; 'in order to work it must be rule-bound and a fair degree of shared knowledge must be contained within it: and yet it is open to rearrangements, redesign, and interpretation by every ritual actor and observer.'⁵⁴ Oftentimes though it is difficult to study since, at least in the isolated moment the behavioural form is enacted, its imprint is so ephemeral that large parts of the experience remain inaccessible to historians. Definitive statements of impact and meaning can be on precarious ground given those qualities are inevitably rendered transitory by the 'here and now' of ritual, and consequently historians are often frustrated by a lack of tangible tools with which to work.

Fortunately, Florence is more favourably placed than most other Italian cities to support inquiries into its ritual culture, due largely to the abundance of its documentary legacy. Several genres within this vast patrimony are particularly useful, most obviously the *ricordi*, *ricordanze*, and *libri di famiglia* that proliferated in the city from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Whilst the production of such texts was not a uniquely Florentine phenomenon, the 'political and social conditions there seem to have fostered the habit of writing *ricordanze* and their preservation'.⁵⁵ It has been suggested that somewhere around five hundred such works written before the end of the fifteenth century survive in Florence's archives, much more than anywhere else in Italy.⁵⁶

One such example, the *Diario*, is especially well-suited to a discussion of the rituals that punctuated the papal residencies.⁵⁷ Its chronicling of these years reveals that its author, Bartolomeo di Michele del Corazza (1381-1449), was captivated by much of what the popes brought to his city. At the very beginning of his *ricordanze* Corazza identifies himself as a wine-merchant, a 'vinattiere',⁵⁸ although it is believed he worked also as a guardian of wards of the state, and an official within the *gabelle* system.⁵⁹ He was also at one time the flag bearer for the *gonfalone* of the *Carro* (Cart), and he sat once on a *consiglio di richiesti*, an advisory council

⁵⁴ Rubin, 'What is Cultural History Now?', in *What is History Now?*, ed. by Cannadine, p. 86.

⁵⁵ Catherine Atkinson, *Debts, Dowries, Donkeys: the diary of Niccolò Machiavelli's father, Messer Bernardo*, in *Quattrocento Florence* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 70.

⁵⁶ Giovanni Ciappelli, *Memory, Family, and Self: Tuscan Family Books and other European Egodocuments (14th-18th Century)*, trans. by Susan Amanda George (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 13. For a comment on Florence relative to the rest of Italy see also James S. Grubb, 'Memory and Identity: why Venetians didn't keep *ricordanze*', *RS*, 8 (1994), 375-87 (pp. 375-6).

⁵⁷ The *Diario* has been published three times: *Historia Florentina italice conscripta auctore anonymo ab anno Christi MCCCCVI usque ad MCCCCXXXVIII nunc primum luce donata e manuscripto codice Bibliothecae Estensis*, in *RIS*, XIX, coll. 945-84; *Diario fiorentino di Bartolomeo di Michele del Corazza, anno 1405-1438*, ed. by G. O. Corazzini, *ASI*, 16 (1894), 233-98; Corazza, *Diario*. This study uses only the Gentile edition. As far as terminology is concerned, the *Diario* can certainly be described as a *ricordanze*; its very earliest entries make use of the 'memoria che' formula identified by Ciappelli as a variation of 'ricordanza che'. Ciappelli also observes, however, that Corazza's narrative tends more towards chronicle than family book; Ciappelli, *Memory, Family, and Self*, p. 14 n. 11, p. 267 n. 27.

⁵⁸ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 19; 'Questo quaderno è di Bartolomeo di Michele vinattiere, nel quale quaderno, overo libro, iscriverò.' (This register is by Bartolomeo di Michele [del Corazza], wine-merchant, in which register, or rather book, I will write.)

⁵⁹ The best biographical account of Corazza's life is found in the Corazzini edition, (pp. 237-9). *Gabelle* were indirect taxes levied by the commune. For an introduction to Florence's taxation system see Charles M. de la Roncière, 'Indirect Taxes or 'Gabelles' at Florence in the Fourteenth Century', trans. by Janet Sondheimer, in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 140-92.

called after the city lost a battle to Lucca in their ongoing war. In short, he was very much a part of that civic-minded, merchant class to which scholars have been so drawn in their attempts to explain the Florentine proclivity for recording the minutiae of daily life. As such, the *Diario* has over the years become a ubiquitous text to the Florentine specialist.

To be sure, the *Diario* is not without its problems as a source. It has survived in two manuscripts, neither of which is original nor complete. Moreover, the two versions differ significantly from one another; the copy in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale is inclined towards moments of civic importance, whilst that held in Modena's Biblioteca Estense is far more focused on the liturgical and ceremonial elements of Florentine life.⁶⁰ This discrepancy means, of course, that there is always a sense when relying on the *Diario* that the evidence therein might be understated or overstated. Perhaps only the highlights of a generally mundane text were extracted by the copyists, or perhaps it was more of the same and a complete text would have handed down to us an incredibly rich account of Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century. Whilst we can only ever speculate about the answers to these questions, the text still stands as an incredibly useful record of the contours of the early-Quattrocento city, and Corazza's fastidiousness when it came to chronicling the events of the residencies is invaluable for this part of the analysis.

There are no such issues with this chapter's other key source, the *Priorista* of Pagolo di Matteo Petriboni (1392/4-1443/5). Known by the name of the genre from which it is derived, complete copies of the *Priorista* have survived and a critical edition was recently published.⁶¹ This lengthy narrative is an interesting text for several reasons, including its rather uncommon dual-authorship.⁶² As an example of a genre described as 'most characteristically Florentine', the *Priorista* is recognisable insofar as its central narrative is structured around a detailed list of the Signori (Priori, hence *Priorista*) elected every two months.⁶³ An amalgamation of vernacular chronicle and political record, because of its structure this text cannot help but emphasise the inexorable connectedness of the societal, familial, and civic realms that dominated the Quattrocento city.

Crucially, Petriboni was a papal insider, an eyewitness at close proximity to many of the ritual acts with which this chapter is concerned. He had personal contact with Martin during the pope's departure in 1420, and by the early-1430s he was in Rome in the employ of the papal curia, although it is unclear in exactly what capacity.⁶⁴ In 1434 Petriboni was named a

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the two manuscripts see the Corazzini edition; *Diario fiorentino*, ed. by Corazzini, (p. 235).

⁶¹ Petriboni, *Priorista*.

⁶² After Petriboni's death the *Priorista* was continued by Matteo di Borgo Rinaldi (1410-75/6). Given Rinaldi's authorship lies outside the dates relevant to this study, I will only ever refer to Petriboni's contribution to the text. For biographical information regarding the lives of these two men see Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 27-61.

⁶³ Jacqueline A. Gutwirth, 'The Petriboni-Rinaldi *priorista*: A chronicle of Florence, c. 1414-1459', (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1989), p. 125.

⁶⁴ For a detailed chronological analysis of Petriboni's contact with the two popes see Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 34-48.

calculator in Eugenius' *Camera Apostolica*, and his service only ended when the pontiff left Florence for the last time in 1443.⁶⁵ Standing in stark contrast to Corazza's outsider perspective, Petriboni offers a unique insight into the papal residencies, casting them in a significantly different light. He focuses on the political events of the period, and when he does touch upon more ceremonial occasions they are usually framed in those terms. He is almost silent on the liturgy, for example. Given his intimate knowledge of the papal residencies, it is unsurprising to find that the *Priorista* served as a source for other notable Florentine narratives, such as Giovanni Cambi's *Istorie Fiorentine*, which in some sections is merely a transcription of Petriboni's work.⁶⁶

At certain times the accounts of Corazza and Petriboni will be evaluated in relation to a text composed specifically to direct the many processional entries Martin was forced to make as he wound his way from Constance to Rome. Florence, after all, was the fortieth stop on his meandering itinerary, and it follows that the papacy would have been well served by some sort of prescriptive manual given the frequency with which it was stopping in various places along the way. The text in question, *La joyeuse entréé* (hereafter *Entréé*), was composed by François de Conzié (1356-1431), Archbishop of Narbonne and a papal *camerarius* (chamberlain/camerlengo).⁶⁷ Conzié wrote the *Entréé* in 1418 whilst Martin was actually *en route* to Rome, and it was in all likelihood delivered to the pope whilst he was in Geneva for almost three months from June of that year.⁶⁸

Three circumstances are revealed by measuring what we know of the processions against Conzié's detailed schematic. In the first instance, it tells us that the rituals were indeed Florentine. The eventual reality deviated enough from the officially prescribed action to make broadly clear the fact that, at least the first time, the popes would be granted access to the city using Florentine protocols, not the other way round. Secondly, it reiterates the point that this particular ritual behaviour was fluid and receptive to change. Just as the overarching relationship between the city and the papacy evolved, so too did the processions. Elements were added as required, a flexibility that in the end served the needs of both papacy and city. Finally, and in relation to the previous point, juxtaposing Conzié's text with those of Corazza and Petriboni reveals the extent of the exchange between the two ritual cultures. Florence as host was adaptable to the needs of its papal guests, all the while staying true to a ritual form

⁶⁵ Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 44-8. He also would travel to Bologna and Ferrara with Eugenius. On the role of the calculator see Peter Partner, *The Pope's men: the papal civil service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 105. Partner states that, 'From the mid fifteenth century the chamber clerks were assisted by a professional *computista* or calculator whose duty it was to do the sums for the audits of treasury and papal state officials, and to calculate the monthly remuneration of each clerk'. Petriboni, then, seems to have been an early example.

⁶⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 4; Giovanni Cambi, *Istorie*, published in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, 20 (1785), 1-431.

⁶⁷ A critical edition of this text is published in Marc Dykmans SJ, 'D'Avignon à Rome. Martin V et le cortège apostolique', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 39 (1968), 203-309 (pp. 237-43). For a brief introduction to Conzié see Jean Favier, *Les Finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident, 1378-1409* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1966), pp. 43-4.

⁶⁸ Martin entered Geneva on 11 June 1418, and entered Cruiselles, some twenty-five kilometres away, on 4 September; Miltenberger, 'Das Itinerarium Martins V.', (p. 662). On the composition of the *Entréé* see Dykmans, 'D'Avignon à Rome.', (p. 234).

that would always be recognisable to those who would legitimately receive it, that is, its citizens.

The procession in Quattrocento Florence

A great many occasions in fifteenth-century Florence were marked by some form of procession. In 1428 an eruption of civic pride tinged almost certainly with a fair measure of relief saw one organised to celebrate a hard-won peace with Visconti Milan.⁶⁹ Each new bishop from at least the late-Duecento onwards was welcomed into the city by an elaborate processional entry spread over two days.⁷⁰ The city's Magi cult, a key focus of local devotion, was the impetus behind a vibrant pageant that dated to the end of the fourteenth century at the latest.⁷¹ And every two months these co-dependent aspects of Florentine culture – the political and the religious – came together when the civic and spiritual legitimacy of the government was emphasised by the newly installed *signori* walking in procession from Florence's political epicentre, the Palazzo della Signoria, to its religious heart, the Duomo and Baptistery, in order to offer candles to the city's patron saint, John the Baptist.⁷²

Used in any number of civic or religious contexts, the procession was a ubiquitous ritual expression, one perfectly suited to absorbing the popes and their courts into the city. They were both spatially and emotionally powerful, and of all the ritual forms that proliferated in this period, it is difficult to ignore their potential to resonate well beyond the immediate time and place in which they were framed. Most obviously they took up considerable physical space and when the occasion was particularly meaningful their spatial imprint might consume entire sections of the city. According to Feo Belcari, the cortege on the day of the Duomo consecration attracted 200,000 people, a crowd that would certainly have been quite jarring to the Florentines.⁷³ Marvin Trachtenberg has demonstrated that from the Trecento onwards the commune, seeking easy and unencumbered movement for the citizenry, had moved decisively towards spatial and topographical order.⁷⁴ A crowd of the magnitude described by Belcari would cause normally contiguous and interrelated areas to become disjointed, breaking them up into separate localities and bringing the city to a standstill. Moreover, Florence's streets were the arteries of its economic lifeblood, and it relied upon them to sustain its mercantile vitality. Fortunately these disjunctures were only temporary and life in

⁶⁹ Brian Jeffrey Maxson, 'Bruni's *History of the Florentine People* and Ritual', in *Foundation, Dedication, and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 88-90.

⁷⁰ These processions will be discussed in Chapter Two.

⁷¹ Rab Hatfield, 'The Compagnia de' Magi', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), 107-161 (pp. 107-14).

⁷² Taddei, 'Between Rules and Ritual', in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual*, ed. by Cohn Jr, Fantoni, Franceschi, and Ricciardelli, p. 43-64.

⁷³ Feo Belcari, *Ricordanze*, quoted in Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore* (London: Zwemmer, 1980), pp. 275-6.

⁷⁴ Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 153-4, 265-7.

most cases would very quickly return to normal, perhaps even as soon as the procession had passed.

More powerful than the spatial disjunctures caused by a procession, though, were the emotional, often-intangible qualities generated by the vast number of people that could participate in the act. The spectators were as much a part of the procession as those involved in the cortege, a point emphasised by Muir who argued for a simultaneous exchange of meaning between those walking and those watching.⁷⁵ Whilst variables such as the participants, their order, and the route to be followed were more or less fixed before a particular procession unfolded, the incorporation into its affective orbit of its audience means that we can never 'affix a single meaning to a specific ritual performance.'⁷⁶ Each person viewed a procession from their own emotional and psychological perspective meaning that each elicited reaction, to both the ritual and its outcome, would also be different.

Any reaction could also be distorted by the inherent volatility of large gatherings of people. Large crowds can be dangerously unpredictable and a city like Florence was well aware of the energy that could be unleashed at those times when its citizens congregated in significant numbers; it is well understood that events like the Ciompi revolt of the late-Trecento, for example, had a lasting impact on the Florentine psyche. That this energy could not always be controlled was certainly not lost on the communal authorities, and at times they would forgo a procession because the risk to the security of the broader community was just too great.⁷⁷

The papal processions discussed in this chapter could certainly on occasion generate their fair share of emotional fervour. Upon arrival at the papal apartments in 1434, Eugenius, 'did not enter the church, instead he entered the Porta del Martello, and therein the banner of the Parte was torn and taken away.'⁷⁸ And during his departure two years later, seemingly with greater vigour, 'his standard was plundered and completely torn to shreds, for it was made of golden cloth.'⁷⁹ Whilst there are ostensibly frenzied undertones running through both of these acts, the standards destroyed here suffered such a fate because the enthusiastic crowd intended them to become relics of the papal residencies, more than likely to be used in devotional practice.⁸⁰ The fact that Corazza reports both instances so matter-of-factly

⁷⁵ Edward Muir, 'The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance', in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. by Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), pp. 130-1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁷⁷ Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 338-41.

⁷⁸ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 73; 'non entrò in chiesa, anzi entrò per la porta del martello, e ivi fu stracciato lo stendardo della Parte e tolto.'

⁷⁹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 78; 'lo stendardo andò a saccomanno e tutto si stracciò: era di drappo d'oro.'

⁸⁰ Sergio Bertelli, *The King's body: sacred rituals of power in medieval and early modern Europe*, trans. by R. Burr Litchfield (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 97-8.

suggests that it was a common practice, and completely in keeping with ritual behaviour at the time.

Generally, though, the sources demonstrate that the processions which conveyed Martin and Eugenius into and out of the city fell somewhere on a scale ranging from an overt display of pomp and splendour on one hand, to a simpler, more restrained acknowledgement of papal status on the other. The intensity of the ritual on each occasion depended on the context within which the pope and city were operating at that particular time. Eugenius' final departure in March 1443, for example, came at a time when relations between the papacy and the commune were at perhaps their lowest ebb. The pope's relationship with Cosimo had deteriorated to the point of 'barely concealed hostility', and in fact, the Signoria did not decide until the last moment whether or not to allow the pope to return to Rome.⁸¹ As such, the muted descriptions in the sources signal quite clearly that the ritual on that occasion could not help but be affected by the antipathy each felt towards the other.

Passing the city walls

There is no need to go through each of the six papal processions in detail. Although the specific protocols for such events were not prescribed until the *libro cerimoniale* emerged later in the century, the eye-witness accounts bear out that they were in fact similar enough for us to make credible statements about their structure, impact, and intent. Quite clearly Corazza was himself of the belief that each papal procession built upon the last since he wrote in 1439 that, 'all of the officials went to meet him [Eugenius], as well as the participants and the others of the Rule, as they had done once before in 1434.'⁸²

In order for the ritual processions to be not only effective but also coherent it was necessary that a great many elements of Florentine society were represented amongst the cortege. We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the Parte Guelfa played a dual role; delivering the horse that would convey the pope to his lodgings, and then escorting him to the gate and the waiting *signori*. That this task fell to the Parte was a reflection of that institution's role as a 'guardian of civic orthodoxy', which it fulfilled 'by promoting as the commune's ideology its own papal-Angevism and the defence of Florentine liberty.'⁸³ Although the zenith of the Parte's influence had long since passed by the years of the residencies, as an institutional embodiment of a free Florentine polis its participation was

⁸¹ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 289. The events surrounding Eugenius' 1443 departure will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

⁸² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 79; 'incontro gli erano andati tutti gli uffici, come l'altra volta nel 1434, e così le processioni e l'altre Regole.'

⁸³ Alison Brown, 'The Guelph Party in 15th Century Florence: The Transition from Communal to Medicean State', *Rinascimento*, 20 (1980), 41-86 (pp. 41-2).

fundamental.⁸⁴ By asking it to initiate the process of bringing the popes into the city the commune was making an explicit statement regarding the function the processions were intended to perform; they were calculated to represent to some degree the civic orthodoxy the Parte itself exemplified. And given the *capitani* were prepared to travel not insignificant distances beyond the walls to initiate the processions it is clear that their preparatory contribution was fundamental to each ritual's overall success. In 1419 they had only to travel to San Salvi to present Martin with the horse, meeting him the following day at San Gallo, a small church just a few metres outside the gate of the same name.⁸⁵ In 1434, however, they travelled almost a kilometre to collect Eugenius and his depleted papal entourage from Monte Oliveto on the city's southwestern outskirts.⁸⁶ And in 1439 when Eugenius returned to Florence from Ferrara, the *capitani* went roughly twice that distance to meet a significantly stronger papal retinue at the aforementioned Sant'Antonio del Vescovo.⁸⁷

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the Parte's role was the white horse—'un bello cavallo bianco'⁸⁸—it delivered to the pope on each occasion. An ancient marker of imperial authority, like many Roman tropes it eventually found its way into the Christian lexicon, most obviously in the form of the first of the Four Horses of the Apocalypse as described in Revelation 6. 2; 'and behold a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow, and there was a crown given him, and he went forth conquering that he might conquer.'⁸⁹ When considered in this light it is unsurprising to find the suggestion that papal appropriation of the white horse carried with it a similar connotation of conquest.⁹⁰ This is, however, too simplistic a reading, insofar as it was not the horse per se that was important, but the aggregate image of the pope's horse being led by an appropriate agent, that is, the *officium stratoris*, translated as the duty of the groom.⁹¹ This particular action, which Elisabeth Garms-

⁸⁴ The Parte Guelfa had emerged in the thirteenth century as a noble, military society whose mission was to provide a bulwark against the imperial pretensions of the opposing Ghibelline faction. For an excellent introduction see Serena Ferente, 'Guelphs! Factions, Liberty and Sovereignty: Inquiries about the Quattrocento', *History of Political Thought*, 28 (2007), 571-98 (p. 576).

⁸⁵ San Gallo no longer exists. It was destroyed as the Florentines prepared to be besieged by the forces of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, from 1519-20; see F.W. Kent, 'New Light on Lorenzo de' Medici's Convent at Porta San Gallo', *The Burlington Magazine*, 124 (1982), 292-4 (p. 292).

⁸⁶ Richard C. Trexler, *Church and Community, 1200-1600: Studies in the history of Florence and New Spain* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1987), pp. 145-6.

⁸⁷ Sant'Antonio del Vescovo, also referred to as the Palazzo dei Vescovi Fiorentini, was used as the Florentine bishops' summer retreat. It sat on a hill named Montughi to the north of the city; *Merchant Writers of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by Vittore Branca, trans. by Murtha Baca (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 328 n. 162.

⁸⁸ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 116. This translates as, 'a beautiful white horse'. Corazza uses an identical description in his account of the 1434 entry; Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, p. 73; 'un bel cavallo bianco'.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the meaning of the white horse in Revelation see Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1977), pp. 151-4. In fact, the white-horse can be traced to pre-Imperial Rome; Elena E. Kuzmina, 'Mythological Treatment of the Horse in Indo-European Culture', in *Horses and Humans: The Evolution of Human-Equine Relationships*, ed. by Sandra L. Olsen, Susan Grant, Alice M. Choyke, and László Bartosiewicz (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), p. 263. All Bible passages used in this study are taken from the online Douay-Rheims English translation, available at <www.latinvulgate.com>

⁹⁰ Jörg Traeger, *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums* (München: Schnell & Steiner, 1970), pp. 9-12. Traeger argued that the horse was a symbol of the pope's *Herrschaftszeichen*, that is, his lordship. In a more recent volume, Amy Goodrich Remensnyder suggests that, 'On such horses, the pope and cardinals rode in processions designed as expressions of sovereignty and lordship.' See, Amy Goodrich Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 83.

⁹¹ Disputing this claim, Elisabeth Garms-Cornides in a review of Traeger's study says that whilst, 'no one will doubt that it [the white horse] belongs to the lordly paraphernalia...I don't think that the horse in late antiquity and the Middle Ages was considered a "Herrschaftszeichen" with the exclusiveness this term requires'; Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, 'Review of *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums* by Jörg Traeger', *AB*, 55 (1973), 451-6 (p. 452).

Cornides calls an ‘homage of the reins’,⁹² had its own long history and required a dignitary, usually an emperor, to hold the bridle of the pope’s horse ‘as a token of his obsequiousness’.⁹³ It could be traced back to the belief that Constantine submitted himself in this way to Pope Silvester during the fourth century, an event depicted on the walls of the Capella di San Silvestro at Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome. That particular fresco cycle, which also portrays the so-called Donation of Constantine, was essentially ‘a demonstration that the pope possessed both ecclesiastical and imperial power, being simultaneously the successor of St. Peter and of Constantine.’⁹⁴

As one would expect, Conzie in the *Entreé* describes how this moment should have been structured;

on the pope's right side there ought to stand as footman the greater lord who is there at that time – and by himself, if he should be of such merit, as the lord Duke of Savoy could do – unless there be another very great lord there, his equal or near-equal, because then one would be able to stand on the right side and another on the left. But, if none of these should be present at that time, then there stands on the pope's right side the greater official lords of the city who are present there. But, if these be not of great authority, joined to them are honourable men of the aforesaid city.⁹⁵

Given the notion of a ‘great lord’ was antithetical to the very idea of Florence, responsibility for the *officium stratoris* fell to those ‘greater official lords’ that Conzie suggested. Consequently, Petriboni tells us that, ‘The Gonfaloniere della Giustizia had the right [side of the bridle] and the Proposto dei Signori the other side’.⁹⁶ The former, the Gonfaloniere (Standard-Bearer of Justice), was the single most important office in Quattrocento Florence, the ‘titular head of the republic.’⁹⁷ Together he and the eight Signori made up the Signoria, Florence’s executive, and it is indicative of the esteem in which this part of the ritual was held that Cosimo managed to have himself elected Gonfaloniere for the month of January 1439 so that he might be the one to hold the right-hand side of the bridle upon Eugenius’ return.⁹⁸ The Proposto (provost) was a title given to one of the eight sitting Signori. It was a short-term office, however, occupied for just three days at a time, during which the holder would serve as a quasi-leader of the group. According to Goro Dati, ‘all the other *priori* must obey the orders of the *proposto*, who walks in front of them next to the standard-bearer...he

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Walter Ullmann, *The growth of papal government in the Middle Ages: a study in the ideological relation of lay to clerical power* (London: Methuen, 1955), p. 160.

⁹⁴ Maria Giulia Barberini, *I Santi Quattro Coronati a Roma* (Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1989), p. 67; ‘a dimostrazione che il papa ha il potere ecclesiastico ed imperiale, essendo contemporaneamente successore di San Pietro e di Costantino.’ See also, Lia Barelli, *Il complesso monumentale del Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma* (Roma: Viella, 2009), pp. 70-80. The frescoes date from the thirteenth century.

⁹⁵ *Entreé*, pp. 240-1; ‘papam debet adestrare, pedes, maior dominus, qui pro tunc ibidem erit, – et solus, si sit tante excellentie, ut facere posset dominus dux Sabaudie, – nisi esset ibi alius bene magnus, equalis vel prope, quia tunc unus posset adestrare a dextris, alius a sinistris. Si autem nullus horum ibidem existat, tunc adestrant papam maiores officarii domini illius civitatis, qui ibi presentes sunt. Si autem hii non sint magne auctoritatis, adiunguntur eis honorabiles homines dicte civitatis.’

⁹⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 117; ‘Il Gonfaloniere della giustizia dalla mano diritta e llo Proposto de’ Signori dal’altro lato e i compagni loro d’attorno al cavallo, e’ Collegi portarono lo stendardo sopra il Santo Padre.’

⁹⁷ Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 27.

⁹⁸ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 287.

is the one entitled to purpose actions and ratify the council's decisions.⁹⁹ Whilst not as prestigious as the Gonfaloniere, the Proposto was yet a prominent office, meaning that two of Florence's primary civil servants attended the pope, both of which were in their turn exalted by being in such close proximity to the pontiff.

Of course, we have already seen that the processions were comprised of far more than the pope and his 'grooms'. The descriptions of the 1419 entry cortege that opened this chapter noted the friars, citizens, and knights who participated in the ritual, to say nothing of the other officials of the Florentine government, the Collegi, the Sei and the Otto. Also a part of the cortege were the many youths, the *molti giovani* tasked with escorting the Blessed Sacrament. Petriboni tells us that in 1419 they numbered 'around one hundred'.¹⁰⁰ Each of those listed here were the constants around which each of the processions was formed.

That said, as the city grew increasingly comfortable with this particular rite and the role it played in welcoming or taking leave of a visiting pope, we are able to observe the continued evolution of the ritual by identifying those other civic figures that would come to join the list of participants. Beginning with Martin's departure in 1420 each cortege included two flags, one displaying the arms of the Church, the other the arms of the pope. These added banners were borne by the podestà and the capitano del popolo, respectively, two of the 'major officials of the Florentine criminal law system'.¹⁰¹ Although both offices had at one time served a political function, from the early-1370s they had been exclusively judicial offices. Their inclusion, therefore, spoke to the rule of law the commune had established when it disenfranchised its constantly unruly magnate class, engendering the sense of political independence that was such an oft-boasted aspect of Florentine self-identity.

Also a feature of the subsequent processions were four additional citizens, each of whom bore a staff topped by a papal hat. These caps were visual markers of papal authority, emblems of the 'essential elements of his [the pope's] sovereignty'.¹⁰² Since neither the flags nor the caps are noted as part of Martin's arrival procession, their appearance from his departure onwards suggests that they were added because their absence was noted during the arrival, included as they were by Conzie in the *Entrée*.¹⁰³

There were of course various other participants who joined the processions on a case by case basis. When Martin departed the Lords of Imola and Piombino were a part of the cortege, as were, 'eight citizens under the canopy, namely, four *cavalieri* and four *scudieri*...and

⁹⁹ Goro Dati, *The Structure of the Florentine Government*, in *Images of Quattrocento Florence*, trans. and ed. by Baldassarri and Saber p. 47.

¹⁰⁰ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 117

¹⁰¹ Laura Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. xi, 78. For a detailed analysis of both offices see pp. 74-125.

¹⁰² Bertelli, *The King's body*, pp. 95-6.

¹⁰³ *Entrée*, p. 239.

five citizens for the honour of the state and all of our *contado*.¹⁰⁴ One of the eight mentioned here was Cosimo's father, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. And joining Eugenius as he left the city in 1436 were many of the 'ambassadors and foreigners' that had no doubt been in Florence due to the cathedral consecration just a few weeks earlier.

That this evolving list of participants remained both recognisable and coherent to the Florentines is a clear indication that the assembled cohort communicated to the citizenry using a ritual language, what Bourdieu calls 'the language of authority.'¹⁰⁵ This was a visual discourse, one where the pope was placed under the relevant symbols of civic power and escorted into or away from the city in a flow of bodies whose order made perfect sense. Had this order been jumbled, had the ritual been altered in any way it would have been as nonsensical to a fifteenth-century Florentine as a modern wedding where the reception came before the ceremony.

The key question to be asked, then, is how was this language perceived by those who were present. What would it have meant to the Florentines to see Martin astride a splendidly adorned white horse being led by two of the commune's primary officeholders and surrounded by the nucleus of civic authority? What did it mean eighteen months later when the podestà and the capitano del popolo were added to Martin's departing cortege? And what was the impact when Cosimo was able to insert himself into the image in 1439?

Most obviously, it oriented the Florentine body politic in relation to the pope and the papal institution, enhancing the prestige of the host. The various standards used throughout the ritual – the horse, for example, carried both the coat of arms of the Parte and the crossed keys of the papacy – began the process of negotiating how commune and papacy would occupy the same space during each of the residencies, a process brought to fruition within the papal apartments, the subject of Chapters Three and Six. And whilst it is suggested above that this was not a moment expressing any notion of papal overlordship, it must also be conceded that both Martin and Eugenius were made all the more august, certainly more papal, when the separate elements of the ritual are considered as an affective whole.

At the very least it is clear that these ritual moments were as much about Florentine identity as they were about papal prestige. The fact that leading members of the city's civic apparatus led the pope into the city signalled to all that he would be afforded every honour his authority commanded, insofar as it was well understood that Florentine interests would never be compromised during his stay. The amalgam of civic delegates and religious figures,

¹⁰⁴ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 133; 'et furono aletti viij cittadini, cioè iiij cavalieri et iiij schudieri...Et v cittadini furono aletti a onorallo per la terra et per tutto il nostro contado.' From Franco Sacchetti's late-fourteenth century literary work *Il trecentonovelle* we know that four classes of knights (*cavalieri bagnati*, *cavalieri di corredo*, *cavalieri di scudo*, and *cavalieri d'arme*) were still a part of the cultural landscape of this period, even if such titles were more than anything a nostalgic throwback to a chivalrous past; Franco Sacchetti, *Il trecentonovelle*, ed. by Davide Puccini (Torino: Utet Libreria, 2004), p. 420. For a discussion of knighthood in Florence during the medieval period see Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 145-63.

¹⁰⁵ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, p. 113.

each identified by their respective banners, can be seen as a diagrammatic depiction of the hierarchy of honour the city wished to establish in regards to its papal guests. Each entry procession was a moving, kinetic representation of the activity to come in the shaping of the physical spaces of the city. Ultimately they spoke of the stability and orthodoxy of the Florentine civic body and the culture that supported it, and in a general sense the participants were drawn from a stable list because it was stability the city was after when enacting this particular behavioural form.

If the various civic, social, and religious elements of Florentine society that came together to participate in these rituals were more or less fixed, so too were the topographical points each procession had to touch upon as a matter of course. As one would expect, the itineraries followed by the respective processions were entirely contingent upon both the direction of travel, as well as the point of ingress or egress. In both 1419 and 1439, for example, since Martin and Eugenius approached Florence from the north, they entered the city through the Porta San Gallo (Plate 4). In 1436 Eugenius would use the same gate when he left for Bologna (Plate 5). Since Eugenius in 1434 had come from Pisa, he entered Florence through the Oltrano after using the Porta San Frediano (Plate 6). And for their respective departures in 1420 and 1443, both men were bound for Rome and exited therefore via the southern part of the city, through the Porta San Gattolino, the modern-day Porta Romana (Plates 7 & 8).

We have detailed itineraries for five of the six papal processions: the 1419, 1434, and 1439 entries, as well as the 1420 and 1436 departures. Eugenius' final adieu in March 1443 remains somewhat of a mystery. As noted, the *Diario* stops mid-way through his second sojourn, whilst Petriboni by that point had lost entirely the appetite for recording such events with any sort of detail. Consequently, the *Priorista* marks the event with just a single, terse sentence; 'And then, on 17 March [1443], the most Holy Father Pope Eugenius IV, with a grand triumph, left Florence and went to Rome.'¹⁰⁶ We do know from the *Giornali* of ser Giusto Giusti d'Anghiari that Eugenius stayed that first night in San Casciano, a small community just to the south of Florence, but beyond this, little else.¹⁰⁷ As we shall see in a moment, it is reasonable to assume that the 1443 procession would have followed more or less the same route as Martin's 1420 departure. Both men, after all, were bound for Rome and hence went through the Porta San Gattolino and along Via Senese.

In almost every case the six processions gravitated towards the city's central nodes of civic and religious life, the Palazzo della Signoria and the cathedral, respectively. So far as we can

¹⁰⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 310; 'Di poi, a di 17 di março, il Santissimo Padre papa Ugenio quarto si parti di Firenze, con grande triunfo, et andonne a Roma.'

¹⁰⁷ Giusto Giusti d'Anghiari, *I giornali di ser Giusto Giusti d'Anghiari (1437-1482)*, ed. by Nerida Newbiggin, *Letteratura Italiana Antica*, 3 (2002), 41-246 (p.78).

tell only one of the six did not visit both, Eugenius in 1436. It seems as though on that occasion he simply took the most direct route out of the city, more than likely bypassing even the cathedral. As far as the entry processions were concerned, they were drawn to these key sites so that the arriving pope could fulfil certain requirements fundamental to the process of legitimating his presence in the city. The cathedral in particular was a focus, and Conzie in the *Entrée* reiterates at several points that it should be the pope's first stop after passing through the gate.¹⁰⁸

It was certainly the first stop on the Porta San Gallo itinerary followed by Martin in 1419 and Eugenius in 1439. Once through the gate, the cortege would proceed down Via San Gallo, the street bisecting that part of the city which contained a great many of the religious institutions destined for reform during the residencies. After continuing along Borgo San Lorenzo until the Canto alla Paglia, at that point this main thoroughfare joined the northwest corner of Piazza San Giovanni, thereby bringing the procession to the cathedral. There the popes would dismount and walk along a white linen cloth that had been laid down for the occasion, proceeding to the altar to offer a prayer and a blessing. Martin in 1419, for example,

entered the Church, proceeding along the woollen cloth that was laid down from the door all the way to the stairs of the altar, and the Signori were still with him. Coming to the stairs of the altar, he knelt, and he stayed kneeling for an interval of an eighth of an hour; then he knelt likewise at the altar, with a prayer and a benediction given to the people.¹⁰⁹

This same ceremony was repeated by Eugenius on the two occasions he arrived in the city, and interestingly, the moment seems to have adapted to a degree by the Florentines. The 'woollen cloth' described by Corazza recalls the 'beautiful and long carpet, or some other equivalent cloth' that Conzié stated ought to be laid out in the gate for the arriving pope.¹¹⁰ The *Entrée* refers to no such adornment at the cathedral.

Once their obligations at the cathedral had been fulfilled, the next stop for the popes on the Porta San Gallo itinerary was the Palazzo della Signoria, but rather than taking the most direct route to the seat of Florentine government, the processions traced a path that followed a significant portion of the ancient Roman walls.¹¹¹ This was a meaningful decision, the motivations for which will become apparent in a moment. At any rate, after exiting the Duomo the popes continued along its northern edge, turning right to proceed along the modern Via Proconsolo, past Santa Maria in Campo and the Bargello, eventually turning

¹⁰⁸ *Entrée*, pp. 237-43

¹⁰⁹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 50; 'entrò in Chiesa, andò su per panni lani, che erano distesi dalla porta insino alle scale dell'altare, tuttavia i Signori con lui. Giunto alle scale dell'altare, s'inginocchiò, e stette in ginocchione per spazio d'un ottavo d'ora; poi s'inginocchiò all'altare e stette altrettanto, con l'orazione e la benedizione diede al popolo.'

¹¹⁰ *Entrée*, pp. 237-43; 'tapetum, pulchrum et longum, vel alius pannus equipolens.'

¹¹¹ The shortest path between the Duomo and the Palazzo della Signoria is along the modern day Via dei Calzaiuoli. It was not named as such in the fifteenth century, different sections of the street were named for the trades that occupied them; Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 267.

right again at Via dei Gondi in order to enter the Piazza della Signoria from behind the town hall.¹¹²

Under less auspicious circumstances, that is, for those of a lesser rank, the Piazza della Signoria would have been the point where the *signori* first made contact with the procession. Not every guest was received at the gate; that honour was reserved for dignitaries of only the highest level, men such as emperors and popes.¹¹³ All others first encountered the *signori* on the *ringhiera*, the raised platform that sat in front of the town hall. Visiting the *ringhiera*, however, was not redundant, especially in light of the observation that, ‘As an icon of republicanism it became a sacred place within the ritual of government.’¹¹⁴ If only to reinforce the legitimacy of the authority that had granted them access to the city, it was therefore necessary that the arriving popes makes some contact with the seat of communal government, and to that end, instead of stopping at the *ringhiera* the papal processions skirted it. They would then exit the piazza via the thoroughfare directly opposite the front of the town hall, namely, along Via Varecheria.

From that point a procession following the Porta San Gallo itinerary would proceed ‘along Via Porta Santa Maria and Borgo Sant’Apostolo to San Sisti, and straight down to the piazza of Santa Maria Novella’.¹¹⁵ Petriboni described this segment of Martin’s entry route differently, listing instead two of the notable family *palazzij* passed by the entourage; the procession, he says, went, ‘along Via Porta Santa Maria and Borgo Sant’Apostolo, and from the house of the Spini along to the house of the Tornaquinci’.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to note here the different way each man orients their narrative within the urban space. The ‘San Sisti’ Corazza refers to is the fourteenth-century tabernacle at the corner of the modern Via del Sole and Via delle Belle Donne; the palaces of Petriboni’s description were the homes of two of Florence’s most prominent families. These are examples of the way a fifteenth-century Florentine moved around the streetscape by deploying a visual map that included notable landmarks. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the papal processions under Eugenius actually added new points of reference to this mental compass, as exemplified in the Carnesecchi Tabernacle, which was almost certainly added during the second sojourn.¹¹⁷ This

¹¹² Corazza describes this part of the route as, ‘Poi montò a cavallo e andò dai Fondamenti, da’ Balestrieri, insino a’ Magalotti; poi si volse, e andò su per la piazza de’ Signori’; Corazza, *Diario*, p. 50. The *Fondamenti* refers to the street that encircled the Duomo, the Balestrieri was the name for Via Proconsolo between the Duomo and the Palazzo Pazzi, whilst the Magalotti is a reference to the familial towers that stood right behind the Palazzo della Signoria. See Bertelli, *The King’s body*, p. 76; Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 8.

¹¹³ Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 315.

¹¹⁴ Stephen Milner, ‘Citing the *ringhiera*: The politics of place and public address in Trecento Florence’, *Italian Studies*, 55 (2000), 53-82 (p. 62).

¹¹⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 50; ‘per Porta Santa Maria, per Borgo Sant’Apostolo, a San Sisti; e giù ritto alla piazza di Santa Maria Novella’.

¹¹⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 117; ‘et per porta Santa Maria et per borgho Santo Apostolo et da chasa gli Spini et giù da chasa e Tornaquinci, et ismontò in Santa Maria Novella’

¹¹⁷ Brenda Preyer, ‘The ‘chasa della Vergine Maria’: the Patron and Site of Domenico Veneziano’s Carnesecchi Tabernacle in Florence’, (unpublished essay). Many thanks to Dr Preyer for providing me with a copy of this piece.

image, which sat on the main route between Santa Maria Novella and the Duomo, came also to be a part of the language used by the citizens to orient themselves in their city.

Moreover, this final part of the procession followed a section of the eleventh-century walls, which, like the decision to track a great deal of the boundaries of the Roman settlement, was a deliberate choice.¹¹⁸ There was a precedent for this. In the thirteenth century the cathedral canons had tracked processional routes that deferred to the ancient *castrum*, an act Niall Atkinson describes as, ‘intentionally anachronistic in the way they [the canons] continued to demarcate the older topography of the city precisely at the moment when Florence was expanding its territory with new sets of walls and secularizing its political institutions.’¹¹⁹ By tracking sections of the same ancient boundaries the papal processions were another example of this impulse at work.

Although their order was reversed, the essential sites for a procession headed in the opposite direction were the same. When Eugenius entered through the Porta San Frediano in 1434 his procession encountered the Palazzo della Signoria before his visit to the Duomo. On that day,

He went along Borgo San Frediano, and past [the house of] the Frescobaldi and Borgo San Jacopo. From the Ponte Vecchio he went along Via Por Santa Maria to the Piazza della Signoria, from the [palace of the] *Podestà* along [Via dei] Fondamenti, and he dismounted at Santa Maria del Fiore.¹²⁰

The ‘panni lani’ (woollen cloth) was again laid out for the occasion and the arriving pope once more performed the proper ceremonies at the cathedral altar. After remounting his horse, he would then have proceeded past the Baptistery until the Canto dei Carnesecchi, heading down Via dei Banchi which brought him to the Piazza di Santa Maria Novella. Despite the inverted itinerary, the end result of this process was the same. After a procession some three kilometres long and which followed a route touching the civic and religious hubs of the city, Eugenius arrived at his lodgings, his papal authority (although bruised) intact and ready to begin its time in Florence.

If the three processional entries were angled to legitimise the papal presence and provide each man with an appropriate space from which he might exercise his agency whilst in the city, the three processional exits theoretically represented this process in reverse. The purpose of these rituals was to conclude papal authority within the Florentine walls and send the popes off in an appropriate and legitimate way.

¹¹⁸ Najemy, *History of Florence*, p. 8.

¹¹⁹ Niall Atkinson, ‘Seeing Sound: Mapping the Florentine Soundscape’, in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the early modern city*, ed. by Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 163.

¹²⁰ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 73; ‘Andò per Borgo San Friano, e da’ Frescobaldi per Borgo San Jacopo, dal Ponte Vecchio per Porta Santa Maria alla piazza de’ Signori, dal Podestà, da’ Fondamenti, e scavalcò a Santa Maria del Fiore’.

As noted, we can be certain about the path followed by only two of the three departing processions. None of the sources record the exact route followed by Eugenius in 1443, but in light of the fact that the processions were relatively stable—they were augmented rather than altered from one to the next—the assumption that the 1443 route was essentially the same as that followed in 1420 seems quite a safe one to make. It was certainly not identical to Martin’s departure. On that occasion the pope had stopped at Sant’Egidio in the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, continuing east until the Canto alla Rondine before making an acute turn in order to return to the centre along Borgo degli Albizi, re-joining the main processional route with a left hand turn into Via Proconsolo. These extraneous destinations were added to the itinerary so that the pope could confirm the consecration of the small church that served the hospital.

At the very least it is clear that there was not as inflexible an emphasis that the farewell processions touch both the Duomo and the Palazzo della Signoria on their way out of the city. Whilst Martin’s procession in 1419 did just that, and more than likely, Eugenius’ in 1443, Corazza’s description of the 1434 departure suggests that the pope simply took the most direct route to the gate;

The pope left the papal court by the minor door on Via della Scala and came onto the piazza of Santa Maria Novella, and then past the Canto dei Carnesecchi and Santa Maria Maggiore to the Canto alla Paglia, and along Borgo San Lorenzo and by way of Via San Gallo to the gate, where he took leave of the Signori.¹²¹

It seems he did not go past the Duomo and there is certainly no indication in the sources that he visited the Palazzo della Signoria at any stage on the day.

The processions represented the Florentines’ very first glimpse of the arriving popes. hence these ritual moments were imbued with a range of meanings. One wonders at the difference between local perceptions of Eugenius’ arrival in 1434 with just a single cardinal in tow, and his arrival in 1439, returning as he was with multiple cardinals, and a church council as well. The ultimate aim of the processions, however, was to establish from the outset a strong culture of communal authority around the respective residencies. That the popes had been granted access to the city was by the good grace of the commune, and the ritual they

¹²¹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 78; ‘Usci della corte il papa dalla via della Scala dalla porta minore e venne su per la piazza di Santa Maria Novella, e poi giù da’ Carnesecchi e da Santa Maria Maggiore al Canto alla Paglia per Borgo San Lorenzo e per via di San Gallo alla porta, dove si fermò e prese comiato da’ Signori.’

encountered upon arrival was the protocol which conveyed that reality to both the popes who sought a temporary home and the people that took them in.

Chapter Two

The city with two bishops

By the beginning of the fifteenth century the *intitulatio* of any properly constituted *littera apostolica* (apostolic letter known as a papal bull) had well over a thousand years of tradition feeding into its strictly defined form.¹ The *intitulatio* was the declaratory phrase that introduced every such document, and as a standardised element of the genre it served as both a statement of provenance, as well as a reiteration of the authority from which the bull had originated; it emphasised for the reader that the directives therein came from the papal office itself.² So it was that the most famous bull from the years of the papal residencies, *Laetentur caeli*, began with the *intitulatio*, ‘Eugenius episcopus servus servorum dei’ (Eugenius, bishop, servant of the servants of God).³

A derivation of the Greek *ἐπισκοπος*/*episkopos* (overseer), the Latin *episcopus* had been central to Christianity from the earliest years of the faith.⁴ The bishop’s place in the Church occupied early-Christian thinkers as authoritative as Clement of Rome,⁵ Ignatius of Antioch,⁶ and Irenaeus.⁷ By the early-400s Pope Innocent I was able to conclude that the subordination of every bishop to their namesake in Rome had been achieved,⁸ and over the following centuries the Bishop of Rome, accompanied by the honorific title *papa*,⁹ emerged as the undisputed head of the Latin Church.

As touchstones of his papal identity, the pope’s episcopal roots continued to be intermittently restated; they were emphasised in the eighth-century *Liber diurnus*,¹⁰ in Thomas of Capua’s thirteenth-century *Ars dictandi*,¹¹ and even in the late-Quattrocento by the *Practica Apostolicae Cancellariae*, a comprehensive manual of the literary forms required in the

¹ Papal bulls were so named because of the leaden seal, the *bullā*, that was attached to the bottom, right-hand corner of the document; Erik van Mingroot, ‘Sapiente Immarcessibilis’: *A Diplomatic and Comparative Study of the Bull of Foundation of the University of Louvain (December 9, 1425)*, trans. by Angela Fritsen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994), p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 137. The *intitulatio* served to immediately announce the ‘author’ to whom the provenance of the papal document could be ascribed.

³ The entire text of this bull is published in Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 412-15.

⁴ For an excellent introduction to the episcopal office and its place in the history of the Church see Jennifer Mara DeSilva, ‘Introduction: A Living Example’, in *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jennifer Mara DeSilva (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2012), pp. 1-25, especially pp. 5-11.

⁵ Clement of Rome, Letter to the Corinthians, quoted in, Francis A. Sullivan, *From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church* (New York: The Newman Press, 2001), p. 94; ‘...preaching everywhere in country and town, they [the Apostles] appointed their first fruits...to be bishops and deacons for the future believers.’

⁶ Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, published in, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, trans. by William R. Schoedel and ed. by Helmut Koester (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p. 238; ‘You must all follow the bishop as Jesus Christ (followed) the Father...Let no one do anything apart from the bishop that has to do with the church.’

⁷ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, published in, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, trans. and ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 24 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867-85), v, p. 261 (III.3.3); ‘The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the church, committed into the hands of Linus the episcopate.’ Linus was the immediate successor to Peter, thought at the time to be the very first Bishop of Rome.

⁸ Innocent I, *Letter to Decentius*, published in, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome: The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio*, ed. and trans. by Martin F. Connell (Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 2002), pp. 18-22.

⁹ John Moorhead, ‘Papa as “bishop of Rome”’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 337-50 (p. 337). Moorhead demonstrates that although it had emerged by at least the early-300s, *papa* was not in these centuries an exclusive title and it was in fact used to refer to both the pontiff and other bishops into the Carolingian period; (p. 347).

¹⁰ *Liber Diurnus*, ed. by Theodor von Sicking (Vienna, 1889), pp. 1-3.

¹¹ *Die Ars dictandi des Thomas von Capua* ed. by Emmy Heller (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929), p. 21.

production of papal documents.¹² The reality was that the bishopric was a necessary antecedent to the emergence of the pope as the supreme head of the universal Church, and as much as he sat atop its hierarchy, he was simultaneously a bishop who presided over an episcopal see. During those years that Martin and Eugenius were resident, Florence became a city with two bishops.

This chapter examines how religious authority played out under those circumstances. At its core, it considers how autonomous papal and episcopal hierarchies, each acting upon the spiritual and temporal concerns peculiar to its own jurisdiction might have affected one another whilst occupying the same diocesan space. Further to this, it asks if the spiritual powers derived from each man in the exercise of their respective ecclesiastical offices were in fact able to coexist alongside one another, or if fifteenth-century Florence was simply too small a stage to accommodate both.

The religious authority that is the focus of this part of the discussion will be explored in three stages: through the reform of the local church, the influence both men exerted on Florentine confraternities throughout the residencies, and finally in papal involvement at several consecration ceremonies. Interrogating these areas allows us to identify the point from which religious authority flowed in those years that a pope was resident in the city, and also to measure the impact of the presence of successive popes on how spiritual authority was applied to the ecclesiastical, devotional, and even social networks around which Florentine life revolved. What impact did the papacy have on a city whose most senior religious figure, the local bishop and then archbishop, was often absent? Did either pope exploit the situation, willingly or otherwise, in order to reassert their religious authority at a time when papal power seemed in many ways tenuous at best?

There were certainly moments during the residencies when religious authority played out in fascinating ways. In 1420 Martin, enraged by what he perceived as a political betrayal on behalf of the Florentines, placed the city under interdict whilst resident in it.¹³ Conversely, in the days leading up to the Battle of Anghiari in June 1440 Eugenius supported a petition from the Florentine citizens who wished to carry the body of Andrea Corsini, the Bishop of Fiesole from 1349-74, in procession throughout the city due to a prophetic vision that had predicted an upcoming victory.¹⁴ This was a fundamentally important moment for the city, and yet, had Eugenius not been on hand to give his permission, it may never have happened.

¹² *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae. Saeculi XV. Exeuntis*, ed. by Dr. Ludwig Schmitz-Kallenberg (Münster: Cöpppenrathsche Buchhandlung, 1904), p. 23.

¹³ Partner, *The Papal State*, pp. 64-67. On 26 January 1420 there was an uprising in Bologna. On 11 April, Martin's anger at Florence for dealing directly with Bolognese ambassadors saw him place the city under interdict.

¹⁴ The episode revolves around the vision of a young boy named Giovanni d'Andrea who had visited the tomb of Andrea Corsini in Santa Maria del Carmine. The saint appeared to Giovanni, who eventually reported this to the communal authorities, and with the assistance of Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, a committed Carmelite, the pope, who initially refused the petition, eventually allowed Corsini's body to be carried throughout the city. The procession took place on 5 June 1440; the battle itself occurred on 29 June. For an excellent

This last episode hints at the fact that religious authority in fifteenth-century Florence depended as much on visibility and the ability to plug into the networks coursing through the city as it did on the spiritual legitimacy of the office, theoretical or otherwise. That being the case, the three areas outlined here allowed the visiting popes, particularly Eugenius, to tap into those religious impulses. After a period of relative stability under the quarter-century tenure of Amerigo Corsini (1411-35), Florence experienced a decade of rapid rotation through the archbishop's palace, a volatility that did not abate until 1445 when Eugenius nominated the Dominican Antoninus Pierozzi for the office. Eugenius was well-served by this volatility, a capriciousness that he in large part instigated by virtue of the men he selected. Of the two popes, Eugenius in particular found himself transplanted into an environment already well accustomed to a triangular tussle between the papacy, the archbishop, and the local structures of clerical power. The ecclesiastical environment into which Martin and then Eugenius ventured was, to say the least, perfectly suited to being utilised by a strong authority keen to make an impact.

Four different men served as bishop or archbishop during the years of the papal residencies: Corsini, Giovanni Vitelleschi (1435-37), Lodovico Trevisan (1437-39), and Bartolomeo Zabarella (1439-45).¹⁵ As their respective dates indicate, none of the four were nominated by Martin. Since the latter three were Eugenic appointees we may well assume that they were inclined towards supporting his papacy by ceding to him some of the authority of the office. At the very least, like the popes they served, each of these men brought specific qualities to the office.

In order to properly understand how both popes were able to locate themselves within an already functioning network of spiritual and temporal authority, it is first necessary to understand the general nature of the fifteenth-century bishopric, and then more specifically, the peculiarities of the office as applicable to the context of Florentine social, political, and religious sensibilities. Having outlined the context within which both popes were operating whilst in Florence, there is then an imperative to appreciate the character of each of the men who served as bishop or archbishop during the residencies.

The fifteenth-century episcopacy

In the Great Schism one finds a close example of the potential for conflict within a particular diocese. The simultaneous nomination of bishops loyal to a particular obedience turned cities

analysis of this moment see Nicholas A. Eckstein, *Painted Glories: the Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 184-6.

¹⁵ Corsini was elevated on 16 July 1411, Vitelleschi on 12 October 1435, Trevisan on 6 August 1437, and Zabarella on 18 December 1439; *Hierarchia catholica medi aevi*, ed. by Konrad Eubel, 7 vols (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1913-68), I, p. 251; II, p. 171. For the sake of clarity I shall only use the term archbishop and its derivatives when referring to the men who occupied the office after 1420. When I am talking about the authority and power of the office itself, either generally or in regards to Florence, bishop and its derivatives shall be used.

such as Wrocław, Basel, Constance, and Liège into a battleground for the hearts and minds of the faithful.¹⁶ To be sure, competitive appointments were far more common in dioceses that sat near borderlands, where bishops were deployed as a method of establishing influence within disputed territory. In central and northern Italy this strategy was more or less precluded by the fact that obedience to the Roman line was generally the prevailing position.¹⁷ There was simply little reward on offer for the Avignonese popes to appoint a bishop to an Italian see.¹⁸ That said, before Martin's election in 1417 the Florentines had shown themselves to be more than willing to ally themselves with either of the Italian lines. When Alexander V (1409-10) was elected into the Pisan obedience, Florence was one of the first European states to recognise him.¹⁹ The commune also had a strong relationship with his successor, John XXIII, both before and after he was elected pope, by virtue of his links to the Florentine banking community, particularly the Medici.²⁰

The struggle between rival bishops stands as a stark reminder of the position of the episcopacy as the most visible source of religious authority across Europe. In light of Denys Hay's observation that the number of peninsular dioceses was significantly greater than the rest of the continent combined, this claim rings particularly true for Italy and the proliferation there had several important consequences.²¹ Many of the Italian bishoprics were actually quite poor, particularly in the south where the median value of a see was around a fifth of the value of a northern one.²² Their prevalence also diluted their social and spiritual value. Episcopal absenteeism was a conspicuous problem and many men never set foot in their sees, particularly the poorer ones, leaving their pastoral duties to appointed proctors.²³ Some dioceses became nothing more than stepping-stones for the ambitious few that were well connected to the avenues of papal and curial power, whilst others were treated like property that came to be dominated by powerful families. In all, these circumstances are somewhat challenging to the credibility and integrity of the bishop as a source of religious authority, and it is little wonder that Hay described the situation in Quattrocento Italy as 'over-bishoped [and] absentee ridden'.²⁴ More recently, scholarship on the state of the Cinquecento episcopate suggests that it had declined into a 'state of degeneration' throughout Italy in the Quattrocento.²⁵

¹⁶ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 7.

¹⁷ Denys Hay, *The church in Italy in the fifteenth century: The Birkbeck lectures, 1971* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 28-9.

¹⁸ Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ Brucker, *The Civic World*, p. 295.

²⁰ Holmes, 'How the Medici became the Pope's Bankers', in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 361-76. See also David S. Peterson, 'Florence's *universitas cleri* in the early fifteenth century' *RIS*, 2 (1988), 185-96 (p. 187).

²¹ Hay, *The Church in Italy*, p. 10.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Hay's figures also demonstrate that there were more episcopal sees in southern-Italy than there were in central and northern Italy combined.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁵ Francesco C. Cesario, 'The Episcopacy in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, ed. by Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 67.

The Florentine bishopric was itself ‘odd and interesting’.²⁶ Characterised by a mixture of these strengths and weaknesses, it suffered no crisis of wealth and was in fact one of the richest in Italy.²⁷ Whilst prestigious, it certainly was not immune to the scourge of absenteeism. Indeed, its desirability contributed to this since many of the men who held the office saw it as what Peterson calls a ‘mere *pasaggio*’ for those who had managed to reach the inner sanctum of papal favour and who harboured ambitions of climbing higher still.²⁸ This is certainly corroborated by the fact that three of the four men Eugenius appointed to the office eventually secured a cardinal’s hat, namely, Vitelleschi, Trevisan, and Zabarella, although the latter never received his. He died in Siena whilst *en route* to Rome to collect it.

Florence’s history with its highest religious office was long and storied. The relics of its first bishop, St Zenobius (d. c. 424), had been translated from San Lorenzo to Santa Reparata in the late-800s, turning the latter into a site of pilgrimage.²⁹ Promoted by the cathedral canons, active veneration of Zenobius’ cult began in the eleventh century, thereafter becoming a major element of the city’s devotional lexicon.³⁰ From at least the late-1200s the ritualised *adventus* procession that brought each new bishop into Florence explicitly linked the newcomer to the city’s episcopal past by touching two locations believed to be sites of Zenobius miracles: Borgo degli Albizi where the saint allegedly resurrected a pilgrim boy who had died whilst on the way to Rome, and Piazza San Giovanni where a dead elm tree had sprung back to life as the saint’s relics passed by during the translation procession.³¹ These stops were made either side of a visit to the cathedral where the arriving bishop would say an appropriate prayer at the altar dedicated to him.³²

Although Maureen Miller has demonstrated that an *adventus* of this type was certainly not peculiar to Florence, the incoming bishop, as a personification of the power wielded by the office, would submit himself to the elaborate ritual whilst the citizens either jostled for precedence or protected what influence they already had in his processional wake.³³ The rewards for proximity to episcopal authority were significant, and two notable Florentine clans, the Girolami and the Visdomini, derived great honour from theirs. The Girolami possessed Zenobius’ episcopal ring, and every year on his feast day (25 May) a procession

²⁶ Hay, *The Church in Italy*, p. 15.

²⁷ David S. Peterson, ‘Archbishop Antoninus: Florence and the Church in the earlier fifteenth century’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1985), pp. 29-30.

²⁸ David S. Peterson, ‘An Episcopal Election in Quattrocento Florence’, in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. by James Ross Sweeney and Stanley Chodorow (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 304.

²⁹ Franklin Toker, ‘Excavations Below the Cathedral of Florence, 1965-1974’, *Gesta*, 14 (1975), 17-36 (p. 31). Zenobius’ canonisation was pre-congregation, hence we do not know when it occurred.

³⁰ Maureen C. Miller, ‘The Saint Zenobius Dossal by the Master of the Bigallo and the Cathedral Chapter of Florence’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 19 (2007), 65-81, (p. 68).

³¹ For an excellent analysis of the Florentine episcopal *adventus* see Maureen C. Miller, ‘Urban Space, Sacred Topography, and Ritual Meanings in Florence: The Route of the Bishop’s Entry, c. 1200-1600’, in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 237-49. The new bishop spent his first night in the city at San Pier Maggiore, at which he was involved in a ritual marriage with the abbees.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³³ Maureen C. Miller, ‘The Florentine Bishop’s Ritual Entry and the Origins of the Medieval Episcopal *Adventus*’, *Revue d’Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 98 (2003), 5-28 (p. 5).

travelled from their familial tower to the saint's altar in the cathedral. Their coat of arms featured prominently in the procession and at the liturgy which followed.³⁴ The Visdomini, on the other hand, were a *consorteria* (alliance) of related families that had fiercely protected their prerogatives as custodians of the vacant diocese since the eleventh century, a standing that was rewarded with a preeminent position in the *adventus* cortege noted above.³⁵

By the early-fifteenth century Zenobius was so well entrenched as a focal point of Florentine religious culture that in 1428, as the Duomo neared completion, it was decided that a magnificent new sepulchre dedicated to him would also be built.³⁶ In 1432, this prestigious commission went to the master goldsmith Ghiberti,³⁷ and on 26 April 1439, alongside important members of the Greek and Latin Churches, Eugenius oversaw an elaborate liturgy that translated Zenobius' relics for a second time, from the crypt of the superseded Santa Reparata to their final resting place in the central chapel of the eastern transept, directly behind the high altar. Whilst this event will be discussed in Chapter Four, for the moment it is enough to recognise that Zenobius and the authority he embodied were in the years covered by this study 'endowed with remarkable civic and Republican meaning'.³⁸

The four men who served as archbishop during the residencies were the beneficiaries of this tradition. A scion of the same notable Florentine family as Pietro Corsini, Bishop of Florence (1363-70), and the aforementioned St Andrea Corsini,³⁹ Amerigo Corsini was Florence's first archbishop, and his time in office has attracted mixed appraisals. John Henderson noted his industry in relation to the city's many confraternities, whilst Peterson called into question the strength of his leadership.⁴⁰ One Florentine visitation is noted in 1422.⁴¹ However Corsini's episcopacy may be characterised, it is probable he was not in Florence a great deal during Martin's residency. He is not mentioned in any record of Martin's processional entry, nor in those of his corresponding departure. Moreover, none of the sources record his presence during Eugenius' entry into Florence in 1434, although Giovanni Morelli does note in his *Chroniche* that Corsini was on hand in Pisa to greet Eugenius, gifting him 'panno per 2. mantelli', that is, cloth for two cloaks.⁴²

³⁴ Sally J. Cornelison, 'A French King and a Magic Ring: The Girolami and a Relic of St. Zenobius in Renaissance Florence', *RQ*, 55 (2002), 434-69 (p. 443).

³⁵ George W. Dameron, *Florence and its Church in the Age of Dante* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 68-70; Miller, 'Urban Space', pp. 238-9.

³⁶ YC, II 2 1, 173^v-174^r a (15 July 1428).

³⁷ YC, II 2 1, 155^v c (3 March 1432).

³⁸ Marica S. Tacconi, 'Liturgy and Politics in Renaissance Florence: The Creation of the 1526 Office for St. Zenobius', in *Music and Culture in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Liturgy, Sources, Symbolism*, ed. by Benjamin Brand and David J. Rothenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 73.

³⁹ On Pietro see J. Chiffolleau, 'Corsini, Pietro', *DBI*, XXIX, pp. 671-3; on Andrea see L. Saggi, 'Andrea Corsini, santo', *DBI*, III, pp. 88-92.

⁴⁰ David S. Peterson, 'Electoral politics and the Florentine clergy: a meeting of the *Maius Concilium* in 1424', *RJ*, 5 (1991), 359-97 (p. 379); Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 58.

⁴¹ David S. Peterson, 'State-Building, Church Reform, and the Politics of Legitimacy in Florence, 1375-1460', in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. by William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 127.

⁴² Giovanni and Leonardo Morelli, *Croniche*, published in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, 19 (1785), 1-255 (p. 119). According to Boschetto, Morelli more than likely had this information second hand; Boschetto, *Società e cultura*, p. 22.

Corsini's bishopric was at the very least a period of ecclesiastical turbulence. He was at odds with the local church at home and the papacy abroad. During his time the Florentine clergy, dissatisfied with what they saw as the prolonged and excessive roting of their financial base by both the papacy and the city, and with little protection from the bishop's palace, formed a unique corporate body, enshrining its own *Constitutiones sinodales cleri florentini*.⁴³ This was a move by the urban and rural religious to take greater control of diocesan governance, the central tenet of which was a challenge to established episcopal authority. Drawn up sometime between 1415 and 1420, this document was designed to offer the clergy protection from *oppressio*, 'even if the oppression should be brought about by our lord, the lord bishop of Florence, present or future'.⁴⁴ Given it has been noted that many of the subsequent negotiations between bishop and clergy throughout the 1420s and beyond were conducted by Tomasso della Bordella, Corsini's vicar-general, we might conclude that the archbishop was not personally on hand a great deal.⁴⁵

The charge of feeble leadership certainly cannot be levelled against Corsini's immediate successors, Giovanni Vitelleschi and Lodovico Trevisan, although Florence certainly was not the beneficiary of their authority.⁴⁶ Infamous men whose ecclesiastical careers exhibited a remarkable synergy with one another, both held the Florentine archbishopric for only a short time—Vitelleschi for just shy of two years, Trevisan a touch longer—and when the office passed from one to the other in August 1437, so too did the bishopric of Trogir pass in the opposite direction.⁴⁷ Both were capable military leaders and precisely the type of men Eugenius needed to act as the temporal ruler he could not in pursuit of the papacy's territorial interests.

Vitelleschi was certainly a man of action. Described by Partner as 'fierce and bizarre',⁴⁸ he actually captained the galley that carried Eugenius to Livorno after his escape.⁴⁹ He was also the first man tasked with bringing Rome and the Papal States back under papal control after

⁴³ Peterson analysed this move in great depth in a series of articles and essays. In chronological order they are: Peterson, 'Florence's *universitas cleri*'; David S. Peterson, 'Conciliarism, Republicanism and Corporatism: the 1415-1420 Constitution of the Florentine Clergy' *RQ*, 42 (1989), 183-226; David S. Peterson, 'Electoral politics'; David S. Peterson, 'Conciliarism at the Local Level: Florence's Clerical Corporation in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, the Councils, & Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Christianson, Izbicki, and Bellitto, pp. 250-70.

⁴⁴ The constitution is published in Richard C. Trexler, *Synodal law in Florence and Fiesole, 1306-1518* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971), pp. 346-71. See p. 365; 'etiam si oppressionem fieri contingat per dominum nostrum dominum episcopum florentinum presentem vel futurum'. This translation belongs to Peterson, 'Conciliarism, Republicanism and Corporatism', (p. 212).

⁴⁵ See Peterson, 'Florence's *universitas cleri*', and also Peterson, 'Electoral politics and the Florentine clergy'.

⁴⁶ There was in fact a seven month gap between Corsini and Vitelleschi. During that time Tommaso Tomasini della Paruta, the Bishop of Trogir, served as administrator of the diocese; He was charged with conducting a visitation of all religious institutions within the Florentine diocese in October 1435; *De ecclesiis recanatensi et lauretana earumque episcopis*, ed. by Joseph Vogel, 2 vols (Recinetti: Ex typographia Leonardi Badaloni, 1859), pp. 192-3.

⁴⁷ Vitelleschi was archbishop from October 1435 until August 1437, Trevisan from August 1437 until December 1439. Trevisan was the Bishop of Trogir from October 1435 until August 1437, Vitelleschi from August 1437 until his death in April 1440. The diary of Gemignano Inghirami, protonotary and *auditor sacri palatii*, records how these men essentially exchanged places; *CFDS: Fragmenta protocolli, diara privata, sermones*, ed. by Georgius Hofmann SI (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1951), p. 32; 'Die IX augusti 1437, que fuit die iovis, dominus papa Eugenius promovit dominum Iohannem de Cornetu, archiepiscopum Florentinum et legatum pro papa in regnum Aragonum, in cardinalem ad titulum S. Laurentii in Lucina, et magistrum Aluysium episcopum Traguriensem in archiepiscopum Florentinum.'

⁴⁸ Peter Partner, *The Lands of St Peter: The Papal States in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972), p. 410.

⁴⁹ Michael E. Mallett, *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 106.

June 1434, a role he performed with ruthless efficiency; David Chambers calls him ‘a master of sackings, massacres and summary executions.’⁵⁰ Vitelleschi did have experience with the to-and-fro of Florentine ecclesiastical politics since in 1427 Martin dispatched him to the city as an apostolic commissioner, however, his mission was wholly unsuccessful and he was soon recalled.⁵¹ As archbishop he did not enter the city until late-April 1437, just three months before his tenure ended, meaning he was was a notable absentee at the cathedral consecration, the key event falling within his time.⁵² Interestingly during his time in the city he stayed with the Medici, rather than in the bishop’s palace.⁵³

Vitelleschi’s replacement Trevisan also replaced him as commander of the papal forces when the former fell out of favour in 1440.⁵⁴ Trevisan’s prowess as a battlefield commander would go on to play a crucial role in the same Battle of Anghiari noted a moment ago. Unlike Vitelleschi, he was present for the major events of his archiepiscopacy. Whilst it is unclear exactly when he arrived in Florence, he was certainly with Eugenius in Ferrara where he spoke in December 1438 regarding the transfer of the council.⁵⁵ In all likelihood he entered Florence with Eugenius in late-January 1439, and we can be certain that he had at least arrived by April of that year since he presided over the Zenobius translation.

At the very least we can be certain that neither man was particularly interested in local episcopal authority; Peterson calls them ‘Corsini’s absentee successors’.⁵⁶ That both moved on to the cardinalate from their brief time as archbishop suggests they were exactly the type of career curialist Peterson was referring to when he labelled Florence a *pasaggio*, and the *tituli* each received on becoming cardinal were amongst the most sought after in the Quattrocento.⁵⁷ The sum total of this tells us it is improbable that either man spent much time at all in Florence. Both were appointees that made a great deal of temporal sense to a pope unable to return to Rome due to the debilitating weakness of his territorial power base.

The last man to serve as Florentine archbishop during the years of the papal residencies was Bartolomeo Zabarella, another with ancestral links to the office. Zabarella’s uncle was the famous canonist Francesco, Bishop of Florence for less than a year (1410-11) and a man

⁵⁰ D. S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), pp. 42-5. For a more sympathetic view of Vitelleschi see John E. Law, ‘Giovanni Vitelleschi: “prelato guerriero”’, *RS*, 12 (1998), 40-66.

⁵¹ Peterson, ‘Conciliarism, Republicanism and Corporatism’, (p. 223).

⁵² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 78.

⁵³ Peterson, ‘An episcopal election’, in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law*, ed. by Sweeney and Chodorow, p. 305.

⁵⁴ On Trevisan generally see Pio Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo (†1465)* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939). In the literature he is often called Scarampo due to a mid-sixteenth century misattribution; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976-84), II, p. 55 n. 44. Vitelleschi was arrested and then executed, perhaps at the command of Eugenius himself. This claim was made by Antonio da Rido, the castellan of Castel Sant’Angelo, which is where Vitelleschi was imprisoned before he mysteriously died; Partner, *The Lands of St Peter*, p. 413. According to Chambers, Rido was one of Trevisan’s men and both have long been implicated in Vitelleschi’s death; Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War*, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ Peterson, ‘Florence’s *universitas cleri*’, (p. 195).

⁵⁷ Vitelleschi was made a cardinal in 1437 and installed in the titular church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Trevisan was elevated in 1439, receiving San Lorenzo in Damaso, as well as the Patriarchate of Aquileia, an office that Vitelleschi had once held. On the desirability of these titular churches in the fifteenth-century, see Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 192.

best known for championing the cause of conciliarism, particularly at the Council of Pisa.⁵⁸ From 1428 the younger Zabarella had been the Archbishop of Spalato, modern-day Split, and alongside several others he had served the Eugenic cause at Basel.⁵⁹ According to some sources there were missions to Spain and Germany,⁶⁰ and he was definitely in France in 1439, charged with urging the king to the pope's defence.⁶¹ Since Zabarella was nominated not long thereafter, in December 1439, is likely the Florentine archbishopric was his reward. He was in Florence in 1441 since he was involved in the *Certame coronario*, a poetry competition organised by Piero de' Medici and Leon Battista Alberti.⁶² At any rate, his was an unremarkable archiepiscopate and many of the problems that persisted throughout the previous three terms—most prominently, the erosion of the power of the local archbishop—characterised his as well.⁶³

It is clear that none of Florence's archbishops spent a great deal of time in the city during this period, meaning that the resident popes were effectively the sole source of upper-level religious authority during the residencies. Moreover, since Vitelleschi, Trevisan, and Zabarella were all Eugenic appointees, we should anticipate that the possibility of friction between local and imported religious authority was at the lower end of the scale, to say nothing of the fact that each was very much a papal man. None were particularly interested nor active in the religious life of the city they presided over. And certainly, since each had so admirably represented Eugenius' territorial and spiritual interests, both in Italy and abroad, each was well rewarded for their loyalty with papal support as they progressed up the Curial ladder.

A model Florentine archbishop

On a prima facie basis it would be difficult to dispute the notion that Eugenius had far more of an impact on the religious life of the city than Martin. The Venetian pope simply resided in Florence for a great deal longer than his predecessor and this chapter will demonstrate that whilst there he busied himself with significant interventions into its religious domain. To derogate the impression Martin left on the city, however, would be inaccurate. One need

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 46 n. 21. Richardson here has compiled an excellent bibliography on the elder Zabarella.

⁵⁹ Eugenius' main representatives at the council were Cardinals Niccolò Albergati and Giuliano Cesarini, as well as Giovanni Berardi, the Archbishop of Taranto, and Zabarella, then the Archbishop of Spalato; see *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius: selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*, intro. and trans. by Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson, and Philip Krey (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), p. 341.

⁶⁰ Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli Scritti Padovani*, 2 vols (Padova: Minerva, 1832-6), II, pp. 424-7.

⁶¹ Cécile Caby, 'Prime ipotesi a proposito del dialogo *De optimo genere vite* di Girolamo Aliotti (1439)', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 243-79 (p. 269). This particular mission to France has been dated to the autumn of 1439; R. W. Lightbown, *Donatello & Michelozzo: An Artistic Partnership and its Patrons in the Early Renaissance*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1980), I, p. 130.

⁶² On this literary contest see Lucia Bertolini, 'ΑΓΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΤΗΣ il progetto del Certame Coronario (e la sua ricezione)', in *Il volgare come lingua di cultura dal trecento al cinquecento*, ed. by Arturo Calzona, Francesco Paolo Fiore, Alberto Tenenti, and Cesare Vasoli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), pp. 51-70; see also Boschetto, *Società e Cultura*, pp. 385-94. On 22 October of that year, the entrants presented their poems to an audience in the Duomo that included the archbishop; *De vera amicitia: I testi del primo Certame coronario*, ed. by Lucia Bertolini (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 1993), p. 516.

⁶³ Peterson, 'Conciliarism, Republicanism and Corporatism', (p. 224).

only look to the fact he made Florence a metropolitan diocese in May 1420, granting it control over two contiguous dioceses in the process. Martin had enhanced the prestige of an already prominent office, and in the eyes of the Florentines at least, this was a singularly momentous event. Miller suggests that the city's episcopal status had been a preoccupation of the commune for almost three hundred years, from 1126 in fact, which was when its fierce rival Pisa and territorial possession since 1406 had itself been made a metropolitan see.⁶⁴ That the commune coveted the honour is beyond doubt. In his *Chronicorum Opus* Antoninus records that,

He [Martin] has granted this duty and office to the city, which was petitioning that Florence's cathedral church be promoted from an episcopal church to a metropolitan and be decorated with the pallium, and to which should be entrusted as suffragans those living nearby, the Bishops of Fiesole and Pistoia, and no others.⁶⁵

Buoninsegni also notes the successful outcome of this campaign in his *Storie* when he says,

for the honour of our city, which until then had a bishop, for the first time we would have an archbishop, and he [Martin] made the bishops of Pistoia and Fiesole his suffragans, and it was very festive in Florence on 12 May [1420].⁶⁶

One could perhaps argue that Eugenius had a correspondingly meaningful impact on the city when he nominated Antoninus in 1445, and although his archiepiscopate lies beyond the scope of this study, it is worthwhile taking a moment to consider it, not least because it reveals what sort of man it took to successfully negotiate the thicket of vested interests that was Quattrocento Florence.

Equipped with exactly that gravitas and nous, Antoninus certainly did not shy away from furthering the spiritual interests of his native city as he saw them. The strength of his character is evident in his refusal to accede to the traditional format of the episcopal *adventus* described above,⁶⁷ and on several occasions during the 1440s and 50s he stood up to the all-powerful Medici regime when he felt its influence was creeping too far into local governance.⁶⁸ A man of undoubted integrity, Antoninus could 'stride across town from his

⁶⁴ Miller, 'The Saint Zenobius Dossal', (pp. 74-5); On Florence's acquisition of its long-standing foe see Michael Mallett, 'Florence and Pisa in the Fifteenth Century', in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 403-41.

⁶⁵ CO, III, p. 487; 'Hoc autem munus & dignitatem civitati concessit id supplicanti, ut ecclesia cathedralis Florentiae ex episcopali ad Metropolitanam promoveretur pallio decorata, cui episcopus Faesulanus & Pistoriensis, ut viciniore pro suffraganeis consignati sunt, & non alii.' The pallium is a liturgical vestment, a 'circular band of white woollen material with two hanging strips and marked with six black crosses which is worn on the shoulders by the Pope and granted by him to metropolitans (formerly also to some other bishops and archbishops) of the RC Church'; ODCC, p. 1219. It seems as though it was originally worn by all bishops, but from the ninth century onwards metropolitans were required to lodge a petition to wear it.

⁶⁶ Domenico Buoninsegni, *Storie della Città di Firenze dall'Anno 1410 al 1460* (Firenze: Landini, 1637), pp. 13-14; 'e del mese di Maggio prossimo concedette anco detto Papa, per honoranza alla nostra Città, che dove insino a quel di havevano hauto Vescovo, per l'innanzi havessino l'Arcivescovo, e suoi suffraganei: fece il Vescovo di Pistoia, e quello di Fiesole; e fecesene in Firenze assai festa a di 12 di Maggio detto.'

⁶⁷ Antoninus chose to enter the city from the north, preferring to set out from the convent at which he began his clerical career, San Domenico in Fiesole. He also declined to spend the customary night at San Pier Maggiore; Sally J. Cornelison, *Art and the Relic Cult of St. Antoninus in Renaissance Florence* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁸ Stefanie Solum, *Women, Patronage, and Salvation in Renaissance Florence: Lucrezia Tornabuoni and the Chapel of the Medici Palace* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 73, n. 28.

palace to pound on the doors of the Palazzo della Signoria...should circumstances demand.⁶⁹ And Sally Cornelison recently suggested that the iconography of the chapel dedicated to him at San Marco recalls the archbishop's overwhelming authority, a power derived not only from his ecclesiastical position, but also from his 'unfailing effectiveness as an intercessor for the people of Florence.'⁷⁰

The example of Antoninus indicates that perhaps more than most the Florentine bishopric was at the mercy of the intricate web of social, political, and familial networks that held the city together, a weakness the commune had tried to mitigate with legislation. A law restricting locals from holding the bishoprics of either Florence or Fiesole was first promulgated in 1322, and after two recapitulations, the city specifically insisted on retaining this legal instrument whilst negotiating with Martin over ecclesiastical privileges in the late-1420s.⁷¹ Ultimately, adherence to it was more a theoretical than a practical reality, and the decision to accept both Corsini and Vitelleschi demonstrates that the rules were fluid well before they were abandoned for good in 1445.⁷² At that time the chancellor Carlo Marsuppini engaged in a sustained campaign to have a local nominated, and it should come as no surprise to find that Marsuppini's rhetoric reflected the commune's preference for a member of the Medici.⁷³ That ambition was scuttled, however, when Eugenius appointed a 'dark horse' candidate, the energetic and authoritative Antoninus.⁷⁴

The acceptance of the value of a bishop who hailed from the city or its territory was a tacit acknowledgement of the vagaries that dogged the office. As was the case in many of the wealthy, highly urbanised Italian dioceses in the Quattrocento, the methods and patterns that dictated how the religious authority of the bishop came to be applied in practice were a reflection of local tendencies and power structures.⁷⁵ Fundamentally, the authority of the office did not follow uninterrupted lines down into the ecclesiastical hierarchy, rather, it 'radiated along paths direct and oblique into the religious, social, and economic life of the city.'⁷⁶ The parish churches the bishop controlled were not only principal nodes of religious life in their communities, they were the social hubs around which neighbourhoods came

⁶⁹ Peter Howard, '“You cannot sell liberty for all the gold there is”: promoting good governance in early Renaissance Florence', *RS*, 24 (2010), 207-33, (p. 208).

⁷⁰ Sally J. Cornelison, 'Tales of Two Bishop Saints: Zenobius and Antoninus in Florentine Renaissance Art and History', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38 (2007), 627-56 (p. 629).

⁷¹ For the 1322 legislation see *Statuti della Repubblica Fiorentina*, ed. by Romolo Caggese, 2 vols, (Firenze: Tipografia Galileiana, 1910-21), I, p. 273; the 1375 legislation is partially reprinted in Antonio Panella, 'La guerra degli Otto Santi e le vicende della legge contro i vescovi', *ASI*, 99 (1941), 36-49 (pp. 45-7); for the 1415 legislation see *Statuta populi communis Florentiae: publica auctoritate collecta castigata et praeposita anno salutis MCCCCXV*, 2 vols (Freiburg: Michael Kluch, 1778), I, p. 262; Peterson, 'Archbishop Antoninus', pp. 45-47.

⁷² Peterson, 'An Episcopal Election', in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law*, ed. by Sweeney and Chodorow, pp. 304-5.

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp. 300-1. This was Donato de' Medici, then the Bishop of Pistoia. Marsuppini wrote no fewer than thirty-one letters to various correspondents, including Eugenius, championing the cause of several men deemed favourable by the city and all of whom were Florentines. Peterson points out that the some of these letters were sent before Archbishop Zabarella had even been buried. See also Raoul Morçay, *Saint Antonin: Fondateur du Couvent de Saint-Marc, Archevêque de Florence, 1389-1459* (Paris: Gabalda, 1914), pp. 107-9.

⁷⁴ The 'dark horse' description belongs to Peterson, 'Archbishop Antoninus', p. 41.

⁷⁵ The most thorough description of the power that rested in the hands of the Florentine bishop in this period is Peterson, 'Archbishop Antoninus', pp. 29-41.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 31.

together, and given there were over fifty of these churches in the city – eighty if you include the near *contado* – any sway over them was significant.⁷⁷ The right to approve all new hospitals and confraternities—a growing phenomenon in this period—solidified his reach.⁷⁸

Whilst the bishop's authority was felt in any number of ways at its source, that is, within the diocese itself, the same can be said of how his reach extended upwards into the sphere of communal politics and beyond to the papacy. In these instances we again find that power did not run in a straightforward manner. The bishop was not, as one might expect, an immediate link between Florence and Rome. Despite their long history of conflict, the city and the papacy were also allies with an equally lengthy history of cooperation. For any number of reasons—diplomacy, patronage, or even local reform—the commune's emissaries might deal directly with the papal curia.⁷⁹ Conversely, the papacy would on occasion send its own men directly to the Signoria, at times to reinforce diocesan authority, at others to challenge it.⁸⁰ The bishop's authority to preside over the swearing of the oaths of political office granted him 'stewardship of the continuity of Florentine political institutions.'⁸¹ He stood, too, between papacy and commune when it came to taxation, although in reality this was often not effective as a bulwark, such as the example of Corsini's tenure suggests.⁸²

The popes and institutional reform

In her study of Italian convents K. J. P. Lowe points out that reforming local institutions usually fell to those councils, synods, and bishops operating at the regional level.⁸³ This section explores what happened when another bishop, the pope himself, was inserted into that context. Mapping reform from the years of the residencies reveals that very few parts of the city went untouched by at least one of the popes, and if a broad characterisation might be made about reform during their time in Florence, it would be that both Martin and Eugenius busied themselves with repeated interventions into the local church and its religious houses as they found them.

Even in their own time there was a tendency to view Martin and Eugenius as very different men when it came to the issue of reform. The latter was obviously received as more dedicated to change, and the eulogy paid to him by Vespasiano bears repeating:

⁷⁷ Peterson, 'State-Building', in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. by Connell and Zorzi, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Peterson, 'Archbishop Antoninus', p. 31.

⁷⁹ Peterson, 'Archbishop Antoninus', p. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸³ K. J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 190-2.

When His Holiness was residing in Florence...he attended to the reform of the Church with every diligence, and he made the orders keep within their own bounds, and also as much as he was able, he made the Conventuals accept the Observants.⁸⁴

Vespasiano was not the only contemporary to highlight this inclination. Eugenius' reformist bona fides are detailed by Antoninus who claims, 'as a particular follower of the religious way of life, he emptied many monasteries of nuns living dissolutely and shamefully by extinguishing the dignity of the abbess, and he sent the nuns of those to other monasteries.'⁸⁵ And although he did not subscribe to it, Antoninus was aware of the commonly held opinion of Martin; he says, 'this pope...who earlier on was considered to be in no way a clever man, though a kindly one, yet refuted this formerly held opinion of him to such an extent that in fact there was discovered in him the greatest cleverness, and a kindness not excessive or unnecessary.'⁸⁶ It is somewhat telling, however, that he says nothing about Martin's willingness to reform the local church.

Unsurprisingly, these differing views have carried through to modern assessments, and as much as Eugenius has been characterised as an exemplar of the 'strong Venetian strain in Italian reform',⁸⁷ Martin has been portrayed as a politician first-and-foremost, a man who was, 'warlike, under an affable exterior, tenacious, cunning, and possessed of a profound knowledge of all the arts and deceits of the Italian *signori*.'⁸⁸ In a more recent assessment of the Colonna pope Pierantonio Piatti made the claim that scholars have been, 'Tendentially unbalanced towards analysis of the vigorous work of the *reformatio Ecclesiae* decisively carried out by Eugenius IV'.⁸⁹

Piatti is correct and in actual fact Martin's papacy was bookended by reform. His papal authority had emerged from Constance, which, by promulgating the famous bulls *Haec sancta* and *Romanus pontifex*, had laid the foundation for many of the conciliar arguments that would be debated over and over in years to come.⁹⁰ One of Martin's very last acts as pope was to convoke the Council of Basel, calling for, 'the reform of the entire clergy and of the ecclesiastical state in customs and livelihood'.⁹¹ So it was that Piatti was able to claim that, 'Throughout his entire pontificate Martin V strained...to promote the work of *reformatio in*

⁸⁴ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. by Aulo Greco, 2 vols (Firenze: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970), I, p. 11.

'Istando la sua sanctità a Firenze...atendeva con ogni diligentia a riformare la Chiesa, et fare che religiosi istessino a' termini loro, et di conventuali fargli oservanti, giusto alla possa sua.'

⁸⁵ CO, III, p. 526; 'ut zelator praecipuus religiosae conuersationis, multa monasteria monialium dissolute et inhoneste conuersantium euacuauit, dignitatem abbatissalem extinguendo, et moniales eorum ad alia monasteria transmisit.'

⁸⁶ CO, III, p. 507; 'Hic igitur pontifex Martinus, antea nequaquam vir sagax existimatus, sed benignus: in pontificatu tamen ita opinionem de se prius habitam redarguit, ut sagacitas quidem in eo summa, benignitas uero non superflua, nec nimia reperiretur.'

⁸⁷ Hay, *The Church in Italy*, p. 85.

⁸⁸ Partner, *The Papal State*, p. 196.

⁸⁹ Pierantonio Piatti, 'Martino V e la riforma degli Ordini Mendicanti', in *Martino V. Genazzano, il pontefice, le idealità: studi in onore di Walter Brandmüller*, ed. by Pierantonio Piatti and Rocco Ronzani (Roma: Centro culturale agostiniano: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009), p. 19; 'Tendenzialmente sbilanciata verso l'analisi della vigorosa opera di reformatio Ecclesiae condotta con decisione da Eugenio IV'.

⁹⁰ Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414-1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 266-8. See also Stump, 'The Council of Constance', in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism*, ed. by Rollo-Koster and Izbicki, pp. 395-442; on *Haec sancta*, which was particularly important in these years, see pp. 411-12.

⁹¹ This bull is printed in *JC*, XXIX, (1 February 1431), col. 12; 'reformationem quoque totius cleri et ecclesiastici status in moribus et uita'. See also Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV*, pp. 10-11.

capite et in membris that had already long ignited the spirits at Constance'.⁹² Anna Benvenuti Papi, meanwhile, was content to a degree to group Martin with Eugenius and Nicholas, insofar as their collective actions regularised the tertiaries of the various orders.⁹³ Quite emphatically, Martin's was a papacy punctuated by reform and much of what Eugenius would achieve during his pontificate was built upon the actions of his predecessor.

That Martin began to institute a reform programme just months into his pontificate indicates that he took seriously the mandate passed down from Constance. Keen to strengthen the state of the mendicants, from Geneva in July 1418 he issued a bull that prohibited existing friars from transferring to other orders, particularly the monastics, except for the Carthusians.⁹⁴ His general preference was to allow the orders to reform themselves, although he was certainly willing to intervene if he thought the situation demanded it, such as in November 1418 when he issued a brief stating that the Servites were indeed permitted to beg, a necessary measure in the wake of certain bishops who disputed their mendicant status.⁹⁵ In 1419 he involved himself with the affairs of the Bridgettines,⁹⁶ in 1420 with those of the Augustinian friars and the Carthusians.⁹⁷ The following year he both established a congregation of Augustinian canons,⁹⁸ and also sent Cardinal Branda da Castiglione to Germany as a legate, charging him with the task of reforming its church as well as its bishops.⁹⁹

Further afield, Martin intervened north of the Alps in 1427 when he appointed provosts to assist in resolving certain issues within the Augustinian Congregation of Windesheim in the Netherlands,¹⁰⁰ and again in 1428 when he ordered the bishops of Basel, Constance, and Strasbourg to assist the Dominican master general, Barthélemy Texier in his attempts to reform the order's houses there.¹⁰¹ In 1429 he supported the foundation of a congregation of reformed Hieronymites in and around Seville.¹⁰² And right at the end of his pontificate,

⁹² Piatti, 'Martino V', in *Martino V*, ed. by Piatti and Ronzani, p. 21.

⁹³ Anna Benvenuti Papi, *«In castro poenitentiae»: santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale* (Roma: Herder, 1990), p. 588.

⁹⁴ *BDP*, iv, §III (29 July 1418), pp. 678-9.

⁹⁵ *AOBMV*, i, (3 November 1418) pp. 395-6. A bull confirming the Servite Order followed in 1424; *AOBMV*, i, (16 March 1424) pp. 405-8. On Martin's belief in granting the orders a degree of autonomy see Concetta Bianca, 'Martino V', *EP*, ii, p. 624.

⁹⁶ In April 1419 he issued two bulls confirming previous privileges granted to the order; *Svenskt diplomatarium från och med år 1401*, ed. by Carl Silfverstolpe, 3 vols (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1885-1902), iii, §2615-6 (7 April 1419), pp. 438-40. See also, Walter Ullmann, 'The Recognition of St Bridget's Rule by Martin V', *Revue Bénédictine*, 72 (1957), 190-201. Indicating that this reform was not motivated only by spiritual impulses, these bulls were inspired by the support of Henry V, King of England; Hans Cnatingius, *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget of Sweden: Volume 1, The Crisis in the 1420's* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963), p. 121. Martin would continue to intervene, prohibiting in 1422 the famous Bridgettine double monastic structure that saw men and women live side by side, only to partially revoke this prohibition both in 1423 and 1427 due to sustained pressure from within the order; Cnatingius, *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget*, pp. 123-4, 148-9, 154-5. Interestingly, Eugenius would completely revoke the restriction on double monasteries from Florence in March 1435; Cnatingius, *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget*, pp. 170-1.

⁹⁷ Piatti, 'Martino V', in *Martino V*, ed. by Piatti and Ronzani, p. 29.

⁹⁸ *BL*, (30 June 1421), pp. 154-7

⁹⁹ Antonín Kalous, 'Papal legates and crusading activity in central Europe: The Hussites and the Ottoman Turks', in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and competing cultures*, ed. by Norman Housley (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 76; see also D. Girgensohn, 'Castiglione, Branda da', *DBI*, xxii, p. 71.

¹⁰⁰ R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 505.

¹⁰¹ Michael D. Bailey, *Battling demons: witchcraft, heresy, and reform in the late Middle Ages* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), p. 21.

¹⁰² Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair: novelty, imitation, and theft in seventeenth-century Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 50; Timothy J. Schmitz, 'The Spanish Jeronimites' Incorporation of the Isidrites in 1567', in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. by James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 311-13.

Martin endorsed a set of principles known as the *Constitutiones Martinianae*. A commentary on the Rule of St Francis, these were composed to settle one of the most intractable religious questions of the age, the split in the Franciscans between its Observant and Conventual blocs. Duncan Nimmo suggests, however, that ‘far from representing a compromise between the views of the two factions, [the *Constitutiones*] came down wholly on the side of the Observance.’¹⁰³ In short, the evidence simply fails to corroborate the view that Martin was not as reform-minded as his admittedly zealous successor.

To be sure, Martin’s reforming initiative did not translate into radical change during his Florentine residency, at least when his achievements are held up against those of Eugenius. Given his shorter stay there was plainly less opportunity to effect reform, to say nothing of the fact that much of his effort during his residency was directed towards clearing a safe path for the return to Rome. That said, he did have an impact. Before he had even arrived in Florence Martin included one of the city’s major churches, Santa Maria Assunta di Firenze or the Badia, amongst the four founding institutions of the Benedictine congregation of Santa Giustina.¹⁰⁴ Colloquially known as *De unitate*, this group was placed under the direction of Ludovico Barbo, abbot of the Paduan monastery from which the congregation took its name.

The bulk of Martin’s Florentine interventions came in 1420. In February of that year a bull confirmed the founding of the Dominican convent of San Pier Martire, a small house located just inside the Porta San Gattolino.¹⁰⁵ A subsequent bull transferring two nuns from Pisa’s San Domenico to the new institution soon followed.¹⁰⁶ Martin also promulgated two bulls confirming certain privileges held by the abbots of the Vallambrosian houses of San Pancrazio and Santa Trinità,¹⁰⁷ although these were intended to clarify rights they had been granted by Alexander IV (1254-61), and it seems in both cases to have been a response to direct pleas from the abbots themselves, rather than an action undertaken at Martin’s behest.¹⁰⁸

That year he also granted the Benedictine nuns of Le Murate, ‘a singular privilege of a plenary indulgence *in articulo mortis* and declared that their confessor could absolve every sin and transgression they had committed’.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, according to Giovanni Richa,

¹⁰³ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), p. 608.

¹⁰⁴ The papal bull which created *De unitate* is *Ineffabilis summa providentia patris*, the full text of which is published in *BCas*, I, pp. 45-7. The four founding institutions were: Santa Giustina (Padua), San Giorgio Maggiore and Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (Venice), and Santa Maria di Firenze (Florence); see, Ildefonso Tassi OSB, *Ludovico Barbo (1381-1443)* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1952), p. 56.

¹⁰⁵ *BOFP*, II, §LVIII (25 March 1420), p. 578. This convent was founded by Leonardo Dati, a key Dominican discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁰⁶ *BOFP*, II, §LXI (4 May 1420), pp. 581-2. For a discussion of this transfer see Ann Roberts, *Dominican women and Renaissance art: the Convent of San Domenico of Pisa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ *BL*, (25 February 1420), p. 130 (San Pancrazio); (21 May 1420), p. 131 (Santa Trinità).

¹⁰⁸ These privileges are found in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. by Aemilius Friedberg, 2 vols (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), II, coll. 1084-5.

¹⁰⁹ Sister Giustina Niccolini, *The Chronicle of Le Murate*, ed. and trans. by Sandra Weddle (Toronto: Iter Inc. & the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011), pp. 53-4. The Portuguese scholar Eduardo Nunes reports that he was unable to find this bull. However, it is referred to in a source in Florence’s Biblioteca Nazionale, which should be read in conjunction with two

‘the Benedictine Don Gomezio was appointed to the reform of the monasteries of the Sacred Virgin in Florence by the aforementioned Pontiff.’¹¹⁰ This was Gomezio di Giovanni, abbot of the Badia from 1419-39 and a key operative of papal policy throughout the years of the residencies. For reasons that shall become apparent in a moment, this was perhaps Martin’s most significant intervention into Florence’s religious landscape, a decision that would have lasting consequences and highlight the continuity between his residency and those of Eugenius in years to come.

In fact, a great deal of Martin’s direct impact on Florence came after he left. In 1421 he gave the house of Santa Maria alle Campora to the Badia, although this transfer would not be ratified until Eugenius arrived in 1434.¹¹¹ Three years later Martin’s willing agent Gomezio moved the sisters of the Murate from their quarters on a pylon of the Ponte Rubaconte to a site on Via Ghibellina, renaming them the nuns of Santa Maria Annunziata in the process.¹¹² The Ospedale di San Paolo dei Convalescenti were the beneficiaries of Martin’s attention in late-1425 when he issued a bull that sought to ‘limit malpractice and abuse, and also reduce what seems to have been a certain occupational autonomy of the oblates’.¹¹³ And as the 1420s drew to a close the Colonna pope attached the Florentine house of Sant’Onofrio to a reform congregation that had coalesced under the parent house of Sant’Anna in Foligno.¹¹⁴

Whilst the net total of these efforts is not insignificant, by comparison Eugenius during his time in Florence effected a vast array of both reorganisational and corrective measures, leaving a huge mark on the city. At times he acted upon just a single institution, whilst at others his ambition reached much further and several houses were brought together in an effort to create robust, thriving communities. Indeed, the breadth of Eugenius’ industry was so great that it is difficult in some instances to untangle the skein of his Florentine reforms. Understandably there were occasions when his vigour upset the governing and religious classes, forcing both to adopt adversarial positions. Quite simply, it is clear that after seeing for himself the realities of the Florentine situation, and keen to reassert the papal authority he had found so elusive during the early years of his pontificate, Eugenius moved to effect

supplications of late-1419 which are held in the Vatican Archives, addressed to Martin by the sisters of Le Murate, asking for an indulgence and ecclesiastical quarantine; see Eduardo Nunes, *Dom Frey Gomez: abade de Florença, 1420-1440* (Braga: Livraria Editora Pax, 1963), p. 307 n. 61.

¹¹⁰ NI, II, p. 80; ‘che dal suddetto Pontefice deputato essendo Don Gomezio Benedettino alla riforma dei Monasteri di Sacre Vergini in Firenze’.

¹¹¹ Placido Puccinelli, *Cronaca dell’Abbadia di Fiorenza*, (Milano, 1664), p. 119.

¹¹² This is the modern Ponte alle Grazie. For an excellent account of Le Murate’s founding, including how it came to reside on Via Ghibellina see Lowe, *Nuns’ Chronicles*, pp. 108-12.

¹¹³ Papi, *«In castro poenitentiae»*, p. 662; ‘limitare malcostumi e abusi e ridurre anche quella che pare una certa autonomia professionale delle oblate’.

¹¹⁴ BF, VII, §1826 (19 August 1428), pp. 706-7. As named in the brief, the six founding houses were: Sant’Anna (Foligno), San Giovanni (Todi), Sant’Onofrio (Florence), Santa Margherita (Ascoli), San Quirico (Assisi), and Sant’Agata (Viterbo). There is a great deal of scholarship on the Congregation of Foligno; see P. Antonio Fantozzi OFM and P. Benvenuto Bughetti OFM, ‘Il Terz’Ordine Francescano in Perugia dal sec. XIII al sec. XIX’, *AFH*, 33 (1940), 55-113, 319-65 (p. 323); Mario Sensi, ‘I monasteri e bizzocaggi dell’Osservanza francescananel secolo XV a Foligno’, in *All’ombra della chiara luce*, ed. by Aleksander Horowski (Roma: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2005), pp. 87-175.

fundamental changes upon an institutional landscape he found, 'troppo parcellizzato', that is, too fragmented.¹¹⁵

Perhaps the most notable example of Eugenius' reformist hand was the 1436 decision to take the convent of San Marco from the Silvestrines and hand it to the Observant Dominicans, a transfer that simultaneously ushered in Cosimo's first instance of major ecclesiastical patronage. This moment has been well studied, as has the relationship between the Venetian pope and his chief banker. Whilst Vespasiano gives credit for the San Marco decision solely to Eugenius, that claim must be treated with some caution given Cosimo had already been a patron of Observant reform at Bosco ai Frati, a small Franciscan church just a few kilometres from the Medici villa at Caffagiolo.¹¹⁶ At the very least, Cosimo and Eugenius were certainly close right up until the 1440s. The Medici patriarch played a key role in the consecration of the Duomo in 1436, and he held the bridle of the pope's horse when he returned in 1439. It is not coincidental that after Eugenius left Florence for the first time in 1436 he would spend the night at Caffagiolo and say mass the following day at the aforementioned Bosco.¹¹⁷

Cosimo did not define Eugenius' time in the city, however, and there are few areas of the city in which you cannot find some trace of the pope's hand. One of his earliest interventions came on behalf of the Murate nuns. Gomezio's decision to house them on Via Ghibellina had contravened several episcopal privileges enjoyed by the powerful parish church of Sant'Ambrogio, forcing the Murate sisters to become 'almost completely dependent on their parish supervisors for cult life.'¹¹⁸ This situation rankled the smaller community and by 1434 the Murate's abbess could abide the persecution no longer. Seizing upon the opportunity of Eugenius' presence in Florence she petitioned Gomezio to intercede on the community's behalf and present the pope with a request for an amended agreement. A Murate sister named Giustina Niccolini records in her chronicle that,

Finding the request to be just, the father [Gomezio] proposed this cause to His Beatitude. Moved by the singular devotion in which he held this sacred college, especially out of reverence for the title of the holy Annunciation under which the convent had been placed, and also because it was of the Benedictine order to which he was always devoted, and finally because he considered these religious women saints and very venerable, His Holiness courteously approved it. Thus, by virtue of his sealed brief, he gave full authority to Abbess Simona and to her successors in perpetuity.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Papi, *«In castro poenitentiae»*, pp. 605-6 n. 47.

¹¹⁶ Crispin Robinson, 'Cosimo de' Medici and the Franciscan Observants at Bosco ai Frati', in *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389-1464: Essays in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's Birth*, ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 181-94. See also Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, p. 11; 'riformò la sua Sanctità San Marco di Firenze, sendo ai frati conventuali, non dell'ordine di sancto Domenico, ma de l'atro ordine, et standovi drento dieci o dodici frati, papa Eugenio lo riformò, et volle che Cosimo acconciassi quello luogo per i frati dell'Osservanza di San Domenico, a quali il papa l'aveva dato. Promise Cosimo alla sua Sanctità ispendervi drento ducati diecemila, et andò a quarantamila.'

¹¹⁷ Robinson, 'Cosimo' de Medici and the Franciscan Observants', in *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici*, ed. by Ames-Lewis p. 188.

¹¹⁸ Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries*, p. 70.

¹¹⁹ Niccolini, *The Chronicle of Le Murate*, p. 67.

The brief was issued in August 1434, however, Eugenius' support of the Murate did not end there.¹²⁰ In 1442, in the process of granting the right of entry to those laity who had raised alms for the convent, Eugenius also renewed Martin's 1420 indulgence.¹²¹ Niccolini tells us he did this at the same time he confirmed the Murate's rights in 1434, although it is likely that her dating is erroneous.¹²² At any rate, the reversal of the Murate's fortunes came about only because Eugenius was willing to reverse a cache of existing privileges, discarding existing diocesan policy in order to assert his own religious authority within the city, all of which was angled to shape Florence's ecclesiastical network into something more closely reflective of the tendencies of his own religiosity. This is something Martin was reluctant to do, as evidenced by his refusal in 1419 to offer similar respite to the house of Santa Maria di Candeli, which felt it was being unjustly suppressed by the parochial rights of the much larger San Pier Maggiore.¹²³ Corsini heard the Candeli petition and Martin endorsed the standing arrangement, guaranteeing San Pier Maggiore would retain its dominant position in that part of the city. Whereas Martin was content to maintain the status quo, Eugenius acted and 'papal intervention irrevocably reversed the customary power dynamics' that had been in place between the Murate and Sant' Ambrogio.¹²⁴

In fact, Eugenius demonstrated on more than one occasion that he was quite comfortable with claiming local ecclesiastical reform as a papal prerogative. Two years before he even arrived in the city he had elevated the status of the canons of San Lorenzo so that they were on equal footing with those of the cathedral, a provocative move given the former was the parish church of the Medici.¹²⁵ Moreover, in 1436 he ordered the permanent adjournment of a local magistracy that had been created by the commune in 1421 and was charged with monitoring conventual governance after the terrorisation of the sisters of San Silvestro by three young patricians.¹²⁶ Significantly, both of the papal actions named here were opposed by the Signoria, ultimately prompting Eugenius to abandon his positions and recognise that the city did indeed possess the right to play a role in the administration and governance of its own ecclesiastical institutions.

Eugenius' most ambitious attempt at Florentine reform came in late-1435 when he enacted a dual reorganisation centred on the houses of Santa Caterina and Sant' Agata. On 1 October a bull gave the former the houses of San Luca and Santa Maria Regina Coeli, known

¹²⁰ Nunes, *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 309-10.

¹²¹ For both indulgences see, Nunes, *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 307, 311.

¹²² Niccolini, *The Chronicle of Le Murate*, p. 68. It is likely wrong since we have both in Nunes, *Dom Frey Gomez*, p. 311.

¹²³ Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries*, p. 67.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹²⁵ Roberto Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Bologna: Società editrice Mulino, 1987), pp. 93-4.

¹²⁶ ASF, Provvisioni, 111, 45^{r-v} (23 June 1421); Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, pp. 192-3.

more commonly as the Chiarito.¹²⁷ In the days that followed, according to Richa, Sant'Agata received an even greater endowment when,

the Pope, having had the report, that the Convents of S. Silvestro, S. Maria delle Neve, and S. Orsola, all of the Order of S. Benedict, had largely failed the observance of the Rule, and that in them there were not enough sisters for divine worship, he resolved to suppress them, which he did in 1435 and he joined them to the monastery of S. Agata with a bull given in Florence, which begins, *Pastoralis officii debitum*.¹²⁸

Within the space of a few days seven institutions had been collapsed into just two, a contraction that was undoubtedly felt with particular emphasis in a particular part of the city; five of the seven houses were located on the same street, Via San Gallo, whilst Santa Caterina and Sant'Orsola were no more than a street or two removed.¹²⁹ This area of Florence had the greatest concentration of convents by far, and with great aplomb, as well as no small degree of haste, Eugenius had turned that segment of the urban fabric on its head.

The point to reiterate here is that these houses were not just communities in themselves, they were an important part of the broader Florentine community within which they were embedded. Kasper Elm highlighted the existence of a 'shared common ground in the close social interactions between cloister and city, between those who were members of the religious orders and the wider urban population.'¹³⁰ More recently, Donal Cooper suggested that documents from as early as the mid-1300s 'place the laity in all categories of conventual space: choir precincts, sacristies, chapter houses, cloisters, refectories, dormitories, and even individual cells.'¹³¹ Indeed, the 1435 contraction could well have seemed all the more pervasive to the Florentines given Santa Maria delle Neve had itself recently been subject to a similar consolidation,¹³² whilst the community of San Luca had actually emerged as the result of a series of early-Trecento suppressions and transfers that led ultimately to their establishment on Via San Gallo.¹³³

At the same time Eugenius was enacting this sweeping reorganisation, he was also pushing to realign the allegiances of the affected houses, as well as others. San Silvestro went to the

¹²⁷ *BOFP*, III, §LXIV (1 October 1435), pp. 47-8.

¹²⁸ *NI*, v, p. 273. In fact, this consolidation was the result of a number of bulls. For the bull regarding Santa Maria delle Neve see *BOFP*, III, §LXV (29 October 1435), pp. 48-9; for Sant'Orsola see *BF n.s.*, I, §188 (7 October 1435), pp. 93-4. Both of these bulls simultaneously gave the relevant houses to third order movements, Santa Maria delle Neve to the Dominicans, Sant'Orsola to the Franciscans.

¹²⁹ For an excellent series of maps see Walter and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz: Ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*, 6 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1940-54), VI, p. 221 (fold-outs).

¹³⁰ Kaspar Elm, 'Mendicants and Humanists in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Problem of Justifying Humanistic Studies in the Mendicant Orders', in *Religious life between Jerusalem, the desert, and the world: selected essays by Kaspar Elm*, trans. by James D. Mixson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 124.

¹³¹ Donal Cooper, 'Access All Areas? Spatial Divides in the Mendicant Churches of Late Medieval Tuscany', in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Frances Andrews (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2011), pp. 103-4.

¹³² Richa reports that in 1427 Santa Maria delle Neve, known also as Santa Maria degli Scalzi, was joined to San Clemente, which had once been known as San Gherardo; *NI*, v, p. 245.

¹³³ The nuns of San Luca were first established in Quarracchi, a few kilometres to the northwest of the city. After several upheavals in the early-1300s, they eventually took over the property of the nuns of Santa Martha, moving into their convent on Via San Gallo in 1336; William M. Bowsky, 'Parish Rights in Florence: San Lorenzo, the «Armenian Brothers», and Others', *Studi Medievali*, 39 (1998), 511-61 (pp. 543-6).

Servites of Monte Senario,¹³⁴ the Chiarito to the ‘Zoccolante’, that is, to the Observant Franciscans,¹³⁵ Sant’Orsola to the tertiaries of the same,¹³⁶ and Santa Maria delle Neve to the third order Dominicans.¹³⁷ As far as those houses not directly involved in the 1435 reorganisation were concerned, the nearby house of Santa Lucia di Camporeggi went for a short time to the Carmelites,¹³⁸ Santa Maria a Ricorboli to the Servites, Santa Maria Maddalena received the Cistercians from San Frediano in the Oltrarno.¹³⁹ Even in a constantly shifting institutional landscape such significant activity in so short a timeframe must have been jarring to the broader community of which those houses were an integrated and integral part.

To that end, it is clear that the October 1435 consolidations were simply one step too far, and as a result the commune moved swiftly to mitigate Eugenius’ decision. On 24 October, just weeks after the reforms were set in motion, the commune declared that, ‘having had notice... from the most holy Lord Pope Eugenius that the nuns of seven monasteries on Via San Gallo of Florence have been reduced to two, namely, to the monastery of Santa Caterina and the monastery of Sant’Agata’,¹⁴⁰ it had thenceforth blocked the reorganisation. By way of resolution it was decided that each of the houses affected by the intervention would be reopened, and that the treasuries of both pope and city would provide 100 florins in order to ensure the viability of such a move.¹⁴¹

Not all of Eugenius’ interventions into the Florentine institutional landscape were directed by the impulse to suppress and consolidate, nor were his decisions driven purely by the reaction to those particularly Florentine circumstances he found upon arrival. In the case of the local Poor Clares we find examples of reform that were a manifestation of an inclination he had brought with him.¹⁴² Just a few months after becoming pope Eugenius had called for the rehabilitation of the Order of Saint Clare, stating,

several monasteries of nuns of the Order of St. Clare standing in diverse locations, because of the negligence of several abbesses and also of the nuns living in them, which, deviating frequently from the bond of regular observance, leading a life more lax than they ought, and also because of various

¹³⁴ CO, III, p. 526.

¹³⁵ CO, III, p. 526. *Zoccolanti* refers to the wooden clogs worn by both male and female Observants; see Roberta A. McKelvie OSF, ‘Retrieving a living tradition: the recovery of the historical significance of Angelina of Montegiove as Franciscan tertiary, Italian Beguine, and leader of women’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1996), p. 121.

¹³⁶ BF n.s., I, §188 (7 October 1435), pp. 93-4.

¹³⁷ CO, III, p. 526.

¹³⁸ Ludovico Saggi OCarm, *La Congregazione Mantovana dei Carmelitani sino alla morte del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516)* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), p. 35. The convent went to the Carmelites on 7 October 1435, the same day Sant’Orsola went to the Franciscan tertiaries. Less than seven years later, on 18 February 1442, Santa Lucia was transferred to the third order Dominicans.

¹³⁹ Melinda Leshner, ‘St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Republic of Florence in the late Middle Ages’, *Cîteaux: commentarii cisterciensis*, 35 (1984), 258-67 (p. 260). It should be noted that this did not happen until 1442.

¹⁴⁰ ASF, Provvisioni, 126, 264^r (24 October 1435); ‘habentes notitiam... per sanctissimum dominum papam Eugenium moniales septem monasteriorum vie sancti galli de florentia fuerunt reducte ad duo videlicet ad monasterium sancte caterine et monasterium sancte agate’.

¹⁴¹ ASF, Provvisioni, 126, 264^r (24 October 1435). It seems as though Florentine opposition to the suppressions was ultimately futile since Strocchia demonstrates that by the late-fifteenth century the named houses had indeed ended up amongst Sant’Agata’s holdings; Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries*, pp. 204-5 n. 80.2

¹⁴² A recent history of the Poor Clares is Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); see also Alison More, ‘Dynamics of Regulation, Innovation, and Invention’, in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, ed. by Mixson and Roest, pp. 97-100.

dissensions and scandals originating daily in these same monasteries, have been recognised to require no small amount of correction and reform.¹⁴³

Specific interventions into Florence's Clarissan houses began two years later when a brief of April 1433 annulled a censure of the nuns of Santa Maria di Monticelli, an admonishment that had been handed down by the Tuscan minister of the Franciscan Order.¹⁴⁴

In keeping with his obvious concern for the Clares, Eugenius acted with great haste after arriving in Florence. Within a few months a *breve* was sent to Bartolomeo, *magistro* of the Ospedale di Altopascio, directing him to send whatever sisters he could spare in order to buttress the ailing residents of the Monticelli, as well as to aid in the reform of any other Clarissan house that fell within the Florentine diocese.¹⁴⁵ The Monticelli community seems to have been the node around which Eugenius' entire program of local Clarissan reform revolved since it is the only house identified by name in this brief. A further seven papal interventions into the Poor Clares would be enacted before Eugenius left Florence in 1443, six during his first sojourn and one during his second, the exact nature of which varied from one institution to the next.¹⁴⁶ Santa Maria de Montedomini, a house that had recently been 'encumbered by many financial debts and other burdens', was granted permission to rent a property it owned to a local man and his wife for the sum of seventy florins per annum.¹⁴⁷ In response to the news that Franciscan friars had been entering various Clarissan cloisters, Eugenius, 'keeping in mind that a woman's sex is fragile, their modesty fleeting, and their reputation tender', threatened excommunication for those who continued to do so.¹⁴⁸ A previous move to hand to San Francesco (dei Macci) the rights over a small country church in the Mugello was annulled and the institution received instead San Pietro a Moscheta, a small convent also in the Mugello.¹⁴⁹ The number of Monticelli nuns was strengthened for a second time when in March 1436 Eugenius ordered an influx of sisters from the Bolognese convent of SS. Ludovico e Alessio.¹⁵⁰ And finally, in 1441, the pope sought to reform the tiny house of San Bartolomeo di Monte-Olivet.¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ *BF n.s.*, 1, §12 (12 May 1431), p. 16; 'nonnulla monasteria monialium ordinis S. Clarae in diversis locis consistentia propter nonnullarum abbatissarum ac in eis culpam degentium monialium, quae plerumque a iugo regularis observantiae deviantes, laxiorem quam deceat vitam ducunt, ac propter varias dissensiones et scandala, quae in eisdem monasteriis quotidie oriuntur, non modica correctione et reformatione indigere noscuntur.' This bull was reiterated by Eugenius from Bologna in 1437; *BF n.s.*, §341 (1 December 1437), p. 157. For a discussion of the Poor Clares and the fifteenth-century push for Observant reform see Knox, *Creating Clare*, pp. 123-32.

¹⁴⁴ *BF n.s.*, 1, §98 (20 April 1433). On the Monticelli see P. Zeffirino Lazzeri OFM, *Il Monastero di Piccarda ossia le Clarisse di Monticelli nella Storia di Firenze* (Arezzo: Cooperativa Tipografica, 1912).

¹⁴⁵ *BF n.s.*, 1, §139 (5 December 1434), pp. 71-2. This was Bartolomeo de' Bonittis di Orvieto, Master General of the Friars and Knights of the Order of the Hospital of San Jacopo of Altopascio; Frank McArdle, *Altopascio: A study in Tuscan rural society, 1587-1784* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 3-4.

¹⁴⁶ *BF n.s.*, 1, §145 (7 January 1435), pp. 75-6; §150 (17 February 1435), p. 77; §152 (18 February 1435), p. 78; §171 (27 July 1435), pp. 86-7; §210 (26 January 1436), pp. 101-2; §229 (28 March 1436), p. 109; §515 (2 May 1441).

¹⁴⁷ *BF n.s.*, 1, §145 (7 January 1435), p. 75. 'essent pluribus debitis pecuniariis et aliis oneribus praegravate'.

¹⁴⁸ *BF n.s.*, 1, §150 (17 February 1435), p. 77; 'quod mulierum sexus fragilis, lubrica pudicitia et tenera fama est'.

¹⁴⁹ *BF n.s.*, 1, §171 (27 July 1435), pp. 86-7.

¹⁵⁰ *BF n.s.*, 1, §229 (28 March 1436), p. 109.

¹⁵¹ *BF n.s.*, 1, §515 (2 May 1441), pp. 249-50.

The example of the Poor Clares provides an interesting contrast with the attempted suppressions of late-1435. The key characteristic running through Eugenius' Clarissan reforms was a strong desire to nurture the order's local presence at the local level. The attempted consolidations of October 1435, on the other hand, were a reactionary push for reform, a response to the specific institutional context he found in the city. And despite the pushback he faced at that moment, Eugenius' desire to create what he saw as a more coherent and orderly institutional landscape was not diminished, nor did the lessons learnt in 1435 go to waste. He had far more success in reforming the Benedictine house of Sant'Apollonia, which as a result of direct or sanctioned papal decisions taken between 1438 and 1446 took control of three hospitals: San Paolo a Pinti, Santa Maria a Mantignano, and San Giusto a Camporlese.¹⁵² This created a powerful community with significant financial clout at its disposal, and as its economic capacity increased, so too did Sant'Apollonia's social standing, so much so that by the later decades of the Quattrocento it was a favoured option for the daughters of Florence's most prominent families.¹⁵³ Eugenius' reforms, inadvertently or not, moved beyond religion and began to shape the social landscape of the city.

The repercussions of the commune's resistance in October 1435 were felt elsewhere, namely, in the redirection of Eugenius' reformist efforts towards the support or establishment of reform congregations, a common religious phenomenon in the early-fifteenth century, particularly in central and northern Italy.¹⁵⁴ Like *De unitate*, such congregations were often adherents to the Rule of St Benedict, although not exclusively. The Lombard Congregation of reformed Dominican houses had emerged in the last years of the Trecento.¹⁵⁵ Santa Maria delle Selve, a small house less than fifteen kilometres from Florence, was the origin of a congregation of reformed Carmelites that eventually became the Congregation of Mantua, confirmed by Eugenius in late-1442 just a few months before he left the city.¹⁵⁶ The Augustinian Congregation of Lecceto grew from the small hermitage in the Sienese hills.¹⁵⁷ And Eugenius in 1438 gave the Badia Fiesolana to the Augustinian canons of Santa Maria di Fregioniaia, a Lucchese congregation that had taken control of the Lateran in Rome and eventually came to be known as the Lateran canons.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries*, pp. 61-5.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 65. Strocchia lists the Guasconi, Donati, Corbinelli, Tornabuoni, Gualterotti, Bardi, and Portinari families as those whose daughters were entrusted to this community.

¹⁵⁴ Hay describes them as, 'a group of houses having the same reform program and permitted to cut themselves off to some degree from any larger association'; Hay, *The Church in Italy*, p. 76.

¹⁵⁵ R. Creyten OP and A. D'Amato OP, 'Les actes capitulaires de la congrégation dominicaine de Lombardie (1482-1531)', *AFP*, 31 (1961), 213-306 (pp. 213-24).

¹⁵⁶ The bull is reprinted in, Saggi, *La Congregazione Mantovana*, pp. 74-6. See also, Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 66-7.

¹⁵⁷ For a broad history of this congregation see Katherine Walsh, 'Papal Policy and Local Reform. The Beginning of the Augustinian Observance in Tuscany', *RM*, 21 (1979), 35-57; Katherine Walsh, 'Papal Policy and Local Reform. Congregatio Illicitana: the Augustinian Observant Movement in Tuscany and the Humanist Ideal', *RM*, 22 (1980), 105-145.

¹⁵⁸ Mauro Mussolin, "'Devicta Montis Natura'". Cosimo de' Medici, Timoteo Maffei e la ricostruzione della Badia Fiesolana per i Canonici regolari lateranensi', in *The Badia Fiesolana: Augustinian and Academic locus amoenus in the Florentine Hills*, ed. by Angela Dressen and Klaus Pietschmann (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2017), p. 40.

To be sure, the potential of the congregations was far from unknown. The great house at Cluny, for example, had at one time encompassed some fifteen hundred institutions.¹⁵⁹ Under Martin and Eugenius, however, the desire to establish and support such congregations seems to have received new impetus, and examples such as *De unitate* demonstrate that both were well disposed towards their role as a conduit to institutional reform. Whilst a cardinal Eugenius had lent significant support to *De unitate*,¹⁶⁰ an inclination he carried into his pontificate since in late-1432 he promulgated a bull that both confirmed the association and installed himself as its patron.¹⁶¹ Eugenius was also responsible for ushering the Badia back into the fold after it had asked to be released from *De unitate* following a series of disputes throughout the 1420s over issues of governance.¹⁶² Spurred on by the complimentary zeal of his cousin Barbo, the congregation thereafter went from strength to strength, and by 1439 it had expanded to encompass sixteen monasteries, making it ‘the largest and most active monastic order in Italy.’¹⁶³ Eugenius’ actions as both cardinal and pope prompted the Benedictine scholar Idelfonso Tassi to label him a ‘guardian angel’, his actions preventing *De unitate* from collapsing altogether.¹⁶⁴

As a reaction to the resistance stirred up by the 1435 consolidations, a pivot towards a program that emphasised the role of such congregations would have seemed an obvious strategy to Eugenius as he looked to sustain his reforming efforts. An altered course is clearly visible in the way he thereafter reorganised several Florentine houses of Franciscan tertiary women, an approach that came at a time when the third order was still finding its way, the division between the secular and Third Order Regulars having not yet been established.¹⁶⁵ Sant’Orsola, which had already been given to a group of Perugian tertiaries, was in March 1436 granted certain financial exemptions.¹⁶⁶ A lengthy brief of early-1440 confirmed the constitution of a so-called Perugian congregation consisting of three houses, Sant’Orsola amongst them.¹⁶⁷ It was noted earlier that Martin had first linked Sant’Onofrio to the

¹⁵⁹ Christopher M. Bellitto, *Renewing Christianity: A History of Church Reform from Day One to Vatican II* (New York; Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2001), p. 72. Bellitto states that this amazing growth was due in large part to the stability of the Cluniac Congregation. Just three abbots ruled from 954 to 1109, a period of some 155 years; see, p. 98 n. 39. For a discussion of Cluny’s place in the monastic reforms of the tenth century and beyond see Joachim Wollasch, ‘Monasticism: the first wave of reform’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Fouracre, III, pp. 174-80.

¹⁶⁰ He did this by facilitating the addition of San Paolo fuori le mura to the congregation in 1426; Ildefonso Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo fuori le Mura* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1934), p. 188.

¹⁶¹ This bull, *Etsi ex sollicitudinis*, is published in *MBR*, I, pp. 341-2.

¹⁶² On 15 May 1429, Martin issued a bull that released the Badia from the congregation; *BCas*, I, (15 May 1429), pp. 48-9. This bull was then annulled by Eugenius whilst he was resident in Bologna; see, *BCas*, II, §311 (13 November 1437), pp. 323-4. For a discussion of the crisis that gripped *De unitate* before Eugenius’ pontificate, see, Ildefonso Tassi OSB, ‘La Crisi della Congregazione di S. Giustina tra il 1419 e il 1431’, *Benedictina*, 5 (1951), 95-111.

¹⁶³ Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ Tassi, ‘La Crisi’, (p. 111). He says, ‘L’angelo tutelare di S. Giustina fu senza alcun dubbio il card. Condulmer, poi dal 1431 Eugenio IV... Egli infatti salvò la congregazione da un possibile fallimento, o da un crisi prolungata.’

¹⁶⁵ For an excellent introduction to this fifteenth-century evolution see John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order, from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 560-8.

¹⁶⁶ *BF n.s.*, I, §220 (2 March 1436), p. 106. This bull also gave the same privileges to the Perugian house of Santa Maria Valfabbrica; both would be founding members of the congregation.

¹⁶⁷ *BF n.s.*, I, §456 (15 January 1440), pp. 213-9. The three founding institutions were Santa Maria Valfabbrica and Sant’Agnese (Perugia), and Sant’Orsola (Florence), although from the beginning the congregation essentially consisted of four houses since Santa Maria Valfabbrica had in August 1435 been united with Sant’Agnese (Assisi); see *BF n.s.*, I, §179 (23 August 1435), pp. 89-90. See also P.

Congregation of Foligno. Under Eugenius, however, this group received its most meaningful support, as evidenced by a swathe of papal briefs issued between 1436 and 1440.¹⁶⁸ As far as Sant’Onofrio was concerned, in the brief of September 1438 Eugenius moved to protect the integrity of its numbers by ordering that none of its tertiaries could be transferred to other institutions within the congregation.¹⁶⁹ Finally, San Girolamo was in 1439 granted several privileges, including the right to elect a minister with an eye to forming a congregation of its own in the future, an outcome that eventuated not long after.¹⁷⁰

Importantly, each of the three Florentine institutions named here benefitted from Eugenius’ determination to define the rights of tertiary congregations more broadly, a necessary arbitration in light of the tenacious legacy of Pope John XXII’s early-fourteenth century decretal, *Sancta romana*.¹⁷¹ In his haste to eradicate the Spiritual Franciscans, John had ‘dealt the semi-religious women a heavy blow’ when he forbade them from living together in communities unless they did so isolated from the outside world.¹⁷² Despite being over a century removed from *Sancta romana*, the uncertainty it engendered in Eugenius’ time was a persistent concern, and in three of the aforementioned briefs the pope reiterated the position that the tertiaries of the relevant congregations could carry on unencumbered by the threat of ecclesiastical censure. Sant’Onofrio received this assurance in 1440,¹⁷³ whilst both San Girolamo and Sant’Orsola would have to wait until late-1442.¹⁷⁴

Even in his push to develop and consolidate the reform congregations Eugenius would face resistance, however, such as an intervention at Santissima Annunziata suggests. In June 1440 Eugenius issued a bull approving the Congregazione dell’Osservanza, a community of Observant Servites that had formed in northern Italy in the 1430s.¹⁷⁵ Keen to support this new association, and no doubt backed by the ‘fully determined’ Cardinal Cesarini, protector of the Servites, in August 1441 Eugenius removed the resident Conventuals from the Annunziata and placed it under the control of the Congregazione, a move that proved to be broadly unpopular.¹⁷⁶ Cesarini died in 1444, and it was inevitable that once Eugenius himself

Antonio Fantozzi OFM and P. Benvenuto Bughetti OFM, ‘Il Terz’Ordine Francescano in Perugia dal sec. XIII al sec. XIX’, *AFH*, 33 (1940), 55-113, 319-65 (p. 323).

¹⁶⁸ *BF n.s.*, I, §218 (2 March 1436), pp. 105-6; §219 (2 March 1436), p. 106; §241 (20 June 1436), p. 113; §386 (4 September 1438), p. 178; §430 (4 July 1439), pp. 200-1; §466 (2 May 1440), pp. 222-3.

¹⁶⁹ *BF n.s.*, I, §386 (4 September 1438), p. 178.

¹⁷⁰ *BF n.s.*, I, §423 (4 May 1439), p. 197. For the brief that linked San Girolamo to nearby houses in Arezzo, Cortona, and nearby Prato, see §626 (6 October 1442), p. 295. See also Fantozzi and Bughetti, ‘Il Terz’Ordine Francescano in Perugia’, (p. 324).

¹⁷¹ *BF*, v, §297 (30 December 1317), pp. 134-5.

¹⁷² Joyce Penning, ‘Semi-Religious Women in 15th Century Rome’, *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 47 (1987), 115-45 (p. 116).

¹⁷³ *BF n.s.*, I, §466 (2 May 1440), pp. 222-3.

¹⁷⁴ *BF n.s.*, I, §626 (6 October 1442), p. 295; §628 (25 October 1442), pp. 296-7.

¹⁷⁵ The best introduction to this congregation is, Alessio Maria Rossi OSM, *Manuale di Storia dell’Ordine dei Servi di Maria (1233-1954)* (Romae: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, 1956), pp. 295-319. Although it is recorded under an erroneous date (1 July 1445) and title (*Universis sacre Religionis*), the bull confirming the congregation is published in, *AOBMV*, I, p. 470. For the correction of these errors see *Fonti storico-spirituali dei Servi di Santa Maria*, 3 vols (Sotto il Monte: Servitium Editrice, 1998-2008), II, p. 173. Eugenius also issued a brief allowing the constituent houses to elect each year in their general chapter a vicar-general; *AOBMV*, I, pp. 446-8. Eugenius himself appointed the first vicar-general; Rossi, *Manuale di Storia*, p. 298.

¹⁷⁶ *AOBMV*, I, p. 449-50. After the death of Cardinal Orsini in May 1438, Cesarini had been named archpriest of San Pietro and protector of both the Franciscan and Servite Orders; A. A. Strnad and K. Walsh, ‘Cesarini, Giuliano’, *DBI*, xxiv, p. 194. For the

passed away the reform would be annulled, an about-face favoured by many, including Archbishop Antoninus. On 30 June 1447, just a few months after Eugenius' death, the Annunziata was released from the Congregazione and returned to its former Conventual residents.¹⁷⁷

Martin and Eugenius in a city of *compagnie*

The importance of *compagnie* to Quattrocento Florence, a city in which personal connections were particularly valued, has long been recognised by scholars. As they did all over the peninsula, these lay assemblages constituted a fundamental element of the city's religio-cultural fabric, straddling the existing patchwork of social, political, and economic networks that were its lifeblood. Confraternities brought together men and women from almost every sphere of Florentine society, for any number of reasons. Originating in the *laudesi*, groups of men who sang lauds as a sign of religious devotion, the earliest Florentine confraternity was the Compagnia delle Laudi di Santa Maria Novella, founded by St Peter Martyr in 1244 and known colloquially as *dei Laudi*. As the *compagnie* proliferated throughout the fourteenth century their behaviours broadened to encompass a range of devotional, charitable, penitential, and even administrative missions in response to the evolving needs of the city.¹⁷⁸ They became, according to Weissman, one of the city's 'alternate forms of social organization',¹⁷⁹ eventually developing a tendency to reflect the organisational and administrative patterns of the commune itself.¹⁸⁰

Offering support and patronage to lay confraternities was a significant area of Florentine religious life in which Martin and Eugenius could have an impact. Both men certainly found themselves in close proximity to this particular aspect of local religiosity whilst they resided within the walls of Santa Maria Novella. In a detailed compilation of Florentine confraternities founded between the mid-thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, Henderson demonstrated that twelve were meeting somewhere in the church or convent by the time Martin arrived, whilst another two were formed during Eugenius' residencies, for a total of fourteen.¹⁸¹ Henderson's appendix also reveals that beyond the walls of Santa Maria Novella, seventeen confraternities first appeared in the records during the years a pope was in

comment about Cesarini's determination to see the Annunziata joined to the Observant congregation, see Rossi, *Manuale di Storia*, p. 301. Rossi calls him, 'il decisisssimo card. Cesarini'.

¹⁷⁷ AOBMV, I, p. 472-5; Rossi, *Manuale di Storia*, p. 303.

¹⁷⁸ Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp. 34-7. Henderson divides the confraternities of the late-Middle Ages into five main groups: lauds (*laudesi*), flagellant (*disciplinati*), charitable (under which we would subsume confraternities created to handle administrative activities), youth (*fanciulli*), and artisan.

¹⁷⁹ Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁸¹ Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp. 443-74. Chronologically ordered by date of founding, they are: S. Pier Martire e Laude della Vergine Maria (1244-5), S. Lorenzo in Palco and Pellegrini d'Oltramare (1279), Gesù Pellegrino (1334), S. Niccolò (1349), S. Benedetto Bianco (1357-8), S. Zanobi (1363), S. Caterina da Siena delle Donne (1365), La carità (1379), SS Innocenti (1389, moved to Santa Maria Novella in 1415), S. Tommaso Aquino (1390), S. Domenico detta del Bechella (1399). The two confraternities that began to meet at Santa Maria Novella during Eugenius' time there are: S. Bartolommeo and Spirito Santo (both 1439).

residence,¹⁸² whilst a further nine emerged in the interim period between Martin's departure and Eugenius' arrival, bringing the total of new Florentine confraternities founded from 1419-43 to twenty-six.¹⁸³ Whilst the methodology applied in this study is somewhat imprecise, due mainly to the fact that Henderson's appendix can only rely the earliest archival record of each group (they could possibly have been founded earlier), it cannot be disputed that the number of newly emerging confraternities is indicative of the strong current of lay devotion coursing through the city in this period. The image of a city humming with a religious energy generated by its laity becomes even stronger.

The question to answer, then, is how each man tapped into this impulse, if he did at all. Both men were certainly open to confraternal involvement; after returning to Rome, Martin in 1421 granted a plenary indulgence to the members of the confraternity that watched over the hospice of St Thomas Martyr, an indulgence that incidentally was renewed by Eugenius in 1445.¹⁸⁴ Martin could also be counted amongst the brethren of the *Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum*, a *compagnia* founded in the thirteenth century by one of his Colonna ancestors,¹⁸⁵ whilst Eugenius in 1446 re-founded the confraternity of Santo Spirito in Saxia, granting it several indulgences and becoming a member himself.¹⁸⁶

Like the discussion of papal impact on the reorganisation of Florence's religious institutions, there is a greater weight of evidence for Eugenius' impact on local confraternities, and again the factor most likely working against Martin was the length of his residence. Once more, however, his diminished profile in the sources should not be read as an unwillingness to foster this particular form of religious devotion; he was certainly prepared to do so, and although it is speculative, there is certainly evidence to suggest that Martin's residency left at least some traces in this regard.

Archbishop Corsini in the 1420s demonstrated a particular interest in Florence's confraternities and twelve approbations granted by him to certain groups are recorded in

¹⁸² Ibid. Ordered as above they were: S. Alberto (1419); S. Caterina (1420); S. Michele Arcangelo (1420); S. Paolo (1434); S. Caterina detta del Chiodo dei Tedeschi (1435); S. Paolo dei Sarti (1435); S. Bartolommeo (1439, Santa Croce); S. Bartolommeo (1439, Santa Maria Novella); Capanna (1439); Spirito Santo (1439); S. Antonio da Padova e della Nunziata (1441); S. Caterina dei Tedeschi (1441); S. Girolamo di note (1441); S. Leo (1441); S. Maria (1441); Buonomini di San Martino (1442); S. Barbara dei Tedeschi (1443).

¹⁸³ Ibid. Ordered as above they were: S. Antonio Abate (1438), Assunzione della Nostra Donna (1429), S. Brigida (1428), S. Concordia (1429), S. Giovanni Evangelista (1427), Nostra Donna e S. Pier Gattolino (1429), Purificazione della Vergine Maria e di S. Zanobi (1427), S. Spirito (1429), Tavolaccini (1427). Henderson's appendix also lists the founding date of the confraternity of S. Alberto Bianco as falling sometime between 1411 and 1429, meaning that the total number of companies which emerged in the years covered by this study could be as high as twenty-seven.

¹⁸⁴ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by W. H. Bliss et al., 21 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode et al., 1896-2008), vii, p. 329 (30 March 1421); viii, p. 130 (16 March 1429); ix, p. 518 (24 October 1445), p. 572 (22 March 1445). For a history of the hospice and its confraternity in this period see, John Allen, 'Englishmen in Rome and the Hospice 1362-1474', in *The English Hospice in Rome* (Exeter: Catholic Records Press, 1962), pp. 43-81. That same year, Eugenius granted the hospice the power to consecrate its own cemetery; the bull is printed and translated in *The Venerabile*, 19 (1960), 494-5.

¹⁸⁵ Giovanni Marangoni, *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio, o capella di San Lorenzo nel Patriarcio Lateranese* (Roma: Stamperia di San Michele per Ottavio Puccinelli, 1747), p. 295. For a recent discussion of the confraternity and its patrons see Kirstin Noreen, 'Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space: The Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)', in *Roma Felix – Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Nueman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 159-87.

¹⁸⁶ See *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, XI, p. 29n. This confraternity is also discussed in Maas, *The German Community*, p. 126. Note that Maas contradicts himself on p. 169 when he says the brotherhood was re-founded in 1447, rather than 1446.

their founding statutes.¹⁸⁷ Henderson theorises that since three of the twelve confraternities given this endorsement met at Santa Maria Novella, it is entirely reasonable to suggest that Martin's presence there motivated the archbishop to take a closer look at their devotional practices. At the same time, Corsini's confraternal focus in that decade could very well have been a reaction to the anti-confraternity legislation of October 1419 with which the commune sought to suppress all *compagnie*, only allowing to reform those that had satisfied the civic leaders of their devotional protocols.¹⁸⁸ In this regard, it could perhaps have been a move by Corsini to appear to buttress his religious authority in a decade where it was under attack from the city's clergy as well as the papacy, as discussed above.

The traces of Eugenius' involvement with the city's confraternities are nowhere near as abstract. The earliest example was his patronage of a company of *fanciulli*, the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, known also as 'della Scala' or 'della Natività', the first of its kind in Florence.¹⁸⁹ The Arcangelo had formed in 1411 in order to, 'visit the needy poor at least once every eight days with bread and wine', as well as, to 'meet together in charity every fifteen days to praise God'.¹⁹⁰ In his *zibaldone* Ferdinando del Migliore asserted that Eugenius' support was prompted by a nativity play he saw the youths perform at San Pancrazio in 1430.¹⁹¹ Whilst this dating is clearly erroneous, we can be certain that Eugenius directed significant protections towards the burgeoning Arcangelo, and its future was ensured by a series of bulls issued between 1435 and 1442 in which the pope repeatedly supported the group's agency over a space adjacent to the rooms it rented on Via della Scala.¹⁹² Further to this, the Arcangelo's place amongst Florence's companies of *fanciulli* was given the strongest possible endorsement when, also in 1442, it was named by papal bull as one of the four youth confraternities granted papal recognition. The purpose of this action was clear; Eugenius singled out the four *compagnie di fanciulli* so that they could 'devote themselves more fervently to divine works and, through the exercise of climbing the steps to the heights of the virtues, draw others by their example to divine offices of majesty.'¹⁹³ In light of this sustained

¹⁸⁷ John Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence', in *Voluntary religion: papers read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 79 n. 48.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in *The Society of Renaissance Florence*, pp. 83-4. The impact of this legislation as a reaction to the political machinations of Quattrocento Florence is discussed in John Henderson, 'Confraternities and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Florence', *Collegium Medievale*, 2 (1989), 53-72.

¹⁸⁹ Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411-1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 17.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹¹ BNCF, Fondo Magliabechiano, XXV, 418, 59r. Eugenius did not become pope until 1431 and he did not arrive in Florence until 1434. Even Trexler, one of the most authoritative voices on Florence's confraternities, was unwilling to offer a suggestion. In his excellent chronology of over two centuries of Florentine theatrical performances he simply states that the Arcangelo nativity play in the presence of Eugenius took place between 1434-36, or 1439-43; Richard C. Trexler, 'Florentine Theatre, 1280-1500. A checklist of performances and institutions', *Forum Italicum*, 14 (1980), 454-75 (p. 462). It is possible that Migliore was referring to a play Eugenius saw whilst still a cardinal, but I have found no evidence to support that particular hypothesis.

¹⁹² For details of the papal bulls see Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael*, pp. 35-6. The dates of these bulls were: 23 April 1435, 10 November 1439, 22 June 1442 (twice).

¹⁹³ This bull, *Romanus pontifex*, was issued just two days after the aforementioned two, namely, 24 June 1442. It is reprinted in Carlo C. Calzolari, *Frate Antonino Pierozzi dei Domenicani, Arcivescovo di Firenze* (Roma: Ars Graphica Editorialis Presbyterium, 1960), pp. 83-4; 'et ferventius divinis operibus instant et per illorum exercitium ad alta virtutum gradibus ascendentes ad divina maiestatis ossequia alios per

patronage, we might reasonably speculate that the aforementioned nativity play took place sometime before the bull of 1435 (23 April), although Eugenius' frequent interventions reveal an affinity for the Arcangelo which makes it entirely possible that his presence at the nativity play was not the catalyst for his favour, but rather, a manifestation of it.

If the example of the Arcangelo demonstrates that Eugenius was willing to throw his religious authority behind existing confraternal activity, the foundation of the Buonomini di San Martino in early-1442 reveals that he was equally as receptive to involving himself with the creation of new *compagnie*. The mission of the Buonomini was to assist the *poveri vergognosi*, those Florentines whose social standing prevented them from joining the ranks of the *poveri pubblici*.¹⁹⁴ To protect their honour the *vergognosi* opted to receive their alms under the cover of anonymity. Meeting at a small oratory in the centre of Florence dedicated to St Martin of Tours, the patron saint of beggars, it has long been accepted by scholars that Antoninus was the catalyst behind the Buonomini. Amleto Spicciani suggests, however, that the documentary evidence does not definitively support this conclusion since Antoninus' name is missing from both the *capitoli* of the confraternity, as well as the dedication contained in the Buonomini's earliest register of income and expenditures.¹⁹⁵ Rather it was Eugenius' name that was sought out to preside over the Buonomini from its inception, and their founding statutes read,

inspired by God, from whom holy desires and just operations proceed, with the blessing of the Most Holy Father and Lord Pope Eugenius IV, in the year of our Lord 1441, in the month of February, the twelve citizens inscribed below decided to become procurators of the aforesaid shamed poor.¹⁹⁶

Aside from demonstrating an obvious commitment to lay religious devotion, this explicit endorsement of the Buonomini is further proof of the notion that the religious authority Eugenius exercised whilst in Florence must often be understood within the framework of his close relationship with Cosimo. If the pope's blessing on this occasion gave the confraternity its spiritual legitimacy, it was Cosimo's wealth that allowed their works of charity to have a meaningful impact. Of the total alms—food, wine, and money—distributed by the Buonomini up to the mid-point of the next decade, Cosimo was personally responsible for at least half.¹⁹⁷

exempla trahant.' The four *fanciulli* who received this endorsement were: 'Nativitatis Domini' (Arcangelo), 'Purificationis Beatae Mariae Virginis' (Purificazione della Vergine Maria), 'Sancti Nicolai' (San Niccolò del Ceppo), 'et Sancti Joannis Evangelistae' (San Giovanni Evangelista).

¹⁹⁴ Amleto Spicciani, 'The "Poveri Vergognosi" in fifteenth-century Florence: the first 30 years' activity of the Buonomini di S. Martino', in *Aspects of poverty in early modern Europe*, ed. by Thomas Rüß (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff, 1981), p. 119.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2 nn. 9-10.

¹⁹⁶ Published in *ibid.*, p. 161; '...ispirati da Dio, dal quale i sancti desiderii et le giuste operationi procedono, gl'infrascripti dodici cittadini diliberarono, colla benedictione del sanctissimo padre e signore papa eugenio quarto, negli anni domini 1441, del mese di febbraio, pigliare lo essercitio d'essere procuratori de' detti poveri vergognosi'.

¹⁹⁷ Spicciani, 'The "Poveri Vergognosi"', p. 123.

Eugenius' support for Florentine confraternities was not only directed towards the patronage of existing companies or the formation of new ones. The presence of both the pope and his court in the city inevitably attracted *compagnie* from beyond the city walls and Boschetto points out that from his first residency onwards the city's significant German population had swollen even further.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, it is probable that Martin's sojourn had caused an influx of artisans even earlier than that since a confraternity dedicated to Santa Caterina was created in May 1420.¹⁹⁹ This association of 'weavers from beyond the Alps' met at the aforementioned San Salvatore,²⁰⁰ and although Martin's name is not mentioned anywhere in its founding documents, the established correlation between a resident pope and an increased population of foreigners suggests that this group could very well have been following in the wake of the Colonna pope's court.²⁰¹ What we can be certain of is the fact that Eugenius would have a hand in guiding this confraternity in years to come when a pair of bulls issued on the last day of October 1435 split the confraternity in two.²⁰² The result of this act was the newly established confraternity of Santa Caterina detta del Chiodo dei Tedeschi, which met at the Carmine, and the rededicated confraternity of Santi Cornelio e Quirino dei Tedeschi, which remained in place at San Salvatore.²⁰³

The Venetian pope's support for any foreigners who had followed the papacy continued after he returned to Florence in 1439. That year he rewarded the loyalty of a group of German cobblers, granting papal sanction to the newly composed statutes of their itinerant confraternity.²⁰⁴ Dedicated to Sts Crispin and Crispian, the patron saints of shoemakers, this brotherhood met at Santa Maria Novella and performed for its membership a broad range of spiritual and social functions.²⁰⁵ Two similar groups soon followed; Santa Caterina dei Tedeschi, which began meeting at San Lorenzo in 1441,²⁰⁶ and Santa Barbara dei Tedeschi, a *compagnia* of German and Flemish woolworkers, which began meeting at the Annunziata in 1443.²⁰⁷ Although it does not appear that Eugenius played a personal role in the formation of either of these *compagnie*, there can be little doubt that the need for them was a direct result of his time in the city. Trexler points out that the five-year period running from 1445 to 1450 can be characterised by a spike in the proliferation of these artisan confraternities, and it is certainly reasonable to conclude that Eugenius' support for exactly this type of confraternity

¹⁹⁸ Boschetto, *Società e Cultura*, p. 264.

¹⁹⁹ Alfred Doren, *Deutsche Handwerker und Handwerkerbruderschaften in mittelalterlichen Italien* (Berlin: R. L. Prager, 1903), p. 132.

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 451; 'tessitori oltamontani'.

²⁰¹ This must be considered in conjunction with the evolution of the Florentine economy that also generated a greater degree of immigration from northern Europe; Samuel Kline Cohn Jr, *The Labouring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), pp. 91-113, especially pp. 97-104.

²⁰² Doren, *Deutsche Handwerker*, pp. 132-4.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5. The rededication did not take place until March 1436. See also Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 451.

²⁰⁴ Aloys Schmidt, *Das Archiv des Campo Santo Teutonico nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1967), p. 77.

²⁰⁵ Clifford W. Maas, *The German Community in Renaissance Rome, 1378-1523*, ed. by Peter Herde (Rom: Herder, 1981), pp. 4-11.

²⁰⁶ Cesare Paoli, 'Urkunden zur Geschichte der deutschen Schusterinnung in Florenz', *MIOG*, 8 (1887), 455-76, (p. 456).

²⁰⁷ Mario Battistini, *La Confrérie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands a Florence* (Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 1931), pp. 10-13.

whilst he was resident in Florence was a necessary antecedent for their increased emergence after he left.²⁰⁸

As we found with his reorganisation of the institutional Church, Eugenius was also more than willing to intervene into the affairs of Florence's confraternities if he felt their governance was lacking. In the case of the aforementioned San Pier Martire, he played a role in the contraction of its interests. The 1427 *Catasto* demonstrates that due to the accumulation of proprietary bequests the Martire was second only to the confraternity of Madonna di Orsanmichele in terms of wealth at that time.²⁰⁹ Yet, although its capitalisation was roughly three-quarters of the size of the Madonna's, its income was substantially less, so much less, in fact, that in the years 1427-29 S. Pier Martire ran at a loss.²¹⁰ Perhaps heeding the cautionary tale of the Madonna's troubles in the Trecento—its captains had been accused of misusing the confraternity's massive wealth in the wake of the Black Death²¹¹—by early-1441 the friars of Santa Maria Novella had decided to intercede. At their request, a papal bull which handed to the Dominicans control of the Martire's interests was issued.²¹² This new arrangement would exempt the confraternity from communal intervention should the losses have continued beyond that point.

Surrounding the city with papal favour

Papal impact on Florence's religious milieu was not limited solely to reform. By approving or participating in numerous consecration ceremonies, seven in total, both Martin and Eugenius during their time in Florence contributed to the construction of a city-wide aura of papal favour, presaging the notion of the city as a New Jerusalem, a concept that would emerge fully-formed in Savonarolan Florence at the end of the Quattrocento. Ultimately this created a psychologically protective ring around the city, a devotional bulwark against the various threats, perceived or otherwise, that assailed it in this period, and whilst the liturgical aspects of a papal consecration will be discussed in Chapter Four, at this stage of the discussion it is important to acknowledge the shift of authority from the diocesan bishop to the pope, with whom the privilege ordinarily rested. It could be transferred only with his consent.

Although in the Quattrocento a papal consecration was an uncommon occurrence, it had not always been thus; between 1009 and 1143 there were 118 occasions on which the pope performed or oversaw this particular liturgy. Included in that total were 105 churches, twelve altars, and one pile of stones earmarked to become the cathedral-church of Saint-Pierre-et-

²⁰⁸ Trexler, *Public Life*, pp. 404-5.

²⁰⁹ For a thorough analysis of the activities of the Madonna di Orsanmichele see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp. 196-237.

²¹⁰ See the table in *ibid.*, p. 102.

²¹¹ Gavitt, 'Corporate Beneficence', in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti, pp. 141-6.

²¹² Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 173.

Saint-Paul in Maguelone, the small town near Montpellier.²¹³ From 1143 until the mid-thirteenth century the frequency of these events slowed significantly, and the consecration of Lyon's cathedral and main altar by Innocent IV in 1245 was, as far as we know, the last example from the Duecento.²¹⁴ In fact, this decline seems to have culminated in a complete cessation of the practice until the years of the Florentine residencies since it has been pointed out that not one of the Avignon popes of the Trecento consecrated a church during their pontificates, nor did any of the four Roman popes of the Schism.²¹⁵ That it happened seven times in Florence, therefore, and within such a short timeframe, deserves further consideration.

Admittedly, a papal consecration was not altogether foreign to the Florentines. One of the 118 papal consecrations between 1009 and 1143 was San Lorenzo, dedicated by Pope Nicholas II in 1060, perhaps because he had himself been the Bishop of Florence until the year before.²¹⁶ Of course, that event was well beyond living memory and whether or not it was a part of the Florentine consciousness in the fifteenth century would be impossible to say; there are certainly no traces of that event in the contemporary sources.

During the years of the residencies papal involvement at such events became commonplace. In early-1420 Martin granted papal approval to a request for the re-consecration of the altar of Santa Maria del Carmine, although this wouldn't happen until several years after his departure. Later that year he oversaw the consecration of Santa Maria Novella, followed a few days later by the altar of Sant'Egidio as he made his way out of the city. Fifteen years after that, in 1436, Eugenius consecrated the newly-domed cathedral just weeks before quitting the city for the first time. And following his return he was involved at the consecrations of San Marco, Santissima Annunziata, and Santa Croce, each of which took place in the first weeks of 1443. This brings the total to seven churches that were in one way or another touched by papal approval during the years of the residencies. That a consecration featuring a resident pope was a highly sought after honour is certain. At the Carmine, in March 1420 Francesco di Tommaso Soderini, owner of patronage rights over the high altar, asked for papal permission to have the altar, church, and convent consecrated, presumably in the hope that Martin himself would be involved.²¹⁷ Soderini's request was

²¹³ Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 241-6. The number is actually intensified when one considers that there were only two papal consecrations in the four decades before Leo IX dedicated three churches in 1049. Essentially, this means that from 1049-1143, less than a century, 116 churches or altars were consecrated by a pope.

²¹⁴ René Crozet, 'Étude sur les Consécérations Pontificales', *Bulletin Monumental*, 104 (1946), 5-46 (p. 45).

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, (pp. 45-6).

²¹⁶ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. by Philipp Jaffé, 2 vols, (Lipsiae, 1885-88), 1, 4429, p. 562. See also, Ernst Kitzinger, 'The Arts as Aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert Louis Benson, Giles Constable and Carol Dana Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 651.

²¹⁷ *BCarm*, 1, (30 March 1420), p. 172. This episode is discussed in Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi the Carmelite painter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 48.

granted, although for reasons unknown to historians, the ceremony would not take place until April 1422, eighteen months after Martin's departure.

Of the consecrations actually performed in the presence of either pope, that of Santa Maria del Fiore on 25 March 1436, the first day of the Florentine year, was emphatically the most notable. Not only did Filippo Brunelleschi's dome overcome a problem many thought insurmountable, the process of replacing the cathedral was brought to fruition with the blessing of a pope. The renowned Florentine humanist Leon Battista Alberti observed that the breath-taking grandeur of Brunelleschi's achievement was, 'vast enough to cover the entire Tuscan population with its shadow'.²¹⁸ Consequently, the consecration of the building and altar was an occasion of international significance; 'There was in Florence at that time the most splendid gathering of prelates and ambassadors from all over'.²¹⁹ On that day Eugenius mounted a specially constructed *ponte* (bridge), and as part of an elaborate procession walked the eight hundred or so metres to the cathedral under the gaze of perhaps more than 100,000 people. The overall impact of this sight, the city streets inundated as they were by an overwhelming crowd, must surely have been one of the most memorable of the age; Roger Crum suggests that Eugenius would have appeared to the Florentines 'almost akin to a religious apparition'.²²⁰

Contemporary accounts of the other consecrations from the papal residencies understandably lack a commensurate sense of fervour, although the dedication of Santa Maria Novella on 1 September 1420 seems to have provoked its fair share of public devotion. Corazza notes the 'very great' crowd that gathered in the piazza to receive Martin's benediction after the liturgy.²²¹ His blessing of Sant'Egidio a week later came as a part of his ritual departure, and as one would expect that particular consecration was overshadowed by the larger procession within which it was embedded.

Of the 1443 liturgies, only the consecration of San Marco is a well-known event; the corresponding ceremonies at Santissima Annunziata and Santa Croce less-so. Buoninsegni in the *Storie* tells us that,

On the day of 6 January, the aforesaid Holy Father, with a grand company of cardinals, bishops, and others, came from Santa Maria Novella to the church of San Marco, which he consecrated with the usual solemnity, granting there an indulgence: and the next day he left and visited the church of the Annunziata of the Servites, and then that of the Camaldolese of the Angeli, then Santa Maria Nuova,

²¹⁸ This comes from the dedication of the Italian version of Alberti's treatise *Della pittura*; Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. by Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 35. The dedicatee was Brunelleschi himself.

²¹⁹ Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, p. 15; 'Era in quello tempo in Firenze una bellissima corte di prelati et d'imbasciatori d'ogni luogo'. See also Roger J. Crum, 'Stepping Out of Brunelleschi's Shadow: The Consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore as International Statecraft in Medicen Florence', in *Foundation, Dedication, and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 63. Crum says, 'Arguably this internationalism was the dominant light of the consecration'.

²²⁰ Crum, 'Stepping Out', in *Foundation, Dedication, and Consecration*, ed. by Delbeke and Schraven (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 69.

²²¹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 62; 'fuvi grandissimo popolo.'

then San Pier Maggiore, coming to Santa Croce, which was also consecrated with the grant of indulgences.²²²

This account contains a small error. There is no doubt that Eugenius consecrated San Marco on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1443, the culmination of the process that began when he installed the Observant Dominicans in the convent and encouraged Cosimo to fund the remodelling of the entire complex. Moreover, he did stay there overnight; ‘the highest Pontiff...remained the entire day and similarly he spent the night and slept in the first cell which looks over the second cloister, which has been called until now Cosimo’s cell.’²²³ Finally, he certainly visited Santa Croce the following day since the papal brief granting the indulgence for the Santa Croce dedication is dated 7 January 1443, at which, as the sources attest, Cardinal Bessarion of Trebizond officiated.²²⁴ Buoninsegni’s error is the claim that the Annunziata was also dedicated on that date. A convent source states that it took place on 13 January, one week after San Marco.²²⁵ Given they all occurred so close to one another it seems clear Buoninsegni simply conflated the events.

This suite of consecrations in the presence of the popes almost certainly left an impression on the city. There is no question the citizens and the *signori* would have welcomed their involvement, and as the example of Soderini’s desire to have Martin consecrate the Carmine suggests, the prestige that was inevitably generated by papal involvement at one of these ceremonies was simply too compelling an opportunity to let pass. It would be difficult to argue, then, that this was an area where papal and episcopal authority might clash. In Martin’s case, Corsini has already been demonstrated to be an ineffectual source of religious authority. In terms of Eugenius there is little chance papal usurpation of the privilege would have caused any friction, even if the city or the archbishop had wished to reserve the right for the local religious authority. Vitelleschi, whose pro-papal credentials are outlined above, was the incumbent the day Eugenius consecrated Santa Maria del Fiore in 1436, and as noted, he did not arrive in the city until the following year. and when he repeated the act at San Marco in 1443, it was an increasingly influential Cosimo who organised papal involvement.

Fundamentally, the consecrations of early-1443 added another dimension to an already unique aspect of the city’s institutional religious network. By the time Eugenius left Florence for the final time, a significant portion of the city’s major churches, to say nothing of its

²²² Buoninsegni, *Storie*, p. 77; ‘A di 6. di Gennaio 1442. il sopradetto Santo Padre con gran compagnia di Cardinali, Vescovi, & altri, venne da Santa Maria Novella alla Chiesa di San Marco, e quella consacrò con l’usate solennità, e lasciovi perdonanze: e l’altro di si parti, e visitò la Chiesa della Nunziata de’ Servi, e poi quella de’ Romiti degli Agnioli, poi Santa Maria Nuova, dipoi San Piero maggiore, e venne a Santa Croce, la quale anche consacrò, con lasciarvi perdoni’.

²²³ Giuliano Lapaccini, *La Cronaca del Convento fiorentino di San Marco*, ed. by Raoul Morcay, *ASI*, 71 (1913), 1-29 (p. 17); ‘summus Pontifex...remansit tota die et similiter pernoctavit atque dormivit in prima cella quae respicit claustrum secundum, quae dicitur adhuc cella Cosmae.’ For the indulgence see *BOFP*, III, §CCLVI, p. 164.

²²⁴ *BF n.s.*, I, §637 (7 January 1443), pp. 300-1; *NI*, I, p. 56. See also Lotte Labowsky, ‘Bessarione’, *DBI*, IX, p. 688. Bessarion had the honour of reading aloud in Greek the Bull of Union when it was promulgated in Santa Maria del Fiore; the Latin version was read by Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

²²⁵ ASF, Conv. Sopp., 119, 48, 85^v.

cathedral, had effectively been touched by papal favour at the moment of their consecration or dedication, either directly or by association. San Marco, Santa Croce, and Santissima Annunziata were added to a perimeter made up of the Duomo, Santa Maria Novella, and the Carmine, forming a ring of great churches that offered religious protection to the inhabitants of a city well used to living under either spiritual or temporal threat. The glaring omission here is the great Augustinian basilica of Santo Spirito, the dominant religious institution in that area south of the river, and yet even it could be counted amongst the local institutions with links to the visiting popes since in 1438 it provided certain architectural elements that would be used within the papal apartments, a moment that will be discussed in Chapter Six. Reminiscent of Alberti's metaphorical shadow, just on a smaller scale, the repeated papal involvement at consecration ceremonies constructed a psychological rampart within which all Florentine citizens might find succour, comforted by the notion that their city truly was indeed divinely sanctioned.

Chapter Three

Civic space and papal place: Martin, the Opera del Duomo, and the Santa Maria Novella apartments

Just a few weeks before Martin was due to arrive in Florence, the commune decided that in order to carve out an appropriate space for the rapidly approaching pope, renovations should immediately start at the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella. On 31 January 1419 it was entered into the registers of the *Provvisioni* that,

the men or workers of the Opera, having worked on the construction of the cathedral church of Florence, be bound and ought...to make be made, finished, and completed, in the residence of the brothers of the Order of Preachers of Santa Maria Novella of Florence, a dwelling for the most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Pope Martin V, by divine providence, in accordance with the arrangement and condition to be handed down by the eight men below-written.¹

The commune further stipulated that the man responsible for the renovations should spend as required, ‘on timber, limestone, stones, and other similar things,’ dictating that the total expenditure, ‘may not exceed the sum of 1,500 gold florins.’² To put this figure into some perspective, based on data from the 1427 *catasto* an unskilled construction labourer working full-time could expect to earn thirty-five florins per annum; fifteen hundred florins, therefore, was no small allocation of public funds.³ The institution that would oversee the task of preparing the papal apartments was the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, a committee that had been charged with the construction of the city’s vast new cathedral. Known colloquially as the Opera del Duomo, this body was the perfect choice for the commune given the pressured time-frame.⁴

The financial and managerial mandate handed to the Opera is a clear indication that the Florentines had recognised that their city was set to become for a time the centre of Latin Christendom, and consequently, that an appropriate dwelling for the approaching pope was required. Santa Maria Novella presented an obvious solution to the question of where to house the pope, given it had over the years accommodated a great many *ospiti di riguardo* beginning with the visit of Charles I of Anjou in 1267.⁵ However, since Gregory X had in

¹ ASF, *Provvisioni Registri*, 108, 227^{r-v} (31 January 1419); ‘viri et operari opere seu fabricae maioris ecclesie florentine teneantur et debeant exemplis ipsius opere fieri facere atque perfici et compleri in loco conventus fratrum Sancte Marie Novelle de Florentia ordinis predicatorum unam habitationem pro sanctissimo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Martino divina providentia papa quinto secundum designationem atque fortunam tradendam per infrascriptos homines octo.’

² ASF, *Provvisioni Registri*, 108, 227^{r-v} (31 January 1419); ‘Et pro magisterio legnamine calce lapidibus et aliis similibus expendere...et pecuniam in dictam hedificationem convertendas excedere non possit sumam florentinorum mille quingentorum auri.’

³ The *catasto* was a citywide tax-assessment conducted at regular intervals. It recorded the wealth of Florence’s households. The 1427 *catasto* is a ubiquitous example and has been cited by many historians, not least because of the wealth of data it contains; Robert Black, ‘Literacy in Florence, 1427’, in *Florence and Beyond*, ed. by Peterson and Bornstein p. 196. The salary data is from Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 562.

⁴ Samuel K. Cohn Jr., *Creating the Florentine State: Peasants and Rebellion, 1348-1434* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 172.

⁵ Dino Compagni, *Chronicle of Florence*, trans. Daniel E. Bornstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), p. 40. The term *ospiti di riguardo* is borrowed from *Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella*, ed. by Stefano Orlandi OP, 2 vols (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1955), I, p. xxix.

1273 stayed at the Palazzo Mozzi in the Oltrarno, Martin would be Santa Maria Novella's first papal visitor; the need to remodel the space was clear.⁶ In the end the effort expended for Martin's visit proved extremely worthwhile, and it is hardly surprising that Eugenius would on two occasions seek refuge in the city following his precipitous flight from Rome. In fact, the papal apartments would thereafter be used quite regularly to host esteemed guests, including Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor (1452), Popes Pius II (1459) and Leo X (1515), and Cardinals Guglielmo d'Estouteville (1452) and Giovanni Carvajal (1453).⁷

On 3 February 1419, just a few days after the commune's initial order, the Opera wardens, the *operai*, issued a resolution of their own, appointing a local sculptor named Jacopo Sandri to the crucial position of *provveditore* (administrator) of the apartment renovations. Sandri was to oversee the preparations for Martin's imminent arrival, including management of 'the building to be done in the church of Santa Maria Novella of Florence for the benefit of the dwelling of the highest pontiff'. More specifically, he would be responsible for, 'the keeping of the expenses to be made in the said labours, and also for soliciting the masters and others working on the said labours etc'.⁸ Beyond this general outline, the Opera's directive offers no further information about what was expected of Sandri, other than the fact that his salary would be debated and decided upon at a later date.

This chapter deals with the papal apartments for the eighteen months of Martin's residency, from the commune's initial edict on 31 January 1419 until Martin's departure on 9 September the following year. It is given over to a discussion of the impact Martin's papacy had on Florentine culture and religion by virtue of the physical spaces it inhabited. Thus far this study has shown how the papacy came to be absorbed into the ritual and ecclesiastical spaces of the city; in the next chapter we will see a similar discussion in relation to its liturgical space. Each of these was of course overlaid by the physical imprint of the papacy, and this part of the discussion will examine how in said spaces the commune extended its push for stability and order. It will argue that in the physical and psychological spaces handed over to Martin the beleaguered pope found some welcome respite. The relative sanctuary of Santa Maria Novella enabled him to begin the slow and difficult task of rebuilding his spiritual and temporal authority, a process that also allowed the Florentines to project an image of the commune very much attuned to the culture of stability and control it was constantly promoting.

⁶ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, ed. by Ignazio Moutier and Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, 4 vols (Firenze: Sansone Coen Tipografo-Editore, 1845), I, pp. 372-3.

⁷ Stefano Orlandi OP, 'Il Concilio Fiorentino', (pp. 145-50).

⁸ YC, II 1 75, 5^v f (3 February 1419); 'ad hedificationem fiendam in ecclesia Sancte Marie Novelle de Florentia pro habituro summi pontificis... ad tenendum computum expensarum fiendarum in dicto laborerio et ad solicitandum magistros et alios laborantes in dicto laborerio etc.'

Three interests had a stake in the realignment of the apartment space: the papacy, the commune, and the least considered party, the resident Dominican community. The papal apartments essentially became a site of negotiated control, and as will become apparent, once they became a papal space, the corresponding prestige available to those social, civic, and political elements of Florentine society that were able to secure a presence within prompted a careful insertion of their relevant symbols. The *popolo*, Florentine civic identity as embodied in the guild system, and the political structures of communal government; each of these would find themselves represented in some way within the realigned interior spaces of Santa Maria Novella.

The source material for this chapter comes from the thousands of provisions recorded in the registers of the aforementioned Opera. This archive is well-known to scholars, however, its resources have almost always been scrutinised in order to support analyses into the construction of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. They have hardly been studied in terms of the apartments, perhaps due to the lack of corresponding physical evidence, effectively marginalising what was for a considerable length of time an important part of the fabric of the city.

The Opera del Duomo and the papal apartments

The spaces inhabited by Martin and Eugenius during the papal residencies are a key aspect of this study. Like the trend towards ritual in the latter-half of the last century, the ‘spatial turn’ that emerged around the same time had a profound impact on historical studies. Just as they were elsewhere, French theorists and philosophers were at the forefront of this shift, and well before Greenblatt outlined his cultural poetics, Gaston Bachelard published *La Poétique de l’Espace*, a lyrical exposition of what he saw as humankind’s unfailingly emotional reaction to the intimate spaces we experience throughout our lives.⁹ Bachelard’s work was followed by Michel Foucault who spoke of the ‘internal space’ of our ‘primary perception’, as well as ‘external space’, that in which ‘we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs’.¹⁰

Roughly a decade after Foucault another member of this French vanguard, Henri Lefebvre published his seminal *La production de l’espace*, which describes a unitary theory of space, one based on a complex network of physical, mental, and social fields.¹¹ Echoing to a degree Foucault’s internal/external paradigm, Lefebvre nuanced his categorisation by

⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. by Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994). Bachelard’s original book, *La Poétique de l’Espace*, was first published in 1958.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault (trans. by Jay Miskowicz), ‘Of Other Spaces’, *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), 22-27 (p. 23). This essay is based on a lecture delivered in 1967.

¹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l’espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974). It was translated into English in 1991; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

postulating a distinction between the ‘ideal space’ of mental processes and the ‘real space’ of social practice.¹² Defining these as *perceived* and *conceived* spaces, respectively, Lefebvre added a third category, *social space*, which he defines as ‘lived space’. To quote him directly, ‘Social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial.’¹³ Each of these divisions will become apparent as this chapter progresses, and although a description this short could not possibly do justice to what is an incredibly rich work, it is enough at this point to recognize that practically without fail, any scholar after Lefebvre who has grappled with questions of space cites his influence on their work. This chapter will draw out some conclusions about how Martin’s papacy interacted with the perceived and conceived spaces it encountered whilst in Florence, and consequently, how it conducted its social relations and reconfigured its influence therein as a reaction to the papacy’s manifold problems.

In Lefebvre’s wake, space moved from being a little-considered abstraction to a field of fertile intellectual inquiry. A recent review essay confirmed the breadth of this scholarship, a flood that shows little sign of abating.¹⁴ One collection of essays in particular demands attention, most obviously because it deals directly with the specific time and place in question.¹⁵ Although they, too, are indebted to Lefebvre, the editors of this volume simultaneously strive to demarcate themselves from his work by constructing a schema of the city in this period where space was ‘palpable and real.’¹⁶ Rather than existing as an empty void that merely encompassed the citizens and their behaviors, they contend it was an active agent that shaped and influenced their lives. Obsessively preoccupied with the mechanisms that governed design and construction, the Florentines thought long and hard about the spaces that made up their city, from the widening of streets and piazzas, to the placement of palaces and visual artefacts. The boundaries that delineated Florentine spaces from one another, the editors argue, were certainly not fixed; they overlapped in a constant exchange of purpose and meaning.¹⁷ The current study relies heavily on these parameters.

Not least because the papal apartments have a notably paltry presence in the rich historiography of the city, a discussion of the years Martin (and Eugenius) spent at Santa Maria Novella adds a great deal to our understanding of space in the fifteenth-century city. It has been more than fifty years since Orlandi and Haines conducted the last focused investigations of the apartment complex as a functioning part of the urban landscape.¹⁸ The

¹² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

¹⁴ Megan Cassidy-Welch, ‘Space and Place in Medieval Contexts’, *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 1-12.

¹⁵ *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti.

¹⁶ Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, ‘Introduction: The Dynamics of Space in a Renaissance City’, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti. The editors describe how they seek to move away from Lefebvre at pp. 4-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ Stefano Orlandi, ‘Il Concilio Fiorentino’; Haines, ‘Gli appartamenti papali’.

apartments, meanwhile, did not feature heavily in Boschetto's recent analysis of Eugenius' sojourns.¹⁹ Although regrettable, this lacuna is unsurprising given very little of the apartment space survived the upheavals of Napoleon and the Risorgimento.²⁰ Almost nothing from the Quattrocento remains, save for a few rather fragmentary examples, a sad fact given how large the complex once was.

In their time the apartments occupied the first and second floors of the western wing of Santa Maria Novella's *chiostro grande*, as well as sections of the adjacent southern wing, which were used chiefly to lodge the papal *familia* (Plate 9) This was an imposing setting; the *chiostro grande* is the largest of its kind in Florence.²¹ Today the cloister, which is more or less untouched but closed to the public, as well as the vast majority of the interior spaces of the apartments, are at the disposal of the local Scuola Marescialli e Brigadieri dei Carabinieri. A small private chapel used by the popes is fundamentally intact, although its decoration dates to the sixteenth-century.²² The chapel of San Niccolò and the infirmary, both of which were in the southern wing, have been operating as a perfumery since the seventeenth century, and although they are now in private hands, they are accessible and feature a tiny sacristy with wonderfully preserved frescoes attributed to Mariotto di Nardo.²³ The main entrance to the apartments was through this part of the convent, opening out onto Via della Scala, the famous street which ran along the entire southern edge of the convent and bordered the vast piazza in front of the church. In short, that which remains in place pales in comparison to that which does not.

Fortunately, the surviving records of the Opera del Duomo mean that this dearth of architectural evidence is not as insurmountable as it might first appear. In fact, as this and the ultimate chapter will demonstrate, the Opera records contain considerable evidence of the configuration of the apartment complex, information which, when correlated with various contemporary accounts of the papal residencies, enables us to cobble together an understanding of how the apartment spaces functioned, as well as how they were perceived by occupants, citizens, and visitors alike.

It is first necessary to understand how the Opera itself functioned, both internally and as an institution within broader Florentine society. The Opera was just one example of the

¹⁹ Boschetto, *Società e cultura*.

²⁰ The best account of the history of the convent space from the early-modern period onwards is Roberto Lunardi, *Arte e storia in Santa Maria Novella* (Firenze: Salami, 1983), pp. 13-21.

²¹ The *chiostro grande* measures 62m x 74m; see Giovanni Fanelli, *Firenze, Architettura e Città*, 2 vols (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1973), I (images), p. 21.

²² Luciano Berti, 'La Capella del Papa', in *Santa Maria Novella: la basilica, il convento, i chiostri monumentali*, ed. Umberto Baldini (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1981), pp. 232-7. This chapel was (and still is) located in the area of the apartments towards the northwestern corner of the *chiostro grande*; Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 83-6. The chapel would come to hold a miraculous image, the *Madonna della Peste* in the early-Cinquecento.

²³ This attribution was made in the early-twentieth century; Basile Khvoshinsky and Mario Salmi, *I Pittori Toscani dal XIII al XVI secolo*, 2 vols (Roma: E. Loescher, 1912-14), II, p. 60. In all likelihood, this fresco cycle was painted before Martin's arrival, probably around the turn of the fifteenth century; Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols (The Hague: M. Nijhof, 1923-38), III, p. 609.

many such bodies created by the Florentines to manage projects of civic importance.²⁴ A board of works, from 1296 it had been responsible for the construction of the city's new cathedral and by the time of Martin's visit it had experienced several organisational upheavals. Before 1296 there had been in place a long-standing tradition that the Signoria would cede control of significant church works to one of Florence's powerful guilds, the *maggiori*, which would thereafter populate the relevant board and assume responsibility for all aspects of procurement, supply, and labour.²⁵ For the cathedral, however, perhaps in a move designed to ensure that no single guild could monopolise the prestige that would ultimately redound from such a magnificent project, administration was placed in the hands of the local bishop.²⁶ Unfortunately, by abandoning the regulatory habits that had served them so well in the past the Florentines only hobbled the construction effort, and after almost three decades of stuttering progress, a 1321 statute issued by the Capitano del Popolo decreed that five of the *maggiori* would thenceforth take charge of the Opera on an annually rotating basis.²⁷ Just as placing the bishop in charge had proven to be inadequate, the rotational approach instituted in 1321 fared little better, despite the involvement of the guilds. Over the next ten years the ambitious project stalled completely, so much so that the resultant inactivity came to be seen as a highly visible source of shame for the Florentines; 'what stands has for a long time gone without any building, and this results in a great disgrace, dishonour, and abomination upon the aforesaid commune.'²⁸

Further change was obviously required and in 1331 the administration of the construction effort was recast for the last time. Implementing an organisational structure that proved to be an outstanding success, the commune reinstated its traditional model and control of the Opera was handed to a single guild, the Arte della Lana, the representatives of Florence's powerful wool industry. For the next four-and-a-half centuries the Lana, with the Opera acting as its executive arm, presided over the cathedral.²⁹ Indeed, it forged such an imposing reputation in the decades after 1331 that, '[b]y the end of the fourteenth century the *opera* was regularly and routinely commissioned to carry out communal building and repair projects

²⁴ On the proliferation of these types of corporate entities (*opere*), which were set up by the Florentines to oversee public projects, see, Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 90-98. For the sake of clarity I shall only ever refer to the Opera del Duomo when using the term 'Opera'.

²⁵ The Florentine guilds were divided into the *maggiori* (major guilds), and the *minori* (minor guilds); Najemy, *A History of Florence*, pp. 35-44.

²⁶ For a discussion of this see Margaret Haines, 'Brunelleschi and Bureaucracy: The Tradition of Public Patronage at the Florentine Cathedral', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 3 (1989), 89-125 (pp. 89-94).

²⁷ *Santa Maria del Fiore: La costruzione della chiesa e del campanile secondo i documenti*, ed. by Ceasare Guasti (Firenze: Tipografia di M. Ricci, 1887), §31 (1321), pp. 26-8. The guilds that were selected for this were: the Arte di Calimala (cloth manufacturers and merchants); the Arte del Cambio (bankers and money changers); the Arte della Lana (wool manufacturers and merchants); the Arte Por Santa Maria (silk weavers and merchants); and the Arte dei Medici e Speziali (physicians and pharmacists).

²⁸ *Santa Maria del Fiore*, §35 (1 October 1331), pp. 30-2; 'quod remansit iam est longum tempus et est absque hedificatione aliqua, quod redundat in grande dedecus obprobrium et abominationen Communis iamdicti.'

²⁹ The Florentine guilds, with the exception of the Arte dei Giudici e Notai (Guild of Judges and Notaries), were suppressed in 1770 by Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Even without the involvement of the Lana, the Opera is still responsible for the Duomo. its jurisdiction only ending in the late-eighteenth century

which had nothing whatever to do with the cathedral.³⁰ The sophisticated logistical and technical apparatus the Opera developed throughout those years was the perfect solution when preparing a space for Martin's imminent arrival became a priority.

It is crucial at this point to consider how the organisational framework described here operated in reality; it will be an increasingly important distinction as the chapter unfolds. Howard Saalman, referring to the decision to appoint Giotto as *capomaestro* of the cathedral work-site in 1334, suggests that, 'the power of the Signoria, as vested in the priors and the councils of state, was at all times absolute.'³¹ Margaret Haines, meanwhile, in her study of the bureaucratic forces that shaped the construction process, draws our attention to 'the lines of delegated responsibility which now descended through the councils to the guild and its Opera.'³² The fact of the matter was that although the Opera certainly assumed wide-ranging control over those projects it controlled, the *signori*, as well as the various councils that advised them, had no qualms about stepping in and directing work as they saw fit. As Haines suggests, the Opera was very much 'a delegate of the Florentine Commune.'³³

As stated, the already rich historiography of Quattrocento Florence can only benefit from an examination of those Opera records that have survived, especially since the apartments themselves did not. Excitingly, in an age when scholarship is just beginning to synchronise with the capabilities of digital technology,³⁴ the years of Martin's residency are covered by a vast cache of archival material made available by an innovative collaboration between the modern-day Opera and several specialised research institutions. One of the earliest such projects, *The Years of the Cupola, 1417-1436*, set out to create a database of over 21,000 Opera documents from the years of the dome's construction. Its online interface, which permits open access to transcriptions and low-intensity ultraviolet photographs, allows historians to consult directly those sources which record the Opera's work at any of the sites that fell within its purview in those years.³⁵ The Santa Maria Novella apartment complex was one of those sites.

The aforementioned outline of Sandri's obligations as *provveditore* of the apartment project comes from one of the hundreds of *deliberazioni* (resolutions) and *stanziamenti* (allocations) issued by the Opera in the process of preparing and maintaining the apartments both before

³⁰ Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore* (London: Zwemmer, 1980), p. 183.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³² Haines, 'Brunelleschi and Bureaucracy', (p. 95).

³³ *Ibid.*, (p. 91).

³⁴ For an excellent example of this generally see *Mapping Space*, ed. by Terpstra and Rose.

³⁵ To quote the website, *The Years of the Cupola, 1417-1436* (hereafter YC) is, 'a structured digital archive of the documentary sources of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore.' It is accessible at < http://duomo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/INFO_ENG/Project_description.HTM >. The partners involved in its creation were: The Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore; the Max-Planck-Institut for the History of Science, Berlin; ECHO (European Cultural Heritage Online), Department for the Conservation of Books and Manuscripts, Fachhochschule, Cologne; Institute of Computational Linguistics of the National Research Council (C.N.R.), Pisa, DBT group. A description of the project by the current director of the archive, Lorenzo Fabbri, is available online at <<http://duomo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/STUDIES/study002/Fabbri-Gli-anni-della-Cupola.html>>.

and during Martin's residency. For a city as obsessed with recording the minutiae of daily-life as Quattrocento Florence, these sources are not particularly noteworthy. They are essentially administrative and document with varying amounts of detail the supply of skills, labour, and materials. These were at their core economic transactions and a typical *stanziamento*, such as this example from January 1420, reads, 'Lapo di Pagno da Fiesole should receive thirty *lire* in exchange for the manufacture of a hinge, threshold and corbels for the door of the courtyard of the lodging of our Lord Pope.'³⁶ Occasionally the sources give no detail of either the work or its specific location, such as when Corso di Bartolomeo was paid three *lire*, 'for his period of toil at Santa Maria Novella, during which he laboured to construct the pope's residence.'³⁷

Fortunately, not all of the entries in the Opera registers are as devoid of detail. In fact, by relying on the powerful tool that is *The Years of the Cupola* database, historians are able to describe with great certainty the scope and nature of the work undertaken at the papal apartments over the months of Martin's residency. A survey of the *stanziamenti*, for example, the most common type of work-order, reveals that 202 were issued by the Opera up until Martin's departure in early-September 1420.³⁸ Since several of these refer to the same activity, such as an initial remittance followed by the payment of the balance, the actual number of distinct tasks covered by these *stanziamenti* is slightly less than that. The earliest allocation was issued on 6 February 1419 when Jacopo di Giovanni Cammella and Antonio di Ceccozzo were paid one hundred *lire* for supplying sand to be used in the renovations,³⁹ and the last on 21 August 1420 when roof tiles and chimney pots were purchased from Luca di Jacopo, a kiln owner from the satellite-town of Impruneta.⁴⁰

As these examples demonstrate, the Opera registers record the broad range of materials and workmen used. All manner of stone was utilised, both finished and unfinished, as were the necessary aggregate materials, such as sand, pebbles, and mortar. Woodworking was of course a key part of the renovations, and the procured timber was destined for a range of purposes, from roof beams and wood panels, to specialised furniture, such as the benches to be used by Martin and his cardinals in consistory.⁴¹ We even know the specific types of wood the Opera selected, namely, fir, poplar, elm, and chestnut. An equally diverse number

³⁶ YC, II 1 77, 54^v m (18 January 1420); 'Lapo Pagni de Fexulis quos recipiat in mutuum pro factura cardinalis et soglie et beccatellorum portis cortilis habitationis domini Pape libras triginta.' See also YC, II 4 8, 64^r b (18 January 1420).

³⁷ YC, II 4 8, 41^v d (29 April 1419); 'Chorso di Bartolomeo de' avere lire tre p. per sua faticha durata a Santa Maria Novella nel tempo si penò a fare l'abituro del Papa'. See also YC, II 1 75, 48^v d (28 April 1419).

³⁸ These 202 *stanziamenti* come from just a single manuscript; YC, II 4 8. All of the entries in this register are in the Tuscan vernacular, but almost all are duplicated in Latin, although across three different manuscripts; YC, II 1 75; YC, II 1 76; YC, II 1 78. *Stanziamenti* were recorded by the Opera notaries in both languages, whilst the *deliberazioni* were recorded in Latin only.

³⁹ YC, II 1 75, 45^v c (6 February 1419); II 4 8, 38^r b (6 February 1419).

⁴⁰ YC, II 4 8, 88^v e (21 August 1420). Due to an error, this job actually dragged into 1421 and was not settled until 5 June of that year; YC, II 1 78, 73^r f (5 June 1421); II 48, 111^v f (5 June 1421).

⁴¹ YC, II 1 75, 50^r a (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 43^r f (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 49^r g (10 May 1419); II 1 76, 49^v e (19 July 1419); II 4 8, 50^r d (19 July 1419).

of trades and craftsmen were employed to bring all of this to fruition, including blacksmiths, plasterers, carpenters, sculptors, goldsmiths, masons, and painters, to say nothing of the unskilled labourers that were the backbone of any large-scale construction effort.

The most valuable aspect of the Opera sources, however, are the specific locations named, most obviously since that information begins to tell scholars how the apartment spaces were used. We find a multitude of references to interior spaces such as the *sala grande*, the *camera del paramento*,⁴² the *capella segreta*,⁴³ and the consistory hall.⁴⁴ Therein we also find a great many small details related to the finishing, such as the fact that Martin's private room had an antechamber with a fireplace that was decorated with a painted floral motif.⁴⁵ Exterior sources are also named, such as the courtyard of San Niccolò and the *chiostro grande*. And finally there are a great many references to non-specific locations. Architectural descriptions of a generic nature abound, such as staircase, balcony, loggia, terrace, window, wall, ceiling, and floor. At the very least, it seems as though there were few places at Santa Maria Novella that went untouched before and during Martin's sojourn, and despite the fact that the apartments were lost, it is clear from the above that the written records can tell us a great deal about what was once a unique part of the fifteenth-century cityscape. The Opera records contain a rather detailed sketch of the configuration of the apartments, an outline to be filled out with those sources that account for the day-to-day minutiae of the papal residencies, providing us with valuable insights into the entire range of papal behaviour.

The Dominicans and the papacy

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, three parties had an interest in the Santa Maria Novella apartments. To the arriving pope they were his new home and the locus of papal business, both temporal and spiritual, for the foreseeable future. It would be difficult to conclude that Martin viewed the stop in Florence as anything other than temporary; his relentless diplomacy to shore up a path to Rome attests to this. At the same time we can be equally sure that even Martin had little idea of how long this would take in light of the perpetual volatility of Italian politics. To the Opera, acting as an agent of the Signoria and by extension the entire commune, the apartments represented an opportunity to be seized. Martin's arrival allowed the commune to bring its own agenda into the space, the motivations behind which will become apparent in a moment. Finally, to the resident Dominicans, the

⁴² The *camera del paramento* was a robing room. John Shearman points out that in the sixteenth century a room by the same name was used by the cardinals when they dressed for occasions such as liturgy and consistory; John Shearman, 'The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration,' in *Art and Politics in Renaissance Italy: British Academy Lectures*, ed. by George Holmes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 189. Unfortunately, there is no indication in the sources whether or not it functioned in this way, or if it was used by Martin himself, at Santa Maria Novella.

⁴³ This is the space referred to in modern times as the Cappella dei Papi. In Martin's time the walls were whitewashed; YC, II 1 76, 50^r b (19 July 1419); II 4 8, 50^r f (19 July 1419).

⁴⁴ There is evidence to believe this was just a reference to the *sala grande*, an investigation of which deserves further study.

⁴⁵ YC, II 1 75, 46^v a (17 March 1419).

group most immediately and quantifiably affected by the papal guests, the apartments represented the usurpation of their convent space. From the moment the commune began its push to claim the apartments, the Dominicans were certainly the party with the least amount of control over the process. Vincenzo Borghigiani, an eighteenth-century chronicler working with now lost fifteenth-century sources, states that during Martin's visit, 'Amongst other things, the Dominicans were made to arrange the refectory for the service of the court.'⁴⁶ In that vein, it is tempting to speculate that the sudden arrival of a papal court would have caused some degree of discontent amongst the friars. As the evidence will show, however, such a hypothesis is problematic.

A consideration of the impact of Martin's arrival on the resident Dominicans presents a compelling point of departure for this part of the discussion, most obviously because we have the means to at least attempt to quantify how significant an imposition it was, if indeed, it was at all. A critical edition of the convent's necrology covering the years 1258-1476 has been published, allowing us to interrogate the Santa Maria Novella population with a fair degree of accuracy.⁴⁷ Consequently it has been used by scholars on more than one occasion to determine the number of residents at a particular time. Daniel Lesnick relied on its records when he demonstrated that 162 individual friars resided at Santa Maria Novella over the two decade period running from 1290 to 1310.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, honing in on a specific year, Ole Jørgen Benedictow used the *Necrologio* to illustrate that 86 of the 130 friars perished when the plague struck in 1348.⁴⁹

By applying this same methodology to the eighteen months of Martin's residency, the *Necrologio* tells us that when he arrived there were definitively forty-three friars at Santa Maria Novella, whilst a further thirty-seven can be listed as possibilities.⁵⁰ Therefore, there were perhaps as many as eighty Dominicans at the convent in 1419. Since many of the entries in the *Necrologio* contain scant bibliographic details, the exact figure cannot be determined with absolute certainty. The upper figure of eighty, however, is likely very accurate—it almost certainly would not have been higher—and is useful for contextualizing the 1419 population in relation to those specific samples described above.

⁴⁶ Vincenzo Borghigiani, *Cronica annalistica del venerabile convento di Santa Maria Novella dal primo anno di sua fondazione fino al 1556*, 4 vols (Firenze, 1757-60), II, p. 248.

⁴⁷ *Necrologio*, ed. by Orlandi.

⁴⁸ Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The social world of Franciscan and Dominican spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), pp. 47, 65-66.

⁴⁹ Ole Jørgen Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), p. 292. This makes the mortality rate 66%, very much in keeping with many scholarly estimates. It is worth noting that Millard Meiss has claimed that 325 friars died at Santa Maria Novella during the Black Death. Even if we apply a conservative mortality rate to this figure and assume that 40% of the residents fell victim to the plague, we would have to calculate the Dominican population at that time to over 800, an obviously erroneous figure; Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 102.

⁵⁰ *Necrologio*, I, pp. 147-201; II, pp. 76-348.

Most obviously these numbers show that the once thriving convent of Santa Maria Novella was by 1419 quite depleted. If it housed 130 friars in 1348, less than a century later the population had shrunk to somewhere between one-half and two-thirds of that figure. It is well known that the broader Florentine population recovered quite slowly after the Black Death.⁵¹ The convent, it seems, was similarly sluggish to regenerate, and at the very least these figures suggest that the Dominicans almost certainly had ample room for their papal guests. For a convent that at one time in the recent past had probably supported a population twice as large, in terms of space the imposition placed upon it by Martin and his household would not have been significantly onerous.

Ultimately, determining whether or not this encroachment caused any discontent amongst the Dominicans is perhaps an unanswerable question, at least without some sort of direct evidence. It is crucial to acknowledge, moreover, that the papal institution had in fact enjoyed an implied presence at Santa Maria Novella long before Martin's arrival. Indeed, several images within the church complex coalesced to make a strong visual statement on the doctrine of papal primacy, as well as to champion the self-proclaimed Dominican role as the guardians of Church orthodoxy. These declarations are most strikingly seen on the walls of the chapterhouse, the so-called Spanish Chapel, where the 1360s fresco cycle of Andrea di Bonaiuto presents the pope as a key figure in the Dominican conception of the ecclesiology or the theology of the Universal Church. On the western wall, in *The Triumph of St Thomas*, an unspecified pope sits amongst the theological sciences as an anthropomorphised representation of canon law (Plate 11).⁵² On the opposing eastern wall, in the *Via veritas*, a generic pope sits within a figurative depiction of the Church hierarchy that includes a cardinal, a patriarch, a bishop, as well as several lower-ranked religious (Plate 10). Elsewhere in the fresco key Dominican saints – Dominic, Peter Martyr, and Thomas Aquinas – urge black and white dogs, the *domini canes* (dogs of the Lord, a common wordplay on Dominicans) to drive away a pack of wolves stalking the faithful. Simultaneously, all three by their preaching, the foundational act upon which the entire Order was built, lead the deserving to heaven.⁵³

⁵¹ S. R. Epstein, 'Cities, Regions and the Late Medieval Crisis: Sicily and Tuscany Compared', *Past & Present* 130 (1991), 3-50 (pp. 18-19).

⁵² According to one scholar this is Innocent IV (1243-54); Julius von Schlosser, 'Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 17 (1896), 13-100 (p. 47). In the mid-twentieth century it was hypothesised to be Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the pope who promulgated *Unam sanctum*, the famous bull that set out most explicitly the notion of papal primacy; Piero Bargellini, *I chiostri di Santa Maria Novella e il Cappellone degli Spagnoli* (Firenze: Edizioni Arnaud, 1954), p. 26. A few years later a third attribution emerged, namely, Clement V (1305-14); Stefano Orlandi OP, *S. Maria Novella e i suoi Chiostri Monumentali* (Firenze: Edizioni il Rosario, 1962), pp. 56-7 (fold-out). Given the *Constitutiones* of Clement V were incorporated into the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* by John XXII, Clement's immediate successor, this attribution seems the most probable; *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, coll. 1125-1200.

⁵³ For further discussion of these frescoes see: Julian Gardner, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', *Art History*, 2 (1979), 107-38; Paul F. Watson, 'The Spanish Chapel: Portraits of Poets or Portraits of Christian Order?', *MD n.s.*, 11 (1980), 471-87; Joseph Polzer, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Via Veritas* and Dominican Thought in Late Medieval Italy', *AB*, 77 (1995), 262-89.

Not only do these concomitant images speak to one another across the chapel, they also communicate with an earlier altarpiece by Orcagna, commissioned by Tomaso di Rosello Strozzi in 1354 for the familial chapel in the western transept of the basilica (Plate 12). Orcagna's central panel depicts Christ granting Peter to his left the keys of the kingdom of heaven, understood as symbols of the pope's universal authority over the Church (Matt. 16. 19, plus first-century gloss); on his right the figure of Paul is replaced by St Thomas Aquinas, the recipient of a tome inscribed with two Biblical verses: Revelation 5. 9 and 1 Kings 3. 12.⁵⁴ In his analysis of this altarpiece, John Paoletti concludes that the substitution of Thomas for Paul, framed as it was by these particular verses, causes the saint to become an *alter Christus*, an *alter Solomon*, and finally, an *alter Paulus*.⁵⁵ The effect of this transformation, Paoletti suggests, is that Thomas, the Dominican order's most important saint, emerges from the altarpiece as the authoritative voice of papal orthodoxy.⁵⁶ Reading this image in conjunction with the later chapterhouse frescoes reveals a clear and coherent iconographical program in which the Dominicans are represented as, 'an agent alongside the Church.'⁵⁷ The logical conclusion to be reached from this is that Martin probably found a welcome home living in the midst of a religious community whose relationship with the papacy was traditionally strong.

At the very least, the extent of the remodelling that took place within the convent walls suggests that the Dominicans more than likely had little say in the matter. Modifications went well beyond the merely cosmetic, and many were actually quite grand in scope and execution. The largest interior renovation was undoubtedly the *sala grande*, a room with a floor space just over one quarter of a modern acre.⁵⁸ A whole host of resolutions and allocations record its comprehensive remodelling, including new vaulting,⁵⁹ windows,⁶⁰ whitewashing,⁶¹ and paving,⁶² as well as the construction of a new ceiling for the interior balcony near the main door.⁶³ Since this hall would also become the location used by pope when sitting in consistory, new benches for the cardinals were also required.⁶⁴

The *sala grande* was not the only space to be completely recast. In May 1419 the Opera issued an order to make significant structural alterations to a staircase in accordance with a

⁵⁴ Revelation 5. 9 (Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book, and to open the seals thereof); 1 Kings 3. 12 (I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart, in so much that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall arise after thee).

⁵⁵ John T. Paoletti, 'The Strozzi Altarpiece Reconsidered', *MD n.s.*, 20 (1989), 279-300 (pp. 286-90).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, (p. 290).

⁵⁷ Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena*, p. 101.

⁵⁸ Marco Lastri, *L'Osservatore Fiorentino sugli Edifizii della Sua Patria*, ed. Giuseppe del Rosso, 8 vols, 3rd edn (Firenze: Gaspero Ricci, 1821), III, p. 135. Lastri tells us the *sala grande* measured 138 x 23 *braccia*; therefore it was 80.54m by 13.42m, giving it an overall floor space of 1,081m², just over one quarter of a modern acre.

⁵⁹ YC, II 1 75, 52^v a (6 May 1419).

⁶⁰ YC, II 1 75, 26^v d (10 May 1419).

⁶¹ YC, II 1 75, 27^r b (10 May 1419).

⁶² YC, II 1 75, 29^v a (29 May 1419).

⁶³ YC, II 1 76, 21^r a (21 October 1419).

⁶⁴ We know from one of the *deliberazioni* that when the Opera sources refer to the consistory hall they were talking about the *sala grande*, see; YC, II 1 75, 27^r b (10 May 1419). In terms of the benches see YC, II 1 75, 50^r a (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 43^r f (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 49^r g (10 May 1419); II 1 76, 49^v e (19 July 1419); II 4 8, 50^v d (19 July 1419).

design by Ghiberti. According to Borghigiani this staircase, the main point of ingress for the *sala grande*, was located in the southwestern corner of the *chiostro grande*, at the point where the chapel of San Niccolò backed onto the cloister.⁶⁵ As far as we can tell from the *deliberazione*, the stairs required a complete structural reworking, including the removal of one wall and the construction of another;

...the stairs should start at the side from which they now end, so that they should advance in the opposite direction...and the wall which is now in said court on the side of the garden should be removed, and another wall should be made in the place of said garden, to the extent that it is convenient.⁶⁶

To carry out this considerable modification, the Opera turned to Filippo di Giovanni, a master who collaborated on more than one occasion with Ghiberti,⁶⁷ and in keeping with the scale of the task, the Opera was determined that it be done on their terms. Filippo, working at that time for Palla Strozzi at Santa Trinità, was told that he ‘ought, and is obliged to go to Santa Maria Novella in order to build and design the stairs of the dwelling of the Pope by the day of the next Sabbath, under the penalty of 100 *lire*.⁶⁸ Furthermore, he was directed to work on the stairs every day and was forbidden from plying his trade at any other location until such time as they were completed. This is the only warning of its kind anywhere in the sources related to the papal apartments. Given there is a clear implication that the wishes of the Opera, backed as it was by the commune, seems to have carried more weight than one of the city’s most powerful citizens—in the 1427 *catasto* Strozzi was assessed as Florence’s wealthiest man⁶⁹—we should not be surprised that the renovation process in general met with little resistance from the Dominicans, if at all. Whilst the fact they had to cede significant space to the papacy cannot be ignored, as a traditional allies of the pope, the Dominicans probably saw far more benefits than disadvantages in the arrangement, and as Saalman observes of the impact of Santa Maria Novella’s papal guests, ‘The prestige of their Dominican hosts grew apace.’⁷⁰

Commune and papacy: negotiating the apartment space

If the considerable spatial realignment at Santa Maria Novella marginalised Dominican agency within the convent walls, that very process simultaneously crystallised communal interest in the same spaces. Once the decision to admit Martin had been made, the Florentine

⁶⁵ Quoted in Francesco Quinterio, ‘Filippo di Giovanni: quattro cantieri col Ghiberti’, in *Lorenzo Ghiberti nel suo tempo: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 18-21 ottobre 1978)*, 2 vols (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1980), II, p. 648 n 15.

⁶⁶ YC, II 1 75, 29^r a (20 May 1419); ‘scale incipient ex latere ex quo nunc finiunt, ita quod vadant per contrarium...et removeatur murus qui nunc est in dicta curia ex latere orti et fiat alius murus loco dicti muri destruendi in dicto orto quantum expedit.’

⁶⁷ Quinterio, ‘Filippo di Giovanni’, in *Lorenzo Ghiberti nel suo tempo*, pp. 643-4.

⁶⁸ YC, II 1 76, 7^r c (2 August 1419); ‘debeat ac teneatur sub pena librarum centum f.p. ire ad hedificandum et designandum scalas habituri Pape in Sancta Maria Novella die sabati proxime future.’

⁶⁹ Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, p. 568.

⁷⁰ Saalman, *The Cupola*, p. 174.

agenda was quick to reveal itself, and it is telling that three weeks before the pope had even set foot in the city the Opera determined that four shields should be placed on the wall overlooking the cloister,

namely, one on which should be carved the arms of the *Popolo* of Florence, on another the arms of the Commune of Florence, on another the arms of the *Parte Guelfa* of the citizens of Florence, on another [the arms] of the *Arte della Lana*, namely, the Lamb of God.⁷¹

This was the first *deliberazione* issued after Sandri was appointed *provveditore*, and given it preceded any other authorisation of expenditure, it says a great deal about the commune's overriding anxiety that no perception inimical to its interests be allowed to take hold within the apartments. The recent context for this fear was the refusal to admit John XXIII just a few years earlier; the concern then had been that John would be very difficult to displace once inside the city. In this light, the swift action taken by the commune in February 1419 must be seen as a lingering vestige of its apprehension that the arriving papacy could in some way usurp the apartment complex and hence marginalise communal interests, a patently unacceptable outcome for a space within the city walls. We should not have been surprised to learn in Chapter One that Martin was surrounded by figures and symbols of civic importance, those of the Parte Guelfa, before he had even passed through the city gates.⁷²

Of course, it would not be long before the emblems of Church and pope came to mediate the apartment spaces as well, and the resolution of 8 February was amended in early-April to include, 'the arms of the Roman Church.'⁷³ Despite appearing to concede some ground to the papacy here, however small, the *operai* made sure there was no confusion regarding papal agency in the apartments when it laid out an exacting plan for how any amendment should proceed. Going to great lengths to detail the size and placement of each shield relative to each of the others, the April *deliberazione* states that,

on the new wall of the dwelling of the highest pontiff, above the cloister in Santa Maria Novella, four shields are to be placed: one on which may be sculpted the arms of the Roman Church, namely, the keys; another with the arms of the Florentine *Popolo*, namely, the cross; another with the arms of the Commune of Florence, namely, the lily; another with the arms of the *Parte Guelfa* of the city of Florence, namely, the eagle; and the others in this order, clearly that the arms of the Commune or the blooming lily be on the right hand side of the wall, namely of the side of the entrance of the said *sala*, and with it there be the arms of the Church, and then the arms of the *Popolo*, and then and finally the arms of the *Parte Guelfa*, so that the arms of the Church as much as they are more worthy, they be in the middle between the *Popolo* and the Commune, and arms of the *Popolo*, as much as they are the next most worthy, they come in the middle between the arms of the Church and those of the *Parte Guelfa*, and the lily the next most worthy on the right side, and with the arms of the Church, and finally the arms of the Guelfs and others.⁷⁴

⁷¹ YC, II 1 75, 7^r c (8 February 1419); 'videlicet unum in quo sculta sint arma Populi florentini, in alio arma Communis Florentie, in alio arma Partis Guelfe civitatis Florentie, in alio Artis Lane, videlicet agnus Dei etc'.

⁷² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 49.

⁷³ YC, II 1 75, 16^r d (5 April 1419); 'arma Ecclesie romane'.

⁷⁴ YC, II 1 75, 16^r d (5 April 1419); 'in muro novo habituri summi pontificis in Sancta Maria Novella super claustro ponantur quattuor scuta, videlicet unum in quo sint sculta arma Ecclesie romane, videlicet claves, aliud cum armis Populi florentini, videlicet cum cruce, aliud cum armis Communis Florentie, videlicet cum lilio, aliud cum armis Partis Guelforum civitatis Florentie, videlicet cum aquila, etc.

The Lana, too, was included in this expanded description. In fact, its representation was increased from a single shield to a pair of escutcheons, as outlined when the *deliberazione* continues,

that also there be made two shields on which there be chiselled the arms of the *Arte della Lana*, namely the Lamb of God, however, smaller than the aforementioned four and placed lower and under the said arms below-written, clearly one under the Lily and one under the *Parte Guelfa*, not, however, perpendicularly but somewhat distantly.⁷⁵

Finally, this significant grouping was modified one last time on 12 May when the Opera ordered Martin's personal arms, the shield of the Colonna family, should be placed adjacent to those of the Church.⁷⁶

In general terms, the *stemmi* described here were an omnipresent feature of Florence's urban landscape. Most commonly found in the form of family crests, these markers were a part of the ubiquitous visual language to which all Florentines were attuned, be they in stone on the wall of a *palazzo*, or in paint on the predella of an altarpiece. Installed on the exterior of a family palace they were a statement of ownership, radiating outwards a sense of the wealth and prestige of the household within; they 'extended a family's visual reach over urban space.'⁷⁷ Quattrocento Florentines, moreover, possessed what Trexler calls, an 'inveterate habit of pasting their family arms on public buildings'.⁷⁸ In those instances the *stemmi* projected similar qualities framed by undertones of the family's social and political standing. *Stemmi* were an unmistakable indicator of patronage, and as the fifteenth century progressed they came increasingly to represent what Ernst Gombrich calls the patron's 'signature'.⁷⁹ On the walls of a religious institution *stemmi* spoke of the patron's piety whilst simultaneously confirming the status and affiliations of the institution itself.⁸⁰ They even helped the Florentines orient themselves as they moved through the city. The *stemmi* of the sixteen *gonfalon*i were used as territorial markers that delineated when one crossed the boundary between one precinct and the another. A citizen would know, for example, when they had

hoc ordine, videlicet quod arma Communis seu liliū floridum sint a manu dextra dicti muri, videlicet ex latere introitus dicte sale, et penes eum sint arma ecclesie et postea arma Populi et postea et in fine Partis Guelforum, ita quod arma ecclesie tamquam digniora sint in medio inter Populum et Commune et arma Populi tamquam postea digniora veniant in medio inter arma ecclesie et Partis Guelforum et liliū postea dignius ex latere dextero et penes arma ecclesie et in fine arma Guelforum etc.

⁷⁵ YC, II 1 75, 16^r d (5 April 1419); 'quod etiam fiant duo scuta in quibus sint arma sculta Artis Lane, videlicet agnus Deus, minora tamen supradictis quattuor et ponantur inferius et sub dictis armis infrascriptis, videlicet unum sub lilio et unum sub Parte Guelforum, non tamen perpendiculariter sed aliquantulum distanter etc.'

⁷⁶ YC, II 1 75, 27^v i (12 May 1419).

⁷⁷ Strocchia, 'Theaters of Everyday Life', p. 73.

⁷⁸ Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 49.

⁷⁹ E. H. Gombrich, 'The Early Medici as Patrons of Art', in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. by E. F. Jacob (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), p. 287. Gombrich makes this statement in reference to the ubiquitous Medici *palle* that were found throughout Florence from Cosimo's time onwards.

⁸⁰ Sandra Weddle, 'Identity and Alliance: Urban Presence, Spatial Privilege, and Florentine Renaissance Convents', in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti, p. 396.

crossed from Leon Rosso into Viperà due to the small, often unremarkable *stemmi* which dot the walls of the city's streets.

The *stemmi* described in the above *deliberazione* do not fall into any of these categories. The lily, the eagle, and the cross of the *popolo* were civic symbols that transcended local and familial parochialism. They were markers of communal power and thus stood astride the concerns of the neighbourhood, embracing instead the entire body politic. The crossed keys of the Church, moreover, were a pan-European symbol, one that spoke of the foundational act upon which the Church itself was built. As far as Martin's personal *stemma* was concerned, it has been suggested that the pope himself requested it be added to the assemblage since he had by then been in Florence for almost three months and neither of the previous *deliberazioni* had acknowledged his individual honour.⁸¹

Somewhat surprisingly, at least when one considers the haste with which it was first proposed, this intricate representation of the various interests competing for ground within the apartments took several months to complete. In May the task of creating the smaller shields representing the Lana fell to the famous Florentine sculptor, Nanni di Banco.⁸² The following month Nanni di Piero affixed the communal lily,⁸³ whilst a further two months passed before Pippo di Cristofano was paid for his work on the Guelf eagle, as well as the arms of the Church and pope.⁸⁴ The final element of the arrangement, the cross of the *Popolo*, was produced by Andrea di Nofri and was not in place until October 1419, eight months after the initial resolution set things in motion.⁸⁵

However long it took to come together, this significant 'ensemble' is revealing of the magnitude of the commune's concern that it might be marginalised, even to a small degree, within the walls of its own city.⁸⁶ The hyper-descriptive elucidation that dictated the physical dimensions of the ensemble reveals a fastidious attention to the resonances of proper honour, an attentiveness that guided the actions of the Signoria as they sought to ensure each of the requisite elements of Florentine society would take up a commensurately deserving place within the apartments. Moreover, whilst the commune was content to acknowledge that the apartments had to an extent become a sphere of papal influence, it was equally as determined to make sure that it was concurrently treated as a civic space as well, if not more so. The revision of 5 April affords us our most incisive glimpse at both the spatial tensions

⁸¹ Mary Bergstein, *The Sculpture of Nanni di Banco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 150. For a discussion of this entire group of shields, as well as the artists employed to carry out the work, see pp. 149-151.

⁸² YC, II 1 75, 50^v b (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 43^r e (10 May 1419); II 4 8, 49^r f (10 May 1419).

⁸³ YC, II 1 75, 51^v e (22 June 1419); II 4 8, 56^v d (7 October 1419).

⁸⁴ YC, II 1 76, 47^v d (7 August 1419); II 4 8, 51^v a (7 August 1419).

⁸⁵ YC, II 1 76, 52^v c (7 October 1419); II 4 8, 56^v b (7 October 1419). At the time Andrea was paid for the shield he was also remunerated for his work on a lintel featuring the lily that was placed above the door that lead from the cloister to the papal apartments.

⁸⁶ This description is borrowed from Bergstein, *The Sculpture of Nanni di Banco*, p. 150.

at play within the convent space, as well as at how these were negotiated to produce an acceptable physical outcome.

Of course, the assemblage described here is not the only example of the civic and papal imagery found in the apartments during Martin's time. A resolution on 17 March 1419 ordered that a company of artists headed by Giovanni di Guccio receive seven florins for their work painting the papal arms above four doorways and on the wall above Martin's bed.⁸⁷ The resultant allocation lists only three locations, namely, 'above the major entrance of Santa Maria Novella, above the door that leads to the cloister of the said church, and above the door, or on the columns of the said door, which is on Via della Scala.'⁸⁸ More significantly, it clarifies the resolution when it details how Giovanni, 'painted the arms of the said Pope, and of the Commune and people of Florence, and of the Party of Guelfs, and the sign of the Commune of Florence on the wall above the bed of the said Pope.'⁸⁹

As the months of Martin's residency passed the Florentine preoccupation with the space did not diminish. In August 1419 Stefano del Nero was paid to paint 'in accantonato' on the wall of the *sala grande* that was adjacent to the *chiostro grande*.⁹⁰ *Accantonato* refers to a heraldic arrangement where a shield divided by a cross is accompanied by figures placed symmetrically in each of the cantons.⁹¹ Although the sources are lacking in detail, the cross would almost certainly have been the Florentine *croce del popolo*, the cross of St George, surrounded by a combination of four or the other symbols mentioned thus far, namely, the Florentine *gigli*, the eagle of the Parte Guelfa, the lamb of the Lana, the keys of the Church, perhaps the red and white *party per pale* escutcheon of the commune, or even the Colonna coat-of-arms itself, although this is unlikely. Stefano was engaged to create two more *accantonato* images, one in January 1420 'above the terrace facing the stairs',⁹² and another in March inside the stairwell itself, 'on the pillar of the stairs'.⁹³ In February 1420 he was also paid to paint the papal arms, as well as a further two medallions featuring the lamb of the Lana, the locations of which were not specified.⁹⁴

The most striking example of the commune's continuing interest, however, came in January 1420 when Donatello, who was then establishing himself as one of Florence's greatest artists, was commissioned to carve a sandstone lion for a newel post in the

⁸⁷ YC, II 1 75, 12^r e (17 March 1419).

⁸⁸ YC, II 1 75, 46^v a (17 March 1419); 'super portam maiorem Sancte Marie Novelle et super portam qua itur ad claustum dicte ecclesie et super portam sive in stipidibus porte dicte ecclesie que est in via Scalarum.' See also YC, II 4 8 39^v a (17 March 1419).

⁸⁹ YC, II 1 75, 46^v a (17 March 1419); 'pinserunt arma dicti Pape et Communis et populi Florentie et Partis Guelforum et signum Communis Florentie in pariete super lectum domini nostri Pape.'

⁹⁰ YC, II 1 75, 48^r c (21 August 1419); 'in accantonato et accantonando murum sale magne habituri Pape versus claustum'. See also YC, II 4 8, 51^r f (21 August 1419).

⁹¹ Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo and Antonio Pompili, *Manuale di Araldica Ecclesiastica nella Chiesa Cattolica* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014), p. 99; Luigi Volpicella, *Dizionario del linguaggio araldico italiano*, ed. by Girolamo Marcello del Majno (Udine: Paolo Gaspari editore, 2008), pp. 26-7.

⁹² YC, II 1 77, 54^v d (18 January 1420); 'super terrazo in facie super scalis'. See also YC, II 4 8, 63^v b (18 January 1420);

⁹³ YC, II 1 77, 63^r g (27 March 1420); II 4 8, 73^r d (27 March 1420); 'nella spalletta della schala'.

⁹⁴ YC, II 1 77, 57^v f (13 February 1420); II 4 8, 67^v f (13 February 1420).

aforementioned stairwell (Plate 13).⁹⁵ This particular image, the *Marzocco*, was one of the more prominent civic symbols in use at that time, and to a period eye it transmitted several meanings.⁹⁶ The lion that stood in the Piazza dell Signoria embodied the authority of the commune and the *libertas* guaranteed by Florence's republican system; every two months the newly elected *signori* came out of the Palazzo and swore an oath next to the lion which was adorned with a steel crown for the occasion.⁹⁷ Beyond the city walls, the *Marzocco* carried a message of Florentine might.⁹⁸ When Montepulciano rejected Florentine hegemony in the late-fifteenth century and opted instead for the protection of Siena, the *Marzocco* that had been erected in the town quickly gave way to the Sienese she-wolf.⁹⁹ This interpretative variability was commonplace in fifteenth-century Florence, and when placed in the papal apartments, the lion may have spoken to one or all of these resonances.

Fortunately for scholars, Donatello's work did survive even if its original location did not. Currently on display in the Bargello, the statue is composed of a lion resting its front paws on an escutcheon featuring an inlaid communal lily. Its upright posture and physical dimensions—the lion is almost one-and-a-half meters tall—would certainly have been an imposing decoration in the stairwell. And however we might conclude the Florentines themselves saw this particular statue in that particular context, it seems clear that its composition and placement 'served to remind a pope bent on restoring the sacred and worldly bases of the papacy that the Florentine state possessed leonine qualities.'¹⁰⁰ At the same time, the intended audience was not only the pope. For Martin's many visitors, the subject of the following section, it would have invoked similar resonances. The Opera, as an agent of the commune and on behalf of the entire population, was not content to let any space pass to the papacy without indicating to all that entered in the clearest terms possible exactly how the apartments came about.

Martin and his papal space

As the introduction made clear, the struggle to win back papal authority began well before Martin arrived in Rome. Whilst there was little he could do to resurrect the temporal integrity

⁹⁵ YC, II 1 77, 55^r b (18 January 1420); II 4 8, 64^r e (18 January 1420). Donatello was paid in two instalments for this statue, the balance being settled approximately one month later; YC, II 1 77, 58^v a (21 February 1420); II 4 8, 68^r d (21 February 1420).

⁹⁶ Adrian W. B. Randolph, 'Il Marzocco: Lionizing the Florentine State,' in *Coming About... A Festschrift for John Shearman*, ed. by Lars R. Jones and Louisa C. Matthews (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001) p. 11. For a visually stunning but factually suspicious catalogue of the many lion figures that dot the Florentine cityscape see Alessandro Del Meglio, Maria Carchio, and Roberto Manescalchi, *Il Marzocco: The Lion of Florence* (Firenze: Edizioni Grafica European Centre of Fine Arts, 2005). The notion of a 'period eye' is of course borrowed from Michael Baxandall, *Painting and experience in fifteenth century Italy: a primer in the social history of pictorial style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); see pp. 29-108.

⁹⁷ Taddei, 'Between Rules and Ritual', in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Ritual*, ed. by Cohn Jr, Fantoni, Franceschi, and Ricciardelli, pp. 53-60. Indeed, a *Marzocco* was probably the first public statue commissioned by the new regime in 1382; Geraldine A. Johnson, 'The Lion on the Piazza: Patrician Politics and Public Statuary in Central Florence', in *Secular Sculpture 1300-1550*, ed. by Phillip Lindley and Thomas Fragenburg (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 54-5.

⁹⁸ Randolph, 'Il Marzocco', in *Coming About*, ed. by Jones and Matthews, p. 16.

⁹⁹ Judith Hook, *Siena: A City and its History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979), p. 116. It should come as no surprise to find that several Florentine *stemme* were at the same time replaced with the Sienese *Balzana*, the coat-of-arms featuring a white band atop a black band.

¹⁰⁰ Randolph, 'Il Marzocco', p. 16.

of the Papal States until his native city was securely under his control, in a spiritual and political sense he was able to set in motion an incremental push towards that goal from the moment he was elected pope. Given the length of his stay in Florence the remodelled spaces of Santa Maria Novella played an inevitable role in this process, however small, and as much as they were a newfound source of civic pride to the Florentines, the apartments similarly furnished the papacy with a proper setting from which to begin reasserting its spiritual and political privileges. Fundamentally, the spaces of Santa Maria Novella offered the papacy some semblance of stability, a quality the institution had generally lacked for decades.

In terms of rebuilding its spiritual prestige, the liturgy was the most obvious vehicle available to the papacy, and as such the newly reconfigured convent spaces, and for a time the main church itself, were the sites for a renewed effort to project papal authority. Whilst the papal liturgies will be discussed in-depth in the next chapter, at this stage it is important to understand how those liturgies worked in a spatial sense.

Following his description of Martin's arrival and subsequent meeting with the Signoria, Corazza's first entry in the *Diario* records the liturgy of Ash Wednesday:

On the first day of March, a Wednesday, the first day of Lent, Mass was said by a cardinal in Santa Maria Novella; the pope came to hear the said Mass, and on the said morning he put ashes on the foreheads of the cardinals, bishops, abbots and others, and on many seculars.¹⁰¹

His description of this initial liturgy is immediately followed by another when he writes that, '[t]he pope came on the said day [3 March] to hear Mass in the sacristy, and he held consistory; and thus every morning he came to the sacristy to hear Mass, on [every] Sunday to the church.'¹⁰² Within just a few days of its arrival a picture began to emerge of how Martin's papacy would settle into the space in a liturgical sense. Most obviously this picture lays bare the fact that the apartments themselves were not ready to support the papacy in that way since both of the locations named here—the church and the sacristy—were a part of the church proper, rather than the convent. Indeed, a third location external to the apartments can be added to this list since Corazza tells us that, 'on the ninth day of April [Palm Sunday] the aforementioned pope blessed the olive branches in the chapterhouse.'¹⁰³ The Dominicans, it seems, had to concede more than their convent space in early-1419. The church, too, was for a time at Martin's disposal as he was forced to make do with whatever space was available for the liturgical needs of his papacy.

¹⁰¹ Corazza, *Diario*, pp. 50-1; 'A di primo di marzo, mercoledì, il primo di della quaresima, disse messa un cardinale in Santa Maria Novella; vennevi alla detta messa il papa; e la mattina detta pose cinere in capo a' cardinali, vescovi, abati e altri, e a molti seculari.'

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 51; 'Venne il papa a di detto a udir messa in sacristia, e fé concistoro; e così ogni mattina veniva in sacristia a udir messa; la domenica in chiesa.'

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 51; 'A di 9 d'Aprile il sopradetto papa benedisse le olive nel capitolo'. For a detailed analysis of the chapterhouse see Margaret Haines, 'The Sacristy of S. Maria Novella in Florence: The History of its Functions and Furnishings', *MD n.s.*, 11 (1980), 575-626.

Fortunately for the Dominicans this encroachment was temporary. The main church would continue to be used on significant occasions, but by November 1419, nine months after his arrival, the *sala grande* was ready to become Martin's primary liturgical space.¹⁰⁴ After the pope himself recited Mass in the church on All Saints Day (1 November), following vespers that same night, 'they [Martin and the cardinals] performed the offices of the dead in the *sala grande*.'¹⁰⁵ The newly prepared space would in fact be the location of the next five liturgies noted by Corazza, and his narrative goes on to tell us that many of the occasions celebrated in the church before November 1419 were subsequently celebrated inside the apartments thereafter. Each of Ash Wednesday, the Feast of the Annunciation, Good Friday, Easter Saturday, the Ascension of Christ, and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin were in 1420 celebrated in the *sala grande* having been observed elsewhere the year before.¹⁰⁶ To be sure, not all of the liturgies moved; the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Solemnities of Saints Peter and Paul were celebrated inside the church in both years, and Palm Sunday was twice observed in the chapterhouse.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, by taking into account the specific sites at which they were celebrated in 1419 and then again in 1420, it becomes apparent that the papacy, detached as it was from the seat of its religious authority, required its own liturgical space. The boon of the completed *sala grande* provided this, allowing Martin and his papacy to push with renewed emphasis towards a restoration of that authority it had lost.

More than likely the advent of the *sala grande* also gave some reprieve to a Dominican community forced to concede more of its church than it initially bargained for. The main church, the chapterhouse, and for a time the sacristy, were, when required, at the disposal of the pope. The piazza, too, was used whenever a public blessing was appropriate.¹⁰⁸ The flow of people clamouring to witness these liturgies could very well have been disruptive enough to represent a real concern. Corazza observes that many of the church entrances had to be closed on Palm Sunday 1419 in order to prevent too large a crowd from amassing, whilst the doors of the chapterhouse, where the palms and olive branches were blessed, had to be barred 'so that the people did not weary the pope.'¹⁰⁹ This shared phase of the residency, when the papacy was effectively between spaces, probably represented the most difficult time for the Dominicans, and once the majority of papal activities had been transferred to its own space the church and apartments could operate more or less independently of one another. The apartments had their own entrance, the door on Via della Scala, which we know from

¹⁰⁴ Haines, 'The Sacristy of S. Maria Novella', (p. 595).

¹⁰⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 56; 'feceno l'offizio de' morti, nella sala grande.'

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, cf. pp. 52, 60 (Ash Wednesday); 51, 61 (Feast of the Annunciation); 52, 60 (Good Friday); 53, 60 (Easter Saturday); 56, 61 (Ascension of Christ); 56, 62 (Nativity of the Blessed Virgin).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, cf. pp. 56, 61 (Feast of Corpus Christi); 56, 61 (Solemnities of Saints Peter and Paul); 51, 60 (Palm Sunday).

¹⁰⁸ Corazza details many of these occasions, such as 8 September 1420, the morning of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; *ibid*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 52; 'traverso alla porta una sbarra, perché la gente non noiasse il papa.'

Corazza was the main route of ingress for the many cardinals, bishops, and lesser prelates that were in the city.¹¹⁰

As fundamental as its spiritual authority was to the papacy's overall well-being, in 1419 the most pressing issues were certainly those that stemmed from the fragility of Martin's political situation. It goes without saying that a return to Rome was at the absolute forefront of his mind throughout these months, and as Partner rightly points out, the pope had no option available to him beyond the use of any and all diplomatic mechanisms that would open a path back to Rome.¹¹¹ That process required time, however, and Florence provided Martin with the solid base he needed to begin sorting through his manifold issues. As Bruni points out in his *Memoirs*, 'He [Martin] stayed in Florence almost two years, since the place was very convenient for settling the affairs of the Church.'¹¹²

The apartments were almost immediately put to use as a site of papal business after Martin's arrival, and naturally his first days in the city were dominated by diplomatic contact between papacy and commune. The Signoria wasted no time in seeking an audience with the pope, which took place on the day after his ritual entry, that is, on 27 February. Given it was the first such encounter of its kind for over a century, it was understandably somewhat of an event; whilst the meeting was underway, 'bishops, other barons and associates of the pope and the count camerlengo' waited in the cloister outside.¹¹³ This first encounter was followed by an audience with a newly installed Signoria just two days later, whilst a third visit came just two days after that.¹¹⁴

The most notable contact between Florence and the papacy in those first months came on 26 March, exactly four weeks after Martin's arrival. On that day the commune's hand in the rehabilitation of papal authority received its most meaningful recognition when it was honoured as a recipient of the Golden Rose. During the Middle Ages the gift of an ornate rose on Laetare Sunday had become a useful weapon in the papacy's diplomatic arsenal, a ritual that was used to reward good service or shore up relations as required.¹¹⁵ In that vein Martin presented the Rose to the *Proposto* as a sign of his gratitude and to honour the city that had taken him in. According to Petriboni, 'he [Martin] resolved that the greatest gift he could bestow upon our magnificent city would be to give the said rose to this magnificent Popolo and Commune.'¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 51.

¹¹¹ Partner, *The Papal State*, p. 46.

¹¹² Bruni, *History*, III, p. 355.

¹¹³ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 50; 'i detti Signori andarono a visitare il Sant Padre; fessi loro incontro, insino nel chiostro, vescovi e altri baroni e parenti del papa e 'l conte camerlingo.'

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 51.

¹¹⁵ Charles Burns, *Golden Rose and Blessed Sword: Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs* (Glasgow: Burns, 1970), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 119; 'deliberò che pel maggiore dono che potesse fare alla nostra magnificha città dare la detta rosa a questo magnificho Popolo et Comune.' Ordinarily the Rose would have been presented to the Gonfaloniere della Giustizia, which was at that time Bernardo di Castello di Quarata. He was ill, however, hence it was received by the Proposto, Francesco di Taddeo di Giano Gherardini.

Whilst the Florentine Signoria was expeditious in establishing its relationship with the resident pope, others from further afield were obviously keen to do the same. Paola Colonna, Martin's sister and guardian of the adolescent Lord of Piombino, arrived on 21 April 1419.¹¹⁷ Not long after Baldassare Cossa, the deposed John XXIII, finally accessed the city that had just a few years earlier refused him entry.¹¹⁸ Cossa was granted an audience with the pope in the *sala grande*, which was obviously sufficient for that particular task despite not yet being used for the papal liturgies, and upon seeing Martin he immediately knelt before the pope and, 'kissed him on the foot, the hand and mouth, and then Pope Martin blessed him.'¹¹⁹ The reconciled Cossa would actually die not long thereafter, in December of that year, and although it went against a Florentine tradition, he was interred in the communal space of the Baptistery in a striking mausoleum commissioned from Donatello and Michelozzo. Despite the city's recent misgivings about the Pisan pope, in the words of Carol Richardson, 'it was a considerable civic asset to have the tomb of a pope—even one who had been deposed.'¹²⁰

There were others. Sometime before November 1419 Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller was in Florence,¹²¹ whilst the liturgy on Christmas Day involved a gift of a wonderful gold belt that had been presented by the ambassador of the Dauphin of Vienna.¹²² A steady stream of visitors continued into 1420, and Martin received ambassadors from as far afield as Constantinople, Cyprus, and Burgundy, as well as those from centres closer to home, namely Bologna and Ferrara.¹²³ Just days before his departure in September 1420, the Lord of Imola, Ludovico Aldiosi, arrived to pay his respects.¹²⁴

The flow of political actors making a beeline for Florence is a clear indication that Martin's strategy of negotiating his way back to Rome was working. That said, any strategy would prove ineffective for as long as Braccio remained an obstacle and overcoming that particular problem required the involvement of other powerful men. An ambassador sent by Braccio arrived in March 1419, followed by another two in May.¹²⁵ Carlo Malatesta arrived in November 1419,¹²⁶ Muzio Attendolo Sforza in January 1420.¹²⁷ Braccio himself arrived in February 1420 accompanied by Niccolò de' Trinci, Lord of Foligno.¹²⁸ The Lord of Urbino, Guidantonio da Montefeltro, arrived soon thereafter.¹²⁹ Guidantonio, one of Martin's

¹¹⁷ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 120.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121. According to Petriboni Cossa reached Florence on 9 June 1419. Corazza says this was 'La vigilia del Corpo di Cristo'; Corazza, *Diario*, p. 56.

¹¹⁹ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 121; 'baciogli il piè, la mano e lla bocca, e 'l detto papa Martino il benedì.'

¹²⁰ Carol M. Richardson, 'The allure of Rome', in *Locating Renaissance Art*, ed. by Carol M. Richardson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 31. On the tomb itself see Sarah Blake McHam, 'Donatello's Tomb of Pope John XXIII', in *Life and Death*, ed. by Tetel, Witt, and Goffen, pp. 146-73.

¹²¹ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 124.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-132.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹²⁵ Partner, *The Papal State*, pp. 54-56.

¹²⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 124.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

staunchest supporters throughout this difficult period, was rewarded for his loyalty when he was the recipient of the second Golden Rose Martin gave whilst in Florence, on 17 March 1420.¹³⁰

Based on the delicacy of the negotiations with Braccio, Martin's success in coming to an agreement with the *condottiere* was no mean feat and this would not have been possible without the momentum Martin was able to extract from the solid foundation of the 'papal' space of Santa Maria Novella.¹³¹ His non-attendance at Cossa's funeral indicates that his focus was always on moving both the Church and his papacy forward, whilst the fact that he was willing to place the city under interdict in April 1420 suggests that exercising the authority he found there sat quite comfortably with him.

At the very least, the apartments provided him with an appropriate setting in which to finally subdue his most troublesome nemesis. According to Giovanni Campano, Braccio's near-contemporary biographer, it was in the 'Palazzo del Papa' that the *condottiere* 'threw himself at his [Martin's] feet.'¹³² In return, Martin,

kindly embraced him, and picking him up, made to set him right, giving thanks to God that he was thenceforth reconciled with so great a man. After Braccio was embraced by the pope, having first kissed his feet and then the sacred hands, he began to recount what he had done to benefit the Highest Pontiffs in the past.¹³³

Whilst the almost hagiographical nature of Campano's ebullient description means it must be treated with a fair degree of suspicion, there is little doubt it successfully constructs a psychological space within which the pope and Braccio would be able to come to an agreement. By the end of Campano's account, Martin and Braccio appear almost as equals. Crucially, this mental leap is built on a physical foundation, exemplified by a grand hall adorned with papal and Florentine imagery, a hall which itself was embedded in the broader context of an equally meaningful urban and religious space.

Given what we know about how the papal apartments worked as a whole, that Braccio was admitted to, and prostrated himself within, the 'Palazzo del Papa' is significant. He would have entered through the Via della Scala entrance, the one marked by the arms of the pope and the Opera, and from there he would have tracked through San Niccolò and into the main cloister, mediated as it was by the symbols of papacy and commune alike. To get from the cloister to the *sala grande* he would have used the main stairwell, the one guarded by Donatello's lion, and once inside, he made official his truce with the pope. For Martin, a

¹³⁰ Ibid. 128.

¹³¹ The most complete analysis of this remains Partner, *The Papal State*, pp. 53-67.

¹³² Giovanni Campano, *L'Historie et Vite di Braccio Fortebracci* (Vinegia: Franceso Zaletti, 1572), p. 94r; 'e gittatosegli a piedi'. Braccio kneeling before the pope is also noted in Buoninsegni, *Storie*, pp. 14-15.

¹³³ Campano, *L'Historie*, p. 94r; 'dicono che il cortesemente abbracciandolo, e raccogliendolo lo fece dirizzare, e rendè gratie a DIO, poi ch'egli s'era riconciliato con si grande huomo. Braccio dopo l'abbracciamento del Papa, havendogli basciato primieramente il piede, e poi le sacrate mani, comincio a raccontare quel ch'egli havea fatto a beneficio de' Sommi Pontefici passati'.

clear path to Rome must have at that point seemed agonisingly close. Unfortunately, trouble in Bologna in early-1420 would keep him in Florence a little longer, but the fact that the main political obstacle of his early papacy had been overcome was no small victory.

The renovation of the apartment space at Santa Maria Novella had implications beyond the convent walls. On the a very simple level it strengthened the Opera del Duomo's already glowing reputation as a capable civic body, one that spoke of the general ingenuity and efficiency the commune no doubt wanted to project, in image at least. More importantly, the renovations resulted in a negotiation of the convent space, a process that simultaneously emboldened the commune, strengthened the papacy, and marginalised the resident Dominicans, although not without reward.

Chapter Four

Local visions of papal liturgy

Over a century before Martin arrived in Florence Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) had begun the process of moving the papal liturgy inside the confines of a physically restrictive papal chapel.¹ The Avignon period which arrived not long thereafter set it irrevocably on a transitional course, from ‘a public and urban liturgy to a more private and courtly one.’² After Martin returned to Rome in 1420 this transformation continued within the context of a revived city, and despite the setback of Eugenius’ flight and subsequent nine-year absence, its evolution continued, culminating in the construction of the Sistine Chapel in the 1470s.³ According to Charles Stinger it was in the closing years of the fifteenth-century that, ‘[t]his more courtly aspect of papal liturgy eventually triumphed’.⁴ A quasi-stateliness crept into all aspects of the papal liturgy, from its frequency to its setting, and even behaviours such as vesting the pope were recast. Before this metamorphosis could really begin to take hold in Rome, however, the Florentine residencies had to play out, and it was during these that the city’s faithful were drawn into the devotional and ceremonial orbit of the papal liturgy.

As the Introduction and Chapter One argued, there is a distinction to be drawn between ritual and liturgy. The tendency to include the latter within a schema of ritual, whilst not without merit, is a persistent solecism, symptomatic of a general historiographical uneasiness when it comes to properly locating religion in its broader contexts. The subjugation of liturgy to a mere species of ritual is just one manifestation of a much larger issue. By Trexler’s definition it is perfectly valid to claim that liturgy is in essence a form of ritual behaviour, but it must also be conceded that this notion simply cannot function in the reverse direction. Not all ritual is liturgy and divorcing the latter from its theological framework detaches it from its fundamental purpose. The liturgy encompasses more than the ritual moment, ‘it is also a supernatural reality which can be grasped only by faith and on which reflection is possible only by using the method of theology.’⁵ Whilst this study does not go as far as to claim that only a theological framework can scrutinise liturgical practice, it also concedes that placing everything under the sacred canopy, that is both ritual *and* liturgy, obscures the primary function of the latter, almost as if it were indecipherable from that which is not liturgical; ‘it [the liturgy] must make discriminating use of the various human gestures in order

¹ Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, ‘Autorappresentazione e rappresentanza nel cerimoniale di Bonifacio VIII’, in *Le Culture di Bonifacio VIII: Atti del Convegno organizzato nell’ambito delle Celebrazioni per il VII Centenario della morte* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 2006), pp. 251-2.

² John W. O’Malley, *Praise and blame in Renaissance Rome: rhetoric, doctrine, and reform in the sacred orators of the papal court, c. 1450-1521*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 9.

³ The concept of a ‘revived Rome’ is borrowed from McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*.

⁴ Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p. 49.

⁵ A.G. Martimort, ‘Structure and Laws of the Liturgical Celebration’, in *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. by Aimé Georges Martimort, trans. by Matthew J. O’Connell, 4 vols (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986-7), 1, p. 87.

to bring out their deepest meaning and ritualize them so that once purified of any inhuman elements still remaining in their secular use, they may become the sensible signs of spiritual realities.⁶ The move to separate liturgy from ritual is one such effort to purify the analysis.

The principal source for this chapter is Corazza's *Diario* and the discussion focuses on just a handful of the many papal liturgies he recorded, primarily the eight-day liturgical program of Holy Week and Easter 1419, as well as the consecration of Santa Maria Novella in September 1420. Corazza was obviously fascinated by the papal liturgies. The Estense copy of the *Diario* records forty-seven occasions on which the pope or one of his cardinals celebrated the Mass or Divine Offices during Martin's time in the city; twenty-three are accounted for during Eugenius' first sojourn.⁷ Of those entries, Holy Week 1419 and the Santa Maria Novella consecration were described with particular focus, and even though it is a rather crude measurement, the sheer amount of words he devotes to describing these events indicates that he found, at the time they were enacted at least, some especial resonance in them.

The equanimity with which Corazza describes the liturgical moments he witnessed is the thread that runs through this chapter. It suggests that the theological concerns of the Church were not beyond the comprehension of a laity in possession of a sophisticated theological literacy, a notion that has only recently established itself in the historiography. In his study of the emergence of magnificence in Quattrocento Florence as a well-defined civic virtue Howard postulated a 'theology of the piazza', a connective that ran 'between the ideals of the theological tradition and the daily experience of life in the city.'⁸ Corazza's account of the papal liturgies is an example of this theology at work.

Although it is impossible to escape reference to those liturgical texts that guided the devotional practices of Martin and Eugenius during the years of the residencies, the aim of this chapter is not to examine in minute detail the papal liturgies and evaluate the accuracy of their adherence to the correct forms. Strict debates regarding the liturgical propriety of these events lie beyond the scope of this study. Regardless of how papal liturgy should have been enacted or perceived, this discussion is focused rather on how they were perceived by a Florentine audience that was exposed, many for the first time, to its spectacle. Of course, Corazza's descriptions of the various liturgies need to be measured to some degree against the texts that laid out exactly how the papal liturgies should have proceeded, but this part of the study is interested more in how the liturgies were seen by those who chose to record them, paying close attention to what was highlighted and what was ignored. Essentially,

⁶ Irénée Henri Dalmais, 'The Liturgy as Celebration', in *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. by Aimé Georges Martimort, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell, 4 vols (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986-7), I, p. 234.

⁷ Corazza, *Diario*.

⁸ Peter Howard, *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), p. 68. See also his *Experiencing Religion in Renaissance Florence: Theologies of the Piazza* (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

Corazza does not critique the papal liturgies; there are no value judgements about the orthodoxy of what he was witnessing, rather, on those occasions when his words attempt to capture the liturgical moment we are allowed a glimpse in to the devotional mind-set of a man enthralled by his religious context.

In order to demonstrate just how valuable Corazza's recollections are, this chapter will take a brief but necessary look at two other liturgies from the papal residencies: the famous consecration of the Florentine cathedral in March 1436 and the translation of the relics of St Zenobius in April 1439. This juxtaposition testifies to the fact that more often than not accounts from that time focused on the broader ceremonial frameworks that contained the liturgy, rather than on the liturgical moments themselves. It is his willingness to record the minutiae of the papal liturgies that makes the *Diario* such a valuable, and in this sense understudied, source.

The theologically literate Florentine

'Quintessentially,' according to Éric Palazzo, 'the liturgy is a social act.'⁹ The truth in this statement rings loud and clear when one considers just how much of Florentine life revolved around the value-laden vehicle that was liturgical practice.¹⁰ It is fascinating to see that Corazza seems almost affronted when, on the day after arriving in June 1434, the feast day of St John the Baptist, Eugenius was unable to observe the liturgy. The wine-merchant is blunt in his assertion that, 'the pope did not say Mass because he had no cardinals.'¹¹

The liturgy was, on a daily basis, a hub towards which many elements of Florentine society converged. At the same time, and despite its social nature, any liturgy was also a highly personal moment, an antagonism that resulted from the interplay between its visible aspects and the internalised senses and devotional impulses of the observer. There was, it must be conceded, 'a doubtless unavoidable tension between the socially organized expression of spiritual values and the call to interiorization and silence that these same values bring with them to an intense degree.'¹² It cannot be denied that the sights, sounds, and smells that made up the rites of the Church in the Quattrocento encompassed a psychological element that is difficult, perhaps even impossible to discern. By invoking the 'word, image, and gesture' which spanned the gap between preaching and liturgy, Howard has come as close to capturing this moment as any historian of Florence.¹³ An approach inspired by Walter Ong's

⁹ Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Aubier, 2000), p. 14; 'Par excellence, la liturgie est un acte social.'

¹⁰ This notion is borrowed from, Dalmais, 'Theology of the Liturgical Celebration', in *The Church at Prayer*, ed. by Martimort, I, p. 234. He says, 'This is why "liturgy" cannot be viewed solely in terms of "ceremonies." It must be the vehicle of values, it must convey meaning; this implies diversification of the liturgy according to cultural milieu as well as fidelity in expressing the foundational actions that have been handed down in the tradition.'

¹¹ Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, p. 74. 'il papa non disse messa, perché non aveva cardinali.'

¹² Dalmais, 'Theology of the Liturgical Celebration', in *The Church at Prayer*, ed. by Martimort, I, p. 234.

¹³ Peter Howard, 'Preaching and Liturgy in Renaissance Florence', in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), p. 316.

idea of the ‘sensorium’, that is, ‘the entire sensory apparatus as an operational complex’,¹⁴ Howard has put it to use in several studies that deal with the religious context of fifteenth-century Florence. Similarly, that ‘sensory apparatus’ informs both this chapter and the next.

Corazza’s fascination with the papal liturgies is not at all surprising given the Florentines were unaccustomed to seeing their upper religious functioning in the liturgical roles described in this chapter.¹⁵ The pope was the embodiment of supreme earthly authority and for many Florentines their most recent memory of the papacy was a friendless John XXIII being turned away by a suspicious Signoria. To have in their midst all of a sudden a pontiff who began immediately to involve himself in his liturgical obligations, such as Martin did on Ash Wednesday just a few days after arriving, must have had quite an impact. And even when the pope was an observer only, these obligations fell to his cardinals, also an especially rare sight in the city.

Corazza’s willingness to record in great detail several of the papal liturgies he witnessed was a manifestation of the ease with which he, as a member of a theologically literate class of citizens, was a conduit for the liturgical currents that flowed through Florentine society. This is Howard’s ‘theology of the piazza’ in action, and although Corazza’s is a layman’s view of the liturgy, by recording the specific elements that differentiated notable celebrations from those less-important days of the calendar he demonstrated that the liturgical literacy of the seemingly theologically illiterate was perhaps far greater than we once thought.

Of course, it would be foolish to assume that a civic-minded wine-merchant was the only example of this phenomenon. Giusto Giusti, a blacksmith’s son who became a notary, matter-of-factly recorded the day the Byzantine Emperor arrived in the city ‘after dinner’ in February 1439. Whilst doing so he elaborated upon the reasons for the visit with the similarly unvarnished statement that, ‘he rightly came to the court of the pope in order to clarify certain errors that existed between their faith and ours.’¹⁶ Petriboni, the politically-focused observer who generally eschewed descriptions of the more religious aspects of the residencies felt compelled to record the overarching theological questions confronting the Council of Ferrara-Florence, listing five ‘articoli’ in the *Priorista*: the *filioque* controversy, the addition to the Creed, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Purgatory, and the primacy of the Latin Pope as the head of the Universal Church.¹⁷ And looking back

¹⁴ Walter Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 6. On Howard’s development of Ong’s concept of the ‘sensorium’ see Peter Francis Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427-1459* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), p. 85; Peter Howard, “‘The Womb of Memory’: Carmelite liturgy and the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel”, in *The Brancacci Chapel: Form, Function and Setting*, ed. by Nicholas A. Eckstein (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), pp. 178-9.

¹⁵ Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 34.

¹⁶ *I giornali di ser Giusto Giusti d’Anghiari*, (p. 56); ‘che venne dirito alla corte del papa per chiarirecerti errori che erano tra la fede loro e la nostra.’

¹⁷ Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 289-90. For an excellent discussion of the *filioque* in this period see A. Edward Sicienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 151-72.

to the residencies, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici wrote that, ‘having held a general council for the faith of the Greeks with grand disputations, the Greeks came to have the same faith as the apostolic and holy Roman Church.’¹⁸

It is of little consequence that Petriboni’s understanding of the council, as just one example, seems not to align exactly with the issues that occupied the council attendees.¹⁹ What matters is that the efforts of the Latin and Orthodox theologians to find common ground certainly did not exist on an intellectual plane beyond the reach of the everyday citizen. Corazza was no different. In fact, his *ricordanze* is one of the more important such texts when it comes to demonstrating how the theological literacy proposed here came to establish itself within a receptive citizen body, and, at a time when ‘the traditional relationship between liturgy, the laity and sacred space underwent a profound transformation due to the renewed emphasis on the preached word’,²⁰ the catalyst for this was the spoken word. Preaching, of course, was a fundamental part of the Florentine cultural fabric and it will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter. At this stage it is sufficient to simply acknowledge the extent of Corazza’s interaction with Florence’s vibrant oral culture, and since it is reasonable to assume that the sermons he recorded in the *Diario* were just a fraction of those he actually heard, and factoring in the textual weaknesses of the incomplete copies that have survived, scholars can safely infer that preaching was as central a part of Corazza’s daily life as it was any Florentine’s.

He notes eleven sermons in the *Diario*, beginning with Giovanni Dominici’s 1406 funeral oration for the humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati, ending with another eulogy, that delivered after the death of Cardinal Antonio Casini in 1439. Those that fall between cover a range of events and feature several different preachers.²¹ In terms of this study, one occasion in particular is instructive, not least because Corazza’s understanding of it reveals just how preaching was used to inform and sustain the broader religious context within which it was embedded. On Laetare Sunday 1431 (11 March) Corazza witnessed a ‘most solemn procession of all of the brothers who observed the Rule, with relics and *compagnie*, and they went to meet at the painting of the Virgin Mary.’²² The image in question was removed from

¹⁸ Rustici, *Codice rustici*, p. 232; ‘facendosi generale concilio per la fede de’ Greci con grandi disputazioni venono i Greci a una medesima fede co’l’apostolica e santa Chiesa Romana.’ Rustici composed his manuscript after the council, between 1441 and around 1457; Weddle, ‘Saints in the City’, in *Florence and Beyond*, ed. by Peterson and Bornstein, p.180.

¹⁹ For a discussion of this see Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 272-3.

²⁰ Peter Howard, ‘Preaching to the Mob: Space, Ideas, and Persuasion in Renaissance Florence’, in *Mobs: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, ed. by Nancy van Deusen and Leonard Michael Koff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 213.

²¹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 20 (5 October 1406, funeral oration for Coluccio Salutati by Giovanni Dominici, Piazza de’ Peruzzi); pp. 21, 41 (9 October 1406, sermon by Giovanni Dominici during celebrations for the acquisition of Pisa, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 30 (10 August 1414, sermon by Leonardo Dati after an earthquake, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 51 (26 March 1419, sermon by an unnamed preacher on Laetare Sunday, Santa Maria Novella); p. 55 (26 February 1419, sermon by Angelo da Siena, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 58 (30 December 1419, funeral oration for Baldassarre Cossa by Domenico da Figline, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 60 (5 April 1420, Good Friday sermon by Domenico da Figline, *sala grande*); p. 67 (14 and 14 February 1422, sermons by Domenico da Figline, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 71 (11 March 1431, Laetare Sunday sermon by Antonio d’Arezzo, Santa Maria del Fiore); p. 80 (5 February 1439, funeral oration for Cardinal Antonio Casini by an unnamed Dominican, unnamed location).

²² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 71; ‘solemnissima processione di tutte le Regole, Reliquie e Compagnie, e andarono incontro alla tavola della Vergine Maria.’

San Felice in Piazza, and the procession, which was joined by many of the civic institutions we met earlier, went ‘throughout the whole city, ending up at the as yet un-consecrated cathedral where a solemn Mass was recited by the Bishop of Fiesole.’²³

It was after the Mass, Corazza tells us, that ‘master Antonio d’Arezzo preached on the subject of the solemn feast [Laetare Sunday] which was done through the lesson of the aforesaid pope.’²⁴ This is a reference to an earlier entry that noted Eugenius’ elevation to the papacy, the news of which had reached the city the week before. Antonio, according to Corazza, ‘said many things about his [Eugenius’] virtue and goodness, of the singular friendship he had with the Florentines, and of many other beautiful things.’²⁵

Corazza’s account of the tone and content of the sermon is completely harmonious with the theological framework that guided Laetare Sunday, a day intended to be a moment of joy, a brief repose that girded the faithful for those weeks of the Lenten season that lay ahead. Indeed, the name of the day itself came from the introit used in its Mass – *Laetare Ierusalem* (Rejoice, O Jerusalem)²⁶ – and in light of the image the city had been crafting for several decades at least, as an event on the liturgical calendar it would have held some degree of especial resonance for all Florentines, including Corazza, an engaged member of his community. ‘The myth that celebrated Florence both as the New Jerusalem and the New Rome in a dual mission of spiritual and political leadership’, according to Weinstein, ‘was one with which Florentines of every class would have been familiar’.²⁷ Corazza was absolutely not excluded from this, and his capacity to recognise that Antonio had imbued his sermon with the day’s theological undertones by using the example of the recently elected pope is proof positive of this.

Some difficulties with the liturgy

Insofar as it is used today, ‘liturgy’ was not even a part of the Quattrocento Florentine vocabulary. The most common vernacular articulations in the *Diario*, for example, are *uffizio* and *mesa*. ‘Liturgy’ did not appear until the latter stages of the sixteenth century when it was used to refer to those ‘prescribed, public rituals of the Church as distinct from private devotion.’²⁸ Whilst this is obviously an institutional, normative understanding, it is crucial to recognise that the term may also be applied in a far more elastic sense that defies such rigid

²³ Ibid; ‘Andò la processione tutta la terra’.

²⁴ Ibid; ‘predicò il maestro Antonio d’Arezo intorno alla solenne festa che si faceva per la lezione del sopradetto papa’. Antonio was a Servite friar; see Menichini, *Vita quotidiana*, p. 216. It seems he was quite active. For further examples of his preaching in Florence see pp. 21, 87.

²⁵ Ibid; ‘e molto disse di sua virtù e bontà, e della singolare amicizia ch’egli ha co’ Fiorentini, e molte belle cose.’

²⁶ This is drawn from Isaiah 66. 10-11 (Rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all you that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all you that mourn for her, that you may suck, and be filled with the breasts of her consolations: that you may milk out, and flow with delights, from the abundance of her glory).

²⁷ Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*, pp. 146-7.

²⁸ Howard, ‘Preaching and Liturgy’, in *Prédication et liturgie*, ed. by Bériou and Morenzoni, p. 313.

boundaries. In his analysis of the liturgical patronage of fifteenth-century Florentine patricians, Gaston defines liturgy as, ‘any ritualized act of Christian worship performed publicly or privately by an individual cleric or layman, or by groups of clergy or laymen’. Locating these acts in their spatial contexts, he goes on to say that, ‘[they] may take place in any context, including churches, private homes, and *palazzi*, civic buildings, confraternity halls, or public streets and squares.’²⁹ In the context of this study and its focus on papal liturgy, we must lean towards the former, more prescriptive conception; based on those parts of the *Diario* that have come down to us, this is the way that Corazza himself would have viewed it.

However we might characterise it, the liturgy was an immovable bedrock upon which both Florence and the papacy were built. To the former, those spiritual practices and their visible manifestations that we call upon when we refer to the liturgy, institutional or otherwise, were ‘part of the daily round of life’.³⁰ Florence was a city of churches, and within the *pieve* of San Giovanni there were eighty-four subordinate parishes, sixty-two of which sat within the circle of city walls.³¹ There can be no doubt that religion and all of its public and private devotional expressions occupied centre stage in the crowded panorama of Florentine society.

If liturgical practice was foundationally important to the Florentines, it almost defined the papacy; ‘observance of the liturgical solemnities by the pope and his court were at the heart of the meaning of papal Rome’.³² One of the papacy’s fundamental missions, moreover, was ‘fostering proper worship, most especially within Rome and particularly within the area of the Vatican.’³³ Whilst both of these observations link the papacy to Rome, the seat of its spiritual authority, since Florence in many respects became a surrogate Rome during the years of the papal residencies, there was never any doubt that this liturgical mission would be preserved in its displaced state.

As this study has repeatedly suggested, the commune gave both Martin and Eugenius an interim home from which all elements of papal life could carry on as per normal. Taking into account the various troubles that dogged both men and forced them into their respective Florentine residencies, the importance of the liturgy as a means by which their uprooted papacies might set about reclaiming any lost authority is obvious. It would perhaps have been easy for the vicissitudes of the temporal world to dominate the psychology of both as they struggled in their various ways to reassert the prestige and status of the papal office, ravaged

²⁹ Robert Gaston, ‘Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo, Florence, 1350-1650’, in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons, with J. C. Eade (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 115 n. 12.

³⁰ Howard, ‘Preaching and Liturgy’, in *Prédication et liturgie*, ed. by Bériou and Morenzoni, p. 314.

³¹ Peterson, ‘Electoral politics’, (p. 365-6).

³² O’Malley, *Praise and Blame*, p. 7.

³³ John W. O’Malley, ‘The Religious and Theological Culture of Michelangelo’s Rome, 1508-1512’, in Edgar Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, ed. by Elizabeth Sears (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xliv.

as it was by over a century of degradation and division. The story of the street rhyme that opened this study is certainly suggestive of the fact that a pope might easily become bogged down by the travails of a difficult situation. Liturgy, therefore, as an inescapable touchstone of papal identity, was in these years as important to the papacy as it had ever been.

That being the case, an extended discussion of papal liturgy and how it was perceived by the Florentine faithful might initially appear somewhat redundant. To state that it was a fundamental part of quotidian life for both city and papacy risks veering into the banal. It is a worthwhile exercise, however, not least because the lingering reluctance of historians to locate Florentine religion within its broader social, cultural, or political context has naturally flowed to the liturgy as well. Gaston surmised towards the end of the twentieth century that liturgical history was at that time ‘one of the most isolated of disciplines’.³⁴ More recently Anna Welch in her study of Franciscan liturgy stated that despite a developing awareness between the liturgist and the non-specialist, ‘it remains generally true that each continues to focus on the primacy of his/her own discipline.’³⁵ And a collection of essays published around the same time alerts us to the fact that there is at the moment an awareness that, ‘[l]iturgy should not be a marginal subject, of interest only to those who study the lives of medieval professional religious.’³⁶

That social and cultural history would be well-served by moving beyond a reductive view of liturgical practice is certain, even if there is some inspiration to be found in a small part of the Florentine historiography. Franklin Toker did a great deal of work on the liturgy of Santa Reparata, the old cathedral subsumed by the significantly larger Santa Maria del Fiore.³⁷ Gaston explored the laity’s use of patronage to shape the liturgy, as well as the medieval legacy of the church spaces that accommodated it,³⁸ whilst Howard situated Florentine preaching within its overarching liturgical context.³⁹ Blake Wilson, meanwhile, conducted a detailed study of Florence’s *laudesi* companies, the lay-groups formed ‘above all to conduct their own liturgical services that featured the devotional activity of lauda-singing.’⁴⁰ Several other musicologically focused studies soon followed Wilson’s monograph, both of which focused on *Nuper rosarum flores*, the acclaimed isorhythmic motet composed by Guillaume

³⁴ Gaston, ‘Liturgy and Patronage’, p. 113.

³⁵ Anna Welch, *Liturgy, Books and Franciscan Identity in Medieval Umbria* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 52.

³⁶ Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton. ‘Introduction’, in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 9-10.

³⁷ Franklin Toker, ‘A Gap in the Liturgical History of Florence Cathedral, and a Byzantine Casket Rich Enough to Fill It’, in *Arte d’Occidente: Studi in Onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, ed. by Antonio Cadei, Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, and Anna Segagni Malacart, 3 vols (Rome: Edizioni Sintesi Informazione, 1999), II, pp. 767-79; Franklin Toker, ‘On Holy Ground: Architecture and Liturgy in the Cathedral and in the Streets of Thirteenth-Century Florence’, in *Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze*, ed. by Timothy Verdon and Annalisa Innocenti, 3 vols (Firenze: Edifir, 2001), II/2, pp. 544-59; Franklin Toker, *On Holy Ground: Liturgy, Architecture, and Urbanism in the Cathedral and the Streets of Medieval Florence* (London: Harvey Miller, 2009).

³⁸ Gaston, ‘Liturgy and Patronage’, pp. 111-33; Robert W. Gaston, ‘Sacred Place and Liturgical Space: Florence’s Renaissance Churches’, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti, pp. 331-52. See also *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, ed. by Robert W. Gaston and Louis A. Waldman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, in press).

³⁹ Howard, ‘Preaching and Liturgy’, in *Prédication et liturgie*, ed. by Bériou and Morenzoni.

⁴⁰ Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 2. For a detailed discussion of the structure and function of the *laudesi*, see, pp. 37-73.

Dufay for the consecration of the new cathedral.⁴¹ And as a self-confessed non-liturgist, William Bowsky delved into the liturgical books of San Lorenzo to see what they could reveal about a social historian's enquiries into spirituality.⁴²

There is an obvious musicological flavour to much of this scholarship. Considering that particular field more broadly as a way into the liturgy points to a vibrant discourse, one best exemplified by Marica Tacconi's excellent survey of the service books of the Florentine cathedral.⁴³ Tacconi also trained as a musicologist yet her study of the Duomo's seventy-six extant liturgical books reaches well beyond those discrete boundaries. These manuals, she contends, 'reflect not only the history of the cathedral but, in some ways, also the history of Florence.'⁴⁴ Tacconi convincingly placed the liturgical tools of the city's primary religious institution within the milieu of its civic context. Whereas the great Florentine families dominated the city's lesser churches, at the cathedral it was the collective that reigned supreme. Its liturgical manuals were therefore co-opted with the intention of rousing the citizenry to the mission of safeguarding the spiritual well-being of the entire commune. The implications for this study are obvious. Although the liturgies discussed in this chapter did not take place at the cathedral, they provided the commune with another outlet to emphasise a world view that sought harmony and stability above all else.

What seems to be missing from the historiography is an attempt to track how institutional religion worked in cultural terms, at least insofar as said religion, as well as its behaviours, might be applied to how culture operates within the definition outlined by this study. Wilson's work perhaps comes closest, however, the *laudesi* he studied operated outside the formal structures of the Church. Theirs was a 'lay, vernacular liturgy',⁴⁵ a manifestation of the city's lay piety, which, in the words of Marvin Becker, 'projected a comprehensive vision of a new ideal of community – that of Christian brotherhood – acted out by humble citizens in the ordinary round of civic life.'⁴⁶ There is an obvious gap between the lay devotion of the city's confraternities and the liturgical solemnities as observed by a pope, and as we shall come to see, those that recorded them thought there was very little that was humble or ordinary about a papal liturgy.

There are two reasons why the liturgy has been such a minor part of the social and cultural history of Florence. Most obviously, dealing with the many liturgical texts that govern its

⁴¹ Craig Wright, 'Dufay's "Nuper rosarum flores", King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 395-427, 429-41; Marvin Trachtenburg, 'Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay's "Nuper Rosarum Flores" and the Cathedral of Florence', *RQ*, 54 (2001), 740-75.

⁴² William M. Bowsky, 'Liturgy for Nonliturgists: A Glimpse at San Lorenzo', in *Society and Individual*, ed. by Connell, p. 280.

⁴³ Marica S. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Marvin B. Becker, 'Aspects of Lay Piety in Early Renaissance Florence', in *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and Renaissance religion: papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, ed. by Charles Trinkaus, with Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 198-9.

practice can be difficult, even for the specialist. Although historians from the mid-twentieth century onwards have been the benefactors of the painstaking work of a great many mainly French or German liturgists, the sheer breadth of material can quickly overwhelm the neophyte confronted by a veritable maze of texts that ranges from the earliest psalters (a genre that in fact predates Christianity by some margin), through the sacramentaries and lectionaries, to the pontificals and ceremonials that were widely in use throughout the fifteenth century.⁴⁷ A significant obstacle to those lacking specialist knowledge is that each of these distinct genres performed a specific function at any given time, and thus each type of liturgical text has, 'its own name, its own history, its own specific typology'.⁴⁸

As far as papal liturgy in the Quattrocento is concerned, no single text guided the papacy through its obligations. It was not until after the Council of Trent (1545-63) that the *Breviarum romanum* (1568) and *Missale romanum* (1570) imposed some uniformity on the papal liturgy, clarifying and simplifying the many accretions that had built up over the centuries.⁴⁹ Given the Florentine residencies came well before these consolidations, the current discussion of papal liturgy must use rely upon a variety of liturgical texts. At the same time, the years of the papal residencies were relatively stable since the key texts used by the early-Quattrocento popes were more or less fixed. Moreover, those texts they did use were not significantly revised until the latter decades of the fifteenth, and as noted, most have been published in a critical edition, easing immeasurably the task of the historian looking to interrogate liturgical practice.

The obligatory starting point for papal liturgy is the pontifical of the renowned thirteenth-century curialist William Durand.⁵⁰ The pontifical typology originated in the ninth century and was concerned with those obligations that fell under the purview of the episcopacy, hence its common designation as 'the bishop's book'.⁵¹ The *Pontificale Durandi*, completed by 1295, became 'the definitive medieval pontifical...adopted by the Roman Curia... unrivalled in the Latin Church until the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council'.⁵² It was also the filter through which all of the precursor texts to the late-Quattrocento pontifical of Agostino Piccolomini and John Burckhard passed.⁵³ To complement his pontifical Durand

⁴⁷ The best introduction I have found to this aspect of the liturgy is Cassian Folsom OSB, 'The Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, ed. by Anscar J. Chupungco OSB, 5 vols (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1997-2000), I, pp. 245-314. See also Eric Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books from the beginning to the thirteenth century*, trans. by Madeline Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998).

⁴⁸ Folsom, 'Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, ed. by Chupungco, I, p. 245.

⁴⁹ For an introduction to the liturgical impact of Trent, with a useful bibliography for further research see Pierre Jounel, 'From the Council of Trent to Vatican Council II', in *The Church at Prayer*, I, pp. 63-8.

⁵⁰ For a brief introduction to Durand's life and works, see, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, trans. by Timothy M. Thibodeau (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. xvii-xviii.

⁵¹ This description is from Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, pp. 195-212. For the critical edition of Durand's text see *Le pontificale romain au Moyen-Âge: Le pontificale de Guillaume Durand*, ed. by Michiel Andrieu (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940).

⁵² *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, p. xviii.

⁵³ The *Pontificale Durandi* was the beneficiary of the twelfth-century *Pontificale romanum* and the thirteenth-century *Pontificale romanae curiae*. The Piccolomini-Burckhard text is itself the direct antecedent of the modern pontifical. On the place of *Pontificale Durandi* in the development of later pontificals see Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 202.

also compiled a liturgical commentary, the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (hereafter *Rationale*).⁵⁴ This text is thought by some to represent the apogee of that particular genre in the Middle Ages, due mainly to the number of the manuscript copies that have survived, as well as the fact that it was amongst the first non-biblical texts to be printed at Mainz in 1459.⁵⁵

From the latter-half of the twelfth century the pontifical operated in conjunction with the ceremonial, a typology which emerged as a consequence of the determination to codify with great precision the specific liturgical obligations of the Roman Curia. It was intended 'to describe in great detail the opulence which the rites demanded...and to give all necessary particulars concerning the roles of the officiants.'⁵⁶ Several examples of this genre are relevant to the current discussion, the earliest being the Ducento text compiled by Cardinal Giacomo Stefaneschi.⁵⁷ The *Caeremoniale Stefaneschi* gained such traction amongst the Curia that it became a fundamental source for later examples, namely, those which emerged from the Avignon papacies,⁵⁸ as well as the late-Trecento ceremonial of Patriarch Pierre Amiel, formulated for Pope Urban VI (1378-89), the first Roman pope of the Schism.⁵⁹

Even together, neither the pontifical nor the ceremonial are sufficient to completely contextualise the events described in this chapter. Nowhere in either typology will one find the liturgy relevant to the *translatio* of relics, for example. On such occasions the papacy would rely on what are called the *Ordines Romani*, a collection of *ordo*, individual texts that describe the order and characteristics of 'a precise liturgical action'.⁶⁰ At the very least, the above discussion illustrates that no single, definitive liturgical manual can be relied upon to understand the shape of papal liturgy across these years. Quite simply, no such text existed at the time.

The second reason working against a greater understanding of the liturgy in Florentine social and cultural history is that fact that it is not at all common to find contemporary accounts of specific liturgical moments that are not in essence superficial. A clear indication that the liturgy was indeed a part of the 'daily round of life' in the city, the many occasions that sustained this rhythmic cycle were such an inescapable part of the cultural fabric that it

⁵⁴ Guillelmi Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. by A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, 3 vols (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1995-2000). For a discussion of the *Rationale* and its impact on liturgical commentaries, see, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, pp. xviii-xx.

⁵⁵ On the various editions of the *Rationale*, see, William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A translation of the first book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, trans. by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp. x-xi. The text was apparently reprinted 104 times before 1859; *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, p. xxii.

⁵⁶ Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 233.

⁵⁷ *Le Cérémonial Papal de la Fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance: De Rome en Avignon ou Le Cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi*, ed. by Marc Dykmans SJ, (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1981). For a discussion of Stefaneschi's life and works see, pp. 25-93.

⁵⁸ *Le Cérémonial Papal de la Fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance: Les Textes Avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, ed. by Marc Dykmans SJ, (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1983); this text is known as *Le Cérémonial Long*. It was compiled from various sources, probably from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards; see pp. 9-32.

⁵⁹ *Le Cérémonial Papal de la Fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance: Le Retour à Rome ou Le Cérémonial de Patriarche Pierre Amiel*, ed. by Marc Dykmans SJ, (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1985). For a discussion of Amiel's life and works see, pp. 13-24.

⁶⁰ Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 175. For the *ordines* themselves see *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, ed. by Michel Andrieu, 5 vols (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1956-74).

generally did not occur to the Florentines to record them, even when they were especially notable. The most famous liturgy during the residencies was undoubtedly the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore in March 1436, and yet, despite the extraordinary nature of this moment, there are very few accounts of the actual liturgy to be found. Petriboni, for instance, who we know was inside the cathedral, devoted one of the longest entries of the *Priorista* to the broader spectacle but afforded the liturgy itself just a few short, rather cursory sentences.⁶¹ He was positively effusive, however, if compared to some of his contemporaries; Belcari in his *ricordanze* and Francesco di Tommaso di Francesco Giovanni in his are the epitome of perfunctory.⁶² In his *Memoirs* Bruni goes to great lengths to record the wonders of the events leading up to the liturgy but is completely silent on what happened inside the Duomo.⁶³ Even Corazza, the informed layman who was endlessly fascinated by the papal liturgies sums up the entire ceremony, procession and all, in just two pithy sentences; ‘On the twenty-fifth day of March (1436) Pope Eugenius IV consecrated the church of Santa Maria del Fiore. The Cardinal of San Marco recited the Mass.’⁶⁴

Essentially, the strictly liturgical aspects of the Duomo consecration are almost always overshadowed by descriptions of the accompanying extra-liturgical spectacles, an understandable reaction given Eugenius’ procession from the papal apartments to the Duomo traversed a *ponte* the scale of which had never before been seen in the city, to say nothing of the immense crowd that would certainly have cast a sense of devotional fervour over the entire occasion. It is only natural that such spectacles have dominated the eyewitness recollections.

To be sure, not every account of the consecration ceremony marginalised the liturgy to the extent of those noted above. In his treatise *De secularibus et pontificalis pompis* (hereafter *De pompis*) the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti describes in great detail the ephemeral moment of the consecration liturgy. Admittedly, Manetti’s retelling is far from complete. He was selective in his account, all the while portraying those elements he did include in a particular light. However, as the editors of the critical edition of the *De pompis* rightly contend, an exacting description was never Manetti’s aim. The *De pompis* was commissioned by Agnolo Acciaiuoli, a close Medici partisan who saw the event with his own eyes. By requesting the treatise Acciaiuoli asked Manetti not for a faithful description of what had happened, but rather, for an explanation of what it all meant.⁶⁵ The *De pompis*, therefore, was

⁶¹ For his account of the entire consecration see Petriboni, *Priorista*, pp. 274-6.

⁶² Belcari, *Ricordanze*, quoted in Saalman, (pp. 275-6); *Diario fiorentino*, ed. by Corazzini, (p. 286).

⁶³ Bruni, *History*, III, pp. 381-3.

⁶⁴ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 77; ‘A di 25 di marzo <1436> il papa Eugenio IV consacrò la chiesa di Santa Maria del Fiore. Disse messa il cardinale di San Marco.’

⁶⁵ Christine Smith and Joseph F. O’Connor, *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the material and spiritual edifice* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), p. 31. Acciaiuoli was actually one of Cosimo’s closest allies. He was also exiled in early-1434, returning later that same year once Cosimo had been recalled. For a discussion of their relationship see Margery A. Ganz,

a rhetorical exercise, and its very particular method of production highlights quite starkly just how out of the ordinary it was for a Quattrocento Florentine to pen such a description. Manetti's *De pompis* is very much the exception that proves the rule.

Another salient example of the tendency to eschew more reflective descriptions of the liturgy can be found in the generally taciturn accounts of the second *translatio* of the relics of St Zenobius, which took place whilst the council was in full swing. Chapter Two noted that they had been moved once before, in the late-ninth century, prompting an apparently lifeless elm tree next to the Baptistery to bloom as the liturgical procession passed by. In keeping with that earlier event, Papi suggests that this second translation on 26 April 1439 was intended to infuse Santa Maria del Fiore with the same miraculous aura that had been bestowed upon Santa Reparata some six hundred years earlier.⁶⁶ The prestige of this subsequent translation, moreover, was enhanced by the involvement of certain representatives of the Byzantine delegation, including the brother of the Emperor, the Greek despot Demetrius Palaeologus.

Given the extraordinary nature of the 1439 *translatio*, the number of contemporary sources that fail to even mention the event is surprising. The *Priorista* is silent, as is the Estense copy of the *Diario*. Buoninsegni's *Storie* contains a very short account, albeit one devoid of any description of the liturgy itself.⁶⁷ The two best accounts that have survived come from Giovanni Tortelli, a lesser-known but by no means unimportant Florentine humanist, and Clemente Mazza, a cathedral canon at the time. Both published a *Vita* of the saint, although a close reading suggests that the latter's account of the translation liturgy was very much based on the former.⁶⁸

Tortelli was a contemporary of Manetti's who would eventually end up in Rome in the curia of Nicholas V. He was also an eyewitness to the *translatio*, and given his humanist pedigree we might reasonably have expected his retelling to delve beyond the merely superficial in its retelling. It does not, however, and his description is content to list just a few elements of the rite as laid out in the relevant liturgical text.⁶⁹ He says,

⁶⁶ 'The Medici Inner Circle: Working Together for Florence', in *Florence and Beyond*, ed. by Peterson and Bornstein (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 369-82.

⁶⁷ Anna Benvenuti Papi, 'Un momento del Concilio di Firenze: La traslazione delle reliquie di San Zanobi', in *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439: Convegno di Studi, Firenze, 29 novembre-2 dicembre 1989*, ed. by Paolo Viti, 2 vols (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), i, p. 214.

⁶⁸ Buoninsegni, *Storie*, p. 69; 'La Domenica mattina a di 26. d'Aprile 1439. con gran solennità, e festa in Santa Maria del Fiore si traslatò il Corpo di San Zanobi, Vescovo Fiorentino, e de' Santi Eugenio, e Crescenzo suoi discepoli, i quali erano in mezzo della Chiesa in una habitazione sotterra, e messioni nel capo della Chiesa anche sotto terra in una cappella edificata in nome, & honore di detto San Zanobi, & intervennono a questo atto sei Cardinali, con più Arcivescovi, Vescovi, e Prelati, & il sopradetto fratello dell'Imperadore, & altri Signori, e Cortigiani.' In all likelihood this comes from the marginalia of BNCF, Fondo Magliabechiano, MS.XXV.379, 146; 'A di 19 d'aprile in domenica furono traslatati i corpi di santo zanobi, fu vescovo di firenze e di santo crescenzo e ugenio suoi diaconi e sodiacani per lo santissimo papa Eugenio con piu cardinali e altri prelati di sotto l'altrare di Santo Zanobi che era mezo in mezo della chiesa di Santa liperata, con grandissima solemnita furono riposti in detta chiesa sotto il nuovo altare di san zanobi che, e intesta di detto chiesa.' The scribe on this occasion obviously erred by saying the translation took place one week before it actually did.

⁶⁹ Tortelli's *Vita* is published in *Acta Sanctorum*, 68 vols (1643-1940), XIX, pp. 62-3. For Mazza's *Vite* see Messer Clemente Mazza, *La vita di San Zanobi cittadino et vescovo Fiorentino* (Firenze, 1559).

⁷⁰ The *ordo* that describes a *translatio* (XLII), both text and analysis, can be found in *Les Ordines Romani*, iv, pp. 353-402.

Thereupon Archbishop Lodovico [Trevisan], proceeding to the ancient catacombs, in pontifical garb and crowned by a mitre with six other bishops, canons, and many of the *popolo*, collected the marble casket in which were the bones of the most Blessed Zenobius...And the six priests, carrying them [the remains] on their shoulders and following Archbishop Lodovico, laid them on the most richly adorned high altar with every great reverence and devotion amidst the rejoicing of the entire population, organs and flutes as well as music of every kind, the praise of God resonating throughout the entire church. And meanwhile, whilst the solemnities of the Mass were celebrated, all of the most dignified citizens of Florence, carrying lit candles in [their] hands and clearly advancing in order of most illustrious, came so that the most blessed remains could be venerated with great devotion...⁷⁰

Like most other accounts from the period, the liturgy is reduced to just a few words, ‘the solemnities of the Mass.’ Whilst Tortelli goes further than most in his descriptions of the aural atmosphere of the liturgy—the image of the cavernous Duomo ringing with the music and accompanying voices is a powerful one—when his account of a specific liturgy is held up against Manetti’s, and as we shall see in a moment, Corazza’s, it becomes clear he tended towards the restraint that typified most accounts from that particular time.

Holy Week and Easter, 1419

Not all of the liturgical moments recorded by Corazza are described in great detail. Many are afforded just one or two sentences, such as the example of Ash Wednesday 1419, the first liturgy Martin celebrated after his arrival in Florence: ‘On the first day of March, a Wednesday and the first day of Lent, a cardinal recited the Mass in Santa Maria Novella; the pope came to the said Mass.’⁷¹ If a particular day mandated a specific custom, then that, too, was included, hence Corazza continues this entry by stating, ‘on the aforesaid morning he [Martin] put ashes on the foreheads of the cardinals, bishops, abbots and others, as well as on many non-religious.’⁷² The matter-of-fact, almost prosaic tone on display here is typical of the vast majority of papal liturgies noted in the *Diario*. Indeed, some are recorded in only the most perfunctory language: ‘On the day of June 4, the day of Pentecost, the pope recited [the Mass] in the said chapel; eighteen cardinals were there.’⁷³

The Florentine tendency towards restraint when narrating the liturgy is what makes those entries that are detailed so remarkable. At particular moments Corazza’s abstemious descriptions are banished and his language explodes with a verboseness that recedes as quickly as it appeared. On such occasions, particularly Easter, the liturgy-specific features of the respective days are documented in far more detail than at any other stage in his *ricordanze*.

⁷⁰ Tortelli, *Vita*, p. 63; ‘Tunc Ludovicus Archiepiscopus, in veste Pontificia et mitra redimitus, cum sex aliis delectis Episcopis et Canonicis populoque innumerabili ad antiquam procedens catacumbam, marmoream capsulam, in qua ossa erant beatissimi Zenobii, assumunt...et suos humeros sex illi Pontifices subjicientes, consequente Ludovico Archiepiscopo, cum totius populi jubilo, organisque ac tibiis atque diversis musicorum generibus, Dei laudem per totam ecclesiam resonantibus, magna cum omnium devotione et reverentia, ornatissimo altari superimposuerunt. Et interim dum Missarum solennia celebrarentur, dignissimi omnes Florentinae urbis cives, accensos cereos in manibus gestantes, incedentesque conspicuo atque amplissimo ordine, magna devotione venerari beatissimum Corpus adveniunt’.

⁷¹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 50; ‘A di primo di marzo, mercordì, il primo di della quaresima, disse messa un cardinale in Santa Maria Novella; vennevi alla detta messa il papa’.

⁷² Ibid, p. 50; ‘e la mattina detta pose cinere in capo a’ cardinali, vescovi, abati e altri, e a molti seculari.’

⁷³ Ibid, p. 56; ‘A di 4 di giugno, el di de la Pentecoste, disse il papa nella detta capella: vi furono 18 cardinali.’

The only other events that are treated with a comparable level of close attention are the papal processions discussed in Chapter One. Of all the papal liturgies chronicled by Corazza, the Easter ceremony of 1419 is the one recounted in the most detail. Indeed, he seems to have been overwhelmed by the sequence of liturgies leading up to and including that day since he offers an expansive description of almost the entire Holy Week calendar.

Beginning on Palm Sunday, Holy Week consisted of the seven days directly preceding Easter; it stood as the most important period of the liturgical year.⁷⁴ It was also the first major liturgical event after Martin's arrival. Palm Sunday that year fell on 9 April and the pope had entered Florence on 26 February, just six weeks earlier. Explaining Corazza's focus on these eight days from a straightforwardly theological perspective seems a rather simple exercise. As Theodor Klauser suggests, the Easter festival embodied 'the central mystery of the faith of the Church', consequently establishing it as 'the framework which supports the whole of the liturgical year.'⁷⁵ By marking off and commemorating the final days of Jesus' life, Holy Week was a necessary antecedent to the celebration of his Resurrection on Easter Sunday, and ultimately, the redemption of humankind. This was the pivotal moment of salvation history as it was perceived within the religious understanding of the period, hence Corazza's close attention to them is completely understandable. On its own, however, a solely theological approach would be insufficient, especially when one compares his account of the Holy Week and Easter liturgies of 1419 with those from later years. The detail in the *Diario* drops off dramatically, even from 1420 when the Easter liturgy is not even mentioned.⁷⁶

The *Diario* is particularly expressive regarding the bookends to these eight days, that is, Palm Sunday and Easter itself. As the first day of Holy Week, Palm Sunday – in Corazza's words, 'Sunday of the olives'⁷⁷ – was defined by the blessing of palm fronds followed by a procession in imitation of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem exactly seven days before his Resurrection. Olive twigs had been used alongside palm fronds on this day since late-antiquity, although it has been demonstrated that the spectators of processions waved both even earlier, well before the emergence of Christianity.⁷⁸ The practice first appeared in the West in the *Liber Ordinum*, a liturgical book detailing the Mozarabic Rite of sixth-century Spain,⁷⁹ and closer to home in the seventh-century Bobbio Missal which contains a directive

⁷⁴ For an excellent introduction to the subject see James Monti, *The Week of Salvation: History and Tradition of Holy Week* (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 1993).

⁷⁵ Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. by John Halliburton (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 91.

⁷⁶ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 60. This could, of course, be a copyist issue.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52; 'la domenica de le olive.'

⁷⁸ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), p. 72.

⁷⁹ The *Liber Ordinum* contains a blessing that lists palm, olive, or willow branches as possible choices; *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. by Marius Férotin (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904), pp. 179-80; 'te supplices inploramus ac petimus, ut uiridiatis arbuscule ramos palmarum, salicum uel oliuarum tua uirtute benedicere ac sanctificare digneris'.

for, 'the blessing of the palms and the olives on the altar'.⁸⁰ Since the specific shape of the Palm Sunday liturgy was subject to extensive regional variation throughout the Middle Ages,⁸¹ and taking into account the convenience and abundance of olives as a crop in Tuscan Italy, it is hardly surprising that a Quattrocento Florentine described the day by referring to the olive rather than the palm.

As a commemoration of the events described in John 12. 12-13,⁸² the fundamental characteristics of the Palm Sunday liturgy we would expect Corazza to describe are the blessing of the palms (or olives) and the procession. As noted in Chapter Three the blessing took place in the chapterhouse of Santa Maria Novella, the so-called Spanish Chapel, and it seems that the occasion was the catalyst for remarkable outpouring of popular devotion;

They kept all of the doors forward of the rood-screen closed, so that it was not possible to enter the church, except from the back, to which few people had access. The cardinals, bishops, and other prelates entered through the door on Via della Scala, namely, through San Niccolò;...and a bar was across the door, so that the people did not weary the pope'.⁸³

The image brought to bear by this retelling is intriguing. That access to the chapterhouse through the main church was restricted, to say nothing of the door to the chapel itself being secured, is indicative of the passion the liturgical activity of a resident pope could inspire. At the same time, the moves to insulate the liturgical moment are very much in keeping with the development touched upon in the previous chapters; the papacy in this period was becoming increasingly more separated from instances of public display. Whilst the progression towards the more 'private and courtly' liturgy described by O'Malley was ongoing, apart from the 1436 consecration procession nowhere is the devotional fervour whipped up by either of the popes presented in such explicit terms, in the *Diario* or elsewhere. Indeed, the occasion was meaningful enough for Corazza to insert himself into his account, one of the only times he does so; 'And I was one of those who had an olive branch from the pope and kissed his foot'.⁸⁴

The blessing of the palms and olives was followed by the second essential part of the Palm Sunday liturgy, the procession. After the intensity he encountered in and around the chapterhouse, Corazza presents this phase of the liturgy in a far more sombre tone;

⁸⁰ *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book*, ed. by E. A. Lowe (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1991), p. 170. The Bobbio Missal is named after the monastery in which it was discovered in 1686, located in the small town of Bobbio, just to the south of Piacenza. Although contentious, the liturgy it describes dates to just after the Mozarabic Rite, namely, the seventh century, and if it is not native to northern Italy then most likely it emerged from southern Spain. For a recent discussion of these issues, see, Yitzhak Hen, 'Introduction: the Bobbio Missal – from Mabillon onwards', in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-7.

⁸¹ Monti, *The Week of Salvation*, pp. 43-4.

⁸² (And on the next day, a great multitude that was come to the festival day, when they had heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet him and cried Hosanna. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel).

⁸³ Corazza, *Diario*, pp. 51-2; 'Teneano serrate tutte le porte dal ponte in su, che non si poteva entrare se non nella chiesa dal lato di sotto, se no per pochi. I cardinali, i vescovi e altri prelati entravano per la porta della via della Scala, cioè di San Nicolò... e 'n traverso alla porta una sbarra, perché la gente non noiiasse il papa'.

⁸⁴ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; 'E io fui di quelli che ebbi l'olivo dal papa, e baciai gli il piede'.

Then with every solemnity went the procession; the pope, with his cardinals and many bishops, all of them adorned, and with the white mitre on his head a palm in his hand, under the standard in between two cardinals and two knights; and with two noble foreigners carrying palms before them. And with many other solemnities the procession went through the piazza, entered into the church and went to the altar, where a cardinal recited the Mass with great solemnity; and this was the Sunday of the olives.⁸⁵

This is an archetypical example of the *adventus* described by Muir, albeit on a much smaller scale;⁸⁶ the apartment entrance on Via della Scala to the main door of the church was a distance of no more than three hundred meters. Irrespective of the significantly reduced scope, as we have seen throughout this study, the main piazza of Santa Maria Novella was a locus of devotional activity during the residencies. We can reasonably assume, therefore, that the combination of Easter and a resident pope provided the occasion with a devotional ambience not often felt in the city.

With the exception of Monday and Tuesday, Corazza describes all of the days falling between Palm Sunday and Easter. He treats Holy Wednesday rather summarily, a reflection of the relative unimportance of its liturgy, at least in terms of how it was characterised by the relevant ceremonials. The *Ceremoniale Stefaneschi* omits altogether these three days,⁸⁷ and we can trust Corazza's muted rendering given it completely conforms with the command in the *Ceremoniale Amiel* that, 'after the Office on these three days the pope ought not give a blessing, nor carry a cross.'⁸⁸ Since the benediction was a liturgical act Corazza records with great regularity, its omission on this occasion is almost certainly an indication of both papal adherence to correct liturgical practice, as well as Corazza's faithful recording of it.

The following three days, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday are similarly recorded with a great degree of accuracy, albeit abridged, and certainly without the devotional tenor reserved for other moments. Theologically and liturgically these days, known collectively as the Triduum, are treated as different aspects of the one act of redemption.⁸⁹ Holy (or Maundy) Thursday in the *Diario* begins with an account of the customary round of annual censures issued by the pope; Martin, according to Corazza, 'excommunicated many people, namely, heretics, Patarenes, schismatics, those who held back the Holy Church, and those who impeded pilgrims bound for Rome or on holy journeys, as well as many other kinds of people'.⁹⁰ After this public pronouncement, made from a stage in the piazza of Santa

⁸⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; 'Poi con molta solennità andò la processione, il papa con i soi cardinali e molti vescovi tutti parati, e con le mitre bianche in capo, e con la palma in mano, il papa sotto lo stendardo in mezzo de due cardinali e due cavalieri; gentiluomini forestieri gli portavano la palma innanzi. E con molt'altre solennità andò la processione se per la piazza, entrò in chiesa e andò all'altare, e ivi disse messa un cardinale con grande solennità; e questo fu la domenica de le olive.'

⁸⁶ Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 239-40.

⁸⁷ It moves straight from Passion Sunday to Palm Sunday; *Le Cérémonial Stefaneschi*, §81-2, pp. 360-1.

⁸⁸ *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §423, p. 128; 'quod hiis tribus diebus post officium papa non debet dare benedictionem, et non portatur crux.'

⁸⁹ For a thorough treatment of the Triduum right up until the Easter Vigil see Monti, *The Week of Salvation*, pp. 101-322.

⁹⁰ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; 'scomunicò molta gente, cioè retici, paterini, cismatici, e chi teneva di Santa Chiesa, e chi impedimentiva ' pellegrini che andassono a Roma o in santo viaggio, e molte altre generazioni di genti'.

Maria Novella, Martin and the attending cardinals threw the torches they were carrying onto the ground, following the steps of the *Ceremoniale Stefaneschi* but not the order, given Stefaneschi placed the excommunications at the end of the liturgy.⁹¹ The *Diario* follows by describing two further indispensable parts of the Holy Thursday liturgy, namely the consecration of the Host for Good Friday, and the *mandatum*, the ceremonial foot washing of twelve selected religious, or in this case paupers; ‘having recited the Offices, he [Eugenius] left and went to his lodgings, and washed the feet of twelve paupers, and dressed them in white woollen cloth, and gave them alms and food.’⁹²

For Good Friday, perhaps the most solemn day of the Christian calendar, Corazza focused his attention on the papal vestment and the Veneration of the Cross. He notes also the Liturgy of the Word, which, despite being a usual part of the Mass, was on this occasion unusually singled out by the diarist; ‘he [Martin] announced and read the Mass, and he recited the Epistle and the Passion himself; a cardinal read the Gospel.’⁹³ Surprisingly, the Mass of the Presanctified using the Host consecrated the day before, a moment Corazza did mention, is left out. The account of Martin’s vestment, which Corazza says took place in the church, is in keeping with the liturgy as mandated by the *Cerimoniale Amiel*.⁹⁴ Given his penchant for the spectacle of the papal liturgies, it was understandably the Veneration of the Cross which most captured his attention. After uncovering the cross and placing it at the foot of the altar, Martin, ‘removed his shoes and went with great devotion to kiss the cross and kneel three times; then went all of the cardinals, who numbered seventeen, then the bishops, other prelates and lords, as well as the ambassadors of great lords’.⁹⁵

The entry for Holy Saturday is surprisingly brief given the importance of that particular day. The Easter Vigil, which began after nightfall, was from the very earliest years of Christianity its most sacred liturgy, and whilst the *Diario* accounts for two of its key characteristics – the blessing of the Paschal Candle and the greatly expanded Liturgy of the Word – it glosses over some elements we might otherwise have expected Corazza to include.⁹⁶ He tells us that, ‘the pope came into Santa Maria Novella at Matins, and recited the office and blessed the candle with great solemnity; then the twelve lessons of the Old

⁹¹ This public pronouncement would have been followed by the promulgation of an annual bull, *In coena domini*, a practice that began no later than 1300; Stefan K. Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 101-4.

⁹² Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; ‘fatto l’uffizio, si partì e andò alla camera sua, e lavò i piedi a 12 poveri, e vestigli di bianco panno lano, e diè loro limosina e mangiare.’ On the consecration of the Host for Good Friday see *Le Cérémonial Stefaneschi*, §83.20, p. 367; *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §471-2, p.134. On the washing of the paupers’ feet see *Le Cérémonial Stefaneschi*, §91C, pp. 380-2; *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §497-514, pp. 137-40.

⁹³ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; ‘si comunicò e lesse la messa, disse la pistola e l’Passio; ed el Vangelo disselo un cardinale.’ The readings are specified in the Würzburg Capitulary; D. G. Morin, ‘Le plus ancien *comes* ou lectionnaire de l’Église romaine’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 27 (1910), 41-74, (p. 54, Hosea 6. 1-6, Exodus 12. 1-11; D. G. Morin, ‘Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VIIIe siècle d’après les listes d’Évangiles de Würzburg’, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 28 (1911), 296-330 (p. 304, John 18. 1-19:42).

⁹⁴ Vestment *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §549-51, p. 146. See also *Die Zeremonienbücher der Römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, ed. by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), §CXI.3, pp. 306-7.

⁹⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; ‘fecesi scalzare e andò con grande divozione a baciare la Croce e inginocchiossi 3 volte; poi andarono tutti i cardinali, che erano 17, poi i vescovi, e altri prelati e signori, ambasciatori di più signorie’. See also *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §563-5, pp. 150-1.

⁹⁶ Monti, *The Week of Salvation*, p. 324. Monti says, ‘From the earliest days of the Church’s history, the Easter Vigil has been considered the single most important liturgical celebration of the year.’

Testament were recited'.⁹⁷ His description of the readings is correct; the Liturgy of the Word at the Easter Vigil was comprised of twelve readings from the Old Testament, a practice established in late-antiquity that had been reaffirmed by the *Pontificale romanum* in the twelfth century.⁹⁸ Interestingly, the narrative of the Paschal Candle as found in the *Diario* seems lacking in certain respects. As directed by the *Cerimoniale Amiel* the blessing of the Paschal candle would have been accompanied by the customary three genuflections at the altar, the hymn *Exsultet iam angelica turba celorum* (Let the angelic crowd of heaven now rejoice), the vestment, and a procession.⁹⁹ Moreover, Amiel states that, 'at the appropriate time five grains of incense should be embedded into the said candle by the cardinal-deacon in the form of a cross.'¹⁰⁰ These seem exactly the type of liturgical behaviours Corazza would be interested in.

All of the moments noted above were the necessary, incremental steps that brought the week to its devotional conclusion, Easter Sunday. Corazza's account of that day begins with Martin's genuflection at the altar following his entrance, and ends with the benediction and indulgence he conferred on the crowd that had amassed outside. In between, he recounts the many different steps, such as, the procedure of dressing the pope in his liturgical vestments, the customary offer of deference by the cardinals and other prelates, the repeated acts of hand washing, and the reading of the Epistle and Gospel.

Importantly, almost as if emboldened by the significance of the day, this section of Corazza's chronicle offers us our best chance to understand the impressions left on him by the 'sensory experience' that encompassed the liturgy in this period. For the first time Corazza marks off the prayers, chants, and hymns that mark its progression; he tells us that, 'the pope commenced the offices. He recited the *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* and the singers responded and recited the offices.'¹⁰¹ This choral chant was the introit used to mark the beginning of the Mass, 'the first text amongst the variable parts of the Mass, and the first text in general touching the congregation.'¹⁰² The next prayer Corazza highlights is the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, followed soon thereafter by the *Credo in Deo*, and finally 'il Paternostro' (The Lord's Prayer) during the Elevation of the Host. This part of the chronicle is also the first time he mentions the ubiquitous use of censers throughout the liturgy. On several occasions

⁹⁷ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; 'la mattina, venne il papa in Santa Maria Novella, e dissero l'uffizio e benedissero il cero con gran solennità; poi dissono 12 lezioni del Testamento Vecchio'.

⁹⁸ Monti, *The Week of Salvation*, p. 343.

⁹⁹ *Le Cérémonial Amiel*, §595-602, pp. 157-9.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, §596, p. 158; 'et tempore debito ponuntur per ipsum cardinalem quinque grana incensi in dicto cereo ad modum crucis.'

¹⁰¹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 52; 'e poi cominciò l'officio il papa e disse: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, e i cantori risposono e dissono l'officio.' *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* (O God, come to my assistance) was one of several options that could have been used at this point; Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its origin and development (Missarium Sollemnia)*, trans. by Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols (Blackrock: Four Courts Press Ltd, 1986), I, p. 332 n. 59. The source of this is Psalm 69, *Deus in adiutorium*.

¹⁰² Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I, p. 332.

Martin, or those assisting him, ‘offered the incense at the altar, as is done when they recite our solemn Masses.’¹⁰³

From within this rather lengthy and ebullient description, two elements emerge in particular detail; the act of adorning Martin with his liturgical vestments and the subsequent celebration of the Eucharist. The former was undertaken as essential preparation for the latter, and in doing so the cardinals, ‘dressed him [Martin] at his throne.’

First the cincture, the cord over the alb, then the amice or stole, then the maniple, then a small cross of gold was placed around his neck, and everything was covered at the shoulders [by the fanon], then the dalmatic, followed by the tunic; then he sat down and put on the gloves, which were almost completely covered by pearls; and then grand rings with many precious stones; then he put on the chasuble; then over the chasuble a pallium that encircled his shoulders, white with small black crosses; then he put on the most beautiful mitre, decorated by many rich stones. First he put on his slippers, which were wholly covered by pearls: one by one he removed those which were on his feet and put on those with the pearls. They [the deacons] held up the vestments to ensure that the person who dressed him could not be seen.¹⁰⁴

Corazza’s eye for detail shines through in this account. His fascination with the pomp and splendour of the act, to say nothing of his knowledge of the very specific types of liturgical clothing, tells us he was, as this chapter has argued, that Florentine citizen heavily invested in the liturgical and theological firmament of his religious context.

Once properly vested, Martin was ready to perform the ‘supreme action’ of the Eucharist,¹⁰⁵ the sacrament which, according to Rubin, was ‘[a]t the centre of the whole religious system of the later Middle Ages’.¹⁰⁶ Whilst there can be no doubt that Corazza had been present at a great many of these celebrations in the past, it is clear from the way he recounts this particular moment that he had never seen one quite like this before. At the very beginning of his Easter entry he tells us that, ‘the Holy Father recited the Mass in Santa Maria Novella with the greatest solemnity’, but it is in his thorough account of the Eucharist itself that his belief in the piety of the celebrants, as well as his own devotional investment in the act, really shines through. On several occasions during this phase Corazza delves into the psyche of the pope and his attendants, detailing their spiritual faith and its corresponding liturgical manifestations. Martin, we are told, did ‘everything with belief’ when mixing the wine and water in the chalice.¹⁰⁷ The actions of the cardinal-deacon and sub-deacon in giving

¹⁰³ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 54; ‘dà lo ‘ncenso all’altare, come fanno i nostri quando dicono messe solenni.’ Corazza mentions the use of incense on six other occasions throughout the Easter liturgy.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4; ‘Poi il papa si parò, e parorolo i detti cardinali in sedia. In primo il cinsono col cordiglio sopra il camisce, poi l’amitto overo la stola, poi i manipolo, poi una crocelina d’oro si pose al collo, e fasciava tutte le spalle, poi il diacono, poi il sodiacono; poi si pose a sedere e misesi i guanti, i quali erano tutti quasi coperti di perle; e poi l’annella grandi con molte pietre preziose; poi si mise la pianeta; poi sopra la pianeta una benda che l’cingeva intorno alle spalle, bianca con crocioline negre; poi si mise la mitria richissima, ornata di molte pietre ricche. In prima si misse le pianelle, le quali sono tutte coperte di perle: éntragli uno sotto, e càvagli quelle che ha in piè, e mettegli quelle delle perle; sono tenuti i panni sospesi per modo che colui che glielle mette non è veduto.’ For a description of these vestments see ODCC, p. 33 (alb); p. 328 (chasuble); p. 451 (dalmatic); p. 601 (fanon); p. 683 (cincture/girdle); p. 1034 (maniple); p. 1556 (stole); pp. 1657-8 (tunic/tunicle).

¹⁰⁵ *The Church at Prayer*, I, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 54; ‘e ogni cosa con credenza si faceva.’

Communion to the pontiff, and also of Martin in receiving it, attract a similarly psychological appraisal; 'All of these things were done with the utmost reverence.'¹⁰⁸

What appear on face value to be fairly obvious conclusions about the devotional temperament of the pope and his attendants when celebrating what was the most important Mass of the liturgical year are more than that; it is not only Martin's reverence and belief that Corazza is describing, but also his own. By inserting into his chronicle observations that any eyewitness would presume as given, Corazza is betraying the devotional instincts stirred within himself by the liturgical gestures performed in his presence. The visual and emotional splendour of the Easter Mass prompted Corazza to move beyond a simple description of the general atmosphere and delve instead into the psychology of the celebrants. Since he was observing this ephemeral moment from the periphery, he was after all an outsider in every sense of the word, the only source he had to describe the internal reactions of those who were insiders were his own. These he projected onto Martin and the attendant clergy, attaching to them the sense of wonder and awe stirred up in him by the vision of a pope presiding over the central mystery of their collective faith.

The consecration of Santa Maria Novella

Towards the end of August 1420, in an entry detailing the various civic and religious members of a delegation Martin had sent to Bologna, Corazza inserts the following non sequitur;

In the said month of August the Signori went with trumpets throughout Florence, as they did when announcing a joust, to proclaim and notify that the pope would consecrate the church of Santa Maria Novella, namely, the church and main altar, where he had performed many ceremonies.¹⁰⁹

The consecration would take place on 1 September, just a week before Martin finally left for Rome, and as was customary, the pope would not personally perform the liturgy; that honour fell to Cardinal Giordano Orsini with Martin presiding.¹¹⁰ Given the long and violent history between their families, it is interesting that a Colonna pope entrusted such a central role to an Orsini cardinal, but perhaps the old antagonism was at somewhat of a lull due to the long absence of both men from their native city. At the very least Martin, who was yet to enter Rome as pope, had not at that stage used the clout of the papal office to carve up the city to the benefit of his Colonna relatives and the horror of their most entrenched rivals.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p.55; 'Tutte queste cose si fanno con grandissime riverenze'.

¹⁰⁹ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 61; 'Del detto mese d'agosto feciono bandire e notificare i Signori per Firenze con trombetti, come quando si bandisce la giostra, come el papa sagrava la chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, cioè la chiesa e l'altare maggiore, dove si feciono molte cerimonie.'

¹¹⁰ Just as Eugenius would be some sixteen years later at the cathedral, with Cardinals Orsini and Antonio Casini assisting, whilst Cardinal Angelotto de' Foschi recited the Mass.

One of the lengthiest entries in the *Diario* focuses on this consecration ceremony which was just one example of the most common ‘extraordinary’ papal liturgies from the years of the Florentine residencies. As Chapter Two demonstrated, as many as four basilica-churches and one other church were consecrated (or re-consecrated) by Martin and Eugenius during their time in Florence, to say nothing of the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore.¹¹¹ Moreover, there was a concerted effort to have a pope consecrate a fifth basilica, Santa Maria del Carmine and to that end, Martin’s consecration of Santa Maria Novella was the first in a quick succession of liturgies, the beginning of a process that solidified a ring of papal sanction around the city.

A fifteenth-century consecration was a significant event. When parsing the liturgy as represented in the *De pompis*, the editors of Manetti’s text draw our attention to the twenty-one steps that made up the consecration rite and accompanying Mass as identified in the *Pontificale Durandi*.¹¹² Manetti greatly truncated these in his treatise, reducing the total number of steps to eleven. Moreover, he significantly reordered those steps he chose to include. The *De pompis* not only reverses the order of four of the steps – the deposition of the relics, the dedication of the altar, the blessing of the walls, and the knighting of the *gonfaloniere della giustizia* – it also presents them as part of the Mass proper when they should certainly have preceded it. The result of this literary transformation is an order ‘invented to further his theme of a royal papacy presiding over a militant church celebrating a victory in the manner of an imperial *adventus*.’¹¹³

Corazza’s account of the Santa Maria Novella consecration, we can be sure, was not motivated by such exalted ideals, nor does it exhibit a humanist’s rhetorical exuberance. There was no patron to serve, nor was there an explicit desire to paint the papacy in a particular light. If the *De pompis* is ‘economical’ in pursuit of its thematic goals, then the *Diario* is positively frugal when expounding upon its own.¹¹⁴ Where Manetti reduced the entire ceremony to eleven steps, Corazza details only eight. These distinctions, however, are hardly remarkable given the contrast between a formal, humanist treatise and an informal, personal *ricordanze*.

¹¹¹ The ‘other’ church referred to here was Sant’Egidio, the small church of the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova consecrated on the day Martin left Florence. The consecration liturgy itself was conducted by Cardinal Antonio Correr, Eugenius’ cousin. Just as he had done at Santa Maria Novella the week before, Martin confirmed his cardinal’s actions with his blessing. For a discussion of this consecration see John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: healing the body and healing the soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 121-3.

¹¹² Smith and O’Connor, *Building the Kingdom*, p. 44. It must be noted that two of the steps identified by Smith and O’Connor – the knighting of the *gonfaloniere* and the freeing of the captives – were added to the cathedral consecration liturgy because of the especial nature of the event; Joseph O’Connor and Christine Smith, ‘The Consecration of Florence Cathedral Recounted by Giannozzo Manetti’, in *Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze*, ed. by Verdon and Innocenti, II/2, p. 572. For Durand’s original description of a consecration liturgy, see *Le pontifical Durand*, pp. 455-78.

¹¹³ Smith and O’Connor, *Building the Kingdom*, p. 44.

¹¹⁴ For the description of Manetti as ‘economical’ see Smith and O’Connor, *Building the Kingdom*, p. 44. Caroline van Eck tells us that *De pompis* is 3,500 words long; Caroline van Eck, ‘Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: the *Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae Florentinae* of 1436’, *RS*, 12 (1998), 449-75 (p. 455). Corazza’s account of the Santa Maria Novella consecration, including the announcement, is just 322 words; Corazza, *Diario*, pp. 61-2.

In some respects the two accounts are actually quite similar, in others quite different. Both exclude several of the early steps of the consecration rite, namely, the litanies, the writing on the floor of the Greek and Latin alphabets, and the lustration, or purification, of the church interior. Both recall the role of the respective popes in very similar terms. In 1436 at the Santa Maria del Fiore consecration Eugenius was responsible for, ‘the deposition of the relics and the chrismation of the altar’.¹¹⁵ At Santa Maria Novella sixteen years earlier Martin had played an almost identical role when, ‘with every solemnity [he] put the relics on the main altar, reciting many offices.’¹¹⁶ Although Corazza does not make specific mention of Martin in 1420 anointing the altar with the chrism after putting the relics in place, since one followed the other it is reasonable to assume this was a part of the ‘many offices’ the *Diario* refers to. And both Corazza and Manetti significantly truncate the Mass which came after the consecration rite. The former, in fact, going a great deal further in this regard since he records this entire phase in perhaps the briefest manner possible; ‘the aforesaid cardinal [Orsini] recited the Mass.’¹¹⁷

Whilst there are similarities between each man’s account of the respective ceremonies there are also significant contrasts. Where the *De pompis* rearranged the elements of the liturgy in order to achieve its literary ends, Corazza in his retelling lays out a faithful and accurate description of a church consecration as itemised by the relevant liturgical books. Again, this is an understandable divergence given the respective genres of each text. More importantly, Corazza makes a point of including parts of the consecration liturgy that Manetti did not, namely, the exterior circuits of the church and knocking on the door. Corazza says,

He [Orsini] processed into the church accompanied by friars, and went around the inside; and then he attached a lit torch to each apostle, each of which had been newly repainted on every column on each side of the church. And having attached the said torches, and having said many offices and made other ceremonies at the said apostles and altars, he began to process around the outside of the church, at all times sprinkling the walls with blessed water. And he passed through the entrance on Via Gualfonda, on the side of the blacksmith’s, in order to return to the church; and he went under the vaults and returned to the cloister, and he stopped himself at the door, which was closed, and having said certain offices, those who were inside responded; and then he went again around [the church] in the said manner and he returned simply to the door and they did likewise what they had done: and he went thus three times; and then the cardinals and the brothers solemnly entered the church.¹¹⁸

The latter phase of the liturgy described here is dictated by the number three, which, according to the *Rationale*, was the repository of several meanings. The three aspersions of

¹¹⁵ O’Connor and Smith, ‘The Consecration of Florence Cathedral’, p. 566.

¹¹⁶ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 62; ‘e con molta solennità misse nell’altar maggiore reliquie con dicendo molto officio.’

¹¹⁷ Ibid; ‘il detto cardinale disse la messa’.

¹¹⁸ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 62; ‘Venne in chiesa a processione con frati, e andò incontro alla chiesa dentro; e poi apiccò una fiacola accesa a ogni apostolo, quali si dipinono di nuovo in ogni colonna da lato de la chiesa. E apiccato le dette fiacole, e detto molto ufficio, e fatte altre cerimonie a’ detti apostoli e agli altari, cominciò andare a processione intorno alla chiesa di fuori, gittando sempre acqua benedetta intorno nelle mura della detta chiesa. E fèssi l’entrata in Gualfonda, di qua dal ferraio, per tornare alla chiesa; e andava sotto le volte, e tornava per il chiostro, e fermavasi alla porta dinanzi della chiesa, che stava serrata, e dicevano certo ufficio, e dentro era chi rispondeva; e poi riandava dintorno nel modo detto e ritornava puro alla porta, e facevano el simile: e andò così tre volte; e poi entrorno in chiesa solamente el cardinale coi frati.’ Parts of this translation belong to Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, pp. 121-3.

the exterior walls of the church signified, ‘the triple immersion in a Baptism’, and also that ‘the Lord, having concern for His own, sent His angel to surround those who fear Him.’¹¹⁹ The responses sung whilst the whilst this was happening represent, ‘the joy of the three orders who received the faith, namely: Noah, Daniel, and Job.’¹²⁰ Orsini’s thrice repeated procession was representative of, ‘the triple course that Christ made for the sanctification of the Church’, the fact that, ‘a church is dedicated in honor of the Trinity’, and also of, ‘the three orders of the saved in the Church: the virgins, the continent, and the married’.¹²¹ And finally, the three acts of knocking were intended to signify, ‘the triple authority that Christ has in His Church, on account of which the door must be opened to him: by right of His creation of it, its redemption, and the promise of its future glorification.’¹²²

The number three, of course, was foundationally important to Christianity and a great many of its liturgical practices made use of a thrice repeated behaviour. Durand articulated in his *Rationale* that, ‘this number is well known and is most holy...no sacrament can be performed in church without the invocation of the Trinity.’¹²³ Moreover, it has been pointed out that the Trinity was in Quattroceto Florence ‘a basic component of religious education from childhood on.’¹²⁴ Corazza’s reflection on the triune elements of the consecration, therefore, locate him well and truly within his own, very local religious context, to say nothing of the broader context of his faith.

Immediately following Martin’s role in the consecration, that is, his deposition of the relics on the altar, Corazza tells us that Cardinal Orsini, ‘went to all of those newly painted apostles, and anointed the red cross painted in a white circle which they held in their hands.’¹²⁵ These were the consecration crosses, images that ‘not only commemorate the ritual sanctification of the church, but are also a small but distinctive form of religious art.’¹²⁶ Durand states that these crosses are installed in order to, among other things, ‘reflect on the Passion of Christ, by which He Himself consecrated His Church and that faith in the Passion will be implanted in their memory.’¹²⁷ Of course, one cannot help but speculate that an eye-witness like Corazza would have made a link between these and the Florentine emblem of the *popolo*, the red cross on a white field that by September 1420 had been underscored on more than one occasion

¹¹⁹ Durand, *Rationale*, p. 64-5.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 65. For a discussion of the intellectual milieu in which Durand would have developed his views on the ‘orders’ see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religions and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, The Orders of society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 289-341.

¹²¹ Durand, *Rationale*, p. 65.

¹²² Ibid, p. 65.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 66.

¹²⁴ Solum, *Women, Patronage, and Salvation*, p. 189.

¹²⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 62; ‘andò a tutti quegli apostoli dipinti di nuovo, e unse quella croce rossa che hanno in mano, in quel tondo bianco, con la cresima.’ Parts of this translation belong to Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, pp. 121-3.

¹²⁶ Andrew Spicer, ‘“To Show That the Place is Divine”: Consecration Crosses Revisited’, in *Images and Objects in Ritual Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe*, ed. by Krista Kodres and Anu Mänd (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p. 35.

¹²⁷ Durand, *Rationale*, p. 69. He says also that they are used ‘to terrify the demons’, and also as ‘signs of triumph, for the crosses are battle standards of Christ and the signs of His triumph.’

throughout Santa Maria Novella's convent and its immediate surrounds. Emphasising the interconnectedness of Florence's civic and liturgical realms, these devotional images as described by Corazza recall quite distinctly that the two were irretrievably linked in this period.

The wine-merchant finishes his description of the Santa Maria Novella consecration with a comment that reveals just how competently he was able to internalise what he saw. Referring to the Mass itself, the diarist says, 'what he [Orsini] did, with all the solemnity with which it is customary to consecrate [a church], I do not recount to you for the sake the brevity.'¹²⁸ Essentially, Corazza is telling us that we can trust his understanding of the liturgical moment he had just witnessed. Despite his lay status, his was an assured, confident vision of the papal liturgies. His account finishes as we would expect; 'Then, the Mass having been said, the pope went out onto the piazza in the usual place and gave his benediction to the people: there was a very great crowd.'¹²⁹

Mystery and awe, reflecting the great heavenly liturgy, were the principles that guided liturgical performance in the Quattrocento, as indeed, in every century. In Florence, the central mysteries of those practices were obviously intensified by the advent of the papal liturgies in the years the popes were resident in the city. The solemn obligations of the popes were superimposed over the regular rhythms of the Florentine liturgical cycle of the city, and as we saw with particular focus in Corazza's account of the 1419 Holy Week and Easter observances, they generated significant interest within the local community. It is almost certain that the papal liturgies drew the faithful away from their regular liturgical behaviours; one wonders, for example, how many of the Florentine faithful did not attend the Cathedral during Easter due to the papal liturgies at Santa Maria Novella, or how the Dominicans felt since their own Holy Week and Easter liturgies were no doubt greatly affected by the papal presence. At the very least, it is clear that the presence of Martin and Eugenius in the city inspired Florentine diarists and the like to ponder the liturgies they experienced with a degree of detail they might otherwise have taken for granted

¹²⁸ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 62; 'e, con tutte quelle solennità che s'usa di consegnare, fece che per abbreviare non le conto.'

¹²⁹ *Ibid*; 'Poi, detta la messa, il papa andò in su la piazza nel luogo usata e diede la benedizione al popolo: fuvi grandissimo popolo.' Parts of this translation belong to Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, pp. 121-3.

Chapter Five

Preaching at the papal court

As this study has argued throughout, particularly in the previous two chapters, the prolonged itinerancy of Martin and Eugenius could not be allowed to interrupt the workings of the papal office. Despite the fact that both popes were forced for different reasons to spend significant time in Florence, detaching them from the seat of their apostolic authority, the sources demonstrate that significant steps were put in place by the Florentines to ensure that as much as was possible the papacy's fundamental mission carried on in as regular a fashion as possible. This is most immediately evident in the way the popes made use of certain spaces in the fulfilment of their solemn obligations, and in light of Howard's suggestion that 'the sermon was part of a larger ritual whole of which liturgy was the core,'¹ the robust liturgical culture described in the previous chapter would certainly have encompassed a correspondingly vibrant climate of preaching.

It was noted in Chapter Four that the liturgical thread woven into the fabric of life in the city was a fundamental aspect of local religious sensibilities. A significant aspect of Florence's religious culture was the preaching that echoed throughout many the city's many spaces. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that the oral and aural aspects of the papacy contributed to this milieu during the years of the residencies. And although this part of my discussion is concerned with the inner-sanctum of the papal court, that is, with the papal chapel itself, we must not assume that any preaching therein was necessarily detached from the broader Florentine population, or that it transcended their particular concerns. The previous chapter demonstrated that any attempt to claim these sermons were transmitted in a tenor indecipherable to the religious sensibilities of the Florentine *popolo* is clearly a rather unstable premise. The attention paid to the cause of union between the Greeks and Latins by men such as Giusto Giusti, Petriboni, Corazza, and Rustici demonstrates that this simply was not the case; 'The world created by the interplay of liturgy and sermon', according to Howard, 'was not the preserve of a clerical elite...it was part of the collective religious culture of the period'.² Even when that clerical elite happened to be the papal chapel itself, the inclination of men like Corazza to record the minutiae of the papal liturgies he witnessed attests to a shared religiosity that moved back-and-forth quite comfortably between centre and periphery.

Framed by this consideration of assured, communicative exchange, the current chapter considers how preaching functioned within the context of the papal residencies. It suggests that the very nature of preaching *coram papa*, that is, preaching before the pope, was

¹ Howard, 'Preaching and Liturgy', in *Prédication et liturgie*, ed. by Bériou and Morenzoni, p. 314.

² *Ibid.*, p. 332.

completely synchronous with the commune's push to buttress papal authority as a method of creating its own strong culture of stability throughout the Florentine polis. The civic-mindedness of Florentine preaching had long been advocated by its proponents. Antoninus wrote in his *Summa* that, 'The doctrine of the church, when preached, is entirely civic and in accordance with moral philosophy.'³ Of course, Antoninus here was very likely, though not necessarily exclusively, extolling the vernacular sermons, that preaching which attracted thronging crowds to churches and *piazze* on a daily basis.⁴ Those words, informed as they were by the pervasive notion of the *buon comune*, propelled the citizenry towards better, more virtuous lives. *Coram papa* sermons, on the other hand, served a rather different purpose, one revealed quite distinctly by those protocols that brought papal sermon into being. That particular process was governed by the pope's chief theologian, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and as this chapter will demonstrate, Eugenius moved to strengthen the Master's mandate during his pontificate such was the importance he placed on his office and on the preaching that took place within his papal chapel.

Due to the sources that have come down to us, this chapter will focus solely on Eugenius' second sojourn, dominated as it was by the council with the Eastern Churches. Unfortunately our knowledge of preaching within the respective papal chapels of Martin and Eugenius is somewhat uneven, and as is often the case, we know a great deal more about the latter than we do about the former. The abundance of Florence's archives notwithstanding, examples of sermons before Martin simply have not survived. Given preaching just did not seem to interest Petriboni, the *Priorista* records no sermons before him, nor for that matter, before Eugenius. In fact, it is only because of Corazza's *Diario* that we can identify with any degree of certainty specific dates on which Martin heard a sermon whilst resident in Florence. The wine-maker's narrative records two such occasions: a 1419 Laetare Sunday (26 March) sermon by an unnamed preacher,⁵ and a 1420 Good Friday (5 April) sermon by a Dominican *maestro* identified as 'Domenico da Fichino'.⁶ This was Domenico da Figline, a local preacher of some repute who in 1422 was employed by the Opera to deliver a sermon in the Duomo on the feast day of St Dionysius.⁷ That Figline would end up preaching in the cathedral on such a prestigious day more than likely had something to do with the fact that he had once delivered a sermon to a visiting pope.

³ Quoted in Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, p. 197.

⁴ Peter Howard, 'Languages of the Pulpit in Quattrocento Florence', in *City, Court, Academy: Language Choice in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Eva Del Soldato and Andrea Rizzi (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 31-46.

⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷ YC, II 1 81, 18^v c (16 September 1422). Although it is not specified, this Opera document almost certainly refers to Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, the first century martyr whose theology had been popular in Florence from at least the time of Dante and particularly after the city had in 1406 taken control of Pisa on the saint's feast day (9 October); Peter Howard, 'A Landscape of Preaching: Bartolomeo Lapacci Rimbentini OP', in *Mendicant Cultures in the Medieval and Early Modern World Word, Deed, and Image*, ed. by Sally J. Cornelison, Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, and Peter F. Howard (Turnout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 54-6. For a biography of Domenico da Figline see *Necrologio*, II, pp. 127, 132-4.

Although it certainly could not be described as complete, the picture we have for sermons preached before Eugenius is far more substantial, even if Corazza's *Diario* is surprisingly unhelpful. It records no sermons before Eugenius and its narrative ends in mid-1439, just a few months into his second sojourn. A number of sermons have survived, and in all nine preached before the Venetian pope have been identified thus far, as well as a further seven preached to the Roman clergy attending the papal court.⁸

Of those nine sermons before Eugenius, four were delivered by one man, the Venetian theologian Domenico de' Domenichi. Each of the other five were the work of different preachers: Francesco di Micheli, a local Observant Franciscan; Gil Sánchez Muñoz y Carbón, the Bishop of Majorca and at one time anti-pope Clement VIII; Robert Ciboule, a master of theology from the University of Paris; Pierre de Versailles, the Bishop of Meaux; and finally, Isidore of Kiev, the renowned orthodox theologian and champion of the effort to forge a union between the Greek and Latin Churches.

The occasions marked by these various sermons *coram papa* were as diverse as the preachers themselves. Domenichi broached the topics of astrology,⁹ St John the Evangelist,¹⁰ the Passion of Jesus Christ on Good Friday,¹¹ and the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.¹² Sánchez's previously unstudied sermon, delivered not long after the election of Felix V, was a strong defence of papal primacy that responded explicitly to the ominous threat of yet another schism.¹³ The sermons by Pierre¹⁴ and Ciboule,¹⁵ both of whom were in Florence as envoys of the French monarch Charles VII, were also concerned with the Basilean anti-pope; they had been charged by their king, however, to urge Eugenius towards a new council to confront this new peril, a gathering that would of course be held in France. Isidore's sermon, *Exhortatoria oratio ad concilium*, took place during the Council of Ferrara-Florence and was an impassioned plea for the leaders of the Greek and Latin Churches to find within themselves the will to settle the centuries-old split between East and West.¹⁶ And finally Micheli's sermon, *Pro divinissima eucaristia*, was preached on the Holy Thursday of an uncertain year.¹⁷ The major part of this chapter is devoted to an examination of Micheli's preaching. Its analysis will argue that we can date it to the months of the Florentine council, which in turn allows us to draw some conclusions that underscore how control over those

⁸ All of these are contained in the one manuscript; BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152.

⁹ BCTM, Cod. A IV 15 (109), 14^v-22^v. The day and year of this sermon are unknown.

¹⁰ BCTM, Cod. A IV 15 (109), 87^v-96^v. This was preached on 27 December, year unknown.

¹¹ BCTM, Cod. A IV 15 (109), 105^v-117^v. This was Good Friday, 14 April 1441

¹² BCTM, Cod. A IV 15 (109), 117^v-133^v. The year of this sermon is unknown, hence we are unable to determine the day.

¹³ BAV, Vaticana latina, 7179, 9^r-10^r. The exact date is difficult to read. 9 May being the most likely date.

¹⁴ Pierre preached on 16 December 1441; *CFDS: Fragmenta*, pp. 71-6.

¹⁵ Ciboule preached on 6 January 1442; *Ibid.*, pp. 76-81.

¹⁶ Although the exact date of Isidore's sermon is not noted, it is certain that it came sometime between 24 March and 31 May 1439; *CFDS: Isidorus Arch. Kiovensis et totius Russiae, Sermones inter Concilium Florentinum conscripti*, ed. by Georgio Hofmann SI and Emmanuele Candal SI (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1971), p. xi. For the sermon itself see pp. 54-80.

¹⁷ BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152, 56^r-59^v. Several scholars have hypothesised that this sermon was preached during Eugenius' first sojourn, an issue discussed later in the chapter.

sermons heard within the papal chapel meshed quite effectively with the broader context of Florentine culture in which the chapel was embedded at that time.

Preaching in Quattrocento Florence

In view of the central role of preaching in the fifteenth-century there is virtually no doubt as to whether or not the sermons *coram papa* noted here represent a comprehensive list of those heard by Martin and Eugenius whilst resident in Florence; they almost certainly do not. And although it is now axiomatic that the Florentines in the Quattrocento were imbued with a sophisticated appreciation of both the oral and the aural, it has not always been thus.¹⁸ Whilst the various harmonies of the city were as important as the spaces within which the citizens operated, it is only in recent years that this pervasive soundscape has attracted the sustained interest of scholars.¹⁹ Taking into account the entire cacophony of those *predicatori* (preachers), *banditori* (town criers), and *canterini* (singers) who created an aural backdrop to Florentine life, to say nothing of the many *campane* (bells) that conveyed a variety of civic and religious messages to the citizenry, Florence was as much a city of sounds as it was a city of churches.²⁰

If any particular element of this acoustic environment could perhaps be afforded prominence amongst the others, at least in terms of its broader cultural impact, it is difficult to dismiss the countless sermons that formed a supporting scaffold around and within the Florentine religious experience. Preaching was an essential part of life in the city and yet it was only a decade ago that Howard observed historians of Florence, ‘have still to take seriously the role of the thousands of preachers whose voices rang through the piazzas from a time well before the city’s form began to be transformed at the start of the Trecento by the very activity of preaching itself.’²¹

There is certainly no debate about whether or not the Florentines themselves were serious about preaching. Antoninus went as far as to state that, ‘the exceptional work of preaching is above all divine things’, by which he meant it superseded even the Eucharist itself.²² The efficacy of the spoken word resided in its potential to move all members of society and each Florentine, irrespective of their level of literacy, would have been able to connect in some

¹⁸ For a discussion of the orality of fifteenth-century Florence see Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, pp. 79-106.

¹⁹ Recent studies include: Flora Dennis, ‘Sound and Domestic Space in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy’, *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 16 (2008-9), 7-19; Niall Atkinson, ‘Sonic Armatures: Constructing an Acoustic Regime in Renaissance Florence’, *The Senses and Society*, 7 (2012), 39-52; Niall Atkinson, ‘The Republic of Sound: Listening to Florence at the Threshold of the Renaissance’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), 57-84; Stephen J. Milner, ‘“Fanno bandire, notificare, et expressamente comandare”: Town Criers and the Information Economy of Renaissance Florence’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), 107-51; Blake Wilson, ‘Dominion of the Ear: Singing the Vernacular in Piazza San Martino’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), 273-87.

²⁰ This research is at the forefront of Renaissance studies; see Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

²¹ Peter Howard, ‘The Impact of Preaching in Renaissance Florence: Fra Niccolò da Pisa at San Lorenzo’, *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 48 (2004), 29-44 (p. 29).

²² Quoted in Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, pp. 98-99 n. 77.

way with the preacher and his sermon.²³ Certain preachers were the celebrities of their day and their sermons were much sought after by authorities and citizens alike. Bernardino da Siena earned such great respect for his Lenten cycles of 1424 and 1425 that invitations for his return were extended in both 1436 and 1439.²⁴ Indeed, Bernardino was so well thought of by the Signoria that they enlisted the rhetorical skill of Brunni, then the city's chancellor, to assist in persuading the cleric to accept their offer.²⁵ It seems only the 1436 invitation was accepted, however, and Bernardino preached in the cathedral just hours after Eugenius had consecrated it.²⁶ That Eugenius was in the city in both of those years almost certainly contributed to the communal desire to once more have a preacher of Bernardino's repute address the spiritual well-being of the populous.

The religious force of a fifteenth-century sermon was also complimented by the capacity of the spoken word to shape the urban landscape, the arrangement of which, we have seen, was a deeply held Florentine preoccupation. Preaching dictated the placement of pulpits within Florence's churches, and fourteen were newly commissioned throughout the city between 1400 and 1550.²⁷ These efforts pale in comparison to those undertaken in the mid-Duecento, however, which is when a not insignificant number of houses were razed in order to create the vast piazza of Santa Maria Novella. This drastic course of action was a consequence of a visit of the great Dominican preacher St Peter Martyr; the multitudinous crowd that had rushed to hear him simply overwhelmed the old church and its small square, the current day Piazza dell'Unità. Since a change was obviously required, Peter, the resident Dominicans, and the civic authorities collaborated in order to find a solution, the result being the current-day configuration of church and piazza.²⁸

Much like ritual, the reluctance of the Florentine specialist to broach the city's vibrant oral culture is a consequence of the fact that the spoken word will always remain more or less 'inaccessible' to scholars, in terms of both the performance of the preacher and its reception by his audience.²⁹ For many years historians of Florence were able to busy themselves with

²³ In fact, according to Robert Black, Florence was an incredibly literate society; see Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250-1500* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 1-42. He concludes (p. 42) that, 'at least 69.3% of the adult male population were sufficiently literate to write their own submissions to the tax commission.'

²⁴ The renowned Observant Franciscan preached in Florence between 8 March and 3 May 1424, and 4 February and 15 April 1425; Marion A. Habig, 'The Works of St. Bernadine', *Franciscan Studies*, 4 (1944), 229-46 (pp. 242-3). For the subsequent invitations see YC, II 4 13, 119v i (27 February 1436); II 2 1, 249^v e (6 March 1436).

²⁵ Part of this letter is reproduced in Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 5. It is undated, but it seems likely that it was sent for the 1436 season; Boschetto, *Società e Cultura*, pp. 399-400. See also A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1913), pp. 178-80.

²⁶ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 277.

²⁷ Piero Morselli, 'Corpus of Tuscan Pulpits 1400-1550', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1979), pp. xviii-xix, 46-7. Thirty-six were commissioned throughout Tuscany in these years. See also Nirit Ben Debby, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 51-65.

²⁸ The decision was made by the end of 1244, however, the actual construction carried on for decades and was not completed until the end of the thirteenth century; *Necrologio*, I, pp. 217-8.

²⁹ Howard, 'Preaching and Liturgy', in *Prédication et liturgie*, ed. by Bériou and Morenzoni, p. 315.

the virtually infinite material beyond the oral and the aural, meaning sources like sermons, public orations, and popular songs were more or less eschewed.

Interestingly, the general reticence towards Florentine preaching is framed by the broader emergence of sermon studies as a distinct and robust field of inquiry.³⁰ Teasing out the multifaceted and elaborate dynamics that existed between the preacher and his audience has been the preoccupation of those scholars spearheading its development, and as a result, sermon studies have come a long way in a very short time. Whilst there is no need to conduct a comprehensive review of the literature, it is worthwhile noting that Carlo Delcorno's suggestion that a fifteenth-century sermon was the product of a triangular interplay between the Bible as understood in its liturgical context, the audience, which both received and conditioned the message, and the rhetorical ability of the preacher to make manifest his religious idea.³¹ At the very least it is by now well established that sermons and the men who preached them were products not only of their religious contexts, but also of the social and cultural frameworks within which word, speaker and receiver were embedded.

Despite the vibrancy of sermon studies preaching *coram papa* occupies a notably minor place in the historiography, at least outside of a few discrete examples. O'Malley's study of preaching in the papal chapel remains a benchmark for those wishing to explore its stylistic and thematic content from the mid-point of the fifteenth century up to the threshold of the Protestant Reformation.³² Deploying the hermeneutic of what was then the newly revived *genus demonstrativum* (epideictic oratory), O'Malley argued that the papal court took on the humanist ideals as they were represented in this reinvigorated method of preaching.³³ His conclusions highlight the ability of the new oratorical style to conform to the vicissitudes of its temporal setting, making the key assertion that, 'the revival of the *studia humanitatis* rendered Christianity more "human"'.³⁴ Frederick McGinness, meanwhile, carried the story from Trent through to the first decades of the seventeenth century by describing sacred oratory in a Rome emboldened by its Tridentine mandate.³⁵

Further historiographical inroads were made by Blake Beattie, who on several occasions scrutinised the shape and influence of preaching *coram papa* during the Avignon papacies.³⁶

³⁰ One volume in particular has become indispensable; see *The Sermon*, ed. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). In the words of Anne T. Thayer, this collection 'has come to serve as a touchstone for the field'; Anne T. Thayer, 'Medieval Sermon Studies since *The Sermon*: A Deepening and Broadening Field', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 58 (2014), 10-27 (p. 10). This article should be read in conjunction with, Phyllis B. Roberts, 'Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 43 (1999), 9-18. Thayer's recent exploration of the state of sermon studies is framed as a direct response to Roberts' work fifteen years earlier.

³¹ Carlo Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)', in *The Sermon*, ed. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 449.

³² O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 3.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 239.

³⁵ Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

³⁶ In chronological order, these are: Blake Beattie, 'Coram Papa Preaching and Rhetorical Community at Papal Avignon', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 63-86; Blake Beattie, 'Lawyers, Law, and Sanctity in Sermons from Papal Avignon', in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle and others, (Louvain-La-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, 1996), pp. 259-82; Blake Beattie, 'A Book of the

Another who emphasises that the fourteenth century was a turning point for the development of papal liturgy, Beattie states that it was in Avignon that the ‘public liturgical practices of the medieval papacy’ began their transition towards the more courtly ceremonies that came to characterise the papal chapel from the Quattrocento and beyond.³⁷ Mathieu Caesar also focused some attention on Avignon, on this occasion through a Nicole Oresme sermon preached before Pope Urban V in 1363.³⁸ Martin Ederer explored the theological implications of the preaching of the aforementioned Domenichi, although that preacher’s sermons *coram papa* are just an incidental part of Ederer’s study.³⁹ An essay by Howard examined a 1455 oration Antoninus delivered to Callixtus III (1455-8) in which the archbishop spurred the pope to act against the growing Turkish threat.⁴⁰ More recently Howard highlighted the preaching *coram papa* of two Masters of the Sacred Palace: Marco Maroldi before Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) likely in 1475;⁴¹ and Bartolomeo Lapacci Rimbertyni, who preached before Eugenius and several of his successors.⁴² Finally, one might perhaps include in this conversation John McManamon, whose work took O’Malley’s legacy in a different direction by exploring the impact of epideictic rhetoric on funeral oratory as it was reconceived by the Italian humanists.⁴³ Again, however, the popes are just minor characters in that particular argument.

It is clear, then, that scant attention has been paid to sermons *coram papa* from the first decades of the fifteenth century; certainly the transient papacies of Martin and Eugenius are more or less absent from the historiography as far as preaching is concerned. That being the case, the sermons that are the focus of this chapter represent some important opportunities. Most obviously they can be utilised to broaden the discussion initiated by O’Malley, whose methodology looked to the papal chapel after 1450. Furthermore, they afford us a glimpse at Florentine preaching in a context rarely considered by scholars. These sermons were not of the type intended to attract those thronging crowds. They were formulated, rather, to be heard by some of the most powerful men in western Christendom, and they were almost certainly delivered in a physical setting significantly removed from the more common dynamic that existed between pulpit and crowd. Most importantly, they allow us to enhance

Schismatic Pope Benedict XIII (†1423)? Clues to the Ownership of a Collection of *Coram Papa* Sermons’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 57 (1995), 345-56.

³⁷ Beattie, ‘*Coram Papa* Preaching’, p. 64.

³⁸ Mathieu Caesar, ‘Prêcher *coram Papa Urbano V*. Édition et commentaire d’un sermon de Nicole Oresme’, *Revue Mabillon*, 19 (2008), 191-229. Many thanks to Miri Rubin for bringing this study to my attention.

³⁹ Martin F. Ederer, *Humanism, Scholasticism, and the Theology and Preaching of Domenico de’ Domenichi in the Italian Renaissance* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

⁴⁰ Peter Howard, ‘Diversity in Discourse: The Preaching of Archbishop Antoninus of Florence before Pope, People and Commune’, in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, Anne T. Thayer (Louvain-La-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts D’Études Médiévales, 1998), pp. 283-307.

⁴¹ Peter Howard, ‘Painters and the Visual Art of Preaching: The *Exemplum* of the Fifteenth-Century Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel’, *J Tatti Studies*, 13 (2010), 33-77 (pp. 61-71).

⁴² Howard, ‘A Landscape of Preaching’, pp. 49-50.

⁴³ John M. McManamon SJ, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

our understanding of Florentine culture in the period, not only in terms of what they say about said milieu, but also as an example of how this particular facet of papal behaviour was used by commune and papacy alike to promote and sustain the cultural narrative that both were anxious to uphold.

In direct contrast to prevailing opinions, this chapter will suggest that a close reading of the content of Micheli's sermon in fact compels us to date it to the second sojourn, in particular to the months of the council. Before arriving at that point, however, the discussion must deal with some of the sermon's more perplexing aspects. Doing so permits the dating and places the sermon within its broader religio-cultural context. Micheli's preaching in this instance was a significant cultural event that reflected both the preoccupations of the pope and his papacy, as well as the contemporary concerns of the wider Florentine community. Furthermore, it demonstrates that this particular sermon *coram papa* did indeed serve the interests of the commune. The stability it sought to establish through its support of papal authority was well-served by a sermon that urged the Greek and Latin Churches towards a union.

The Holy Thursday sermon of Francesco Micheli

According to O'Malley, 'Franciscus Florentinus (seu Paduanus), a Franciscan, preached a sermon on Holy Thursday, year unknown, for Eugene IV in S. Maria Novella'.⁴⁴ This assertion is certainly supported by the rubric of the surviving manuscript copy, which states that it was delivered, 'to the most sacred Sovereign Pontiff, Eugenius IV, for the most divine Eucharist, in the Florentine basilica of the Order of Preachers'.⁴⁵ It is important to note that O'Malley's appraisal was made in the course of discussing the regularly occurring days on which there might be a sermon *coram papa inter missarum solemnias*. By the second-half of the fifteenth century there were, he rightly contends, nineteen dates on the liturgical calendar that mandated a sermon in front of the pontiff. Those days of the Lenten period which required a sermon *coram papa* were Ash Wednesday, each of the Lenten Sundays (except for Palm Sunday) and Good Friday.⁴⁶ Holy Thursday was not included.

Putting aside for a moment the claim that we cannot date it to a particular year, on face value Micheli's sermon immediately seems to raise several issues. Can we be sure that it was in fact a Holy Thursday sermon? Why was a Franciscan preaching within the walls of Florence's primary Dominican institution? And if, as O'Malley suggests, it was not customary

⁴⁴ O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, p. 14.

⁴⁵ BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152, 56r; 'ad Sanctissimum summum Pontificem Eugenium Quartum pro divinissima eucaristia in florentina basilica ordinis predicatorum'. Thanks must go to Peter Howard for providing me with a copy of this sermon.

⁴⁶ O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, p. 14. The nineteen dates set aside for a papal sermon were: each of the Advent Sundays, each of the Lenten Sundays except for Palm Sunday, the solemnities of the Circumcision of Christ (Jan 1), Epiphany (Jan 6), Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, All Saints (Nov 1), and the feast days of Sts Stephen (Dec 26) and John the Evangelist (Dec 27).

for there to be a sermon before the pope on that day, why on this occasion did Eugenius choose to hear one?

Not least because Rubin has demonstrated that it was normal for there to be a significant amount of exchange between the preaching materials used for Holy Thursday and the Feast of Corpus Christi, it is worthwhile first confirming that this was indeed a Holy Thursday sermon.⁴⁷ O'Malley, moreover, made the aforementioned statement without further clarification. As we saw in Chapter Four, Holy Thursday was an integral part of Holy Week, the seven-day period that concludes the Lenten season. The especial significance of the day stems from its commemoration of the institution of the Eucharist by Christ at the Last Supper, which occurred when he commanded the Apostles to partake of the bread and wine that would become the liturgical symbols of his flesh and blood. Catholic doctrine also posits this as the moment when Christ first enshrined the priesthood; from that point onwards the Apostles were sent out into the world as his first priests, both authorised and obliged to carry on the Eucharistic tradition. Gaetano Moroni suitably captured the two-fold meaning of the day when he wrote, "The third mass [of Holy Thursday] follows in memory of the institution of the most sacred Eucharist, for which Jesus Christ himself gave the authority, and the obligation to the apostles, and consequently to all priests, to renew."⁴⁸

There is little doubt that both the Eucharistic and apostolic senses of the day are reflected in Micheli's preaching. He exhorts his audience to recognise that,

the priest is a creation of God...That, indeed, is strengthened by a certain divine vision of Eusebius. He says an invisible priest, by his word and from the power confided only to a few, transforms the visible creations of bread and wine into the substance of the body and the blood of Christ, saying, Receive ye and eat, this is my body. And again, with renewed sanctification, he says, Receive ye and drink, this is my blood.⁴⁹

Using the words uttered by Jesus at the Last Supper, the priest transforms the temporal bread and wine into the spiritual matter of the body and blood of Christ. Moreover, he becomes the recipient of the knowledge passed down from Jesus himself, through the apostles. He receives that 'power confided only to a few', and in doing so becomes a standard-bearer of the apostolic tradition inherent in the practice of the sacrament.

More compelling evidence, though, is provided by the Biblical resonances in the sermon which confirm that it was indeed delivered on Holy Thursday. Lectionaries going back to at

⁴⁷ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 214-5. Corpus Christi in the fifteenth century fell on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁸ Gaetano Moroni, *Delle Pontificie Funzioni della Settimana Santa e del Solenne Pontificale di Pasqua* (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1842), p.45; 'La terza messa seguiva in memoria dell'istituzione della ss. Eucaristia, che Gesù Cristo medesimo diede facoltà, e precetto agli apostoli, e per conseguenza a tutti i sacerdoti, di rinnovare.'

⁴⁹ BNCF, Landau-Finally 152, 57^r-57^v; 'sacerdos dei creatura est... Quod quidem diuina quadam Eusebii somnia roboratum est. Inuisibilis inquit sacerdos uisibiles creaturas panis et uini in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi suo uerbo secreta potestate convertit dicens accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum. Et rursus sanctificatione repetita dicit: Accipite et bibite hic est sanguis meus.' This is of course from Matthew 26. 26-28.

least the seventh century instructed that the epistle reading on that day should come from 1 Corinthians 11. 20-32, Paul's retelling of the institution of the Eucharistic ritual, whilst the gospel reading should be John 13. 1-32, the apostle's account of the foot washing ritual that the popes would replicate in centuries to come when performing the *mandatum*.⁵⁰ To that end, Micheli directly quotes Paul's letter whilst constructing his argument on the priesthood, stating, 'For that reason, the Apostle [Paul] said to the Corinthians, *however often you shall eat this bread and drink this cup you shall proclaim the death of the lord until he comes*'.⁵¹ And although Micheli does not touch upon the gospel reading in his sermon, a lectionary that belonged to one of Eugenius' closest supporters, Pietro del Monte, and which was actually dedicated to the pope in 1436 no less, confirms that there is indeed no doubt that this was a Holy Thursday sermon.⁵²

This brings us to the question of how a Franciscan came to be preaching within Florence's primary Dominican space. Established as they were on opposing axes of the city, at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, respectively, these were the leading mendicant orders of the Quattrocento and it would be foolish to disregard that there was at least some potential for conflict. They competed with one another for the revenue generated from burial rights,⁵³ as well as for the support of the city's elite via their patronage of family chapels.⁵⁴ In terms of preaching specifically, Lesnick has suggested that each order occupied a distinct place in the Florentine community, and therefore, that each approached the vocation with a different outcome in mind. Each order, he argues, focused its preaching at a certain segment of society, all the while adhering to the values that shaped its respective spiritual mission; 'the Dominicans assisted the merchant-banker elite by providing them with a supportive ideology...the Franciscans spurred the Florentine popolo onward in their quest for greater socio-political power to match their economic gains.'⁵⁵

That being the case, any incongruence we might perceive is almost certainly more an anachronism than an historical reality. Practical, day-to-day interaction between the two orders was an everyday reality of Florentine life and any temptation to demarcate clear boundaries around them misunderstands a cultural milieu far more integrated with its religious framework than our own. Moreover, Micheli's standing would no doubt have been

⁵⁰ Hermanus A. P. Schmidt SJ, *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2 vols (Romae: Herder, 1956-7), II, pp. 674-5.

⁵¹ BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152, 59r; 'Propterea ad corinthios dicebat apostolus quotienscunque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bibetis mortem domini annuntiabitis donec veniat'. The italicised clause is taken directly from 1 Corinthians 11. 26.

⁵² MLM, MS M.180, 1r, 52r-55r. Del Monte was one of Eugenius' staunchest allies; he served as papal nuncio to England from 1435 and was made Bishop of Brescia from 1442; Roberto Ricciardi, "Del Monte, Pietro", *DBI*, xxxviii, pp. 141-6.

⁵³ Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, pp. 94-104, 203.

⁵⁴ Ena Giurescu, 'Trecento Family Chapels in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce: Architecture, Patronage, and Competition', (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1997).

⁵⁵ Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, p. 34. Lesnick also observes (p. x.) that, 'Dominican preaching to the urban merchant-banker elite taught the scholastic principles of logic, self-control, and social dominance; the values of social tranquility and individualism; and how to practice commerce and banking without violating traditional precepts of hierarchy, social bonding, and Christian charity...Franciscan preaching taught the urban popolo lessons of action and involvement which would help impel them upward toward fuller participation in urban society.'

a key part of the decision to have him preach before Eugenius, and whilst he is far from unknown to scholars, he is certainly one of the less-studied preachers active in Florence throughout this period. Born right at the end of the Trecento, Micheli was a highly visible member of the local religious community. He received his formative education in Florence, Bologna, and Toulouse,⁵⁶ and he would go on to teach in each of Toulouse, Siena, and Rimini. In 1423, at quite a young age, he received his *laurea in teologia* by apostolic concession in Perugia.⁵⁷ A decade later he was granted the privileges of *gratiae magistrales*, meaning he was most likely back in Florence as a reader of theology at Santa Croce. Micheli's career continued its upward trajectory when in 1439 he was elevated to the office of *inquire*,⁵⁸ and for the academic year of 1441 he was named dean of the faculty of theology at the Florentine university.⁵⁹

A Conventual Franciscan, Micheli was an energetic member his order who would compose a treatise late in his career which called for reform to combat the controversies that had dogged the Friars Minor.⁶⁰ Although it is often assumed that Eugenius was more inclined towards the Observants than the Conventuals – due in no small part to Vespasiano claiming as much – there is nothing in Micheli's body of work to suggest that his spiritual vigour would not have appealed to a pope with a strong reputation for piety, and who tended to be sympathetic to those seeking a more devout understanding of the religious life.

Micheli's position as a notable Franciscan preacher, moreover, must be contextualised by those conclusions reached in Chapter Three which established that Santa Maria Novella during the years of the residencies was a seat of papal rather than Dominican authority. Despite the aforementioned rubric using the locative designation 'basilica', there is little evidence to indicate that the sermon was heard in the church. Conversely, a great deal of what we know about how the apartments functioned suggests that it took place in the papal apartments, almost certainly in the *sala grande*. There would therefore have been no hesitation when it came to having Micheli preach, and in fact, papal protocol ensured that several of the mendicant orders would have had at least some presence at Eugenius' papacy. The

⁵⁶ Riccardo Pratesi OFM, 'Francesco Micheli del Padovano, di Firenze. Teologo e umanista del secolo XV', *AFH*, 47 (1954), 293-366 (p. 301). See (pp. 294-317) for a biography. This article is the first part of a three-part series; the succeeding articles are: Riccardo Pratesi O.F.M., 'Francesco Micheli del Padovano, di Firenze. Teologo e umanista del secolo XV', *AFH*, 48 (1955), 73-130; 'Discorsi e nuove lettere di Francesco Micheli del Padovano. Teologo e umanista del secolo XV', *AFH*, 49 (1956), 83-105. More recently see Remo L. Guidi, 'Un testimone del francescanesimo nel Quattrocento: Francesco Micheli del Padovano', *Studi francescani*, 115 (2015), 71-122.

⁵⁷ Pratesi, 'Francesco Micheli del Padovano', (1954), (p. 299). Since he was born in either 1396 or 1397 Micheli was probably in his mid-twenties. The minimum age requirement was thirty, although it seems as though the rule was poorly adhered to all over Italy since Eugenius criticised the Florentine university for its lax application of it, as well as for shortening the length of a theology doctorate; Paul F. Grendler, *The universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p. 362.

⁵⁸ Pratesi, 'Francesco Micheli del Padovano', (1954), (p. 309).

⁵⁹ Celestino Piana OFM, *La facoltà teologica dell'università di Firenze nel Quattro e Cinquecento* (Grottaferrata: Collegii S. Bonaventura ad Claras Aquas, 1977), p. 143. For general information on Florence's university see Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its university during the early Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 9-48.

⁶⁰ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 484. The treatise I am referring to is Francesco's *Advisamenta* which grew out of the meeting of 1455 that sought to find a solution to the conflict between the Observant and Conventual factions of the Franciscan order. For a discussion of this treatise, *Advisamenta pro reformatione facienda Ordinis Minorum*, see Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220-1650: Cum Scientia sit donum Dei, armature ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 142-4.

Master of the Sacred Palace was always drawn from the Dominicans, and during the Lenten season it was mandated that each of the Sunday sermons, with the exception of Palm Sunday, be delivered by preachers from certain orders in accordance with a fixed schedule: a Dominican was required to preach on the Sunday of the first week of Lent, a Franciscan on the second, an Augustinian on the third, and a Carmelite on the fourth.⁶¹

The simplest explanation, therefore, is almost certainly the correct one. When all of the above information is considered in light of Eugenius' apparent reluctance to leave the apartments, it becomes a *fait accompli* that Micheli, a man whose career trajectory suggests a level of erudition and competency attractive to contemporary papal sensibilities, would be asked to preach within Santa Maria Novella's 'papal' walls once he came to the attention of the Church hierarchy as a man worthy of speaking before the pope. Micheli, as one preacher amongst many, had simply distinguished himself as someone worth listening to.

This brings us to the final peculiarity, that Holy Thursday was not a day on which it was customary for the pope to hear a sermon. O'Malley was certainly correct in making this observation; the liturgical manuals in use during the years covered by his study confirm it.⁶² Of course, the *Caeremoniale Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* post-dated Eugenius' papacy by several decades, meaning we must look back to those *cerimoniali* formulated during the years of the Avignon papacies and the Schism. These suggest that such a sermon was at the discretion of the pope. One of the earliest, compiled from various sources at Avignon throughout the mid-Trecento, states that, 'it must be remembered that on this day it is not customary for a sermon to be given, except when arguments [against something] are made.'⁶³ Later in the fourteenth century the *cerimoniale* of Patriarch Pierre Ameil reiterated this maxim, although by that time it had become far more explicit. Ameil writes,

Observe that in this Mass it is not customary for there to be a sermon, unless the pope should wish to make arguments against someone in particular, and also general arguments. Then, if the pope should not wish to give that sermon, the sacristan, from his [the pope's] command, entrusts the sermon to one of the lord-cardinals, bishops or presbyters, or to some other prelate or master in theology, since the deacons never preach in front of the pope.⁶⁴

Since Ameil composed his ceremonial for a pope in the Roman obedience, and quite recently too, if we are to draw any conclusions regarding the status of a Holy Thursday *coram papa* sermon in Eugenius' time, this text represents the closest contemporary source we have. Holy Thursday in the 1430s, therefore, was indeed excluded from the regular schedule of

⁶¹ Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, *Caeremoniale Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, published in *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le Cérémonial Papal de la Première Renaissance*, ed. by Marc Dykmans SJ, 2 vols (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), II, pp. 352-3.

⁶² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 368-80.

⁶³ *Le Cérémonial Long*, p. 208 (§124); 'Tamen advertendum est quod die hodierna non consuevit fieri sermo, nisi quando fiunt processus.'

⁶⁴ *Le Cérémonial Ameil*, p. 133 (§463); 'Nota quod in hac missa non consuevit esse sermo, nisi papa velit facere processus contra aliquem in speciali et etiam generales processus. Tunc si papa illum sermonem facere non vellet, sacrista committit de eius mandato sermonem alicui de dominis cardinalibus episcopis vel presbiteris, quoniam diaconi coram papa numquam predicant, aut alicui prelate vel magistro in theologia.'

preaching *coram papa*, and whether or not the pope heard a sermon on that day is reduced to a question of his discretion; there was certainly no liturgical obligation he hear one.

At this point the process that crafted a papal sermon becomes crucial. As noted, the Master of the Sacred Palace was the pontiff's head theologian, the custodian of Church orthodoxy. Key to his role was the vetting process that selected the preacher and audited the prospective sermon, steps that, theoretically at least, ensured papal control over all aspects of the form of tone and content of a sermon *coram papa*, and it would of course govern the choice of occasion. We must apply a caveat since O'Malley documents numerous cases where the duration or content of a sermon was altered somewhat between approval and delivery. The most common complaint was directed at the verbose preacher whose sermon stretched well beyond the allotted time.⁶⁵

Three Dominicans served in this office under Eugenius: the aforementioned Rimbertyni (1431-4), the renowned Spanish theologian Juan de Torquemada (1435-9), and the German Heinrich Kalteisen (1440-52).⁶⁶ That the Venetian pope was a great believer in the authority of the office is evident from a 1437 bull which confirmed the right of the Master to control the vetting process. It states,

those who, in the chapel mentioned, will preach in front of us, those learned men, outstanding both in their knowledge and experience of preaching, who will be held to show you the material from which they will make a sermon, may you, according to the wisdom given to you by the Lord, have the ability, the strength, and the obligation to put sermons to them for the occurrence of the times and the feasts.⁶⁷

The push to augment the Master's control over the content and delivery of papal sermons tells us a great deal about Micheli's sermon, but not quite everything. It tells us how it came into being but does not account for why. Since we have no reason to believe that the Master's powers were not enacted on this occasion, it is apparent that Eugenius requested the sermon simply because, at the most basic level, he desired it; he wished for the papal chapel to hear those 'arguments' made against someone or something. Clearly the theological framework of the day provided an opportunity for the subtext of the sermon to convey a desired message to his chapel and beyond.

Dating the sermon to the council

⁶⁵ O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, p. 18-20.

⁶⁶ P. Innocentius Taurisano OP, *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Romae: Unio Typographica Manuzio, 1916), pp. 45-7.

⁶⁷ *BOFP*, III, §CLXV (30 October 1437), pp. 81-2; 'qui in dicta Capella coram nobis sermocinaturi erunt, vos pro data vobis a Domino prudentia, viros doctos, & scientia, & sermocinandi peritia praestantes, qui materiam, de qua sermonem facturi erunt, vobis manifestare teneantur, quibusque sermones pro temporum, & festivitatum occurrentia imponere possitis, valeatis, atque debeatis.' This particular power was renewed in the coming years by Callixtus III and Pius II; Christopher L.C.E. Whitcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: prints and the privilege in sixteenth-century Venice and Rome* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 71.

Several scholars have in fact proposed a date for Micheli's Holy Thursday sermon. Riccardo Pratesi surmised that because the preacher failed to make specific reference to the Eastern clerics that perhaps would have been present had it occurred during the second sojourn then it must have taken place during the first. Pratesi's argument rests on the assumption that had the Greeks been there Micheli would not have ignored the opportunity to pay them the proper rhetorical honours.⁶⁸ Boschetto also offered an hypothesis, similarly dating it to the years 1435-6, however, he reasons that Micheli's preoccupation with the type of bread to be used in the sacrament reflects, 'one of the topics that constituted a subject of discussion within the scope of the Council.'⁶⁹ For reasons that will become clear, these arguments stumble at several hurdles.

Much of Micheli's sermon is occupied with what appears to be a reprimand directed towards those in the priesthood who were negligent in the fulfilment of their apostolic obligations. Citing the authority of Ambrose, he says, 'if we proceed towards your altar, Lord Jesus Christ, it is a serious thing, yet it is a more serious thing if fearing sins we do not offer back to you a sacrifice.'⁷⁰ And paraphrasing Bede a moment later Micheli surmises, 'The priest who is able to celebrate [the Eucharist], but does not, deprives those existing in Purgatory of their remission, those lacking means in this time his guidance and daily protection, the angels existing in heaven his great joy and proper delight, and the entire Trinity their glory and honour.'⁷¹ It would be impossible to identify the specific transgressions, if any, that prompted Micheli to include these warnings, but in reality we do not need to. His advice to the clergy should be taken as a general reiteration based on the significance of Holy Thursday to Church doctrine, a reminder of the moment that Jesus Christ bestowed upon those who would be stewards of his Universal Church their spiritual mission.

We need, therefore, to look beyond the sermon's obvious thematic framework and rely instead on those moments when Micheli seems to depart from what would have been expected of him on the day. The key to this is his treatment of the bread and wine used in the Eucharist, which the previous chapter demonstrated was one of the key questions

⁶⁸ Pratesi, 'Discorsi e nuove lettere', (1956), (p. 86). This study preceded O'Malley's by over twenty years. Pratesi is not cited amongst O'Malley's sources, hence I cannot say with any certainty that he was aware of the earlier hypothesis.

⁶⁹ Boschetto, *Società e Cultura*, p. 398; 'uno degli argomenti che costituì oggetto di discussione in ambito conciliare.'

⁷⁰ BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152, 58v; 'est si ad mensam tuam accedimus domine yesu christie grauius est si peccata metuendo sacrificium tibi non reddimus.' By using Ambrose here Micheli is almost certainly drawing upon the *Tractatus de praeparatione ad Missam* of St Bonaventure, the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian who was canonised in the late-Quattrocento; Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Aloysius Lauer et al., 10 vols (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882), VIII, p. 102. The editors of the *Opera Omnia* trace this particular notion to the fourth book of Ambrose's *De Sacramentis*; Saint Ambrose, *On the Sacraments*, ed. by Henry Chadwick (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1960), p. 36. There is some dispute as to whether or not *De Sacramentis* was actually written by Ambrose, although this seems to have been settled in the affirmative; Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2002), pp. 20-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 58v-59r; 'Sacerdos qui potest celebrare et non celebrat existentes in purgatorio sua priuat indulgentia et suffragio degentes in hoc seculo sua tutela et quotidiano presidio angelos existentes in paradiso sua letitia et gaudio totam vero trinitatem sua gloria et honore.' Given Micheli quotes this maxim immediately after using Ambrose as an authority, it is almost certain the preacher was again relying on the treatise by Bonaventure noted above, the *Tractatus de praeparatione ad Missam*. Micheli, however, reversed the order used by his Franciscan predecessor.

occupying those at the council. Approaching the sermon this way alerts us to the fact that he hints on more than one occasion at the presence of Orthodox Christians in the city. Drawing upon the *Summa Theologica* of St Thomas Aquinas, Micheli states, ‘a Greek man does gravely wrong if he does not do it from leavened bread because he does it against the custom and command of his Church.’⁷² And in the very next line he moves away from the Host and focuses on the wine used in the liturgy he places the Churches on an equal footing when he puts forth a situation in which either man could be found equally culpable,

...the Greek but also the Latin gravely errs, if he shall have consecrated it in such a way that he does not mix the water with the wine, since this has been made into the figure of Christ from whose breast flowed blood and water, certainly it is sinning, but also against the ecclesiastical orders and not in the sacrament.⁷³

The resounding message of this statement is that each man will avoid sin so long as he acts in harmony with his Church. Micheli was endeavouring to acknowledge difference in a conciliatory way, an effort aimed at making the contrast between the Churches seem less distinct as both headed into a period of crucial interaction. In each of these examples, Francesco is looking for accord in difference, a common ground that both Churches could occupy. This should be read as strongly suggestive of an intention that the sermon be heard by both Latins *and* Greeks.

Of course, this reading rests on the assumption that the Greeks had access to the contents of the sermon, either directly, or through the dissemination of its ideas via the religious community that was in the city at the time. Pratesi is quite clear on the point that they were not in the chapel, however, this certainly does not preclude dating the sermon to the second sojourn. Joseph, the ranking Orthodox cleric, was often too ill to attend the sessions and there is little chance he would have attended a relatively unimportant occasion such as Micheli’s sermon. Moreover, we must take into account that the Greek delegates were not at all likely to attend a Latin Mass in great numbers, if at all. In fact, they demonstrated a general reluctance to involve themselves with the Roman liturgy; when the council had opened in Ferrara on 9 April 1438 the Greeks did not enter the cathedral until after the Mass had finished.⁷⁴ Pratesi is correct in his observation that had the Emperor or the Patriarch been there they certainly would have been noted in either the rubric or the introductory part of the sermon. That said, given the climate of the city throughout the council it did not matter. The Greeks would have imbibed the essence of the sermon by virtue of the religious

⁷² BNCF, Landau-Finally 152, fol. 57^v; ‘grecum gravissime delinquere si non ex fermentato confecerit quia contra ritum sue ecclesie preceptumque patrat.’ See S. Thomae Aquinatis, *Summa Theologiae*, 3 vols (Taurini: Marietti, 1948-50), III, p. 490 (Pars III. Q. 74 a. 4); ‘Unde, sicut peccat sacerdos in ecclesia Latinorum celebrans de pane fermentato, ita peccaret presbyter graecus in ecclesia Graecorum celebrans de azympane, quasi pervertens Ecclesiae suae ritum.’

⁷³ BNCF, Landau-Finally 152, 57^v; ‘non modo grecum uerum etiam latinum mortaliter errare si consecrauerit quominus uino aquam commiscuerit cum hoc factum sit in christi figuram de cuius pectore fluxit sanguis et aqua peccare certe est sed in ecclesiasticos ordines non autem in sacramento.’

⁷⁴ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 109.

community that was in the city at the time, invigorated as it was by the presence of the council.

It is helpful at this point to devote some thought to the papal chapel itself, which, according to John Shearman, ‘was a remarkably large and diverse body...not, as is often supposed, exclusive of laity.’⁷⁵ It has already been demonstrated that Florentine citizens we might otherwise have assumed were not able to access some of the more interior spaces of the papal apartments were indeed able to do just that. Therefore, if we tally up the pope and his retinue, the members of the papal court and their lay attendants, the religious functionaries charged with carrying out the liturgy, and those laity who managed to gain access in their own right, the *capella papa* on any given day could have numbered in the hundreds. That being the case, there is no reason to believe that it was even necessary for the Orthodox theologians to be amongst Micheli’s audience in any great number. In all likelihood the diverse nature of a numerically robust chapel, such as Eugenius’ would have been in 1439 given his fortunes were then on the rise, would have contained enough men to ensure that the tone and content of the sermon was spread amongst those religious in Florence at the time, irrespective of whether or not they were actually there. Florence in the fifteenth-century was not a large city, and during an event as important as an ecumenical council we can expect it to have been humming with debate and religious discussion, much of it directed towards the council playing out right in front of them, as noted above.

A further obstacle to a first sojourn dating relates to the general political atmosphere in which Eugenius’ papacy was mired at that time. Had Micheli’s sermon taken place in those years, there are only two possible dates: 14 April 1435 and 5 April 1436. The major concern with these is that Eugenius was then still locked in an intense struggle with the fathers in Basel. It was not until late-1435 that Ambrogio Traversari, one of Eugenius’ representatives at the council, even proposed on the pope’s behalf that the gathering should be relocated to Italy.⁷⁶ Furthermore, it is evident that Eugenius was not even sure he might possibly succeed in luring the Greeks to a city of his choosing until September 1437, which is when he issued the bull *Doctoris gentium* that did indeed transfer the council to Ferrara.⁷⁷ This was Eugenius’ second formal challenge to the authority of the council and it is telling that it came some six years after the failure of his first.⁷⁸ As a consequence of the embarrassment of 1433 Eugenius was nothing if not cautious, hence Stieber characterises the period up until June 1436 as one

⁷⁵ John Shearman, ‘The Chapel of Sixtus IV’ in *The Sistine Chapel: The Art, the History, and the Restoration* (New York: Harmony Books, 1986), p. 22.

⁷⁶ Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV*, p. 25.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 38-9. The bull itself is published in *CFDS: Epistolae pontificae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, ed. by Georgius Hofmann SI, 3 vols (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1940-6), i, pp. 91-9.

⁷⁸ Eugenius had tried once before, in late-1431, to move the Council of Basel to Bologna. This effort failed and in late-1433 Eugenius was forced into an embarrassing back down under pressure from Sigismund, who he had only recently crowned Holy Roman Emperor. For the most recent discussion of these events see Michiel Decaluwé and Gerald Christianson, ‘Historical Survey’, in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. by Decaluwé, Izbicki, and Christianson, pp. 14-24.

of the pope 'biding his time'.⁷⁹ It becomes difficult to see why a sermon would contain such an overt comment on a key point of contention between the separate Churches were it delivered to what, in 1435 or 1436, would still have been a weakened papal chapel, at least one, and perhaps two full years before a council with the Greeks was even on the horizon. For these reasons it seems increasingly improbable that the Master was before then instructing preachers to broach an issue that would eventually be raised if and when a council featuring both the papacy and the Greeks were convoked.

What is perhaps the fatal blow to the first sojourn theory, however, is delivered by Micheli himself, who in closing his sermon says, 'And so, with Isidore as witness, the good grace of the Eucharist is namely about the sacrifice resided in by the true body of Christ...Amen.'⁸⁰ This is almost certainly a reference to the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), a text that played a fundamental role in the development of Eucharistic theology between late-antiquity and Micheli's time.⁸¹ Isidore would of course have been well known to most, if not all of those in attendance. At the same time this could very well have been a clever rhetorical ploy on Micheli's behalf, a riff on the name of an Isidore actually in the city at that moment. Invoking Isidore of Kiev with this statement, Micheli was pointing his audience towards the resonances between his preaching and a sermon delivered by his Orthodox colleague in those same months.

Isidore of Kiev was far from unknown in papal circles.⁸² He had spoken in Basel in mid-1434 as an envoy of the Byzantine Emperor, and by late-1438 he had joined the council in Ferrara. Isidore was the first of the Greeks to arrive in Florence, on 4 February, and his efforts there were rewarded in December 1439 when Eugenius, emboldened by his recent successes, promoted seventeen cardinals.⁸³

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Isidore preached in front of Eugenius at some point between late-March and late-May 1439. We know that Eugenius was in attendance since Isidore at one point addresses him directly, 'O most blessed Father'.⁸⁴ Isidore in his sermon also exhorted the Greek and Latin Churches to find that common ground from which the gathering could push for a union, and the similarity between his tone and Micheli's is striking:

what is sought is not of such a sort that anyone should be thought to maintain things completely contrary to the truth and to have wandered from the faith into a most grave error, to adhere to some

⁷⁹ Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV*, p. 26.

⁸⁰ BNCF, Landau-Finaly 152, 59v; 'Est itaque heucaristia bona gratia teste hysidoro utpote in hostiam vivi et veri corporis christi...Amen.'

⁸¹ Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, trans. by Thomas L. Knoebel (New York; Mahwah: The Newman Press, 2008). See pp. 4-23 for an introduction to Isidore's literary output, and the place of *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* in Latin theology.

⁸² For an excellent introduction to Isidore of Kiev see Joseph Gill SJ, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other Essays* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), pp. 65-78. In the meantime, he had been appointed the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, hence the common designation.

⁸³ *Hierarchia catholica*, II, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁴ *CFDS*: Isidorus, *Sermones*, p. 75; 'o beatissime pater'.

new opinion from that which he held before...each is able to put forth for his proof many words of holy and divine men: the Greek man, indeed, from the Greek saints, the Latin from the Latin saints, and perhaps rather each from his own. But it is appropriate that we consider this, since both you and we judge those elders, both Latin and Greek, as our shared divine men and holy fathers, who differed only in their language, but agreed in their opinions, whether it seems plausible to you that they profess things contrary to each other.⁸⁵

Since this sermon would also have gone through the process of vetting outlined earlier, there can be little doubt as to the intentions of his words, and the context they provide to Micheli's is decisive. Imploring his audience to look to those 'shared divine men', Isidore strikes out for a common ground by mirroring Micheli's hypothetical Greek who sins by going against 'the custom and command of his Church'.

Both men were striving in these sermons, officially sanctioned as they were, to establish a platform acceptable to the theology of both Churches as they pushed towards union. Finding that middle ground and coming to an agreement, however fleeting it might ultimately have been, was difficult work. In fact, Eugenius himself felt compelled to address the Greeks on 27 May 1439, and if the tone of his words is anything to go by, the pope was embittered bordering on desperate. Reminding the assembled clerics of the trouble he had gone to in bringing them to Ferrara and then Florence, Eugenius lamented,

I hoped that you too would make a like effort. For when I saw your enthusiasm and the magnitude of the dangers you faced at the cost of so much fatigue, on land and sea, in your zeal to bring union to the Church of God, I began to nourish the highest hopes. But now, faced with your remissness, I do not know what to think. I sympathise, indeed, with you as I recall your absence from your native land, your separation from your families, the loss of your churches. But what good will come of your remissness? Or what benefit will accrue if we do not unite the Church of God?⁸⁶

As Gill has pointed out, certain issues had hamstrung the gathering.⁸⁷ The possibility of failure must have weighed heavily on the pope; his papacy was heavily invested in achieving success with the Greeks and his entreaty to the audience—indeed, to the entire council—provides us with a glimpse into the mindset that prompted the pope's theological apparatus to authorise Micheli's somewhat yielding sermon. Eugenius closed his oration with a strong call to action:

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 65; 'nec tale est quod quaeritur ut putandus sit aliquis omnino contraria veritatis tenere et in maximum a fide errorem erravisse, atque novam quandam ei amplecti ab ea quam prius tenebat opinionem...in quantum uterque ad eius demonstrationem multa sacrorum dicta proponere potest et divorum: et graecus quidem ex sanctis graecis, latinus et sanctis latinis, et fortasse immo et ab utriusque utriusque. At vero convenit hoc nos considerare cum et vos et nos existimemus antiquos illos tum latinos tum graecos ut communes viros divinos et sanctos patres, qui verbis tantummodo differebant, sententiis vero concordabant, utrum illos ad invicem contraria profiteri vobis verisimile videatur.'

⁸⁶ *CFDS: Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, ed. by Iosephus Gill SI, 2 vols (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953), II, p. 423; 'Sperabam autem fore ut vos etiam in hoc vehementer incumberetis, nam cum vidissem vos promptos et alacres adissee pericula et labores terra marique excepisse studio uniendae ecclesiae Dei, spes magnas alebam. Nunc vero desidiam vestram inspiciens, mirror qua id ratione fiat. Doleo enim, memoria repetens, ut patria, ut necessarium aspect careatis, ut incommodis afficiantur ecclesiae. Quid enim boni fit vobis desidiose agentibus? Aut quem fructum capiemus, Dei ecclesiam non unientes?' This translation belongs to Gill, *Eugenius IV*, p. 122.

⁸⁷ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 180-304.

I exhort you then, brethren, following the precept of Our Lord Jesus Christ, let there not be division in the Church of God, but be urgent, be vigilant, let us give glory to God together. Our union will produce abundant help to the soul; our union will give great honour to the body; our union will bring dismay to our enemies both corporeal and incorporeal; our union will cause rejoicing among the saints and the angels and gladness in heaven and on earth.⁸⁸

In support of the earlier suggestion that the absence of the Greeks did not necessarily mean a particular sermon was not preached during the council, neither the emperor nor the patriarch attended Eugenius' oration, even though it was delivered by the pope himself. At any rate, his appeal was the final thrust in a three-pronged attack comprised of Micheli, Isidore, and pope. The words of Micheli and Isidore were conciliatory and intended to lay a strong foundation upon which Eugenius would be able to reach some sort of unifying agreement with those Greeks who were in Florence; the complimentary sermons of Micheli and Isidore were almost intended to be read as one, a sustained and unified response to a very particular religious context.

This delivers us to the point of understanding exactly why Eugenius would have wanted to hear Micheli's particular sermon on that particular day. According to Gill, the Greeks saw the question of the Host as a minor sticking point, a small impediment that lacked the potential to thwart the goal the council was working towards; 'the use of leavened or unleavened bread...was a difference of ecclesiastical custom and of no great importance'.⁸⁹ In this context it was the relative immateriality of the issue that prompted the Host as a theme. Quite simply, the opportunity to ruminate on the nature of the Host and its place within the doctrinal traditions of the separate Churches allowed Micheli, and by implication the papacy, to offer the Eastern Church a metaphorical olive branch. It allowed Eugenius' papacy to identify some much needed common ground. In its way, this sermon advocated order by working towards the stability that would necessarily flow from the successful council of the council. An agreement would permit Eugenius to finally move on from his struggles with a council that had dogged him for almost a decade.

Reaching the conclusion that Micheli's sermon should be dated to the council allows us to zero in on the exact day. Not long after arriving in Florence the Greeks met in the emperor's lodgings in order to discuss procedural issues related to the council session; that was Ash Wednesday, 18 February 1439.⁹⁰ Easter, therefore, fell on 5 April. Since this was the only Lenten season the Greeks spent in the city—they had mostly departed by September 1439—we can with a fair degree of confidence conclude that this particular sermon was preached on the only Holy Thursday the Eastern contingent was present in Florence, namely,

⁸⁸ *CFDS: Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, II, p. 424; 'Rogo igitur vos, fratres, per Domini nostril Iesu Christi praeceptum, dissidium in ecclesia Dei ne fiat: sed conferte studia, expergiscimini, demus una gloriam Deo.' This translation belongs to Gill, *Eugenius IV*, p. 123.

⁸⁹ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 272.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 189.

2 April 1439. Ultimately, though, it is not the date that is important but the context. Micheli's sermon responded to a particular context and was used by the papacy to reach beyond the liturgical moment in which it was embedded.

There is no doubt that Eugenius was well-disposed towards using his papal chapel in this hyper-political way. The sermon *coram papa* by Gil Sánchez Muñoz y Carbón, preached in early-May 1441, was a grandiloquent defence of papal primacy, an argument made not too long after Basel divisively elected a pope of its own. In a laudatory, almost panegyric sermon, Sánchez threw his full support behind Eugenius' papacy. He says, 'This power, most blessed father, you have received not from man but directly from Christ... This power... Caesar does not possess, nor kings, nor peoples, nor lastly the entire clergy'.⁹¹ The consequences for those who would seek to supplant the authority of the Roman obedience were clear:

Should anyone to presume to usurp this power, he is a heretic and deviant from the faith, for any who tries to take from the Roman church the privilege which has been handed down from the highest head of churches itself is without doubt a heretic, and surely violates the faith, because he acts against that which is the mother of faith, so says Jerome, as contained in his twenty-second distinction.⁹²

For a man who had once presumed to be that usurper, these were strong words indeed, and in fact, one could argue Sánchez went even further when closing his sermon:

Your kingdom, the kingdom over all things unto the ages of ages, which because of this power is I think to be understood of the church's kingdom and no other, blessed Father, you are the greatest priest, the highest Pontiff, the prince of the apostles; in primacy you are Abel; in governing, Noah; in patriarchate, Abraham, in order, Melchisedech; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in judgship, Samuel; in power, Peter; in anointment, Christ.⁹³

Sánchez, having personal experience of schism, exhorted Eugenius to maintain his position as the one true pope. His strident tone betrays the intimacy with which he knew these particular issues, and in making these arguments he placed himself in that long line of men like Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini,⁹⁴ Nicholas Cusanus,⁹⁵ and the aforementioned Cossa, men who at one stage had opposed the papacy, only to make amends and be welcomed back into the papal fold.

⁹¹ BAV, Vat. Lat., 7179, 9^r-10^r; 'Hanc potestatem, pater beatissime, non ab hominibus sed a Christo immediate accepisti... Hanc potestatem... non habet Cesar, non Reges, non populi nec totus denique clerus'.

⁹² BAV, Vat. Lat., 7179, 10^r; 'Hanc potestatem si quis usurpare presumpserit hereticus est et a fide devius, quia omnis qui Romane ecclesie privilegium ab ipso summo capite ecclesiarum traditum auferre conatur, hic proculdubio hereticus est; fidem quippe violat, quia adversus illam agit que mater est fidei, inquit Ieronimus, et habetur 22^a distinctione.' It is highly likely that this is a misattribution and the maxim should instead have been ascribed to Ambrose; *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 1, col. 65.

⁹³ BAV, Vat. Lat., 7179, 10^{r-v}; 'Regnum tuum regnum omnium in secula seculorum, quod de regno ecclesie et nullo altero intelligendum puto propter hanc potestatem, pater beatissime, tu es sacerdos magnus, summus Pontifex, princeps apostolorum; tu primatu Abel, gubernatu Nohe, patriarchatu Abrahaam, ordine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moyses, iudicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus. The translation of this passage from 'tu primatu' comes from Robert L. Benson, *The bishop-elect: a study in medieval ecclesiastical office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 69.

⁹⁴ *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius*.

⁹⁵ Joachim Stieber, 'The "Hercules of the Eugenians" at the Crossroads: Nicholas of Cusa's Decision for the Pope and against the council in 1436/7 – Theological, Political, and Social Aspects', in *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom: Essays in Honour of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, ed. by Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 221-55.

Sánchez's words would certainly have been welcome to Eugenius as he strove to land the decisive blow against Basel. If the pope was biding his time in 1436, by 1441 his fortunes were well and truly headed in the opposite direction. Thus when it came time to hear the sermons of Pierre de Versailles and Robert Ciboule, in late-1441 and early-1442, respectively, the pope was in a position of strength and quite content to be challenged by the message conveyed by the French envoys.

Pierre, the Bishop of Meaux, preached before Eugenius on 16 December 1441, almost certainly in the *sala grande*.⁹⁶ The purpose of the sermon, as noted, was to implore the pope, on behalf of the French monarch, to combat the election of Felix V with yet another council somewhere in France. Pierre made it very clear that his king believed the stakes to be very high indeed, delivering the message that,

the King himself cries out to the most Christian Church that abhors the schism, all men cry out having surveyed the Tartarean chasm of these schismatics, and finally, the general citizenry of the entire Universal Church itself cries out to you for a remedy, saying, 'Be thou our ruler! And let this ruin not be by your hand.'⁹⁷

The solution Pierre transmitted from his monarch was explicit; 'the most Christian King of France...demands, I say, a new council, to be glorified by your authority and regulated by the rules of the father.'⁹⁸

The sermon by the theologian Robert Ciboule came just a few weeks later, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1442.⁹⁹ Since it was the day of the annual Magi procession noted in Chapter One this was an especially significant moment on the Florentine liturgical calendar. As Becker points out, 'The Magi, most famous of these companies, enrolling some seven hundred members, performed a "sacred representation" on Epiphany in which Florence was transformed into the "image of Jerusalem."¹⁰⁰ Epiphany, moreover, was also the day that John the Baptist, a patron saint of the city, had immersed Christ in the River Jordan.¹⁰¹ Considering the devotional undercurrents that sustained the city's long-held image of itself, this was indeed a meaningful moment, one certain to have an impact.

Ciboule's sermon was a lengthy exegesis of Psalm 79, *Qui regis Israel*. This particular psalm, described by Weinstein as, 'A cry of anguish for a beleaguered Israel', was perfectly suited to Savonarola's apocalyptic vision of the late-Quattrocento city.¹⁰² Its use as the basis for an

⁹⁶ It would more than likely have been noted in the sources had it been preached elsewhere. For a detailed study of Pierre's life and works see A. Coville, 'Pierre de Versailles (1380?-1446)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 93 (1932), 208-66.

⁹⁷ This is Isaiah 3. 6 (For a man shall take hold of his brother, one of the house of his father, saying: Thou hast a garment, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thy hand).

⁹⁸ *CFDS: Fragmenta*, p. 74; 'rex Francie christianissimus... querit, inquam, unum novum concilium celebrandum tua auctoritate et regulandum secundum regulas patrum.'

⁹⁹ For a detailed study of Ciboule's life and works see André Combes, 'Un Témoin du Socratismes chrétien au XV^e siècle: Robert Ciboule (1403-1458)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 8 (1933), 93-259.

¹⁰⁰ Becker, 'Aspects of Lay Piety', in *The pursuit of holiness*, ed. by Trinkaus, p. 195.

¹⁰¹ Hatfield, 'The Compagnia de' Magi', (p. 108).

¹⁰² Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 194.

Epiphany sermon in 1442, therefore, is immediately jarring, a disharmony that appears even more stark in light of the readings used in the day's liturgy; according to the Wurzburg Capitulary the Epiphany readings were Titus 3. 4-7 and Isaiah 60. 1-1.¹⁰³ The Gospel reading in the 1474 edition of the *Missale Romanum* is Matt. 2. 1-12, 19-23.¹⁰⁴ Importantly, Psalm 71, *Deus, iudicium tuum*, would also have been used, 'a prophecy of the coming of Christ, and of his kingdom, prefigured by Solomon and his happy reign.'¹⁰⁵ Without doubt these discordant themes were intentional, a choice made by the preacher in order to add no small degree of urgency to his message.

Whilst Ciboule's sermon did not implore the pope with the same vigour his colleague had employed, by preaching so soon after his compatriot there could be no misunderstanding his intent, especially since he, too, was an envoy of the French king. And even though his words were not as explicit, his method no less unambiguous, Ciboule ends his sermon with a warning; 'Therefore, take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Lord has placed you bishops, and whose seat of Blessed Peter himself you inhabit, and whose teaching you preserve.'¹⁰⁶

This attempt by the French king to secure a council did not emerge from a vacuum. In 1438, when meeting to elect Albrecht II as Sigismund's successor as King of the Romans, the German princes had taken the opportunity to communicate the Protestation of Neutrality, a declaration which had attached to it an appeal to a future council.¹⁰⁷ The belief that 'a general council could resolve ecclesiastical problems' was nothing if not persistent; 'a council theoretically still carried the hopes of western Christianity.'¹⁰⁸ Of course, that 'third council' never eventuated. Having heard the sermons of Pierre and Ciboule, and relying upon the authority he had spent the better part of a decade reclaiming, both in Florence and elsewhere, Eugenius was 'able to courteously but firmly refuse the proposals of both.'¹⁰⁹ The stability that both papacy and city had been trying to forge had, for the time being at least, been achieved.

¹⁰³ Morin, 'Le plus ancien *comes* ou lectionnaire de l'Église romaine', (pp. 47-8).

¹⁰⁴ *Missale Romanum Mediolani 1474*, ed. by Robert Lippe (London: Harrison and Sons, 1899), pp. 30-1.

¹⁰⁵ This is the description used by the Douay-Rheims Bible. Interestingly, it characterises Psalm 79 as, 'a prayer for the church in tribulation, commemorating God's former favours.' See also Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 157-8.

¹⁰⁶ *CFDS: Fragmenta*, p. 81; "'Attendite" igitur "vobis et universo gregi, in quo posuit vos" dominus 'episcopos' et qui beati Petri sedem colitis, ipsius et doctrinam tenetis.' This is taken from Acts 20. 28 (Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood).

¹⁰⁷ Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV*, pp. 137-9.

¹⁰⁸ Decaluwé and Christianson, 'Historical Survey', in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. by Decaluwé, Izbicki, and Christianson, p. 28.

¹⁰⁹ Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 319.

A close examination of the content of Francesco Micheli's Holy Thursday sermon reveals that we can in fact date it with a great degree of certainty to the months the council spent in Florence. Preaching was an essential part of Florentine religious culture long before the popes arrived in the city, and since the commune conceded to the papacy a fitting space from which it could conduct its liturgical obligations, of which preaching was an intrinsic part, there was no question that preaching *coram papa* would for a time become subsumed into that local context. Preaching, including preaching before the popes resident in Florence, reveals themes and values of concern to papal court and city alike. Even those sermons without precise dates can be placed in relation to the pope and the council and the union for which he craved by virtue of a close examination of content, Francesco Micheli's Holy Thursday sermon being a case in point. Ultimately, the papal residencies brought particular themes into sharp focus, themes that were of benefit to both city and papacy.

Chapter Six

‘This *popolo* kindly built these special dwellings’ The papal apartments after 1420

The final chapter of this study shifts back to the papal apartments and focuses on the period between Martin’s departure on 9 September 1420 and 15 March 1443, the day that Eugenius left Florence for the second and final time. This long stretch of some twenty-three years oscillated between periods of vacancy and occupancy, namely, the six or so years that Eugenius was resident in the city, as well as the roughly seventeen years the apartments were not being used to accommodate the pope and his household.

Having examined the the papal residencies through the prism of papal liturgy and preaching *coram papa*, this chapter allows us to return to the issue of space and decoration equipped with a fuller understanding of the way in which the papacy interacted with the religious culture of the city. It argues that the order the commune had established throughout Martin’s residency continued into Eugenius’ time, during which the fugitive pope used the space to first stabilise his teetering papacy, and then, after bringing a council to the city, to deploy the agency he found in Florence to set it on a path that would ultimately lead him back to Rome

Martin had been setting himself to depart Florence as soon as he was able. Whereas the commune had had only weeks to prepare for his arrival, they knew for months that he was ready to depart, they just could not be sure of when. Peace with Braccio was finally struck in February 1420, but only a few weeks before that an uprising in Bologna had further complicated the situation, emphasising the tenuous nature of the papacy’s political authority in the Papal States.¹ Even with Braccio on side the pope could not set out for Rome until his prerogatives in Bologna had been reasserted, and that did not happen until late-August. With the path to Rome finally clear, in early-September Martin quit Florence escorted by a procession as elaborate as the one that had marked his arrival.

Martin’s departure left the Florentines with a conundrum, not least because it brought into sharp focus any residual issues of agency at the Santa Maria Novella apartments. As we saw in Chapter Three, his arrival had been the catalyst behind the city’s efforts to extend influence into a space that until that moment had been under the control of the Dominicans. From 1420 onwards the sole reason for that extension expansio, the pope and his court, were no longer *in situ*, but rather than fall back under Dominican control the space that had generated so much activity in the past year-and-a-half remained well and truly under the purview of the Opera and the communal authorities that controlled it. In fact, communal

¹ The revolt occurred on 26 January 1420. Caused by a dispute amongst the ruling oligarchy, this rebellion was not directed against papal authority *per se*, however, that quickly became a factor; Partner, *The Papal State*, pp. 64-7.

authority in the space was actually intensified by Martin's departure, so much so that in the years that followed – years in which the apartments were unoccupied – this authority would reach its apogee.

Quite simply, the Opera's interventions at Santa Maria Novella had made a permanent change to the city and very quickly this shift had become a coherent part of the urban landscape. For roughly seventeen of the years covered by this chapter—from September 1420 to June 1434, and from April 1436 to January 1439—the Santa Maria Novella apartments were not occupied by a pope, and yet there was never any question that they remained a papal space under communal control. The commune was determined to maintain its grip since it derived maximum honour by doing so.

This final chapter proceeds in three stages. The first deals with the eight or so years between Martin's departure and January 1429. Although this later date might seem rather arbitrary, it was in fact a moment of great significance. Having made some concessions to the master general of the Dominican Order throughout the 1420s, the Opera resolved all of a sudden to close the apartments, sequestering them in order to ensure that it was the sole possessor of any agency in relation to both the physical and mental spaces of the apartment complex. Their actions in 1429 unequivocally signalled that the apartments would not be permitted to return to the role of a functioning Dominican convent. They had been permanently appropriated by the commune and the honour derived from within would thenceforth be protected for the city and its people.

The second section deals with the period between the 1429 shuttering, through the years of Eugenius' first sojourn, up until his first departure in April 1436. At that time the Opera again ordered the closure of the apartments, only this time, perhaps due to lessons learnt in the 1420s, it did so almost immediately after Eugenius decamped for Bologna. On this occasion the *operai* issued a directive that certain building works be undertaken in order to close off the space, making it physically impossible for anyone to enter without their involvement.

The final part of this chapter covers the years from that closure through to Eugenius' second and final departure in March 1443. Unlike the delay between Martin's departure and 1429, the Opera acted with the utmost haste in closing off the apartments in 1436, and before the council arrived in early-1439, there was another period of vacancy to negotiate. The work undertaken in these years provides the clearest evidence we have that the space had become a permanent, immutable part of the early-fifteenth century cityscape.

Following closely the methodology applied in Chapter Three, the analysis outlined here relies in large part on the digitised records of the *Cupola* project. However, since the Opera's interest in the apartments extended beyond 1436, and therefore beyond the scope of the

Cupola database, this chapter also makes use of the manuscript evidence currently held in the Archivio dell'Opera. Just as Chapter Three did for Martin, this closing chapter will demonstrate that the Florentines assisted Eugenius in the establishment of the perceived and conceived spaces of the papal apartments as he struggled in the first instance to reassert the prerogatives of his ailing papacy, and in the second as he sought to make the most of his reinvigorated papacy as it fought back from its nadir of the period of the early to mid-1430s. As noted in the introduction, Eugenius' first sojourn was analysed in-depth by Haines, whose mastery of the architectural and financial aspects of Opera documents does not need revision here.² That said, it remains to be seen how the apartments were treated more broadly during this time of alternating occupancy and vacancy, especially since the advent of a papal residency was no longer new to the Florentines.

The papal apartments with no pope

The status of the Santa Maria Novella apartments immediately following Martin's departure was uncertain and for a time it seems as though they sat in a state of quasi-suspension. It was not until August 1421, after almost a full year of vacancy, that a lengthy *deliberazione* laid bare the commune's continuing interest in the space. Leonardo Dati, a key figure in the history of the convent and at that time master general of the Dominican order, was compelled to enter into a negotiation with the Opera regarding a request he had made for access to certain sections of the apartments. After what appears to have been a thorough process of consultation Dati's petition was received favourably by the *operai*, and they decreed that, 'the part of the home and dwelling described below, made in the place of the brothers of the preachers for the Commune of Florence, be granted to him [Dati] for his dwelling.'³ The *deliberazione* goes on to make specific reference to, 'the old room of the said dwelling, with two small rooms being above it, with stairs, [and] an entrance and exit being at the back part of the hall mentioned, namely, by the street which is called della Scala.'⁴ There is nothing further in the sources to indicate how Dati wished to use the space, other than as dwelling, nor is there any hint of whether or not he would be using the space on his own.

Dati was one of the more prominent early-Quattrocento Dominicans.⁵ As a Florentine, and in the period before the advent of the observant movement in Florence, he naturally began his clerical career at Santa Maria Novella. In 1408 he was sent to Bologna as an inquisitor, ascending the following year to the position of *provinciale* of the Tuscan province.

² Haines, 'Gli appartamenti papali'.

³ YC, II 1 79, 12^a a (16 August 1421); 'partem infrascriptam domus et habitationis facte in loco fratrum predictorum pro Communi Florentie sibi pro eius habitatione concedi'.

⁴ YC, II 1 79, 12^a a (16 August 1421); 'sala vetus dicte habitationis cum duabus cameris parvis super ea existentibus cum scalis, introitu et exitu existentibus a parte anteriori dicte sale, videlicet iuxta viam que dicitur della Scala'.

⁵ For a biographical sketch of Dati's life, including a comprehensive list of his works, see *Necrologio*, II, pp. 134-66.

In 1414 Dati was appointed the sole head of the order, ending the split, occasioned by the schism, between opposing master generals, a position he occupied until his death in 1425. In light of the concomitant Dominican-papal relationship outlined in Chapter Three, it is not surprising to learn that Dati was particularly close to the centre of papal influence. He had played a prominent role at Constance where he was one of the few voices to speak out in support of papal primacy as the gathering grappled with those conciliarists determined to reshape the ecclesiology of church governance.⁶ Moreover, he was one of the six Italian electors who alongside the cardinals had participated in the conclave that elevated Martin to the papacy in November 1417.⁷

Dati's relationship with the papacy and his standing within the Dominican order makes it all the more telling that he had to go to such lengths to enjoy what was a relatively minor privilege within a space that until not long before had been under his control. Indeed, it is striking to find that the reasoning behind the eventual concession to Dati was that, 'to grant his request was in no way to the detriment of the honour or pre-eminence of the Commune of Florence, nor of the said *Arte* and office of the *Operai*.'⁸ In other words, the fundamental concern was the collective pride and identity of the Florentines. The papacy had departed hence its concerns were no longer relevant, nor had the Dominicans retained any meaningful authority in a space that was once theirs. The prestige the city had managed to secure by preparing the papal apartments could not be allowed to diminish to any extent, a principle articulated in even stronger terms when the resolution makes the 'express reservation' that Dati,

cannot and ought not remove from the place mentioned any sign or arms of the Commune of Florence or of said *Arte della Lana*, nor place or add another or others in any way, but preserve entirely as they stand at present the arms and signs in the aforesaid place.⁹

Not only should the symbols that reflected this Florentine prestige be protected from the possibility of being somehow diluted, they were, in fact, inviolable, and any attempt to uproot them was to be avoided at all costs.

The quasi-landlord arrangement established by this episode was further clarified just a few months later when in March 1422 the *operai* resolved that Dati could be loaned the key to

⁶ Brian Tierney, "Divided Sovereignty" at Constance: A problem of Medieval and Early Modern Political Theory, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 7 (1975), 238-56 (pp. 247-51); Thomas M. Izbicki, 'Leonardo Dati's Sermon on the Circumcision of Jesus (1417)', in *Friars and Jew in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 191-8.

⁷ Martin was elected pope by a conclave comprised of the cardinals attending the council, as well as thirty electors, a group made up of six men, mainly bishops, from each of Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain. On the conclave, including a list of those electors who participated, see Karl August Fink, 'Die Wahl Martins V.' in *Das Konzil von Konstanz: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie*, ed. by August Franzen and Wolfgang Müller (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), pp. 138-51.

⁸ YC, II 1 79, 12^a a (16 August 1421); 'eius postulationem Communis Florentie vel dicte Artis et officii operariorum in nullum cedere honoris vel preheminentie detrimentum'.

⁹ YC, II 1 79, 12^a a (16 August 1421); 'Hoc tamen expresse reservato quod nullum signum vel arma Communis Florentie vel dicte Artis Lane de dicto loco possit vel debeat removere nec aliud vel alia modo aliquo ponere vel addere, sed arma et signa in dicto loco ad presens existentia totaliter conservare.'

the *sala grande*, ‘provided that beforehand, a promise is made by him to us...undertaking that the same key is to be returned, according to the desire and request of the present and future office of the *operai*.’¹⁰ Almost as if there was a risk that Dati might try to reclaim some Dominican agency within the apartments, he was made to enter into an arrangement where he was honour bound to refrain from doing so. At every step of this to-and-fro the Opera’s actions reveal just how determined the commune was to ensure the apartments remained in place as a part of the ordered urban fabric, a testament to the civic vitality of the city.

In fact, the commune continued to pursue a program that increasingly cast the apartments in this light when in October 1422, over two years after Martin’s departure, it was decreed that certain verses should be inscribed on the apartment walls with the express intention that they laud, ‘the perpetual honour and glory of the aforesaid *popolo*.’¹¹ The work seems not to have been completed at that time since a subsequent resolution was entered into the Opera registers exactly five years later.¹² Whilst this later *deliberazione* is far less detailed than its precedent, a document published in the nineteenth century confirms that it was indeed issued as a follow-up to the initial order.¹³ Moreover, we know that the later resolution was actually executed since the sources record the payments made to the six men, both *maestri* and *manovali*, who carried out the task.¹⁴

The persistence of the Opera’s desire to preserve for posterity the honour of the Florentine *popolo* is made even more intriguing by the fact that the initial push for the verse came from a party previously unsighted in the records; the 1422 *deliberazione* names ser Antonio di ser Jacopo da Pistoia as the composer.¹⁵ Antonio was a notary of the Capitani di Orsanmichele, a charitable confraternity that had emerged in the late-Duecento. Having amassed a great deal of wealth and influence in the Trecento due to its stewardship of Orsanmichele’s miraculous Madonna, to say nothing of some favourable testamentary laws, the Capitani’s affluence was so great that it was probably the most powerful confraternity in the city throughout that period.¹⁶ Whilst its power had declined considerably by the early-Quattrocento, it nevertheless retained an important place in Florentine society.

Any effort to infer meaning from actions of the Capitani on this occasion must reckon with the source of its authority, the guild hall from which the confraternity took its name. A

¹⁰ YC, II 1 80, 15^r c (11 March 1422); ‘dummodo ante per eum fiat promissio nobis...recipientibus de restituendo ipsam clavem ad voluntatem et requisitionem officii operariorum presentium et futurorum.’

¹¹ YC, II 1 81, 25^v d (16 October 1422); ‘ad perpetuum dicti populi decus et honorem.’

¹² YC, II 2 1, 69^v d (16 October 1427); ‘Item quod in marmore scribantur certi versi in honorem edificii facti in Sancta Maria Novella pro habitatione Pape et ponantur super porta vel super loco deliberando per operarios dicte Opere.’

¹³ Eugène Müntz, ‘Les arts à la cour des Papes. Nouvelles recherches sur les pontificats de Martin V, d’Eugène IV, de Nicolas V, de Calixte III, de Pie II et de Paul II’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 4 (1884), 274-303 (pp. 280-1). Whilst the 1427 Opera *deliberazione* does not reference the role of the Orsanmichele notary, this supplementary 1427 document does.

¹⁴ YC, II 4 12, 61^r e-i, 1 (9 December 1427).

¹⁵ YC, II 1 81, 25^v d (16 October 1422).

¹⁶ Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp. 196-208. Regarding the Capitani’s wealth from bequests see Richard C. Trexler, ‘Florence, by the Grace of the Lord Pope...’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 9 (1972), 115-215 (pp. 166-9).

building that once stood as ‘a living symbol of communal freedom’, Orsanmichele had by the last years of the fourteenth century been transformed into Florence’s ‘most sacrosanct repository of civic values and ambitions’.¹⁷ This transition was made all the more concrete by ‘increasingly close political ties between the Compagnia captains and important city officials after 1382’,¹⁸ and by the time of the papal residencies Orsanmichele was ‘essentially a civic monument’.¹⁹ It stands to reason, then, that the Capitani and the civic principles the confraternity embodied would be well represented by being the source of a permanent monument inside the apartments that sang the praises of the *popolo*. Much like the role played by the Parte Guelfa in the papal processions, the involvement of the Capitani di Orsanmichele on this occasion must be interpreted as a meaningful intervention loaded with resonances, one that spoke to the well-being of the entire civic body.

As with almost everything else at the papal apartments, the Capitani’s verse has not survived. Fortunately, before it was lost Richa recorded the lines in his extensive history of Florence’s churches;

For the highest Pontiff named Martin V
 Coming from the sacred gathering at Constance
 This *popolo* kindly built these special dwellings,
 And he himself gave many magnificent honours
 First when he came, when he stayed, and when he left.
 He happily stayed one year and six months,
 And after he had joyously consecrated that sacred temple
 He advanced to Rome, [his] ancient seat and patrimony.
 He came on 26 February 1418.²⁰

A full seven years had passed between Martin’s departure and the installation of this short tribute to the body politic that had legitimated his time in the city. The extent of this lag is testament to the conviction with which the commune clung to its deep-rooted policy of ensuring that communal interests were never at any stage stifled by the creation of a space within which the papacy could legitimately act upon its authority.

Sarah McHam has argued that the interior decoration of Florence’s Palazzo della Signoria served to infuse the civic with the sacred, thereby bestowing upon the city’s rulers an aura of divine sanction they might otherwise have lacked.²¹ At the papal apartments this process was reversed. The civic sought to attach itself to the sacred, and the symbolic association of the two granted the commune and its constituent parts an implied sanction from the highest

¹⁷ Diane Finiello Zervas, ‘Orsanmichele, 1382-1400’, in *Orsanmichele Florence*, ed. by Diane Finiello Zervas, 2 vols (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2006), I, p. 159.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Diane Finiello Zervas, ‘Orsanmichele, 1400-1434’, in *Orsanmichele Florence*, ed. by Zervas, I, p. 185.

²⁰ *NI*, x, p. 35; Pontifici summo Martino nomine quinto/Constantiensi sinodo sacra venienti/hic populus has proprias gratis condidit aedes./ac sibi magnificos multos impendit honores/dum venit primo dum mansit dumque recessit./Mansit sex menses feliciter atque per annum/postea sacro templo feliciter isto/accessit romam sedem patriamque vetustam/venit die XXVI Febr. MCCCCXVIII. The date here follows the Florentine style. By the modern system this would be 26 February 1419.

²¹ Sarah Blake McHam, ‘Structuring Communal History Through Repeated Metaphors of Rule’, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. by Crum and Paoletti, pp. 104-105.

spiritual authority on earth, the papacy. Just as the *signori* living in the town hall intended its interior to project upon themselves and the seat of government a sense of their combined spiritual virtue, so too would the civic elements of the city be emboldened by the prestige and honour gleaned from their presence inside the apartments that had once housed the highest institution of the Latin Church.

Despite the delay, this short ode to the *popolo* demonstrates that ultimate control was the commune's chief interest, regardless of whether or not the apartments were actually occupied. The possibility of a return to a functioning Dominican convent was never a consideration. Quite simply, the stature of the space had moved beyond that and a regression to a lesser condition was out of the question, a point that has been made in relation to cardinals' palaces in the late-fifteenth century; once a palace had achieved a certain status, only those of a commensurate or higher rank could honourably become a subsequent resident.²² As far as the papal apartments were concerned, their status had been raised higher still—to a rank consistent with the pope—and had any regression been permitted, had the Dominicans reasserted any agency within the convent, the honour of the commune that had managed so successfully to carve out an identity within would have inevitably suffered as a result.

The unwillingness of the Signoria to concede even the slightest degree of control at Santa Maria Novella is made abundantly clear by a *deliberazione* issued in the last year of the 1420s. Even though over eight years had passed since the apartments fell vacant, it was entered into the Opera's registers that,

they [the *operai*] have resolved that the *provedditore* and *capomaestro* of the aforementioned Opera be obligated and ought, without delay, to make every effort to have in their possession the keys of the dwelling made for Pope Martin from the brothers of the convent of Santa Maria Novella, and they ought to close, or make be closed, the said place, so and in such a way that it is not possible to enter into the said lodging without the license of the *operai* of the said Opera.²³

The likely subtext here is that at some point during the intervening years, maybe from the time that Dati had dwelled there, the Dominicans or some other unnamed party had failed to pay sufficient respect to the space. Perhaps they had used them in a manner that was incongruent with the prestige that had been forged therein, an affront to the honour of the commune that had constructed them. Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing about who was using the apartments during that period, or under what circumstances they might have been doing so. Whatever the case may have been, the course of action adopted here

²² David S. Chambers, 'The housing problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 21-58 (pp. 23-4); K. J. P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The life and career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 214.

²³ YC, II 2 1, 100^r e (28 Jan 1429); 'deliberaverunt quod provisor et caputmagister prefate Opere teneantur et debeant sine intervallo procurare habere in eorum manibus a fratribus conventus Sancte Marie Novelle claves habitationis facte pro papa Martino et claudere debeant seu claudi facere dictum locum, ita et taliter quod sine licentia operariorum dicte Opere intrari non possit in dicta habitatione'.

demonstrates that a critical moment had arrived. From that point on access without the express consent of the Opera, acting very much as an extension of the commune, was impossible. The commune had become fiercely protective of the apartments, and in the end, broader Florentine engagement with the space could only ever be mediated through interaction with the Opera, its faithful agent and the body which assumed responsibility for defending the civic interests as they existed therein. By closing the apartments off the Opera was defending its own honour, that of the guild it represented, and most importantly, the honour of the commune and of the people that sustained it.

A pope returns

The resolution which ordered the recovery of the keys from the Dominicans ushered in another long stretch of inactivity at the papal apartments. That particular demand was the only mention of the space in 1429, whilst there was no work at all recorded in 1430. Just six work-orders were issued the year after that, all of which related to a single task, namely, some repairs done to an unspecified roof.²⁴ Although these six records are generally unremarkable, the directive itself is noteworthy since it indicates that more than a decade after Martin's departure the space was still being defined in terms of his residency; the notary recorded the work was done to, 'the roof of the residence made for Pope Martin at Santa Maria Novella'.²⁵ In fact, this statement came almost six months after his death. As we saw in the previous section of this chapter, the papacy was in a sense there even when it was not. At any rate, nothing else was recorded for the remainder of that year, nor in either of the following two. By the time Eugenius arrived in mid-1434 the apartments had lain untouched for almost three years.

The papacy did not resurface in the Opera registers until 15 June of that year, three days after Eugenius' galley dropped anchor in Livorno. The account of messenger Leonardo di Segnate tells us he was paid to convey funds to five men tasked with illuminating the lantern of the almost finished cupola, a celebration of the pope's safe disembarkation.²⁶ Leonardo's account, moreover, contains the first indication that preparations had begun within the apartments themselves since on 18 June he facilitated payment to Martino di Nanni for the 'linbelluci' that would be used in the process of whitewashing the walls of the *sala grande*.²⁷

Five days later, on 23 June, Eugenius arrived at the apartments for the first time as pope. The first specific mention of the pope is found in a *deliberazione* that orders, 'Filippo di Giovenco Bastari...to write in a certain book...everything else regarding the construction of

²⁴ YC, II 2 1, 146^v i (21 July 1431). On 30 September the wages paid to three *maestri* and two *manovali* were entered into the Opera registers; YC, II 4 13, 18^v l-n (30 September 1431); II 4 13, 19^v a-b (30 September 1431).

²⁵ YC, II 2 1, 146^v i (21 July 1431); 'tectum habitationis facte pro papa Martino in Sancta Maria Novella'.

²⁶ YC, II 4 13, 74^v a (15 June 1434).

²⁷ YC, II 4 13, 74^v a (18 June 1434).

the habitation...[and] all works having been provided by masters and labourers...in repairs done up until the present for Our Lord Pope Eugenius in the said labours of Santa Maria Novella'.²⁸ It seems clear there was an awareness that the frequency of work at the apartments was about to increase significantly. By the summer of 1434 it had been almost fifteen years since the apartments had welcomed a papal guest, and although the previous section demonstrated that they had been far from idle throughout this period, the commune, solidifying its hold over the space through the Opera, had suppressed all other sources of agency within the space.

Most obviously, the apartments would need to be reconfigured to satisfy the needs of their new occupant, and in a repetition of the main issue that had confronted his predecessor, the most pressing concern for Eugenius upon his arrival in Florence was an appropriate physical space that his papacy might utilise to begin the long process of reclaiming its lost authority. There was never any question that the Santa Maria Novella apartments would reprise this role, although there was naturally a need to recast the space with Eugenius' authority in mind, particularly since we have just seen that it continued to be characterised in terms of Martin's residency even after his death.

Of course, one could certainly argue that Eugenius' position was far more precarious than Martin's had ever been. One was a fugitive pope with neither friends nor a papal court, the other a pope on his way back to Rome after his election at an unopposed and legitimately convoked council. To that end, the prompt realignment of the perceived spaces of the apartments was underway less than a fortnight after Eugenius' arrival. On the day that Bastari was ordered to keep a separate ledger for all new work at Santa Maria Novella, a *stanziamento* engaged the same Stefano del Nero who had worked on the apartments in Martin's time 'to paint the arms of Pope Eugenius above the door of the *sala grande*'.²⁹ Eight months later, in March 1435, a further resolution commanded that the *capomaestro*, 'should arrange to have painted, at the expense of the Opera, the arms of the highest Pontiff Pope Eugenius, at the head of the main stairs of the cloister of the residence of our said Lord Pope.'³⁰ That commission went to Piero Chellini.³¹ The placement of these *stemme* was important; the locations specified here governed the primary points one would use to access the papal space. From the *chiostro grande* one reached the *sala grande* by using the stairs mentioned here, the same stairs constructed in 1419 to lead straight into the inner-sanctum of the papal space.

²⁸ YC, II 2 1, 218^r h (6 July 1434); 'Filippotius Giovenchi de Bastariis...scribere in quodam libro alias deputato pro constructione habitationis domini nostri Pape in Sancta Maria Novella...omnes operas prestitas per magistros et manovales...aconcimine facto ad presens pro domino nostro papa Eugenio in dicto laboreio Sancte Marie Novelle'.

²⁹ YC, II 4 13, 78^r b (6 July 1434); 'per dipingniere l'arme di papa Ugenio sopra la porta della sala ghrande'.

³⁰ YC, II 2 1, 228^r 1 (18 March 1435); 'pingi faciat expensis Opere arma summi pontificis pape Eugenii in capite prime schale claustrii habitationis dicti domini nostri Pape.'

³¹ YC, II 4 13, 97^r o (29 April 1435). This *stanziamento*, which recorded a payment of eight *lire*, covered his work in the stairs, as well as another project discussed below.

The apartment space had effectively been freed of the legacy of Martin's visit, the agency that existed therein transferred into the hands of its current occupant.

Whilst it was inevitable that the projection and arrangement of papal authority within the apartments would have to be recalibrated following the transition from one pope to the next, it was similarly clear that the events of the preceding decade and a half had done nothing to diminish the commune's desire to maintain its own presence inside the convent walls. Given what we know about the negotiation with Dati in the early-1420s and the ultimate shuttering of the space in 1429, it seems as though the Florentine authorities were determined to continue to cultivate an imposing grip on the apartments. It would be eminently reasonable to assume, therefore, that the perceived spatial alignment of status and hierarchy which had been meticulously crafted between 1419 and 1429 was still in place and functioning without impediment in 1434.

In its reworking of the conceived space of the apartments the Opera saw an opportunity to reassert its own interests, or at the very least, to buttress the prestige it had already managed to claim. On the last day of 1434, Bicci di Lorenzo was engaged to paint the *gigli* and the lamb of the Lana over several doorways; one above the door that opened onto the priests' cloister, and more significantly, another above the main exterior entrance to the apartments, the door on Via della Scala.³² We saw in Chapter Three that this primary access point had in 1419 been adorned with Martin's *stemma*, adding an outward-looking visual marker to the urban streetscape which communicated that the convent had become in some respects a papal space. No mention of an accompanying civic emblem was made at that time, and perhaps because the commune was unwilling to allow this situation to continue, on the occasion of Eugenius' residency it determined that the Lamb of God would serve as an adequate reminder of the civic interests that simultaneously operated within.

A more striking example of this buttressing of civic interests within the apartments came with the decision to modify Donatello's *Marzocco*. In a visually compelling confirmation of Florentine communal authority, it was commanded that, 'the lion that is above the corner of the stairs of the residence of Pope Eugenius in Santa Maria Novella should be gilded at the expense of the Opera'.³³ Echoing the 1422 order to install a verse that praised 'the perpetual honour and glory' of the Florentine *popolo*, the command to gild the *Marzocco* was similarly justified; it was to be done, 'on behalf of the honour of the Commune of Florence'.³⁴ The scope of the recognition on this subsequent occasion was significantly amplified, and it was

³² YC, II 4 13, 86^v d (31 December 1434). Bicci received the payment for his work not long thereafter; YC, II 4 13, 93^r g (22 March 1435).

³³ YC, II 2 1, 234^r d (17 May 1435); 'leo qui est super angulo schale habitationis pape Eugenii in Sancta Maria Novella expensis Opere auretur'.

³⁴ YC, II 2 1, 234^r d (17 May 1435); 'pro honorantia Communis Florentie.'

the entire commune—encompassing all of the political, social, economic, and cultural energy that fed into the creation of the apartment space—that was singled out for praise.

Whatever the reasons were behind this intensification of the civic presence within the perceived space of the papal apartments, there was also a contemporaneous push to refurbish the conceived, physical space as well, and after a few years of vacancy there were naturally a few minor tasks that required attention. One of the first work-orders records that a well needed cleaning.³⁵ Not long after the *capomaestro* was empowered to construct, ‘a kitchen for Our Lord Pope Eugenius, in such a way and form that shall appear pleasing to our aforesaid Lord’.³⁶ And between December 1434 and August 1435 two men were paid in several instalments for the supply of stone and labour related to the refurbishment of a fireplace of the refectory, which was in that area of the apartment complex given over to the papal *familia*.³⁷

In fact, since several of the Venetian pope’s key men were named specifically in the Opera sources it seems as though the members of Eugenius’ papal household were far more of a consideration than they had been during Martin’s residency. In March 1435 *maestro* Alessio degli Strozzi was paid for the construction of a doorway for the chamber used by Eugenius’ treasurer.³⁸ Since the room was usurped from Girolamo di Giovanni, the syndic of Santa Maria Novella, this particular modification indicates that the impositions put upon the resident Dominicans were perhaps an ongoing concern.³⁹ A few months later Batista da Padova received payment for expenses incurred whilst making alterations to the room occupied by the same Tommaso Tomasini della Paruta we met in Chapter Two, a key man during Eugenius’ first sojourn.⁴⁰ The work-order calls Paruta, ‘maestro di chasa del Santo Padre’, likely a reference to the *maggiordomo*, the Prefect of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, which, along with the treasurer, was one of the preeminent positions within the papal chapel.⁴¹ As noted in Chapter Two, Tommaso served as the general administrator of the Florentine archdiocese in the seven month period between Archbishops Corsini and Vitelleschi, from March to October 1435. That being the case, the renovations for Paruta and the treasurer speak to the heart of papal governance. The spaces they opened up for members of

³⁵ YC, II 4 13, 77^r a (15 July 1434).

³⁶ YC, II 2 1, 219^r f (27 July 1434); ‘coquinam domini nostri pape Eugenii eo modo et forma prout videbitur dicto domino nostro’.

³⁷ YC, II 4 13, 84^v b (13 December 1434); 89^r g (31 January 1435); 105^r a (30 August 1435). This final work-order crosses into the supply of stone for a later project, the *tetto dei cardinali*. YC, II 4 13, 89^r h (31 January 1435); 89^r i (31 January 1435); 103^v a (30 August 1435). See also YC, VIII 1 1, 87^v d (8 December 1434); this cash account demonstrates that the *stanziamento* II 4 13, 89^r h (31 January 1435) was in fact related to the fireplace even though it is not specified.

³⁸ YC, II 4 13, 91^r e (3 March 1435). Eugenius’ treasurer was either Daniele Scotti or Angelo Cavaccia, often written as Cavazza. Scotti was the actual treasurer, but it has been suggested that Cavaccia stood in for his superior quite often. Moreover, we know that Cavaccia was quite close to Eugenius. See Francois Charles Uginet, ‘Cavaccia, Angelo’, *DBI*, xxii, pp. 547-8 and *DE*, lxxiv, p. 281.

³⁹ *Necrologio*, II, p. 571.

⁴⁰ YC, II 2 1, 227^r c (7 February 1435); II 4 13, 97^r g (29 April 1435).

⁴¹ Gaetano Moroni, *Le capelle pontefice, cardinalizie, e prelatizie* (Venezia: Dalla tipografia Emiliana, 1841), pp. 1, 39.

Eugenius' *familia papale* gave the fugitive pope a proper setting from which he might begin to reassert the standing that had been so repeatedly battered since he succeeded Martin.

In a physical sense, the most significant space used in the process of recapturing that authority was undoubtedly the *sala grande*, which, as we saw in Chapter Three, played a key role in Martin's own efforts to do the same after several long decades of division and dislocation. We have already seen that the Opera issued a resolution before Eugenius had even arrived ordering that its walls be whitewashed. This was soon followed by the order to have his *stemma* painted over the door. Additionally, Eugenius' arrival prompted the decision to make two considerable adjustments in wood to the space, namely, a *tramezzo* (rood screen) of the type that partitioned most churches in this period, as well as a less intrusive divider, a *graticola*, that perhaps closed off one end of the hall forming a chapel area for use in papal liturgies.

The larger of these two modifications, the *tramezzo*, was entrusted to Francesco di Giovanni Guccio, who was paid in three instalments between December 1434 and March 1435.⁴² Based on two payments to another carpenter we know it was primarily constructed of poplar,⁴³ whilst the *stanziamento* recording payment to the master smith Andrea di Cecco suggests there were sections of tinplating.⁴⁴ Its main opening—there could well have been more than one—was probably just under one-and-a-half metres wide, at least according to a payment made to Nanni di Guido for 'a sandstone threshold of two and one-third *braccia* bought from him to place under the door of the Great Hall of the pope, that is, under the *tramezza*.'⁴⁵

To be sure, this structure was far less imposing within its spatial context than those seen in the major Florentine churches. By correlating the width of the room with the amount of wood used by Guccio, and allowing for the gap created by the opening, Haines has speculatively calculated that it stood approximately one metre high.⁴⁶ The rood screen in Santa Croce had a walkway almost five metres above the floor, whilst the upper storey of Santa Maria Novella's *ponte* ran across the church at a height some three-and-a-half metres, a monumental vantage point from which Martin gave the Easter Sunday blessing in 1419.⁴⁷

The construction of the accompanying *graticola* was ordered by the Opera on 18 March 1435 when it commanded that the foreman 'cause to be made a *graticolatum* in the Great Hall of Our Lord Pope'.⁴⁸ The purchase of an elm tree tells us what type of wood was used,⁴⁹ and

⁴² YC, II 4 13, 84^r g (13 December 1434); II 4 13, 89^r i (31 January 1435); II 4 13, 94^r c (30 March 1435).

⁴³ YC, II 4 13, 84^r i, l (13 December 1434).

⁴⁴ YC, II 4 13, 90^v f (15 February 1435).

⁴⁵ YC, II 4 13, 95^v d (13 April 1435); 'una soglia di macingnio si chonperò da lui di braccia 2 1/3, fu per pore sotto l'uscio della sala ghrande del Papa, cioè sotto la trameza.' Based on this the door was perhaps around 136cm wide.

⁴⁶ Haines, 'Gli appartamenti papali'.

⁴⁷ The Santa Croce screen was also six-and-a-half metres deep; Marcia B. Hall, 'The Tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed', *AB*, 56 (1974), 325-41 (p. 327, 337). Santa Maria Novella's *ponte* was over eight metres deep; Marcia B. Hall, 'The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 157-73 (pp. 159-61, 163).

⁴⁸ YC, II 2 1, 228^v i (18 March 1435); 'fieri faciat graticolatum in sala magna habitationis domini nostri Pape'.

⁴⁹ YC, II 4 13, 93^r c (22 March 1435).

although we have very little idea what this divider looked like, we are guided somewhat by the scribe's use of the term *graticola*, rather than *tramezza*. That same designation had been used in Siena roughly a decade earlier to describe a four-panelled screen that partitioned off the eastern end of Santa Maria Assunta.⁵⁰ At Santa Maria Novella the task fell to a carpenter named Antonio Manetti, and intriguingly the *stanziamento* which records his work also states that, 'there is in the said calculations the sum for one pulpit made by him for the room of the Pope'.⁵¹ This is a tantalising reference; it is the only reference to a pulpit in the digitised or manuscript Opera sources. In light of the discussion in the previous chapter, it could very well have been the pulpit used by men like Micheli and Isidore.

The scope of these interior modifications signals clearly the commune's intention that Eugenius' papacy be provided with a properly functioning and appropriate seat of papal government. That is not to say that the exterior was left untouched, however, and the construction of a small porch is further evidence that the commune had a keen eye on the day-to-day requirements of the papacy. In her short essay on the apartments during Eugenius' first sojourn Haines observed that, '[t]he most challenging project undertaken at Santa Maria Novella on this occasion, in terms of time and money, was the so-called *tetto dei cardinali*?'.⁵² Indeed, if one measures the scale of this task by simply totalling the number work-orders registered to bring the job to a satisfactory conclusion, then the construction of this roof dwarves the work done in the *sala grande*. Gordon Brown in his architectural history of the church and convent says that this porch was constructed at the exterior entrance on Via della Scala.⁵³ In fact, there is no reference whatsoever to the street in the Opera registers, and Haines, who is perhaps the leading authority on the architecture of the papal apartments, is quite clear that the *tetto* was constructed in the *chiostro grande*.

The first *deliberazione* regarding the *tetto* came on 13 January 1435. It ordered the *capomaestro* that,

as quickly as is possible, [he] should arrange to be made in the courtyard of the residence of Santa Maria Novella of Our Lord Pope, one ceiling, paved, with appropriate columns of stone or sandstone, themselves adorned as is decent for such a location, and this [should be done] for [the benefit of] the resident cardinals when they dismount from [their] horse, or because of when they mount or dismount in the rain or summer heat that may arise in the future.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Gail Aronow, 'A description of the altars in Siena cathedral in the 1420s', in Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215-1460: form, content, function*, trans. by Michael Hoyle, 2 vols (Gronigen: Egbert Forsten Publishing, 1984-90), II, p. 232. The cited document describes, 'Quattro pezi grandi di graticola a porporelle de fero stagnate, le quali chiudano il coro dele due capelle soprascripte, a uscia e chiavi.' Aronow says, 'This four-panelled screen or grill must have somehow closed off the chapels of Ansanus and Victor, or, more precisely, their "choir" apparently signifying the choir stalls accompanying these chapels.'

⁵¹ YC, II 4 13, 98^r b (29 April 1435); 'chon questo che in nella detta somma si chonti uno perghamo per lui fatto a stanza del Papa'.

⁵² Haines, 'Gli appartamenti papali'; 'Il progetto più impegnativo, in termini di tempo e danaro, intrapreso a SMN in questa occasione era il cosiddetto "tetto dei cardinali".'

⁵³ Gordon Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence: A historical, architectural, and artistic study*, (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co., 1902), p. 91. This is a mistaken claim based on a document in the famous Carte Stroziane of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

⁵⁴ YC, II 2 1, 226^r f (13 January 1435); 'quod capudmagister Opere expensis dicte Opere quam citius sibi est possibile fieri faciat in cortili Sancte Marie Novelle habitationis domini nostre Pape unum tectum amatonatum cum columnis condecantibus de lapide de macigno ipsum ornando prout decet in tali loco, et hoc pro residentia cardinalium quando descendunt de equo et adscendunt quando discedunt propter pluvias et calores future extatis'.

This initial *deliberazione* was soon followed by two more, the language of which suggests they were made by the *operai* after seeing for themselves how the construction of the *tetto* was progressing. On 5 March, ‘having congregated...in the dormitory of the infirmary of Santa Maria Novella’, they commanded that, ‘the entire staircase of the said cloister ought to continue to be covered by the aforesaid roof.’⁵⁵ Moreover, a few weeks later a small wall, a *murricolum*, was added to the project, namely, ‘in that part where it is deficient, under the roof made in the cloister of the dwelling of the Pope for the use of the cardinals.’⁵⁶ As far as the sources reveal these are the only modifications of an active worksite instigated by an inspection, and the willingness of the *operai* to adapt the prospective functionality of the renovation suggests the configuration of the apartments was of the utmost importance to the commune.

Following the initial resolution of 13 January construction of the *tetto* began on the last day of that month, and between then and the end of August some twenty-three *stanziamenti* were issued to bring the project to fruition. The main frame of the roof was completed by the carpenter Ghino di Piero, paid in three instalments for his labour,⁵⁷ and it is clear from several purchases that fir was used for the structural framework.⁵⁸ As far as the earthenware elements were concerned, a series of allocations detail the purchase of roofing tiles, as well as the paving bricks that would be used underfoot.⁵⁹ And of course the roof would have to be adorned in some way, hence on 15 February a fourth *deliberazione* was issued, mandating that there be painted, ‘an *accantonato* of *terra verde* on the face of the wall of the roof made in the courtyard of the Pope for the cardinals.’⁶⁰ The artist employed to carry this out was again Chellini.⁶¹

In keeping with the honour of its intended users the structure supporting the *tetto* would need to be finished in stone, the procurement of which incurred the greatest cost to the Opera, in terms of the expense of materials and labour, as well as the time taken to bring both together. The bases and capitals were actually in place quite quickly; Nanni di Donato da Fiesole was paid on 31 January for supplying the sandstone pieces.⁶² The columns on the other hand were a far more difficult proposition. A *deliberazione* authorising their procurement specifically was issued on 22 February,⁶³ but the records of three payments to Antonio di

⁵⁵ YC, II 2 1, 228^r a (5 March 1435); ‘congregati...in dormitorio infirmarie Sancte Marie Novelle...quod tota schala dicti claustrum remaneat dicto tecto coperta.’

⁵⁶ YC, II 2 1, 229^r f (24 March 1435); ‘in ea parte ubi deficit suttus tectum factum in claustrum habitationis Pape ad usum cardinalium.’

⁵⁷ YC, II 4 13, 88^v d (31 January 1435); 90^v i (22 February 1435); 97^r a (29 April 1435).

⁵⁸ YC, II 4 13, 89^r g (31 January 1435); 89^v a (31 January 1435); 95^r 1 (8 April 1435); 96^r g (22 April 1435).

⁵⁹ YC, II 4 13, 87^v g (28 January 1435); 91^r a (28 February 1435); 95^v a (8 April 1435); 96^r m (22 April 1435); 104^v a (26 August 1435).

⁶⁰ YC, II 2 1, 227^r n (15 February 1435); ‘accantonatum de viridi terra in facie muri tecti facti in cortili Pape pro cardinalibus.’

⁶¹ He received two payments for his labour; YC, II 4 13, 95^r a (4 April 1435); 97^r o (29 April 1435).

⁶² YC, II 4 13, 89^v f (31 January 1435); 104^r f (26 August 1435). After the initial payment Nanni obviously had to wait some months for the balance.

⁶³ YC, II 2 1, 227^v f (22 February 1435).

Bartolo di Scatocchio da Fiesole attest to the fact that they did not arrive until the summer.⁶⁴ As Haines suggests, carting the pillars from Fiesole to Florence must have been a rather challenging and laborious task, and although the *carradore* responsible received just one payment in late-August for the haulage ‘of three great sandstone columns’,⁶⁵ three allocations referring to gifts of wine from the Opera to the workers demonstrate that these final architectonic elements were actually transported to the papal apartments one at a time.⁶⁶

The work done to the *sala grande* and the *tetto dei cardinali* should really be viewed as an integrated project. The construction of the porch was undertaken to enhance access to the hall, done so that the cardinals, as well as the many other dignitaries, might be able to mount and dismount their horses protected from the elements. Given what we know about the central role of the *sala grande* in both ordinary and extraordinary papal behaviour it is understandable that the structure by which important visitors accessed the space was altered in this way.

Just as they had done for Martin, the *sala grande*, and the apartments in general, would stand in for Eugenius in many of the moments that made up the process of rehabilitating his ailing papacy. At Terce on 1 January 1435 there was a Mass ‘in the great chapel in his apartments in Santa Maria Novella’, during which Baldassare da Offida, castellan of Castel Sant’Angelo and a faithful servant of the papacy was rewarded with a knighthood.⁶⁷ Amongst the dignitaries present was an ambassador of the Spanish king. In April 1435 Eugenius received in the *sala grande* the recently arrived Cardinal Domenico Capranica, a man with whom he shared a troubled history.⁶⁸ In the same month the ambassadors of Perugia and Ferrara were noted in the city,⁶⁹ whilst right at the end of 1435 Francesco Sforza came to Florence.⁷⁰

As suggested in the introduction, Eugenius would leave for Bologna as soon as the situation there became favourable. Whereas it took the Opera almost a decade to close the apartments after Martin left Florence in late-1420, the wardens acted with the utmost haste in April 1436. The work-order that sealed the space came almost immediately after Eugenius decamped, perhaps on the same day; the *operai* resolved then that, ‘the *capomaestro*...should have redone one wall of half a *braccia* in order to enclose the residence of Our Lord Pope Eugenius...and to raise the wall of the barrel vault in front of the chamber of the said Lord

⁶⁴ YC, II 4 13, 98^v f (21 May 1435); 100^r d (30 May 1435); 101^v e (28 June 1435).

⁶⁵ YC, II 4 13, 104^r c (26 August 1435); ‘di tre cholonne di macigno ghrande’. See also, Haines, ‘Gli appartamenti papali’.

⁶⁶ Two of these occasions are referred to directly; YC, II 4 13, 99^r a (14 June 1435); 105^r e (13 July 1435). The third is found in the individual cash account YC, VIII 1 2, 4^r a (23 July 1435), and hence is by inference only.

⁶⁷ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 262-3; ‘la messa nella chapella grande in sulla sala in Sanata Maria Novella’. Offida was a detested figure amongst Eugenius’ supporters and in 1436 he was sent to spy on Francesco Sforza, however, he was arrested and imprisoned; P. J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: a political history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 182. According to Partner, Offida intended to murder Sforza; Partner, *The Lands of St Peter*, p. 412.

⁶⁸ Petriboni, *Priorista*, p. 266.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 266.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

Our Pope.⁷¹ The alacrity with which this course of action was instigated indicates that it had certainly been discussed amongst the Opera decision makers, and so decisive a move suggests that they had determined that to wait would have risked the honour they had managed to secure for themselves and the commune. It is tempting to speculate that this expeditiousness was the result of some unnamed damage wrought upon the apartments in the period between Martin's departure and the January 1429 command that the apartments be closed 'without delay'. Perhaps the apartments had suffered some form of dishonour leading up to that point; closing them off with the utmost haste the very next time they became vacant would be the understandable reaction. Whatever may have happened, it is clear that the *operai* were determined to ensure it did not happen again.

A council arrives in Florence

The final section of this chapter takes the discussion from Eugenius' first departure on 18 April 1436 through to the moment he quit the city for good, on 7 March 1443. After almost three years away, the Venetian pope returned to Florence in late-January 1439 for the continuation of the council he had convoked in Ferrara the preceding year.⁷² It officially became the Council of Ferrara-Florence on 10 January when the bull that transferred the gathering was read aloud in both Latin and Greek in the Ferrara's San Giorgio Martire.⁷³ Despite the common refrain that a summer pestilence had forced the council's move, it is well-established that the primary reason for the relocation was the financial security offered to the papacy by Florence's most powerful family. Najemy observes that the Greek and Latin attendees arrived in Florence, 'officially as guests of the commune, but, given the source of the funding that kept the council alive, in effect as guests of the Medici.'⁷⁴

Eugenius left Ferrara on 16 January and arrived at San Antonio del Vescovo on the 24th, entering Florence three days after that. Not far behind were Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and John VII Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor. Their processions carried them into the city on 12 and 15 February, respectively. Most of the scholarship touching upon Eugenius' second stint at Santa Maria Novella, and in the city more broadly, has understandably been dominated by the Council of Ferrara-Florence; despite its eventual failings, it was an event of international significance, the last ecumenical gathering for almost

⁷¹ YC, II 2 1, 252^c (18 April 1436); 'quod caputmagister...remurari faciat unum murum medii brachii pro claudendo habitatione domini nostri pape Eugenii...et alzare murum volte qua fit in botte ante cameram dicti domini nostri Pape.' *The Years of the Cypola* records the date of this order as 18 April, the same day Eugenius left the city. It also notes that the numeral is illegible and could perhaps read 23 April.

⁷² Eugenius was in Bologna from 22 April 1436 to 23 January 1438, and in Ferrara from 27 January 1438 to 16 January 1439. The pope and his court arrived back in Florence on 24 January 1439 and would stay until 7 March 1443.

⁷³ *CFDS: Epistolae pontificae*, II, pp. 60-1.

⁷⁴ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 287. On the general malaise of papal finances during the council see Joseph Gill SJ, 'The Cost of the Council of Florence', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 22 (1956), 299-318.

a century.⁷⁵ Eugenius had seen off the Basilean threat and momentarily achieved something the fathers there had been unable to do, that is, bring the representatives of the Eastern Church to a council of his choosing and subsequently forge a union with them.

If one draws a comparison to the general manner of his first arrival in Florence, Eugenius entered the city the second time as a pontiff triumphant. In June 1434 only Cardinal Juan Casanova had been by his side, and the pope was unable to observe the Mass on the following day because there were simply not enough religious in his entourage.⁷⁶ By contrast, in 1439 Eugenius was accompanied by an entourage of cardinals, perhaps as many as six.⁷⁷ Like Martin's arrival two decades earlier, Eugenius' return came about quite quickly. Gill suggests that rumours were circulating as early as October 1438 that the papacy was angling to move the council to Florence, and whilst this is supposition, it is certain that by December the agreements for the transfer had been formulated, meaning that again the commune had only a few weeks to prepare.⁷⁸

That said, in light of the expense the commune had lavished upon the papal apartments since 1419 it is certain that Florence was judiciously positioned to accept both the returning papacy as well as the arriving council. The hundreds of religious who flowed into Florence for the council would end up being accommodated throughout the city, and as far as the papacy was concerned, the scope of the labour enacted on Martin's behalf from 1419-20, and on Eugenius' from 1434-6, meant that there was simply no need for any further large-scale enterprises commensurate with the refurbishment of the *sala grande* or the construction of the *tetto dei cardinali*. Indeed, an allocation of public funds in late-1438 suggests just how prepared for an ecumenical council the commune believed itself to be. On 22 December, a month before Eugenius' return, the commune authorised the expenditure of 300 florins, 260 of which were set aside 'for adapting the habitation of the highest pontiff in the convent of Santa Maria Novella of Florence, namely for two stairs, for doors to be made anew and refitted, and for windows, benches, and for couches, walls or partitions and other suitable things'.⁷⁹ The figure of 300 is obviously a stark reduction from the 1500 florins the commune had apportioned in 1419 to prepare for Martin's arrival. Even more tellingly, on the very next day the commune allocated 4000 florins for the upcoming *adventus* processions of Eugenius,

⁷⁵ It was the last before the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17). There is a great deal of scholarship on Eugenius' council. One of the best starting points remains Gill, *The Council of Florence*. More recent work can be found in two collections, each of which has an excellent bibliography; *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/9 – 1489*, ed. by Giuseppe Alberigo (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991); *Firenze e il concilio del 1439*, ed. by Paolo Viti, 2 vols (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1992). The source material is comprehensively preserved in the *Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores* series that has been cited throughout this study.

⁷⁶ Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, p. 74.

⁷⁷ Buoninsegni, *Storie*, p. 68.

⁷⁸ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 177.

⁷⁹ *CFDS: Acta camerae apostolicae et civitatum Venetiarum, Ferrariae, Florentiae, ianuae de Concilio Florentino*, ed. by Georgius Hofmann SI (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1950), p. 56; 'pro aptanda habitatione summi pontificis in conventu S. Marie Novelle de Florentie, videlicet pro duabus scalis, pro ostiis de novo faciendis et reaptandis et pro fenestris, banchis et pro lecteriis, muris seu parietibus et aliis'.

Joseph, and John Palaeologous.⁸⁰ Its honour already assured within the spaces of the papal apartments, the commune with this significant allocation of public money turned its attention to events that could very well reflect poorly on it were they improperly handled, that is, the entry processions to be held for its approaching guests.

The fact of the matter was that in 1439 the apartments had been uninhabited for only a short time, at least in comparison to the fifteen year gap between Martin's sole residency and Eugenius first. Since they were closed almost immediately upon Eugenius' departure for Bologna, and because they had been occupied so recently, it is safe to conclude that their condition in every practical sense remained the same. Significantly, the apartments did not have to be prepared anew for a third occupant; Eugenius' papal authority had already been firmly established therein, obviating any need to repeat the process that had taken place in 1434 when the space had passed to him from Martin.

Before the council, however, there was another period of vacancy for the city to deal with, and interestingly, most of the Opera activity between 1436 and 1443 came in the years the apartments were unoccupied, that is, between April 1436 and January 1439. The majority of this work by far was directed towards two specific projects, namely, the repaving of a section of the Piazza di Santa Maria Novella, and the refurbishment of a ceiling, most likely in the *sala grande*. There were naturally a few minor things that needed clearing up in the immediate aftermath of Eugenius' first residency. On the day following his departure the Opera allocated funds for the repair of woollen cloths it had borrowed to decorate the *ponte* constructed for the Duomo consecration.⁸¹ In early-May a pair of *carrettieri* were paid for multiple cartloads of unnamed 'goods' transported to Santa Maria Novella.⁸² And on the final day of that month Antonio Manetti returned to do some further woodwork in the papal bedchamber.⁸³ After that it would be almost a full year before the apartments resurfaced in the Opera registers, which happened in March 1437 when Chellini was engaged once more to do another *accantonato* painting in an unspecified location.⁸⁴ A few months later there was hint of friction between the commune and the Dominicans when a *deliberazione* made reference to a lawsuit instigated by Nanni Betti and Tommaso Panzano on behalf of the Opera and 'concerning certain timber which the brothers of Santa Maria Novella declare said Opera to have had'.⁸⁵ And in December of the same year the *operai* authorised Batista, the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ YC, II 4 13, 126^c d (27 April 1436).

⁸² YC, II 4 13, 128^a a (7 May 1436).

⁸³ YC, II 4 13, 129^c f (30 May 1436).

⁸⁴ AOSMF, II 4 14, 5^r f (11 March 1437); 'super platea Sancte Marie Novelle...lastricandum pro latitudine brachiorum duodecim...ab angulo ubi tenet camporibus tempore pape Eugenii IV...usque ad angulum vie schale ubi est pitta ymago virginis marie'.

⁸⁵ AOSMF, II 2 2, 21^v b (2 July 1437); 'de quodam lignamine quod fratres Sancte Marie Novelle asserunt de dicto convento dictam operam habuisse'.

well-known *capomaestro* of the apartments, to sell some windows that had been extracted from the space.⁸⁶

All of this activity, however, was incidental. The first of the two substantial projects noted a moment ago began in May 1437 when a *deliberazione* was issued in relation to certain paving the Opera desired in the vast piazza adjacent to the apartments. The piazza had already been a focus of the Opera workmen since in early-1435 the scribe had been ordered to record the ‘work of those masters who went to level the piazza of Santa Maria Novella so that a joust could take place at the insistence of the nephew of Pope Eugenius’.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, there is no indication in the Opera sources that this work ever took place, nor has any record of a joust at Santa Maria Novella surfaced elsewhere. At any rate, in 1437 the Opera ordered that, ‘upon the piazza of Santa Maria Novella...paving at a width of 12 *braccia*...from the corner where the bankers had stayed in the time of Pope Eugenius IV...all the way to the corner of the Via della Scala where there is depicted an image of the Virgin Mary’.⁸⁸

The first of the two points of reference named here was a house on the piazza that had been used by those employees of Roman branch of the Medici Bank that had installed themselves in the city after Eugenius’ arrival in 1434.⁸⁹ Founded by Cosimo’s father, the Medici Bank had become the preferred broker of papal finances under John XXIII, and in the years that followed the Roman branch followed its primary client to each of Constance, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, and even Basel.⁹⁰ During Eugenius’ first sojourn it rented said house, no doubt to be as close as possible to its most important account.⁹¹

The other location referred to in this resolution was the large tabernacle situated at the southwest corner of the piazza, the juncture at which Via della Scala opened out onto the square. This particular niche was mentioned by Vasari in his *Lives* with a reference to a lesser-known Florentine painter named Francesco Fiorentino.⁹² The spatial orientation outlined here tells us just how significant a task the requested repaving was. Although we cannot be certain of exactly where the house rented by the bank was, it likely sat at least fifty metres from the tabernacle, meaning somewhere around 700m² of the piazza was affected. In order

⁸⁶ AOSMF, II 2 2, 30^r a (4 December 1437).

⁸⁷ YC, II 2 1, 226^v h (2 Feb 1435); ‘operas illorum magistrorum qui iverunt ad appianandum plateam Sancte Marie Novelle pro quadam giostra fiebat ad instantiam nepotis pape Eugenii’.

⁸⁸ AOSMF, II 2 2, 18^r j (22 May 1437); ‘super platea Sancte Marie Novelle...lastricandum pro latitudine brachiorum duodecim...ab angulo ubi teneat campsoribus tempore pape Eugenii IV...usque ad angulum vie schale ubi est pitta ymago virginis’.

⁸⁹ The antecedent to the Medici Bank had operated in Rome since the mid-1380s under the management of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, Cosimo’s father; Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 3, 35-7. In 1397 he returned to Florence to found the financial house his son Cosimo would eventually inherit, retaining of course the Roman branch.

⁹⁰ Holmes, ‘How the Medici became the Pope’s Bankers’, in *Florentine Studies*, ed. by Rubinstein, pp. 361-74; de Roover, *Rise and Decline*, pp. 124, 194-5.

⁹¹ This house belonged to Roberto di Giovanni Aldobrandini, a brother of Luigi di Giovanni Aldobrandini, one of the 118 banished by the pro-Medici Signoria in 1434 after Cosimo returned from exile; de Roover, *Rise and Decline*, p. 194. Boschetto says the house was half-way along the piazza; Boschetto, *Società e cultura*, p. 316 n. 38.

⁹² Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. by Aldo Rossi et al. 9 vols (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1967), II, p. 51. The image there today is a replica since the original, which was more than likely redone by Antonio di Chierico in the late-Quattrocento, was detached in the middle of the twentieth century; Piero Bargellini, *Le Strade di Firenze*, ed. by Ennio Guarnieri, 4 vols (Firenze: Bonechi Editore, 1978), III, pp. 355-6.

for this to be carried out, the Opera issued almost twenty allocations between June 1437 and January 1438.⁹³

The most interesting aspect of the repaving, however, was not the work itself but the manner by which Eugenius' time in the city had reconfigured the way the Florentines thought about one of their key public spaces. Deploying a visual language that mapped an area between one established reference point (the tabernacle) and a newly created one (the house rented by the Medici Bank), the Opera was paying heed to the fact that the urban streetscape had been modified by the papal presence, if not permanently then at least for the time being. We saw in Chapter One how Corazza and Petriboni detailed the processional routes in relation to certain private residences. To that end, the house on the piazza was no longer the house owned by Roberto di Giovanni Aldobrandini, rather, it was the house used by the bankers that had followed the papal court to the city. A perceptible shift had occurred in the way a Florentine might orient him- or herself in a small corner of the city, and because of the papal residencies a new landmark had been added to the local area. And significantly, the repaving was done by the Opera with the claim that it enjoyed the tacit consent of the Florentine civic body. Echoing the rationale it had cited in 1435 when ordering the gilding of the *Marzocco*, on this occasion it stated that the 1437 repaving was to be done, 'in accordance with the instruction of the people and commune of Florence.'⁹⁴

Furthermore, from the month leading up to Eugenius' second sojourn there is evidence to suggest that the piazza had in the eyes of the commune become one of the city's most important public spaces, at least more so than it had been in the past. Of the 300 florins authorised in December 1438 for works at the papal apartments, forty were specifically earmarked, 'having been commanded for the remainder of the paving to be done, in accordance with the aforesaid instructions upon the piazza of the church of Santa Maria Novella'.⁹⁵ The repaving work the Opera had instigated in May 1437 had obviously not been completed, and the commune therefore felt it needed to intervene in order to ensure that the project was satisfactorily completed. We can link the two actions by the repetitive use of language—the slightly differing iterations of 'per opportuna consilia'—and with the commune's desire in mind, the Opera reacted by allocating 100 *lire* to the *lastricatore* (paver) Pagholo d'Angiolo to bring the project to a suitable conclusion.⁹⁶

The second substantial venture from the period of vacancy came later in 1437 when a large number of *stanziamenti* were issued in relation to some unspecified woodwork. Although

⁹³ AOSMF, 16^r a (30 August 1437); 17^r d, g, h, i (30 August 1437); 17^v a-b, e, g-h (30 August 1437); 18^v g, i (25 September 1437); 19^r a, h, j (25 September 1437); 20^r i (10 October 1437); 21^v s-t (10 October 1437).

⁹⁴ AOSMF, II 2 2, 18^r j (22 May 1437); 'per consilia oportuna populi et communis florentie.'

⁹⁵ *CFDS: Acta camerae apostolicae*, p. 56; 'pro residuo lastrichi fieri ordinari per opportuna consilia super platea ecclesie S. Marie Novelle'.

⁹⁶ AOSMF, II 4 14, 45^v i (23 December 1438). At the beginning of the Quattrocento a florin was worth approximately 3.5 *lire*, rising to around 7 *lire* by the end of the century; 100 *lire* could well have equated to the forty florins earmarked for the paving by the commune; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and identity in fifteenth-century Florence* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. xxii.

the resolution specifying the precise location or nature of this work has seemingly been lost, there is enough evidence to suggest that it was directed towards the refurbishment of a ceiling, perhaps in the *sala grande*. Almost all of the resolutions relate to the procurement of *mensole intere* (corbels) from a range of different *legnaioli* (carpenters).⁹⁷ Stefano del Nero is again mentioned, this time in relation to the painting of benches, perhaps the very same benches noted in Chapter Three.⁹⁸ Given the lack of a guiding Opera resolution we can only speculate, but taking into account both the number of the allocations related to this project and the fact that the woodwork appears to have been painted, in all likelihood this work was done in the *sala grande*. Ceilings in that style, that is, exposed and painted wooden beams, were found throughout the city, San Miniato al Monte and Santa Croce being two of the more notable examples.

Both the repaving and the refurbishment of the ceiling are further evidence that the apartments loomed large in the Florentine consciousness, even if they were again vacant. And although the papacy was not there at this time, there was still an opportunity for the commune to extend the prestige it had won for itself throughout the city. In mid-January 1438 payment for ‘one frontispiece of black sandstone’ was noted.⁹⁹ Based on the price recorded in the manuscript, this was almost certainly that type of architectural element used as a decorative frame for a significant doorway. Intriguingly, the vendors on this occasion were the ‘Brothers of Santo Spirito of Florence’ and the piece in question was ‘sold by them and sent to Santa Maria Novella’.¹⁰⁰ There is no other reference of this kind in the Opera sources. Santo Spirito was the great basilica church of the Augustinian Hermits and the largest religious house on the southern bank of the Arno. The Opera’s appropriation of this architectural element, therefore, created another link in the network of major religious institutions that would by the end of the papal residencies ring Florence and bestow upon it a citywide aura of spiritual protection, as was discussed in Chapter Two of this study.

There was a small flurry of activity in late-April 1439, and although almost all of these *stanziamenti* do not name the specific worksites within the apartments, the variety of the work suggests they were all related to the aforementioned sum of 260 florins disbursed by the commune. Allocations were made in relation to several *legnaioli*,¹⁰¹ *fornaciai* (kiln owners),¹⁰² and a *ferratore* (ironworker).¹⁰³ Stefano del Nero was engaged to paint another *gigli*.¹⁰⁴ Taken holistically though, these efforts were minor when compared to those effected immediately

⁹⁷ AOSMF, II 4 14, 21^v p (10 October 1437); 22^r a (10 October 1437); 22^v c-g, i-p (10 October 1437).

⁹⁸ AOSMF, II 4 14, 20^g g (10 October 1437).

⁹⁹ AOSMF, II 4 16, 23^r g (15 January 1438); ‘per uno fontespitio de macigno neri’.

¹⁰⁰ AOSMF, II 4 16, 23^r g (15 January 1438); ‘Fratribus Sanctus Spiritus de Florentia...per eos vendite et missam ad santam mariam novellam pro habitu pape prout apparet’.

¹⁰¹ AOSMF, II 4 14, 54^r a (29 April 1439); 56^r h (30 April 1439); 56^v b-f (30 April 1439).

¹⁰² AOSMF, II 4 14, 53^v e & f (29 April 1439); 56^r i-j (30 April 1439); 56^v a (30 April 1439).

¹⁰³ AOSMF, II 4 14, 55^v f (30 April 1439).

¹⁰⁴ AOSMF, II 4 14, 56^r c (30 April 1439).

following Martin's arrival in 1419 and Eugenius' first arrival in 1434. The Opera sources demonstrate that there simply was not as a pressing need to refurbish the apartment spaces. There were ready to accommodate Eugenius' return to Florence, and they were more than capable of playing a critical role in the most important moment of his papacy.

Once the Greeks arrived in the city, the council got down to business almost straight away. They held a meeting amongst themselves on Ash Wednesday (18 February), although that was held in John VII's lodgings. It was during the sessions proper that the apartments would come to the fore—in particular the *sala grande*—and this physical use of the space began before the month was out. According to Corazza, public sessions were held in the *sala* on 26 February, as well 2, 5, and 7 March.¹⁰⁵ He says of the meeting on the 5th;

the pope held a grand consistory of a great number of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and masters. The emperor, the despot, and all of the Greek barons and courageous men were involved in a grand disputation over the faith for more than three hours. There were four thrones: that of the pope; to the side and lower, that of the Holy Roman Emperor; opposite the pope and lower that of the Emperor of the Greeks; and to the side of him and lower that of the Patriarch of the Greeks. This consistory was held in the *sala grande*, I saw and heard everything. A great many people were there.¹⁰⁶

Of course, the Holy Roman Emperor's throne was in place as a sign of respect only. Albrecht II was certainly not in Florence at that time.¹⁰⁷

If the physical needs of Eugenius' council were well-catered for by the papal spaces of the Santa Maria Novella apartments, the same must also be said of the way Eugenius was able to project a particular image of himself after his return to Florence. At the cathedral consecration in 1436, surrounded as he was by the representatives of Europe's leaders, he was able to reintroduce himself as foremost amongst them. In January 1439 the broader context was markedly better for the papacy, and the stability Eugenius found in his Florentine situation enabled him to drive home the advantageous position he had spent the better part of a decade working towards. Sensing an opportunity that might allow him to capitalise on a weakening Basel, within days of arriving Eugenius reached out to various monarchs across Europe, inviting them to the council. Letters were sent to each of Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy (the future Felix V), Eric VII, King of Denmark, James II, King of

¹⁰⁵ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 82. Corazza's narrative is an accurate account of the council sessions. A list of the dates of the council sessions is published in *CFDS: Andreas de Santacroce, Acta Latina Concilii Florentini*, ed. by Georgius Hofmann SI (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1955), p. xix.

¹⁰⁶ Corazza, *Diario*, p. 82; 'il papa fece gran concistoro di cardinali, arcivescovi, vescovi, abbati e maestri in gran numero. L'imperadore, il despoto e tutti baroni greci e valenti omeni feciono gran disputa sopra la fede per più di 3 ore. Vi erano quattro sedie: quella del papa, dell'imperadore d'Alamagna a lato e più bassa, quella del patriarca de' Greci dirimpetto al papa e più bassa, quella del patriarca de' Greci a lato alla sua e del pari. Si fece concistoro in sala grande: vidi e udii ogni cosa. Fuvi molta gente.'

¹⁰⁷ Emperor Sigismund died on 9 December 1437. Albrecht was elected King of the Romans on 18 March 1438 and died on 27 October 1439. Technically, he was never crowned emperor (or king for that matter), however, it was common practice for the German kings to be styled as such before their imperial coronation; Stieber, *Eugenius IV*, p. 114 n. 1, p. 121.

Scotland, and Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. Invitations went also to the six German prince-electors.¹⁰⁸

The result of all of this was the promulgation of *Laetentur Caeli* on 6 July in Santa Maria del Fiore. The Opera was involved in this momentous occasion as well, and its registers record that its workers were responsible for the *palco* (stage) built specially for the reading of the bull. One other union occurred not long thereafter, and following numerous discussions in the *sala grande*, a union with the Armenian Church was forged with the promulgation of the bull *Decretum pro Armenis* on 22 November, the original of which is still in Florence.¹⁰⁹ The unions with the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches would not come for several years yet, in the early-1440s.

Of course, the Greeks, who had been homesick even in Ferrara, had left Florence by then; most departed before the end of September 1439. As stated, it is not surprising to learn that there was not as much effort directed towards the apartments once the commune learnt that Eugenius would be returning to Florence. Nor is it surprising that once the council had wound up Opera activity at the apartments seems to have completely tapered off as well. The apartments had served their purpose and the pope who had once arrived in the city a fugitive had managed to use the stability he found there

In fact, by the end of his second sojourn Eugenius' relationship with the commune, as well as his relationship with Cosimo, had soured to the extent that it was actually debated amongst the city's ruling elite whether or not they should allow him to return to Rome.¹¹⁰ One cannot help but wonder what the consequences of such an ostensibly extreme course of action might have been had a sense of prudence not prevailed. In light of the recent turmoil the papacy had finally managed to put in the past, it seems reasonable to surmise the result would have tipped Latin Christendom into yet another crisis. This is all hypothetical, however, and Eugenius left Florence in early-March 1443, making his way to Rome after a six-month stop in Siena.

¹⁰⁸ *CFDS: Epistolae pontificae*, II, pp. 61-4.

¹⁰⁹ Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 307-8.

¹¹⁰ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 289.

Conclusion

Martin and Eugenius in Florence, 1419-1443

This thesis sheds new light on the impact of the residencies Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV on Florence, spread as they were across several decisive decades in the first half of the fifteenth century. It began under the assumption that these years, as well as we know them, deserve further attention. The extent of the religious, cultural, spatial, and material traces of Martin and Eugenius' time in Florence have thus far been inadequately represented in the historiography.

I have argued that the time both men passed in the city embedded them in a broader Florentine culture that sought at all times to maintain a harmonious, concordant polis in order to defend itself against a world brimming with internal and external pressures. As claimed in the introduction, Florence in the years the popes were there became both the centre of Latin Christendom, as well as a hub of international activity. A great many people—religious, diplomatic, artisan, and otherwise—flooded into Florence in the wake of both popes, and yet, as several scholars have noted, the papal residencies have not been investigated as anything other than an interesting circumstance, for quite a few decades at least. Boschetto is the exception to this, of course, but since the vast majority of the scholarly literature does not recognise the extent of their influence, this study makes an important contribution to the already rich historiography of the fifteenth-century city.

Much changed in Florence in the dynamic years between Martin's arrival in 1419 and Eugenius' second departure in 1443. The cityscape was forever transformed by the construction of the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore. The nascent humanism that would make Florence one of the cities of the age was to some degree decisively established as a *force majeure* by a cohort of men who called the city home at one time or another. And in a political sense the ascent of Cosimo de' Medici contributed to the shift of fortunes of the city on the Arno, both at home and abroad.¹ At the same time, a great deal also changed as a consequence of the papal presence in Florence, and with that in mind this study set out to characterise the religio-cultural impact the popes had on the city that took them in.

For the first time in many years Florence opened its gates (more than once) to the papacy, something it had refused to do for almost a century and a half. Emerging from a period of self-imposed, quasi-isolation, it reintroduced itself as a city worthy of hosting the papacy. Laying across all of this was the significant honour the city derived from hosting an ecumenical council, a gathering that managed, albeit briefly, to heal the split between the

¹ The last Medici grand duke of Tuscany, Gian Gastone de' Medici, died in 1737; Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 506.

Latin West and the Orthodox East. These actions could not help but resonate at the local level, and although Martin and Eugenius were in a sense ‘foreign’ guests, their presence in Florence had very ‘native’ implications.

The city’s religious institutions had been undergoing considerable reform impelled by the observant movement by the time the popes arrived, as had its many lay confraternities. Both men tapped this impulse, contributing significantly to the religious ambience of a city that had long held an image of itself as a New Jerusalem. A series of church consecrations involving one or the other of the popes was a notable consequence of the residencies, and the concentration of so many ceremonies within such a short time contributed to what was perceived to be a spiritual bulwark that encircled the city, a protective aura made all the more visible by the many other liturgies the popes or their cardinals celebrated during their time in Florence. The papal chapel, moreover, introduced a new element to an already vibrant culture of Florentine preaching. Since this study has demonstrated that the theological concerns of the papacy did not exist in isolation from broader Florentine society, it follows that these sermons *coram papa* were similarly received and internalised by those in the laity whose religious sensibilities were turned towards the resident popes. For a city that pulsed with religious belief, a city unfamiliar with seeing its highest religious involved to such an extent in the liturgy no less, these were fascinating and no doubt awe-inspiring developments.

As far as the physical shape of the city was concerned, the most lasting change occasioned by the papal residencies was the apartment complex constructed in the convent of Santa Maria Novella. This was the result of the sustained effort the Opera invested there on behalf of the commune, an effort that changed the shape of not just neighbourhood and parish, but the urban space more broadly. That the communal authorities set one of its most capable civic bodies to the task of preparing suitable lodgings for the popes underscores the perceived importance of this particular facet of the residencies. The expertise the Opera revealed in creating an appropriately splendid space for the papacy lay in the capabilities it had shown in the construction of the cathedral, and their success at this new site extended the commune’s power into a space that had, until 1419, been under the sole control of the Dominican order. Having overcome a reluctance to admit powerful figures into the city, and having sequestered and repurposed the convent space, the commune continued to house important visitors there after the papacy’s final departure for Rome in 1443.

In making its interventions this study has traversed several genres of evidence. Consequently it has made use of a variety of methodologies, each of which has demanded a particular approach and interpretation. The conclusions presented in Chapters One and Four were the result of a close reading of two notable *ricordi*, those left to us by Corazza and Petriboni. Frequently but often superficially mined for corroborating evidence, here instead

they have been read completely as a unified whole to reveal a great deal more than they have previously. In particular, Corazza's almost slavish documentation of the papal liturgies yields evidence of the religious atmosphere mentioned a moment ago. The ease with which he handled the liturgical performances that permeated the papal residencies hints at a citizen body completely adept at handling its own liturgies; whilst he was certainly awestruck he was not for a moment overwhelmed.

In its discussion of the application of religious authority during the residencies Chapter Two brought together a great deal of published evidence. Though already scrutinised by scholars, this is the first time a broad view has been taken of these particular questions as they relate to Martin and Eugenius in, especially those related to the way Martin and Eugenius sought to reform the Florentine church as they found it.

Chapters Three and Six were the result of laborious and systematic trawling of the digital and manuscript archives of the Opera del Duomo. The Florentines were nothing if not fastidious, and despite the administrative nature of the literally tens of thousands of Opera records, by taking a broad view of the information therein and correlating it with what we know about the spatial preoccupations of the Florentines, a clear picture begins to emerge of how the apartments were configured and how they functioned. Whilst the Opera sources are far from unknown to scholars, this study represents by far the most comprehensive and systematic examination of what they can tell us about Martin and Eugenius' time in Florence. They reveal that the material impact of the papacies on the physical spaces they occupied was greater than the historiography has accepted. A focused, monograph length study of the apartments and their immediate neighbourhood would, I think, be worthwhile.

The discussion of preaching before the pope during the residencies relies on several known albeit understudied sermons *coram papa*. Its pastoral implications aside, preaching within the papal chapel had long been a vital technique by which the popes were able to project an image of papal identity. This preaching encouraged its ecclesiastical audience to understand and seize its role in Italy and Christendom more broadly, and given what we know about the sophistication with which the laity interacted with papal religious culture, we may well conclude that it encouraged the laity to do the same. Given the lack of studies dealing with preaching *coram papa* from the first half of the Quattrocento, this is another area that warrants further investigation.

Not for a moment were the Florentines motivated solely by altruism when they opened their gates to Martin in 1419 and Eugenius thereafter. If the city in the first half of the fifteenth century was moving away from a recent past that was overwhelmingly turbulent, it was also in those decades desperate to impose upon the present a degree of order in what Molho has suggested was a 'threatening and chaotic' world. The primary cause of volatility

from outside the city walls was the fact that Florence was just too small to hold on its own the centre of the peninsula; without a stable papacy it would always be threatened by the larger Italian powers, Milan and Naples especially, or for that matter by any *condottiere* with a sufficiently strong group of mercenaries.

Quite simply, Florence and the papacy shared an osmotic relationship. There had always been links between them, but as Lewin pointed out in her analysis of the shift in Florentine thinking brought about by the Great Western Schism, the commune in the early-Quattrocento had recognised that its own culture would be better served by a stronger, more robust papal institution. One of the key interventions of this study is to extend that notion further into the fifteenth century by demonstrating how the religious and cultural context of Florence during the residencies served papal authority. As far as the commune was concerned, the net effect of a more stable world beyond its city walls was a more ordered and harmonious world within them.

In this context the impact of the papal residencies on the Florentine religio-cultural context—a context borne of the notion of the *buon comune* and a desire for stability and harmony—was a reciprocal emboldening that allowed the commune to extend and consolidate the order it was constantly striving towards. For their parts, both popes made the most of the chance to rehabilitate their own respective fortunes from within Florence. Martin's eighteen-month sojourn allowed him to engineer the political situation that opened up a clear path back to Rome. Eugenius, in his turn, initially found in Florence the wherewithal to steady his teetering papacy, and subsequently, to project an appropriately authoritative image as his fortunes rose and those of the Council of Basel waned.

There was also what might perhaps be termed a didactic quality to the papal sojourns; they represented a learning opportunity for a city that had for a century at least tended towards suspicion with regards to powerful guests. Certain lessons were warranted. In Chapter One we saw that Pope Martin was not completely satisfied with the manner of the welcome provided by the Florentines in 1419. Those small slights had been rectified by the time it came for Martin to depart, however, and the new practices were applied on the subsequent occasions when his successor Eugenius would enter and leave the city. The Opera sources detail, as argued in Chapter Three, that it was not until a few months into his residency that arrangements were made to add Martin's arms to the group of *stemme* that governed the vast space of Santa Maria Novella's *chiostro grande*, likely executed at the pope's request, though he would probably have expected this to be done as a matter of course. Again it seems as though the lessons were well-heeded, and, as discussed in Chapter Six, the realignment of the apartment spaces in preparation for Eugenius' papal authority was quickly and competently undertaken in anticipation of his arrival.

Bruni recorded in his *Memoirs* that Martin himself had acknowledged the part played by the Florentines in supporting his papacy in its early years. Writing in all likelihood during Eugenius' second sojourn Bruni says, 'when he [Martin] had decided to leave, he called together the Florentine magistrates and said: "I am very much indebted to this city, for I realise how much good fortune has fallen to me in it and through its agency."² It is to this pithy summation that this thesis has sought to give substance and evidence. Even when the rhetoric is treated with due caution, the anecdote reveals a great deal about what the Florentines were looking to achieve when they accepted both popes into their city and actively expended communal funds to create a seat of papal power and ceremony. In giving the papacy that agency the Florentines were to a degree enhancing their own. And although the Florentine-papal relationship soured right at the end of Eugenius' second sojourn, it is tempting to speculate that Bruni would have included a similarly glowing endorsement of Florentine agency from the Venetian pope had the *Memoirs* not finished before his departure. Such a portrayal, after all, sustained the cultural narrative the city sought to maintain.

² Bruni, *History*, III, pp. 361-63. According to James Hankins, Bruni's *De temporibus suis (Memoirs)* was written sometime between 1437/8 and June 1441; James Hankins, 'The dates of Leonardo Bruni's later works (1437-1443)', *Studi Medievali e Umanistici*, 5-6 (2007/8), 11-50 (pp. 35-7).

Plates



Plate 1 Bicci di Lorenzo, *Pope Martin V Confirming the Consecration of Sant'Egidio*, c. 1424, detached fresco, now in the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. (©Photo SCALA, Florence)



Plate 2 *Carte della Catena* (detail of Porta San Frediano), c. 1470, Museo di Firenze com'era. (©Photo SCALA, Florence)



PORTA BOLOGNESE DETTA PORTA A.S. GALLO

Plate 3 BNCF, Fondo Cappugi, 606, p. 112, Porta San Gallo, nineteenth-century watercolours by Gaspero Bargioni. (BNCF)

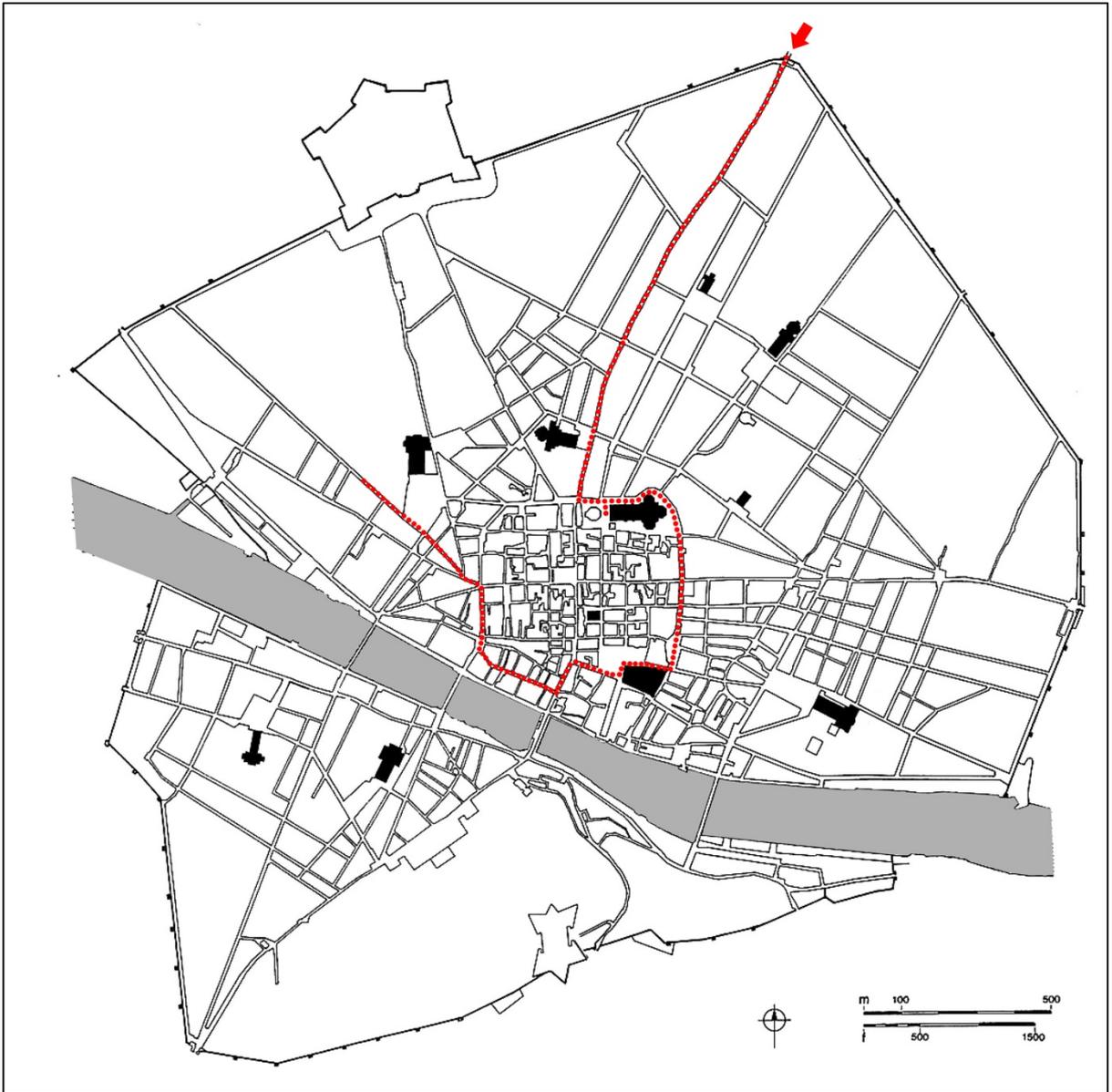


Plate 4 Martin V (1419) and Eugenius IV (1439) arriving processional route.

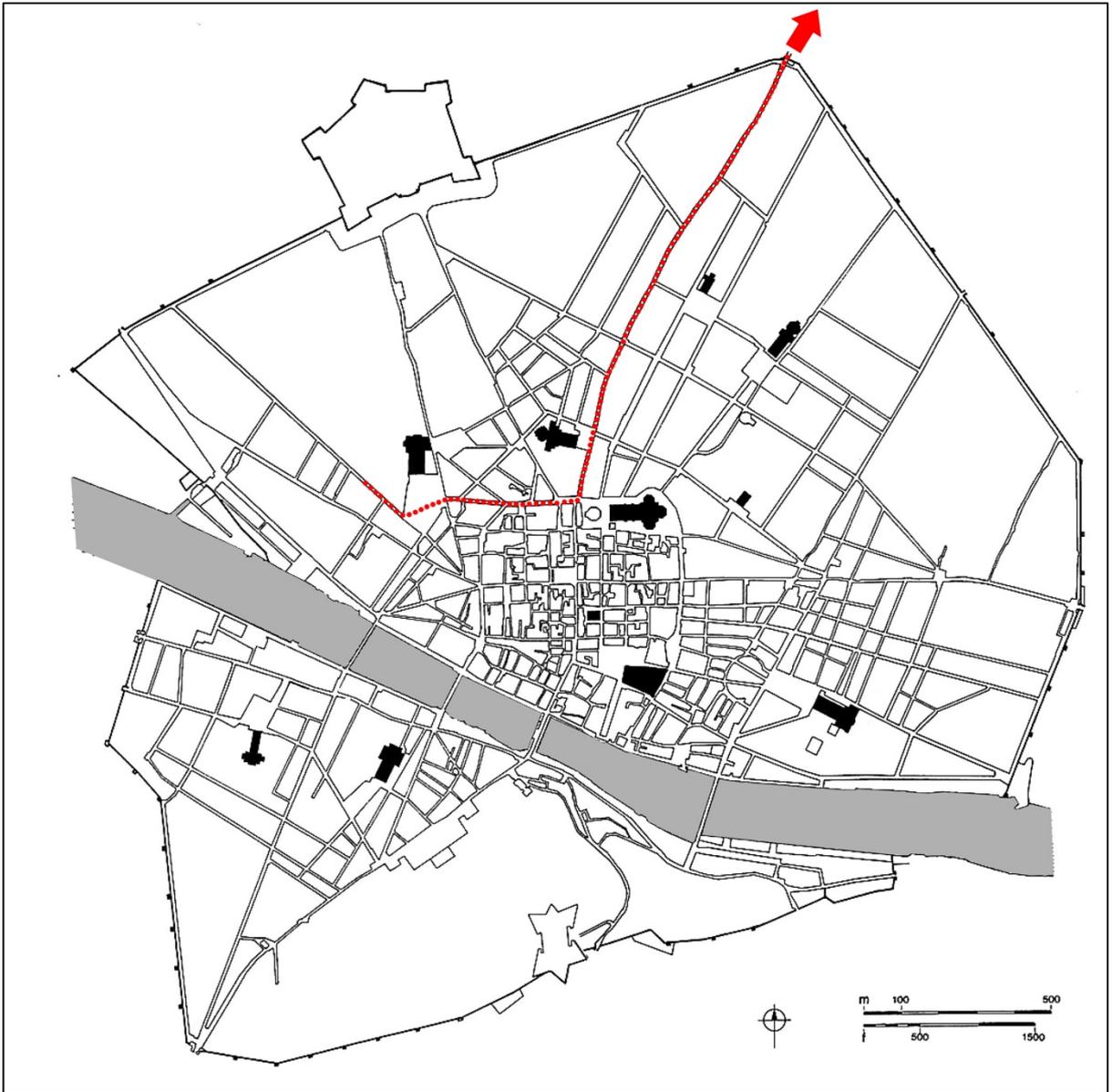


Plate 5 Eugenius IV (1436) departing processional route.

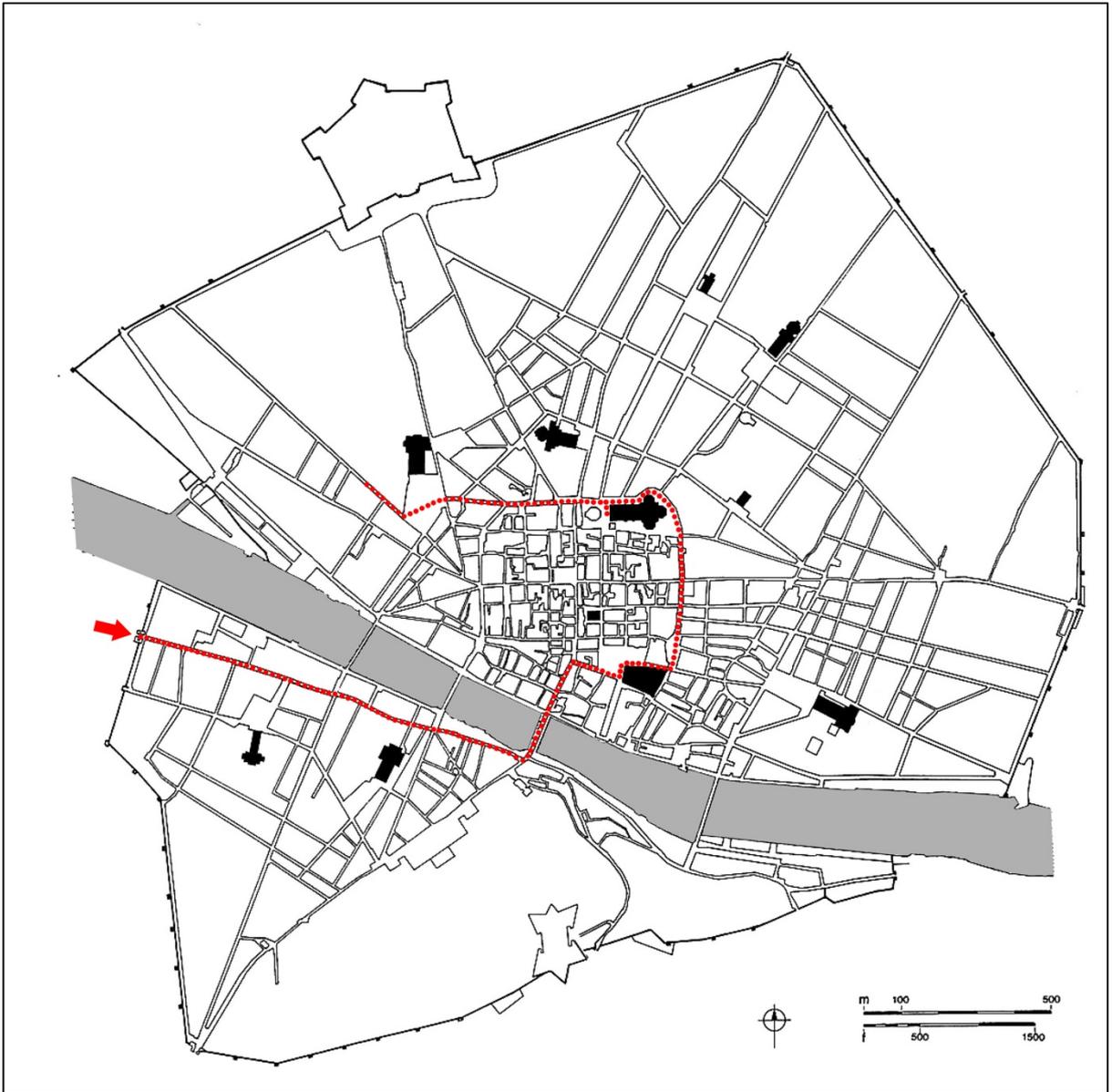


Plate 6 Eugenius IV (1434) arriving processional route.

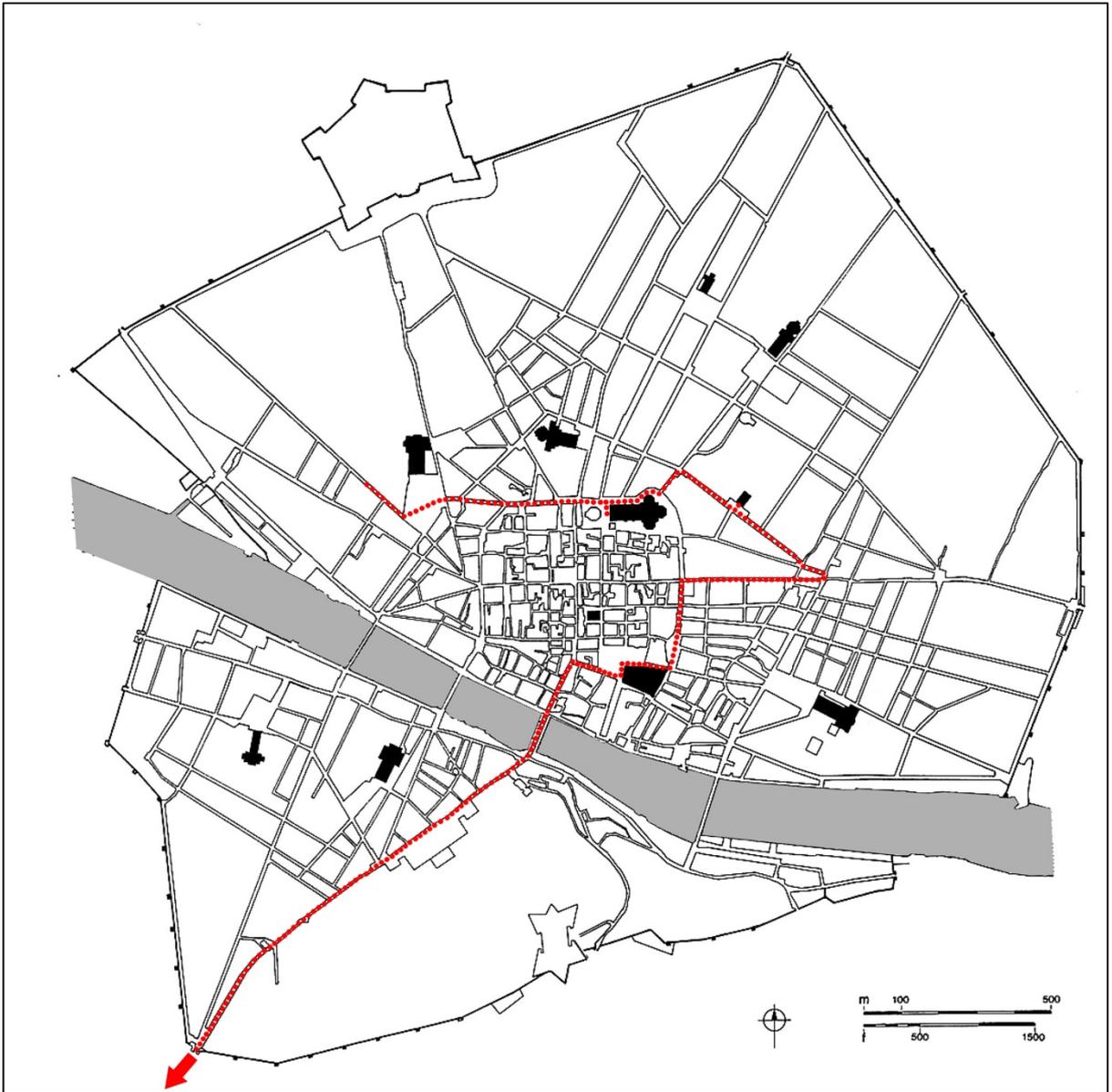


Plate 7 Martin V (1420) departing processional route.



Plate 8 Eugenius IV (1443) departing processional route.

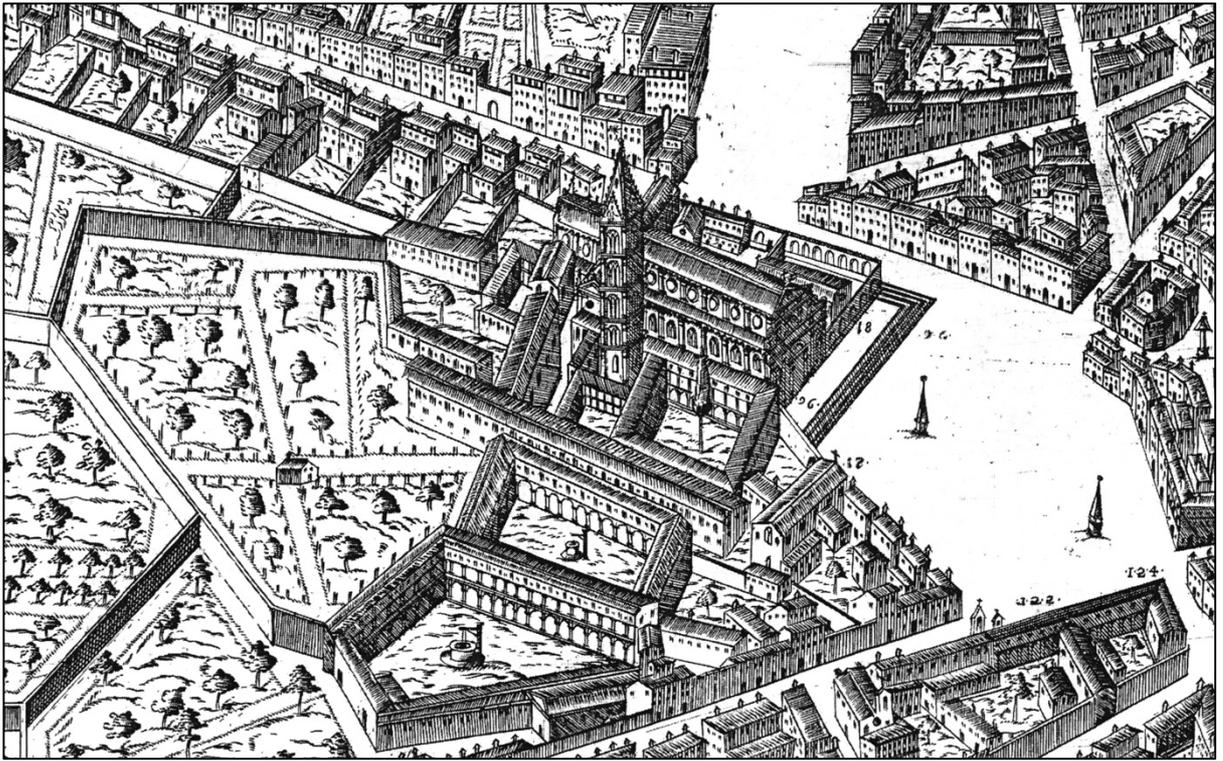


Plate 9 Bonsignori Map (detail), 1584, Santa Maria Novella, including convent and piazza.
(The *chiostro grande* is visible below the church, as is *Via della Scala*).



Plate 10 Andrea Bonaiuto, *Via veritas*, c. 1365, Santa Maria Novella chapterhouse, Florence. (©Photo SCALA, Florence)



Plate 11 Andrea Bonaiuto, *The Triumph of St Thomas* (detail), c. 1365, Santa Maria Novella chapterhouse, Florence. (©Photo SCALA, Florence)



Plate 12 Orcagna, *Strozzi altarpiece* (detail), c. 1355, Santa Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel, Florence. (©Photo SCALA, Florence)



Plate 13 Donatello, *Marzocco*, 1419, Museo del Bargello. (photo courtesy of Matthew Topp)

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