

TRANSFORMING THE CHURCH INTERIOR IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE



Before the late sixteenth century, the churches of Florence were internally divided by monumental screens that separated the laity in the nave from the clergy in the choir precinct. Enabling both separation and mediation, these screens were impressive artistic structures that controlled social interactions, facilitated liturgical performances, and variably framed or obscured religious ritual and imagery. In the 1560s and 1570s, screens were routinely destroyed in a period of religious reforms, irreversibly transforming the function, meaning, and spatial dynamics of the church interior. In this volume, Joanne Allen explores the widespread presence of screens and their role in Florentine social and religious life prior to the Counter-Reformation. She presents unpublished documentation and new reconstructions of screens and the choir precincts that they delimited. Elucidating issues such as gender, patronage, and class, her study makes these vanished structures comprehensible and deepens our understanding of the impact of religious reform on church architecture.

Joanne Allen studied at the University of Warwick and the Courtauld Institute of Art, and completed postdoctoral research in Rome, Florence, and Venice. She teaches at American University, where she won a teaching award, and her research has been supported by the Renaissance Society of America and the Italian Art Society. She is a choral singer and artist.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83359-2 — Transforming the Church Interior in Renaissance Florence
Joanne Allen
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



TRANSFORMING THE CHURCH INTERIOR IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE

SCREENS AND CHOIR SPACES
FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO
TRIDENTINE REFORM

JOANNE ALLEN

American University



Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-83359-2 — Transforming the Church Interior in Renaissance Florence

Joanne Allen

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108833592

DOI: 10.1017/9781108985659

© Cambridge University Press 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-83359-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To my parents, Lesley and Ray

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83359-2 — Transforming the Church Interior in Renaissance Florence
Joanne Allen
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
<i>Note to the Reader</i>	xix
<i>Introduction</i>	1
The European Architectural Context	6
CHAPTER 1	
<i>Accessing the Italian Church Interior</i>	16
Choir Precincts and Screens	17
The Functions of Screens	31
Space and Accessibility	41
Images of the Divided Church Interior	46
CHAPTER 2	
<i>Transforming Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence</i>	62
Medieval Florence	63
Quattrocento Florence: Centralized Choirs	64
Quattrocento Florence: Retrochoirs	70

viii ~ CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3

<i>Transforming Churches in Sixteenth-Century Florence</i>	93
The Sixteenth-Century Italian Context c. 1500–1560	94
Florentine Renovations c. 1561–1564	100
Vasari's Renovations of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce	123
Florentine Renovations in the 1570s and Later	135

CHAPTER 4

<i>Community and Access in the Mendicant Church: Santa Maria del Carmine</i>	149
The Tramezzo	153
The Ascension Day Festa	161
Space and Accessibility in the Carmine Church Interior	165
The Removal of the Carmine Tramezzo	165

CHAPTER 5

<i>Patronage and Place in Monastic Churches: Santa Trinita and San Pancrazio</i>	174
The Benedictine Vallombrosans	175
Santa Trinita	175
San Pancrazio	193

CHAPTER 6

<i>Gender and Ceremony in the Nuns' Church: San Pier Maggiore</i>	219
The Civic Role and Status of San Pier Maggiore	220
The Spatial Layout of the Church	224
The Removal of the Men's Choir	235

CHAPTER 7

<i>Behavior and Reform in the Civic Oratory: Orsanmichele</i>	247
Orsanmichele	248
The Iron Tramezzo	249
Alterations to the Orsanmichele Interior in the Late Sixteenth Century	262

CHAPTER 8

<i>Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Religious Reform, and the Florentine Church Interior</i>	274
The Florentine Church Transformations: Chronology, Motivations, and Reaction	275
Enacting the Florentine Church Transformations: Vasari, Cosimo, and Altoviti	277

CONTENTS ↗ ix

The Council of Trent	287
Cardinal Carlo Borromeo's <i>Instructiones</i>	291
<i>Glossary</i>	305
<i>Archival Bibliography</i>	309
<i>Bibliography</i>	311
<i>Index</i>	339

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83359-2 — Transforming the Church Interior in Renaissance Florence
Joanne Allen
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

FIGURES

	<i>page</i>
1 Fra Carnevale, <i>Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple</i> (?).	2
2 Ognissanti, Florence.	3
3 Map of Florence.	4
4 Musician's gallery, Ägidienkirche, Lübeck, Germany.	6
5 Screen, St. Peter's Church, Leiden, The Netherlands.	7
6 Screen, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Paris.	8
7 Il Gesù, Rome.	9
8 Chiesa Nuova, Rome.	10
9 San Francesco della Vigna, Venice.	11
10 San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.	12
11 Diagram indicating common spatial arrangements in Italian churches.	18
12 Choir stalls, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.	19
13 Lectern, Santa Maria in Organo, Verona.	20
14 Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome.	22
15 Torcello Cathedral (Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta).	23
16 Screen, San Marco, Venice.	24
17 Modena Cathedral.	25
18 San Miniato al Monte, Florence.	26
19 Screen, Vezzolano Abbey.	27
20 Screen, Sant'Andrea in Flumine, Ponzano Romano.	27

xii ↘ LIST OF FIGURES

21	Screen, San Vittore, Bologna.	28
22	Santa Maria del Gradaro, Mantua.	29
23	Screen, San Domenico, Bolzano.	30
24	Fra Giovanni da Pistoia (?), <i>Project for, or Plan of, San Francesco in Arezzo.</i>	31
25	Titian, <i>Assunta</i> , Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.	32
26	Crucifix, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.	32
27	San Michele in Isola, Venice.	33
28	Screen, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Varallo.	34
29	Prophet reliefs, San Francesco della Vigna, Venice.	35
30	Marble panels, San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice.	36
31	<i>Verification of the Stigmata</i> , Upper Church, Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi.	38
32	Butteri, <i>Recognition of the Relics of San Giovanni Gualberto</i> , detail.	39
33	Ligozzi, <i>Descrizione del Sacro Monte della Vernia</i> .	40
34	Savonarola, <i>Compendio di revelatione</i> .	44
35	Sano di Pietro, <i>St. Bernardino Preaching</i> .	45
36	Bordon, <i>Evangeliary for Santa Giustina</i> .	46
37	Sassetta, <i>The Damnation of the Soul</i> .	48
38	<i>Miracle of the Crib at Greccio</i> , Upper Church, Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi.	49
39	Angelo and Bartolomeo degli Erri, <i>St. Vincent Ferrer Baptizing</i> .	50
40	Carpaccio, <i>Apparition of the Crucified</i> .	51
41	Choir stalls, San Miniato al Monte, Florence.	63
42	Bertoldo di Giovanni, <i>The Pazzi Conspiracy Medal</i> .	65
43	<i>Model of Bandinelli's Choir</i> , Florence Cathedral.	66
44	Wall of choir precinct, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.	67
45	Choir precinct, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.	68
46	Santo Spirito, Florence.	69
47	Dosio (attr.), <i>Interior of Santo Spirito</i> , Florence.	70
48	High altar, Santo Spirito, Florence.	71
49	Plan of San Francesco al Prato, Perugia.	72
50	San Francesco, Brescia.	73
51	Anonymous, <i>Ground Plan of a Church</i> .	75
52	High chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.	76
53	San Lorenzo, Florence.	77
54	Verrocchio, <i>Tomb of Cosimo de' Medici (il Vecchio)</i> .	78
55	Santissima Annunziata, Florence.	80
56	Salvi (attr.), <i>Ground Plan of Santissima Annunziata</i> , Florence.	82
57	Tribuna, Santissima Annunziata, Florence.	83
58	San Salvatore al Monte, Florence.	84
59	Choir stalls, San Salvatore al Monte, Florence.	85

LIST OF FIGURES ~ℓ xiii

60	Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi (formerly Cestello), Florence.	86
61	Giovanni di Domenico, <i>Annunciation</i> .	86
62	Retrochoir, Ferrara Cathedral.	94
63	Retrochoir, Reggio Emilia Cathedral.	96
64	Sanmicheli (attr.), <i>Tornacoro</i> , Verona Cathedral.	97
65	Sangallo the Younger, <i>Montecassino: project for the church</i> .	98
66	Santa Maria della Pieve, Arezzo.	99
67	Vasari, Pieve high altar, Badia delle Sante Flora e Lucilla, Arezzo.	100
68	San Niccolò Oltrarno, Florence.	101
69	Plan of San Niccolò Oltrarno, Florence.	102
70	Masolino, <i>The Annunciation</i> .	104
71	Choir stalls, San Niccolò Oltrarno, Florence.	105
72	Pulpit, San Niccolò Oltrarno, Florence.	106
73	San Marco, Florence.	107
74	Vasari the Younger, <i>Plan of San Marco</i> .	108
75	Plan of San Marco, Florence.	110
76	Doorframe, San Marco, Florence.	111
77	Digital reconstruction of the nave of San Marco, Florence.	112
78	San Marco, Florence.	113
79	Plan of Ognissanti, Florence.	114
80	Giotto and workshop, <i>Crucifix</i> .	115
81	Giotto and workshop, <i>Virgin and Child Enthroned</i> .	116
82	Giotto and workshop, <i>Dormition of the Virgin</i> .	117
83	Ghirlandaio, <i>St. Jerome</i> .	118
84	Botticelli, <i>St. Augustine</i> .	119
85	Pulpit, Ognissanti, Florence.	121
86	Organ, Ognissanti, Florence.	122
87	Retrochoir, Ognissanti, Florence.	123
88	Santa Maria Novella, Florence.	124
89	Plan of Santa Maria Novella.	125
90	Tomb of Tommaso Minerbettii, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.	125
91	Giotto, <i>Crucifix</i> , Santa Maria Novella, Florence.	127
92	Duccio, <i>Rucellai Madonna</i> .	128
93	Choir stalls, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.	130
94	Santa Croce, Florence.	131
95	Reconstruction of tramezzo, Santa Croce, Florence.	132
96	Nave pavement, Santa Croce, Florence.	133
97	<i>Choir of San Domenico, Città di Castello</i> .	134
98	Vasari and workshop, high altar ciborium, Santa Croce, Florence.	135
99	Santa Croce, Florence.	136
100	Digital reconstruction of San Giovanni, Florence.	137
101	Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	150

xiv ~ LIST OF FIGURES

102	Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	151
103	Plan of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	152
104	<i>Interpretative Scale Model of Santa Maria del Carmine.</i>	153
105	<i>Madonna del Popolo</i> , Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	155
106	<i>Predella of the St. Andrea Corsini Altarpiece.</i>	158
107	Ventura di Moro (attr.), <i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints.</i>	159
108	Fra Filippo Lippi, <i>The Trivulzio Madonna.</i>	160
109	Fra Filippo Lippi, <i>Confirmation of the Carmelite Rule.</i>	162
110	Exterior, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	164
111	Staircase, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	164
112	Staircase, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.	164
113	Santa Trinita, Florence.	176
114	Plan of Santa Trinita, Florence.	177
115	Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence.	178
116	Ardinghelli Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence.	180
117	Spini Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence.	181
118	Tomb of Pietro Gaetani, Santa Trinita, Florence.	183
119	Cimabue, <i>Virgin and Child Enthroned.</i>	184
120	<i>St. Mary Magdalene</i> , Santa Trinita, Florence.	185
121	Southwest transept, Santa Trinita, Florence.	186
122	Northeast transept, Santa Trinita, Florence.	186
123	Ammannati and Tadda <i>Justice</i> , Piazza Santa Trinita, Florence.	188
124	Ponte Santa Trinita, Florence.	189
125	Organ, Santa Trinita, Florence.	190
126	Il Passignano, <i>Translation of the Relics of San Giovanni Gualberto</i> , Santa Trinita, Florence.	191
127	Staircases, stage, and balustrade, Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, Florence.	192
128	Balustrade, detail, Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, Florence.	193
129	Museo Marino Marini (former church of San Pancrazio), Florence.	194
130	Interior, Museo Marino Marini (former church of San Pancrazio), Florence.	194
131	Plan of San Pancrazio, Florence.	195
132	Alberti (attr.), <i>Rucellai Sepulcher</i> , Museo Marino Marini, Florence.	196
133	Choir stalls, detail, Vallombrosa Abbey.	198
134	Choir stalls, Vallombrosa Abbey.	199
135	Choir stalls, detail, Vallombrosa Abbey.	200
136	Roof Boss, Museo Marino Marini, Florence.	200
137	Screen, Abbey of San Michele Arcangelo, Passignano.	201
138	Pulpit, San Michele a Pianezzoli, Val d'Elsa.	203

LIST OF FIGURES ~ xv

139	Crucifix, San Lorenzo a Fossato.	204
140	Screen, Vallombrosa Abbey.	205
141	Choir stalls, Abbey of San Michele Arcangelo, Passignano.	206
142	Lectern, Vallombrosa Abbey.	208
143	Piazza di San Pier Maggiore, Florence.	220
144	Plan of San Pier Maggiore, Florence.	221
145	Cenni di Francesco, <i>Antiphonary and Gradual</i> .	223
146	Buonsignori, <i>Nova pulcherrimae civitatis Florentiae</i> , detail.	224
147	Jacopo di Cione, <i>The Coronation of the Virgin</i> .	225
148	<i>Drawing Elevation of San Pier Maggiore</i> .	226
149	Still of the digital reconstruction of San Pier Maggiore, Florence.	227
150	Santa Felicita, Florence.	228
151	Sant'Ambrogio, Florence.	229
152	San Felice in Piazza, Florence.	230
153	Relief, Piazza San Pier Maggiore, Florence.	231
154	Lippi di Benivieni, <i>Crucifix</i> .	232
155	Gaddi (attr.), <i>Madonna del Parto</i> , San Francesco di Paola, Bellosuardo, Florence.	233
156	Chapel screen, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.	235
157	<i>Tabernacle of the Crucifix</i> , San Miniato al Monte, Florence.	236
158	<i>Ciborium for the Sacrament</i> , National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.	237
159	Exterior, Orsanmichele, Florence.	248
160	Orsanmichele, Florence.	249
161	Plan of Orsanmichele, Florence.	250
162	Orcagna, <i>Tabernacle</i> , Orsanmichele, Florence.	251
163	Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, <i>Organ shutter</i> .	253
164	Poccetti, <i>St. Antoninus Kneeling before the Crucifix in Orsanmichele</i> , Florence, San Marco, Florence.	254
165	Chapel screen, Santa Trinita, Florence, Bartolini Salimbeni Chapel.	256
166	Chapel screen, Prato Cathedral, Chapel of Sacro Cingolo.	257
167	Bronze railing, Orsanmichele, Florence.	258
168	Francesco da Sangallo, <i>Virgin and Child with Saint Anne</i> , Orsanmichele, Florence.	259
169	Orcagna (attr.), <i>Crucifix</i> , San Carlo Borromeo, Florence.	260
170	Via dell'Arte della Lana.	261
171	<i>Drawing of Balustrade for Orsanmichele</i> , Florence, 1587.	264
172	<i>Drawing of Balustrade for Orsanmichele</i> , Florence, 1588.	265
173	Balustrade, Salviati Chapel of St. Antoninus, San Marco, Florence.	266
174	<i>Plate of Giorgio Vasari</i> .	278
175	Poggini, <i>Cosimo I de' Medici</i> .	279

xvi ~ LIST OF FIGURES

176 Caccini, <i>Bust of Antonio Altoviti</i> , Santi Apostoli, Florence.	284
177 Tibaldi, Eucharistic tabernacle, Milan Cathedral.	288
178 Clerici, <i>San Carlo Borromeo</i> .	292
179 Santa Prassede, Rome.	294
180 Milan Cathedral.	295

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS PROJECT HAD ITS GENESIS in a short-term fellowship at the Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut (NIKI) in Florence in Spring 2012. The NIKI was my summer base for archival research in Florence for the following five summer vacations, and I thank the staff there, especially Michael W. Kwakkelstein, Gert Jan van der Sman, and Ilaria Masi, for their support and encouragement. Further financial support, for research travel, image rights, and publication costs, was provided by the Mellon faculty fund at American University (AU), an Italian Art Society Research and Publication Grant, and the Renaissance Society of America-Samuel H. Kress Publication Subvention for Art Historians. I am particularly grateful to the AU College of Arts and Sciences for awarding me a Book Incubator Grant, which gave me the opportunity of soliciting several peer reviews before publication.

I am grateful to the staff at the various libraries and archives who have assisted me with this research, in particular those at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, the Medici Archive Project, the Archivio Arcivescovile di Firenze, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, American University Library, the Library of Congress, and the National Gallery of Art Library.

Many friends and colleagues have shared their specialist knowledge with me, brought important material to my attention, assisted with translations, and offered practical assistance for which I am most grateful. With apologies for any omissions, these include Jon Allen, Jordan Amirkhani, Maurizio Arfaioli, Alessio

xviii ↵ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Assonitis, Grazia Badino, Sheila Barker, Melissa Becher, Juliet Bellow, Giacomo Benedetti, Sarah Bercusson, Mattia Biffis, Erin Black, Rebecca Bossi, Louise Bourdua, Doug Brine, Ann Brooks, Kim Butler, Mehreen Chida-Razvi, Roberto Cobianchi, Thomas Dalla Costa, Carla D'Arista, Paul Davies, Maria DePrano, Douglas Dow, Nicholas Eckstein, Theresa Flanigan, Mary Garrard, Lucas Giles, Linda Goodwin, Gianmario Guidarelli, Erik Gustafson, Joseph Hammond, Grace Harpster, Sarah Hines, Alison Holdsworth, Megan Holmes, Andy Holtin, Deborah Howard, Tiffany Hunt, Sandro La Barbera, Stuart Lingo, Alison Luchs, Tycho Maas, Irene Mariani, Matko Marušić, Fabio Massaccesi, Rod McElveen, Sara Miglietti, Paola Modesti, Chemi Montes, Haude Morvan, Zuleika Murat, John Nadas, Alana O'Brien, April Oettinger, Ashley Offill, Laura

Overpelt, Andrea Pearson, Ying-chen Peng, Beth Petitjean, Emily Price, Gaia Ravalli, Esther Rodriguez Camara, Alexander Röstel, Sam Sadow, Jaylynn Saure, Patricia Simons, Jennifer Sliwka, Elizabeth von Buhr, Justine Walden, Saundra Weddle, Matthew Woodworth, and Michela Young.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to Caroline Bruzelius, Joanna Cannon, Donal Cooper, Sally Cornelison, Alexandra Dodson, Antonia Fondaras, Julian Gardner, Christa Gardner von Teuffel, Erin Giffin, Michael Gromotka, Marcia Hall, and Sharon Strocchia, each of whom has read this study in its entirety or one of its chapters. I offer my affectionate thanks for their careful reading, critical comments, advice, and encouragement. Without their generosity my mistakes would have been many. Those that remain are, of course, all mine.

NOTE TO THE READER

IN ARCHIVAL TRANSCRIPTIONS, abbreviations have been expanded, and where relevant, words have been separated and punctuation and diacritics added. Incomprehensible or uncertain words are followed by (?). If text was added above, it is indicated thus: ^text^.

The Florentine year began on 25 March. In the text, dates have been modernized, but in archival transcriptions and notes, dates remain according to the Florentine calendar and are indicated by (stil. Flor).

For definitions of terms, please consult the Glossary at the end of the book.

ARCHIVE ABBREVIATIONS

ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
CRS	Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese (a section within ASF)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83359-2 — Transforming the Church Interior in Renaissance Florence
Joanne Allen
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
